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Introduction

Suzanne Gieser

In 1936 and 1937, Jung delivered consecutive seminars in Bailey Island, Maine (see figure 1), and in New York City. The seminars ran for a total of eleven days, six days on Bailey Island and five days in New York. Jung's lecture series was titled "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process." The dreams presented were those of physicist and Nobel Prize laureate Wolfgang Pauli (1900–1958). Jung went into far greater detail concerning the personal aspects of Pauli's dreams than anywhere else in his published work.

Central to these seminars was showing how the mandala as an expression of the archetype of wholeness spontaneously emerged in the psyche of a modern man, and how this imagery reflects the healing process. Jung defines archetypes as innate to man, having an invariable core of meaning that is "filled out" with experiential material conditioned by culture and environment. Therefore it was important to him to provide evidence for this hypothesis by holding up examples from different cultures and epochs, especially from the sphere of religious symbolism.

The themes that Jung chooses to pick up in these seminars are all related to his quest to develop and expound his theories of the psyche. In the lectures, Jung touches on a wide range of themes. He presents his theory of dreams; mental illness; the individuation process; regression; the principles of psychotherapeutic treatment; masculine psychology and the importance of the anima, shadow, and persona; psychological types; and psychic energy. He comments on the political currents of the time such as Nazism, communism, fascism, and mass psychology. He reflects on modern physics, causality, and the nature of reality. From the religious sphere, he chooses to illustrate his theories with examples from the Mithraic mysteries, Buddhism, Hinduism, Chinese philosophy, *The I Ching*, Kundalini Yoga, and ancient Egyptian concepts of body and soul. From the Christian heritage, he focuses primarily on Catholicism and the symbolism of the



Figure 1. Jung at the Bailey Island seminars.

Mass and the Trinity and also on the content of the newly discovered noncanonical gospels and Gnostic ideas. He also mentions the Dreamtime concept of Aboriginal Australians and their beliefs in healing objects, the Apollonian and Dionysian cults of ancient Greece, Nordic mythology, Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism, and the Khidr in the Koran. From the world of literature, he refers to Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Goethe's *Faust*, and Meyrink's *The Golem*. He also discusses the Exercitia of Ignatius Loyola and the visions of Zosimos. The connections to Jung's further work on these topics is provided in the notes.

In summary, we see here many of the budding themes that germinated during the years 1937–57 in the ongoing development of Jung's psychology of religion. From his initial studies in mythology and religion from 1912 onward, in the early 1930s, Jung drew his comparison principally

from Eastern esoteric practices, such as Kundalini Yoga and Daoism. After this, his focus shifted to the Western tradition, principally medieval alchemy and Christian symbolism. These themes were then deepened and further explored in the 1940s and 1950s.

WHAT IS UNIQUE ABOUT THESE SEMINARS?

Most of Jung's preserved texts and seminars in English have been either translated from German, or, when they were given in English, professionally transcribed and thereafter edited.¹ Moreover the translations of Jung's written works into English have gone through many revisions and "rewritings."² As a result, today's reader has been deprived of a valuable heritage, the fascinating evidence of the author's creative process.

These seminars comprise Jung's most extensive oral presentations in spoken English in front of an American audience. They were only very lightly edited, in order to, as stated in the introduction to the seminars by the Notes Committee, "keep the talks as nearly as possible as Dr. Jung delivered them." The Notes Committee consisted of three pioneering women doctors and Jungian analysts who lived in the United States: Kristine Mann, Eleanor Bertine, and Esther Harding. Here in this almost verbatim transcript is a chance to "listen in" to the way in which Jung spoke in English. Here also is textual evidence of Jung's intuitive, associative way of thinking, a style that would lead him to meander in many different directions, so much so that he was unable to keep to his original plan of covering the complete dream material—the eighty-one unconscious visions and dreams that he had selected to illustrate Pauli's individuation process—during his six days at Bailey Island. Of these eighty-one, he managed to cover only thirty-four. Just as important, here is a spontaneous survey of topics that were uppermost in Jung's mind during September 1936 and October 1937.

As the audience was composed of benevolent followers, Jung could allow himself to be informal. It was the explicit wish of the organizers that the seminars should be "as strictly private and informal as the [preceding]

¹C. G. Jung (1959). *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (hereafter CW), vol. 9, part 1 (hereafter 9I), *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Pantheon), 4.

²S. Shamdasani (2004), *Jung and the Making of Modern: The Dream of a Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 22.

Harvard event had been prestigious and formal.”³ No newsmen were allowed. The lectures contain spur-of-the-moment responses to questions from the audience. They were given in front of a limited audience of especially invited people, usually Jung’s followers, analysts, students, and analysands.⁴ The seminars were turned into simple transcripts from shorthand notes made by a few selected seminar members, then copied, bound, and distributed before Jung had the chance to comment, change, or edit them.⁵ Jung actually wrote to ask for a copy of the Bailey Island notes to review and edit in connection with a request from the publishing house Harcourt Brace and Company to publish the seminars. Jung requested that a note should be added to the introduction of the seminars that read: “Dr. Jung has consented to let these notes be distributed to those present at the talks without his final suggestions or corrections. Any errors or shortcomings that have occurred are the responsibility of the Notes Committee.”⁶

The second part of the seminars, those held in New York in 1937, were originally not planned for, so that, in a sense, the seminars given at Bailey Island were at the time considered “completed.” But even as Jung sent his request for a copy to review, there were budding plans for another trip to America for the autumn of 1937.⁷ These plans may have played a role in holding back the publication of the Bailey Island seminars. In the end, these publication plans were never realized, but then, considering how much Jung disclosed in the seminars about Wolfgang Pauli’s personality and family, what would have remained in a publishable version of the seminars?

³ Claire Dewsnap (1975), “Seminars on an Island,” in *Memories and Perspectives Marking the Centennial of C. G. Jung’s Birth*, ed. Judy Rosenberg (New York: Analytical Psychology Club of New York), 20–23.

⁴ One could raise the question if the patients of these early Jungian practitioners were primarily privileged members of the WASP establishment. We have no substantiated information on this. We certainly know some of this social background, but we don’t have the overall picture. There has been little research on the patients of the early US Jungian analysts. There is little biographical work on any of them, let alone on their clientele. There are indications that there were a significant number of people in artistic and creative fields—prominently, figures such as Jackson Pollock and Martha Graham. From that it is legitimate to guess that the backgrounds were quite mixed. See Jay Sherry (2011), “Faint Voices from Greenwich Village: Jung’s Impact on the First American Avant-Garde,” *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 56 (5): 692–707; Beth Darlington (2015), “Kristine Mann: Jung’s ‘Miss X’ and a Pioneer in Psychoanalysis,” *Journal of Archetype and Culture* 92:371–99.

⁵ H. Bancroft (1983), “Bailey Island: The Contribution of a Place to Analytical Psychology,” *Spring: An Annual of Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought*, 191–97.

⁶ Kristine Mann–Jung Correspondence, Jung to Mann, January 9, 1937, C. G. Jung Papers Collection, ETH-Bibliothek, ETH Zurich University Archives, henceforth abbreviated JA.

⁷ Kristine Mann–Jung Correspondence, Jung to Mann, January 9, 1937, JA.

Instead, the seminars were (as was the case with many other seminar notes transcribed from Jung's lectures and speeches) printed and circulated privately to a restricted list of subscribers. For many years they were kept in Jungian libraries, accessible only to readers on approval, for instance, if the reader had completed a certain number of hours of Jungian analysis.⁸

THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE SEMINARS AT BAILEY ISLAND

In 1935 Jung celebrated his sixtieth birthday and was appointed titular professor of psychology at the ETH, the Swiss Federal Institute for Technology in Zurich. Two years before, in 1933, he had started to give lectures at the ETH that were open to the public, lectures that became so popular that it was difficult to find a seat.⁹ In August 1935 Jung decided to give a lecture at the Eranos conference on a selection of Wolfgang Pauli's dreams, called "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process," without disclosing the identity of the dreamer.¹⁰ The lecture on Pauli's dreams was held less than a year after Pauli had ended analytical contact with Jung in October 1934.¹¹

This was Jung's third lecture at the Eranos conferences, a yearly event held in Ascona, Switzerland, on the shores of Lago Maggiore. The Eranos meetings were initiated by Mrs. Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, a Dutch woman with a strong interest in Jung's psychology, symbolism, art, and religion, especially the encounter between Eastern and Western religions and philosophies.¹²

⁸Foreword by William McGuire to C. G. Jung (1984), *Dream Analysis: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1928–1930* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), vii.

⁹Jung, C. G. (2019). *History of Modern Psychology: Lectures Delivered at ETH Zurich*, vol. 1, 1933–1934, ed. and trans. Ernst Falzeder (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press / Philemon Series).

¹⁰C. G. Jung (1936), "Traumsymbole des Individuationsprozesses," *Eranos Yearbook 1935* (Zurich).

¹¹Pauli to Jung, October 26, 1934, in C. A. Meier, ed. (2001), *Atom and Archetype: The Pauli/Jung Letters 1932–1958* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 7. Henceforth abbreviated as *PJL*. The original letters are in JA. Both the German and the English editions contain several errors. A correct version will be published in a supplementary volume to the Pauli letter collection, *Scientific Correspondence with Bohr, Einstein, Heisenberg*, Springer-Verlag, henceforth abbreviated PLC.

¹²Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1881–1962) had Dutch parents but grew up in the UK. Her father, Albert Kapteyn, decided to buy the Villa Gabriella on Lake Maggiore in Ascona that she inherited upon his death in 1927. There she founded the annual Eranos Conferences.

In August 1935, Jung had already received an invitation to Harvard University to participate in the tercentenary celebrations that were scheduled to take place from September 16 to 18, 1936, at the occasion. He was also to receive the honorary degree of doctor of science.¹³ Once the news about his coming to the United States was released, he was swamped with requests for different kinds of engagements, social as well as professional. Kristine Mann, Eleanor Bertine, and Esther Harding invited him to come and give lectures to their circle. Apparently Jung gave them a choice of topics for the subject of the seminars, and they chose “the individuation process traced through a series of dreams or fantasies.”¹⁴

During the early months of 1936 they made plans for Jung and Emma Jung’s visit. They arrived on August 30 in New York. The Jungs had received many invitations and started their sojourn by spending the weekend at the home of Anglican bishop James De Wolf Perry, in Providence, Rhode Island.¹⁵ (His son, John Weir Perry, was twenty-two at the time and

H. T. Hakl (2012), *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press), 131.

¹³Henry F. Ellenberger (1970), *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (New York: Basic Books), 675. Apparently the tercentenary committee proposed to offer the honorary degree to Sigmund Freud but were advised by Erik Erikson (1902–94, psychoanalyst and developmental psychologist), who had moved to the United States, that Freud would not accept because of his advanced age and his illness (cancer), so instead of letting the remuneration pass to a rival department, the committee proposed to give it to Jung. P. Roazen (1986 [1976]), *Erik H. Erikson: The Power and the Limits of a Vision*, new ed. (New York: Free Press), 296. Henry A. Murray (1893–1988), director of the Harvard Psychological Clinic, claimed to be the initiator of Jung’s honorary Harvard degree (see “Henry A. Murray” and “Harvard University” correspondences in the Jung letters at JA). Murray met Jung in 1925 and was deeply influenced by him. Murray is well known as the developer of personology, the integrated study of the individual from physiological, psychoanalytical, and social viewpoints and the primary developer of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). E. G. Boring and G. Lindzey eds. (1967). “Henry A. Murray” in *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, vol. 5 (East Norwalk, CT: Appleton-Century-Crofts), 283–310. At Harvard, Jung delivered a lecture titled “Psychological Factors Determining Human Behavior.” Cf. CW 8, 114–28.

¹⁴Eleanor Bertine–Jung Correspondence, Bertine to Jung, February 23, 1936, JA. Jung was paid \$1,200 for the Bailey Island Seminar (approximately \$30,000 in 2017) and \$1,500 (approximately \$26,000 in 2017) for the New York seminar. R. Brown (2011), “Carl Jung’s Interpretation of Wolfgang Pauli’s Dreams: The Bailey Island, Maine, and New York City Seminars of 1936 and 1937,” *Dissertation Abstracts International* 71:6421.

¹⁵Sheets with information surrounding Jung’s trip to Bailey Island with addresses, dates, where he stayed, and with whom, Jung Family Archive, Küsnacht (henceforth JFA). James De Wolf Perry (1871–1947) (1930), “Primate Perry,” *Time* 15 (14): 28. Further names on the invitation list include Professor Raphael Demos (1892–1968), professor of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity at Harvard University. (Roderick Firth, “Raphael Demos [1892–1968],” *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 44 [1970–71]: 208–9); Charles Durfee; Professor Wolfers; and Dr. Henry Murray.

later became a Jungian analyst and psychiatrist.)¹⁶ During the Harvard celebration, the Jungs stayed with Stanley Cobb, professor of neurology.¹⁷ After the tercentenary events, at which Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a featured speaker, Jung was interviewed and made statements about Roosevelt and world politics that he later may have regretted. He said: “Before I came here, I had the impression that one might get from Europe, that he was an opportunist, perhaps even an erratic mind. Now that I have seen him and heard him when he talked at Harvard, however, I am convinced that here is a strong man, a man who is really great.” In the newspaper article, Jung was quoted as saying that he “paid his respects to dictators, explaining their rise as due to the effort of peoples to delegate to others the complicated task of managing their collective existence so that individuals might be free to engage [in] ‘individuation.’”¹⁸

The seminars on Pauli’s dreams were given at the small Library Hall at Bailey Island, off the coast of Maine, where Kristine Mann had her ancestral home. Her father, a Swedenborgian minister, had purchased a cottage on the island where Mann had spent her childhood summers, a location that was reminiscent of her mother’s native Denmark. Beginning in 1926, during the summer months the three women had their analytical practices in Dr. Mann’s house on the bank overlooking the ocean (otherwise, they had their practices in New York). The house, known locally as the “the Trident,” had a posted sign at the doorbell advising, “Ring once for Dr. Mann; Ring twice for Dr. Bertine; Ring thrice for Dr. Harding.”¹⁹

In January 1936 already more than a hundred people had applied to attend the seminars. Harding wrote to Jung that they would have to impose “drastic restrictions” to keep the number to what the Bailey Island Hall could handle.²⁰ There were also many requests for private sessions during his stay, and it seems that Jung at first declined but changed his mind, perhaps giving in to “clamorous” requests.²¹ These sessions would have been given in the afternoons, while the seminars were held each morning for two hours. The lectures began with replies to written questions to the preceding lecture, if any had been handed in. The seminar event at Bailey Island was framed by festivities, all kinds of parties, where every-

¹⁶Daniel Benveniste (1999), “John Weir Perry 1914–1998,” *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 39 (2): 48–50.

¹⁷W. Kaufmann (1980), *Discovering the Mind*, vol. 3, *Freud versus Adler and Jung*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

¹⁸“Roosevelt ‘Great’ Is Jung’s Analysis,” *New York Times*, October 4, 1936, 4.

¹⁹Bancroft, 1983, 191–97.

²⁰Esther Harding–Jung Correspondence, Harding to Jung, January 26, 1936, JA.

²¹Eleanor Bertine–Jung Correspondence, Bertine to Jung, February 23, 1936, JA.

body had the chance to contribute and to meet and talk with the Jungs.²² A film called *The Mountain Chant* was shown to the participants of the seminar, made by Laura May Adams Armer. Mrs. Armer was almost certainly among the participants of the seminar. The film portrays the sacred Mountain Chant ceremony of the Navajo Indians.²³ There were also charades, dramatic sketches, singing, and folk dancing. Claire Dewsnap remembers participating in a charade representing the four psychological types, in which she took the part of intuition. Jung, who entered heartily into all these activities, guessed rightly and said, “That must be ‘intuition’ jumping up and down recklessly from the chair to the top of the piano.” Those who got to be his partner in the folk dancing were especially elated. On the evening of the final seminar there was a snake dance.²⁴ The weather was rather cool, around seventeen degrees Celsius, with a light rain, and thick fog covered the island during the whole event; only at the very end, when they were leaving the island, a glorious sun appeared. Despite the fog, the Jungs seemed to have immensely enjoyed the Maine coast, exploring it by sailboat.²⁵

Sadly, no list of participants has been found.²⁶ Of the hundred or so participants, only a few are identifiable. A great help in this regard has been the preserved photographs taken by Francis B. Bode at the occasion.²⁷

²²Bancroft, 1983, 195.

²³There is a letter from Jung to Laura May Adams Armer, September 29, 1936, where he thanks her for letting the seminar group see the film. A copy of the letter is at the library of the Pacifica Graduate Institute. Mrs. Armer (1874–1963) was an American artist and writer who was known for her photographic work in the American West. She apparently was the first white woman to have a sand painting prepared in her honor and the first permitted to film the sacred Mountain Chant ceremony in 1928. She also wrote a book, *Waterless Mountain*, in 1931. She was also one of the editors of a volume on the Navajo “Beautyway” along with Leland Wyman and Maud Oakes. S. R. Ressler (2003), *Women Artists of the American West* (Jefferson, NC) McFarland; L. A. Armer and S. Armer (1931) *Waterless Mountain* (London: Longmans, Green); L. C. Wyman, B. Haile, M. Oakes, L. A. Armer, F. J. Newcomb, M. Singer, and W. Wilson (1957), *Beautyway: A Navaho Ceremonial* (New York: Published for Bollingen Foundation by Pantheon Books).

²⁴Snake dance probably refers to a student celebratory parade. “Snake” refers to a line of students and “snake dance” is a traditional term. The University of Northern Iowa archives refer to snake dance as early as 1922. Dewsnap, 1975.

²⁵Bancroft, 1983, 196; B. Hannah (1976), *Jung: His Life and Work; A Biographical Memoir* (New York: Putnam Adult), 237.

²⁶In the Jung Family Archive there are a few sheets with information surrounding Jung’s trip to Bailey Island. On this list are the names Dr. and Mrs. Stanley Cobb, Dr. Bertine and Dr. Mann, Dr. A. McIntyre Strong, Eugene H. Henley, PhD, Miss Lewisohn, Mrs. Crowley (handwritten), Dr. William J. Bell (in handwriting), Dr. E. A. Bennet, JFA.

²⁷There are photos from the occasion that are not included in the album, for instance a photo of Jung, Harding, and Mann, reproduced in E. Harding (1957), “Conversations with Jung: 1922–1961,” *Quadrant* 8:7–19.

There is also a short silent movie made by Dr. Eugene Henley capturing Jung and the participants gathering at Bailey Island Library Hall.²⁸ Henrietta Bancroft was one of four note takers; the others were Natalie Evans, Ruth Conrow, and Ruth Magoon.²⁹ Three of them took down Jung's words in shorthand during the first hour and transcribed the work in the afternoon. The fourth, who was a court stenographer, preferred to work alone and did the second hour of the lecture.³⁰ Afterward, all the notes were given to Sallie Pinckney, who edited and bound them and provided copies to the attendees of the seminar.

Jung in America and the Radicals around Beatrice Hinkle

One of the most influential persons present at the seminar was Dr. Beatrice Hinkle. She brought with her a large group of friends and colleagues. To understand Jung's relationship to America and Americans and the reception of Jung's ideas in America, it is crucially important to consider the role of Hinkle.

Recent research has made it clear that Jung's work was already known in its own right for several years before his trip to the 1909 Clark University conference with Freud and Ferenczi.³¹ His experimental studies with the Word Association Test, conducted while working under the direction of Eugene Bleuler at the Burghölzli clinic, were recognized as pivotal contributions to psychiatry and were quickly translated into English by the Swiss-born psychiatrist Adolf Meyer (1866–1950) and the neurologist Frederick W. Peterson (1859–1938). The latter collaborated with Jung in 1906 and 1907, later sending his staff to do the same. Jung already knew English at the time, writing papers in English and treating American analysts. Later, he said that he gave seminars in English because the English and Americans were the first to recognize the value of his work.³²

²⁸ Bancroft, 1983, 196.

²⁹ Henrietta Bancroft, teacher by profession, served the Analytical Psychology Club of New York in a variety of posts, including that of president. She was also the first secretary of the C. G. Jung Foundation of New York (Bancroft, 1983, 191).

³⁰ Bancroft, 1983, 196–97.

³¹ C. G. Jung and R.F.C. Hull, trans. (2012), *Jung contra Freud: The 1912 New York Lectures on the Theory of Psychoanalysis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

³² E. Taylor (1998), "Jung before Freud, Not Freud before Jung: The Reception Of Jung's Work in American Psychotherapeutic Circles between 1904 and 1909," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 43 (1): 97–114. Peterson later sent A. A. Brill to study with Jung, after which Brill went in company with Ernest Jones to Vienna to study with Freud. Upon returning to the United States in 1908 Brill opened psychoanalytic practice and launched a project to translate Freud into English; W. McGuire (1995), "Firm Affinities: Jung's Relations with Britain and the United States," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 40 (3): 301–26.

Both Meyer and Peterson had studied under August Forel (1848–1931), and Meyer was a classmate of Eugene Bleuler's. Meyer moved to the United States in 1891, where he was recruited by Stanley Hall (a psychologist and also president of Clark University) for Worcester State Hospital, and later he was invited by Peterson to serve as chief pathologist at the New York State Mental Hospitals. Influenced by Forel's revolutionary approach to psychiatric asylums, he engaged in transforming American hospitals, introducing a germinal form of what later became known as the psycho-bio-social approach to the treatment of mental illness. Peterson, later a professor at Cornell Medical School, had also studied the new dynamic psychology in Vienna and Zurich for a few years, and after working with Jung at the Burghölzli, he translated Jung's book on dementia praecox into English in 1909, the first book on psychoanalysis translated into English, before any book by Freud.³³ As a result, Jung, rather than Freud, was the main draw at the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Clark University in 1909.³⁴ Through Meyer and Petersen came the Zurich connection to American medical psychology.

Cornell Medical School became a seedbed for the Jungian movement in the United States. In 1908 Beatrice M. Hinkle (1874–1953), by then a single mother of two children, joined the staff headed by Peterson's close associate Charles L. Dana (1852–1935), a leading neurologist who founded a psychotherapy clinic based on the latest techniques. A year later, Kristine Mann (1873–1945) came to study at Cornell, where she received her MD in 1913. Hinkle most likely attended the Clark University lectures in 1909. She was initially more taken with Freud; she traveled to Vienna to study psychoanalysis and underwent Freudian analysis that same year. In 1911 she accompanied Freud and Jung to the Psychoanalytic Congress in Weimar.³⁵ After returning she returned to the Cornell staff at the medical school and also opened a private analytical practice.

It is very likely that Hinkle attended Jung's lecture at the extension course in medicine at Fordham University in 1912, to which Jung was invited by Smith Ely Jelliffe (1866–1945).³⁶ Jelliffe was one of the founders of the *Psychoanalytic Review*, the first journal on psychoanalysis in the

³³Taylor, 1998, 97–114.

³⁴S. Shamdasani, "Introduction," in Jung and Hull (2012), xiii.

³⁵J. Sherry (2011), 692–707; K. Wittenstein (1998), "The Feminist Uses of Psychoanalysis: Beatrice M. Hinkle and the Foreshadowing of Modern Feminism," *Journal of Women's History* 10 (2): 38.

³⁶See also J. C. Burnham (1983), *Jelliffe: American Psychoanalyst and Physician* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

English language, in which Jung's Fordham lectures were published in the inaugural volume.³⁷ It was in this journal that Jung argued for the need of further developing psychoanalytic theory, referring to William James's pragmatic rule of scientific endeavor: that theories are instruments, not definitive answers to enigmas on which we can rest.³⁸ Jung thereby demarcated his freedom from the ideas of Freud.

Jung had left for New York in September 1912 just as the second part of *Transformation and Symbols of the Libido* had appeared in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*. Hinkle took it on herself to translate this work into English, in an edition printed in 1916 with the title *The Psychology of the Unconscious*. In 1913 Hinkle invited Jung to lecture at the Liberal Club. There is no record of Jung's March 27 talk, but the topic was dreams. There were also other reasons for Jung's visit to America in 1913: he went to analyze the heiress Edith Rockefeller, the daughter of the millionaire oil baron John D. Rockefeller. Jung had been introduced to him the year before by another of his analysts, Medill McCormick.

Hinkle was very active in a number of radical cultural organizations. She influenced the socialist magazine the *Masses*, the literary journal the *Seven Arts*, and the Provincetown Players, the first modern American theater company, to which playwright Eugene O'Neill belonged.³⁹ The Liberal Club had been started by the Episcopal minister Percy Stickney Grant in 1907, with the help of Charlotte Teller, a young Greenwich Villager. In 1912, Hinkle introduced Teller to Jung. Teller conducted a comprehensive interview with Jung that she published in the Sunday magazine section of the *New York Times* with the headline "America Facing Its Most Tragic Moment."⁴⁰ The Liberal Club discussed topics such as birth control, divorce, and the labor struggle. The club soon split into several factions, and a more radical subgroup functioned as an unofficial center for

³⁷The second founder was William Alanson White (1870–1937), director of Saint Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, the government mental institution. A. D. Mijolla (2005), *International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis = Dictionnaire international de la psychanalyse* (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA). White was influenced by the Boston School of Abnormal Psychology or the Boston School of Psychotherapy, a dissociationist school inspired by the psychology of William James. E. Taylor (1996), *William James on Consciousness beyond the Margin* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 75. Jung visited White in 1912 to study the dreams and visions of psychotic African American patients. W. McGuire, 1995, 301–26.

³⁸Jung and Hull, 2012, 4 (CW 4, par. 86).

³⁹Sherry, 2011.

⁴⁰*New York Times*, September 28, 1912, 2.

creative young people in Greenwich Village. Hinkle introduced Jung to this circle, of which Kahlil Gibran, the Lebanese artist and poet, was a member. He did a pencil portrait of Jung.⁴¹

Jung also attended a dinner party hosted by members of another radical club, the Heterodoxy Club, America's first feminist group. Hinkle was a member, and a few members of the group were her analysands, including Margaret Doolittle Nordfeldt, the secretary-treasurer of the Provincetown Players, who was married to Bror Nordfeldt, a Swedish artist who painted the scenery for their theatrical productions. Margaret Doolittle Nordfeldt attended the Bailey Island seminar. Another attendee at the seminar from the Heterodoxy Club was Amy Springarn. She was married to Joel Springarn, cofounder of the publishing firm Harcourt Brace and Company, which published Jung's and Hinkle's books. Joel Springarn was well known for his effort to add a statement condemning racial discrimination to the platform of the Progressive Party. As well as for her radical affiliations, Hinkle may have been marginalized because of her eclectic approach to psychotherapy.⁴²

Mann had been teaching English for four years at Vassar College in New York, where she developed lifelong friendships with three of her students, Cary Fink (later Baynes), Elizabeth Goodrich, and Eleanor Bertine. As mentioned above, she joined the Cornell Medical School in 1908, earning an MD in 1913. In 1917 she first encountered Jung's teachings in Hinkle's translation of "Transformations and Symbols of the Libido," and she became Hinkle's patient in 1919.⁴³ In 1920 Mann became director of the Health Center for Business and Industrial Women in New York. The same year she traveled with Hinkle and Bertine to England to attend Jung's lectures in Sennen Cove, Cornwall.

Mann studied with Jung during the 1920s and hosted a lecture by him in her New York apartment on Fifty-Ninth Street when he visited the United States in 1925.⁴⁴ She opened an analytical practice in New York

⁴¹ Sherry, 2011.

⁴² Sherry, 2011, 692–707.

⁴³ B. Darlington (2014), "Kristine Mann's Danish Inspiration: A Jungian Pioneer's Contribution to Jung's Collected Works, Volume 9/I, as 'Miss X,'" in *Copenhagen 2013: 100 Years On; Origins, Innovations and Controversies; Proceedings of the 19th Congress of the International Association for Analytical Psychology* (Einsiedeln: Daimon Verlag), 79.

⁴⁴ He gave a talk on racial psychology, the morphological changes of the skulls of immigrants to America, the lack of reverence for ancestors, and the single-mindedness of the Americans. Harding, 1957. See also P. Bishop (1994), "The Members of Jung's Seminar on Zarathustra," *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture* 56:92–112. D. B. Lee (1983), "The C. G. Jung Foundation: The First Twenty-One Years," *Quadrant* 16:57–61.

and gathered people around her who laid the foundation for the Jungian community in New York. In 1928 she traveled to Zurich to begin an analysis with Jung that lasted until 1938, in which she produced paintings that Jung later published and commented on in several reworked editions, from the Eranos lecture 1933, “The Integration of the Personality” in 1939 to the volume *Gestaltungen des Unbewussten* (Formations of the unconscious) in 1950.⁴⁵

Eleanor Bertine (1887–1968), born in Manhattan, graduated cum laude at Vassar College, where she encountered Kristine Mann as a teacher. She entered Cornell Medical School in 1909, graduating with honors and completing several internships in hospitals. In 1916 she practiced general medicine in New York City, and it was during these early days that she discovered Jung with Kristine Mann. At the end of World War I she accepted a position as head of the college division of lecturers, touring the country to introduce new approaches to mental hygiene.⁴⁶ She proved to be instrumental in dispersing Jung’s ideas in America, when, for instance, she booked Beatrice Hinkle and Constance Long, the first British psychiatrist to follow Jung’s methods, as speakers for the International Conference of Medical Women in 1919.⁴⁷ Long had studied with Jung at his Küssnacht home and also had arranged Jung’s seminar in Cornwall on Arthur John Hubbard’s *Authentic Dreams of Peter Blobbs and of Certain of His Relatives*.⁴⁸ In 1920 Bertine traveled to London with Mann to attend Jung’s seminar and to begin analysis with Long. This encounter with Jung led Mann and Bertine to travel to Zurich from 1921 to 1922 to analyze and study with him there.

The Cornwall seminar was also attended by the English-born Mary Esther Harding (1888–1971). She graduated from the London School of Medicine for Women in 1914. During World War I, she conducted research on diphtheria, thereby contracting the disease, and for a period of time her life hung by a thread. After she recovered, she opened a private practice in London and rented a room to a consulting analyst, Mary Bell,

⁴⁵ Later included in Jung (1959), *CW 9/I*, pars. 525–626.

⁴⁶ E. Bertine (1967), *Jung’s Contribution to Our Time: The Collected Papers of Eleanor Bertine* (New York: Published by G. P. Putnam’s Sons for the C. G. Jung Foundation for Analytical Psychology).

⁴⁷ A. A. Paulsen (1963), “Origins of Analytical Psychology in the New York Area,” *Contact with Jung: Essays on the Influence of His Work and Personality*, ed. M. Fordham (London: Tavistock), 185–90.

⁴⁸ P. Blobbs and A. J. Hubbard (1916), *Authentic Dreams of Peter Blobbs ... and of Certain of His Relatives: Told by Himself with the Assistance of Mrs. Blobbs (by A. J. Hubbard, assisted by His Wife.)* (London: Longmans).

who introduced her to Long and to Jung.⁴⁹ She then also traveled to Zurich to study with Jung, and there she befriended Mann and Bertine. In 1923 she decided to move from England to join them in New York, where they all established their practices.⁵⁰ They became staunch allies of Jung and regularly traveled to Europe to attend his lectures and to continue analysis with him.

PICTORIAL DOCUMENTATION AT BAILEY ISLAND

A photo album (see figures 1–12) and a short silent movie document pictorially the events at Bailey Island. In one of the photos (figure 2), Jung, in a group of six, is speaking to two men on the left: these two men are identified as “Dr. Henley” and “Fowler.” The second of the two men is probably, then, Harold Fowler McCormick Jr., the son of Edith Rockefeller McCormick. Both mother and son were in treatment with Jung, and Harold Fowler traveled with Jung in 1924 to meet a Hopi Indian called Mountain Lake.⁵¹ A woman on the right (with her back to the camera) is identified as “M. McCormick,” which means this could be one of Fowler’s sisters.⁵² The first of the two men is Dr. Eugene H. Henley (1884–1968), an American analytical psychologist and the first president of the Analytical Psychology Club of New York. His wife, Helen G. Henley, could be the woman facing M. McCormick. Both Eugene and Helen authored papers and reviews on analytical psychology.⁵³ The Analytical Psychology Club of New York had been inaugurated on April 17, 1936, a few months before the occasion of Jung’s visit.⁵⁴

One of Helen Henley’s analysands, Mildred E. Harris, is visible in the short film footage of the Bailey Island seminars taken by Eugene Henley. Harris told the story that Jung briefly diagnosed her for her epilepsy (“Stick out your tongue”) and predicted an unfavorable prognosis. Nevertheless she herself attributed her eventual recovery to years of analysis.

⁴⁹ Bishop, 1994, 92–112; Lee, 1983.

⁵⁰ Harding, 1957.

⁵¹ McGuire, 1995, 301–26.

⁵² Harold Fowler McCormick had two sisters, Muriel and Mathilde, so it could be either of the two. Photo album with photographs taken by Francis B. Bode, Kristine Mann Library at the C. G. Jung Center in New York. See also R. Chernow (1998), *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House).

⁵³ Bishop, 1994, 92–112; Lee, 1983.

⁵⁴ W. McGuire (1983), “Jungian New York,” *Quadrant* 16:39–44.



Figure 2. Participants at Bailey Island. Jung with, first on the left, Eugene Henley, and second on the left, Fowler McCormick; the woman on the right with her back turned is possibly either Murile or Mathilde McCormick.

Harris, a charter member of the Analytical Psychology Club of the C. G. Jung Foundation of New York, practiced physical therapy in which she combined Yoga, breathing techniques, and imagery work.⁵⁵

In an essay written by Claire Dewsnap called “Seminars on an Island,” she mentions Isabel Johnson and Eleanor Stone as attendees. They were among the first analysands of Harding (figures 7 and 8), Bertine (figure 8),

⁵⁵Mildred Harris (1903–89) also taught training courses on relaxation and natural childbirth at Columbia University, and in 1988 she was a cofounder of the C. G. Jung Center for Studies in Analytical Psychology in Maine. See information on the homepage of the C. G. Jung Center for Studies in Analytical Psychology in Maine (www.mainejungcenter.org).

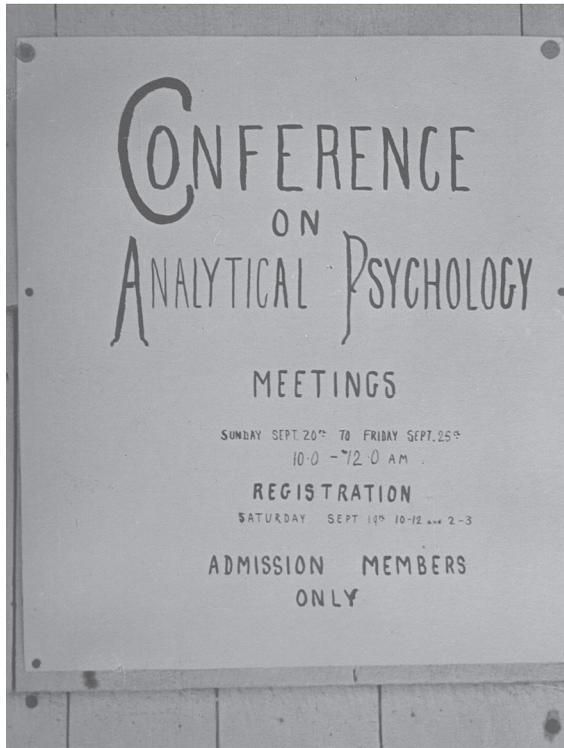


Figure 3. Poster for the Bailey Island seminars.

and Mann. Eleanor Stone was organizer of a Library Custodians Committee at the Analytical Club of New York.⁵⁶

Still another participant was Harold Clarke Goddard (1878–1950), professor in the English Department of Swarthmore College, known for his work *The Meaning of Shakespeare*.⁵⁷ Another attendee, Alice Raphael, was a student of Jung's. Familiar with his writings since 1919, she traveled

⁵⁶Dewsnap, 1975. Isabel Johnson provided living accommodations for attendees at Bailey Island at her place called the Willows, and later Eleanor Stone did the same at Summer Hill and at a place called the Robin Hood Inn, where also the reception for Jung was held in 1936. Among the first analysts of Mann, Bertine, and Hannah were Ruth Reeves, Anne Chapin, and Frances DeLeon, all of whom might also have attended the seminars. Bancroft, 1983, 192–96; Lee, 1983.

⁵⁷A letter to Jung from the daughter Margaret Goddard dated March 15, 1951, confirms this (JA). See also H. C. Goddard (1960), *The Meaning of Shakespeare*, vols. 1 and 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).



Figure 4. Participants at Bailey Island Hall.



Figure 5. Participants at Bailey Island Hall.



Figure 6. Participants at Bailey Island Hall.



Figure 7. Participants at Bailey Island Hall. The first woman on the left is possibly Esther Harding. The woman fifth on the left looking ahead is Eleanor Bertine.



Figure 8. Participants at Bailey Island. The first woman on the right is Rosamond Taylor. The first woman on the left is possibly Esther Harding.

to undergo analysis with him in 1927. In 1930, she translated the first part of Goethe's *Faust* into English, and in 1936 she worked on the second part. In her book *Goethe and the Philosophers' Stone*, she describes how, at the Bailey Island seminars, she spent one hour discussing with Jung the meaning of the second part of Goethe's *Faust*. She was convinced that the second part of *Faust* dealt with an alchemical problem.⁵⁸ Also

⁵⁸Alice Raphael (later married with surname Eckstein, 1887–1975). Jung to Eckstein, March 28, 1936. Eckstein took a photo of Jung at Bailey Island. In a correspondence with her in 1955 Jung discussed the interpretation of the meaning of the murder of Philemon and Baucis in Goethe's *Faust* in relation to the figures of Philemon and Baucis in Ovid. She seems to have differed from Jung in her views of the importance of this relation. Jung scholars have shown that there are important relations between the figure of Philemon in Jung's *Red Book* and Philemon and Baucis in Goethe's *Faust*. The correspondence between Alice Raphael/Eckstein is preserved at Yale. S. Shamdasani (2007), "Who Is Jung's Philemon? An



Figure 9. Participants at Bailey Island. The first woman on the left is Margaret Doolittle Nordfeldt. The second woman on the left is Beatrice Hinkle.

accounted for in the photos are Rosamond Taylor (figure 8), Margaret Doolittle Nordfeldt and Beatrice Hinkle (figure 9), and Cary Jones (figure 10).

After the seminars Jung returned to New York. Here we know only a few details: He gave a lecture to “Dr. Strong’s group” on September 30. He also offered analytical hours in the mornings of September 30 and October 1 and 2.⁵⁹ He rounded off his stay with a lecture titled “The Concept of the Collective Unconscious” at the Plaza Hotel in front of eight hundred people and with a dinner at the Analytical Club, of which Jung and his wife Emma were made honorary members.⁶⁰ Jung returned to Europe via London, where he gave the lecture a second time, at Saint Bartholemew’s Hospital.⁶¹

Unpublished Letter to Alice Raphael,” *Jung History* 2 (2): 5–7. See also A. Raphael (1965), *Goethe and the Philosophers’ Stone: Symbolical Patterns in “The Parable” and the Second Part of “Faust”* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

⁵⁹ Sheets with information surrounding Jung’s trip to Bailey Island. A Mr. Bruher (? , handwritten) is noted on the sheet for Thursday October 1, JFA.

⁶⁰ McGuire, 1983.

⁶¹ C. G. Jung (1959), “The Concept of the Collective Unconscious,” lecture given at Saint Bartholemew’s Hospital, CW 9/I, pars. 87–110. On the sheets in the Jung Family Archive the following addresses and names are noted for the stay in London: Hotel Albany House,



Figure 10. Jung with Cary Jones at Bailey Island.

THE DREAMER AND HIS TREATMENT

The subject of the seminars, the dreamer with whom Jung worked from October 1932 until, at least, the winter of 1942,⁶² was Wolfgang Ernst Friedrich Pauli. Born in Vienna on April 24, 1900, Pauli was one of the many great scientists of the twentieth century involved in the discovery of quantum physics. He received his middle name from his godfather Ernst

Albany Street, Regent's Park, Dr. E. A. Bennet, Dr. H. G. Baynes, Dr. C. M. Barker (president of Psych[ology] Club), Dr. J. A. Hadfield, M.-J. Schmid c/o Mrs. J. Waldram.

⁶²I.e., the four hundred dreams dreamt between February 3 and November 4, 1932. Pauli continued to send dreams to Jung until the very end of his life. S. Gieser (2005), *The Innermost Kernel: Depth Psychology and Quantum Physics; Wolfgang Pauli's Dialogue with C. G. Jung* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag).



Figure 11. Jung with a participant at Bailey Island.

Mach, the father of logical positivism, and was therefore in his own words “anti-metaphysically baptized.”⁶³ Among his colleagues, he was known for his highly critical mind and sarcastic wit. At the age of twenty-one, as a student in Munich (where he befriended Werner Heisenberg), Pauli established himself with an article on the theory of relativity written at the request of his teacher Arnold Sommerfeld. This article earned the admiration of Einstein himself.⁶⁴

Pauli met Niels Bohr for the first time on June 22, 1921, and was soon invited to Copenhagen. From 1922 to 1923 Pauli studied at the Institute

⁶³Pauli to Jung, March 31, 1953, *PJL*.

⁶⁴W. Pauli (1921), “Relativitätstheorie,” in C. Enz and K. Meyenn, eds. (1988), *Wolfgang Pauli: Das Gewissen der Physik* (Braunschweig: Vieweg), 123–47. Albert Einstein (1922), “Besprechungen—Pauli, W. jun., Relativitätstheorie,” *Die Naturwissenschaften* 10:184–85.



Figure 12. Jung at Bailey Island.

for Theoretical Physics in Copenhagen, an institute characterized by a fluidity of boundaries between the private and the professional, between work and leisure, science and philosophy. In 1924 Heisenberg also came to Copenhagen, and together Pauli and he formed the heart of the Copenhagen school of quantum physics. They remained in lifelong contact and in deep friendship with Bohr. In 1924 Pauli obtained a docentship in Hamburg, and in the same year he formulated the exclusion principle, for which he would be awarded the Nobel Prize in 1945.⁶⁵ In 1928 he was appointed professor of theoretical physics at ETH, the Federal Institute of Technology, in Zurich. During this period Pauli did a great deal of work on quantum field theory, of which he is one of the creators. He also

⁶⁵He was first proposed for the Nobel Prize in 1933 by the Swedish physicist C. W. Oseen. Gieser, 2005.

took interest in beta decay, which led him in 1930 to surmise the existence of a new particle, the neutrino, a hypothesis that was verified by experiment in 1956. He was later to call this discovery “the foolish child of my crisis.”⁶⁶

In 1931 Pauli developed an acute depression, for which he sought the help of Jung in January 1932. In a late letter to Jung, Pauli recounts that his neurosis had already become quite apparent in 1926, while he was living in Hamburg. His exclusive preoccupation with science had suppressed all other human qualities and, in particular, harmed his emotional life. An expression of this imbalance was the vivid contrast between his daytime and nighttime personalities; it also manifested in his relationships with women. He developed a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde duality: on the one hand, he was the brilliant, famous “conscience of physics”; on the other, an alcoholic ruffian frequenting bars and getting into fights. He felt lonely and paranoid.⁶⁷ This condition worsened considerably in 1927 after his mother’s death by a combination of pneumonia and poisoning.⁶⁸ He had had a positive relationship with her, but he felt hostile toward his father, who immediately remarried with a woman of Pauli’s own age. He also allegedly despised his father for having converted to Catholicism, hiding his Jewish roots from his son (of which he became aware only at sixteen years of age).⁶⁹ In 1929 Pauli decided to leave the Catholic Church. In the seminars, Jung does not refer to this religious complexity in Pauli’s background but states only that Pauli was Catholic.⁷⁰ In December 1929

⁶⁶ Pauli to Delbrück, October 6, 1958 (3075), W. Pauli, 2004, PLC IV/4, ii.

⁶⁷ Pauli to Jung, May 24, 1934 (30P), and October 23, 1956 (69P), “Statements by the Psyche,” *PJL*; C. G. Jung (1935), “The Tavistock Lectures,” in *CW* 18, par. 402.

⁶⁸ In some accounts it has been described as a suicide. See for instance A. I. Miller (2009), *Deciphering the Cosmic Number: The Strange Friendship of Wolfgang Pauli and Carl Jung* (New York: W. W. Norton).

⁶⁹ C. Enz (2002), *No Time to Be Brief: A Scientific Biography of Wolfgang Pauli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 5, 10. See also Pauli’s letter to Jung, October 23, 1956; *PJL*.

⁷⁰ According to Karl von Meyenn, it was the physicist Markus Fierz who advised Jung not to include any information on Pauli’s Jewish roots in order to preserve his anonymity (personal communication). Markus Fierz (1912–2006) became Pauli’s assistant in 1936 and developed an intense exchange of ideas with Pauli on physics, the history of science, and analytical psychology from 1946. Markus Fierz’s twin brother, Heinrich Karl Fierz, became a psychiatrist belonging to Jung’s school of analytical psychology. Their mother, Linda Fierz-David, was a pupil of Jung’s as well. Markus Fierz’s father was Professor Hans Fierz, professor of chemistry at the ETH who helped Jung acquire his lectureship at the ETH (Enz, 2002, 313). The subject of his Jewish background seems to have been sensitive to Pauli. The first time he starts to discuss his Jewish roots is at the end of November 1950 in a letter to Aniela Jaffé. There he states that his solution to the problem of religious affiliation was to embrace Schopenhauer’s position by lumping together the Old and New Testament and dis-

in Berlin, Pauli married the performer Luise Margarete Käthe Deppner. A couple of months later, she left him. She trained at the Max Reinhardt School for film and theater, the same Max Reinhardt who brought Pauli's sister Hertha to Berlin.⁷¹ In November 1930, their separation was consummated. The loss of his mother, the failed marriage, and a professional standstill in the field of physics all contributed to Pauli's sense of personal crisis.

After having seen Jung for a twenty-minute interview, Pauli received instruction to drop by, concurrent with a lecture, at which time Jung slipped him a note, referring him to Erna Rosenbaum (1897–1957) for treatment. Pauli seems to have played down his condition in his first letter to Rosenbaum. Pauli's letter of introduction is worth quoting:

I do not know who you are: old or young, physician or amateur psychoanalyst, completely unknown or very famous—or something in between these extremes. I only know that Mr. Jung quickly gave me your address after one of his lectures and mentioned that I should write to you, without an opportunity for me to ask him for details. The background is that I consulted Mr. Jung a week ago because of some neurotic symptoms which, among other things, have to do with the fact that it is easier for me to achieve success in academia than with women. Since for Mr. Jung the opposite is the case, he seemed the right person to ask for medical advice. My surprise was not little when Mr. Jung explained to me that this was not so, and it would be imperative for me to be in treatment with a woman. For I am very sensitive and easily distrustful vis-à-vis women, and thus I am somewhat doubtful about this. Anyway, I do not want to leave anything unattempted, and therefore I am now writing this letter to you. It would be very cordial of you to call me on the phone so we can make an appointment to meet.⁷²

In February 1932, Pauli began analysis with Rosenbaum. He characterized her as “a young Austrian, pretty, fullish, always laughing.”⁷³ Erna,

miss them both by labelling them “Jewish sabbatarian superstition.” Pauli to Jaffé, November 2, 1950 (1172), PLC IV/I; Pauli to Jaffé, November 16, 1956 (2398), PLC IV/III.

⁷¹ Enz, 2002, 209.

⁷² Pauli to Rosenbaum, February 3, 1932, Enz, 2002, 240. A week before February 3 was January 27, and we know that Jung held a seminar on Christiana Morgan's visions that day, a series of seminars that Jung had been giving weekly since October 15, 1930. *Visions Seminars* 1 (1997), ed. Claire Douglas (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

⁷³ Pauli to Jung, October 2, 1935 (13P), Pauli to Jung, May 27, 1953 (62P), *PJL*; 121; Enz, 2002, 240.

or Nea as she was called, was of Jewish descent and had studied medicine in Munich and Berlin before she went to study with Jung. She first learned about analytical psychology in 1925 through Gustav Richard Heyer and his colleague Käthe Bügler; she studied with them from 1925 to 1928 in Munich and then from 1928 to 1930 with Toni Sussmann in Berlin.⁷⁴ She arrived in Zurich on October 1, 1931, and stayed for nine months to have a training analysis and to attend Jung's German and English seminars. That Jung described her as a beginner, largely unfamiliar with analytical psychology, seems strange.⁷⁵ She moved to England in 1933 to escape the Nazis. In a 1935 letter to Jung, she pleads that he should write a more personal letter of recommendation to the British Home Office so that she might be able to stay in England. The first letter he had written was apparently too impersonal to carry sufficient weight in support of her request to immigrate. She writes spiritedly: "Could you, after drinking a good drop of red wine, dictate another one? . . . My stay in England really depends on this letter."⁷⁶ She then salutes him from England by raising her glass of Chateauneuf du Pape to celebrate the tenth anniversary of getting to know his name. In January 1936 Jung composed a revised stronger letter of recommendation:

I can warmly recommend Dr. Rosenbaum who is a pupil of mine. I have known her for ten years and can fully appreciate her human and professional qualities. . . . Her personality and her long experience in medical and social work make her not only an excellent doctor but also a very able psychotherapist. I should even say that there are few women doctors specializing in psychotherapy who

⁷⁴Erna Rosenbaum–Jung Correspondence, Rosenbaum to C. G. Jung, December 31, 1935, JA. G. R. Heyer, a medical doctor working in Munich, started his career by treating somatic diseases with hypnosis. In the mid-1920s he trained with Jung together with his first wife, Lucie Heyer, who was a respiratory specialist. He opened a private practice and held study groups. He and his wife befriended Jung and are considered pioneers in psychosomatic bodywork. In 1937 Heyer joined the Nazi Party. Historians have a hard time figuring out where Heyer stood, as the sources give a very complex picture. Hakl, 2012. Toni Sussmann was a psychoanalyst trained by Jung. She moved from Germany to England in 1938 and died in 1967 in Brighton, England. She had a daughter called Vera Jensch.

⁷⁵Jung, 1935, par. 402. Calling her a novice might refer to the fact that she had just started her own analysis, something that Jung states in the seminars. Doing one's own analysis with a trusted analyst was considered the most important way to learn about Jung's work C. G. Jung, 1984, vii.

⁷⁶Erna Rosenbaum–Jung Correspondence, Rosenbaum to C. G. Jung, December 31, 1935, JA. Original in German, translated by the editor.

could show as much personal ability combined with a thorough medical training and a long practical experience.⁷⁷

In London Rosenbaum married A. R. Redfern, one of the founders of the Society of Analytical Psychology in London (SAP).⁷⁸ On April 30, 1939, she asked Jung if she could consult with him for a couple of hours in July, to talk not about dreams but about her heavy heartache concerning the fate of the Jews. He responded that he would be on vacation in July but suggested that she should come to Ascona in August (to the Eranos meeting), where they might have some time to talk.⁷⁹

DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT

When we look for a diagnosis of Pauli we encounter first the fuzzy term “neurotic symptoms,” a term Pauli uses to describe his condition when presenting himself to Erna Rosenbaum.⁸⁰ In 1935 Jung described Pauli as one-sidedly intellectual with inner tensions that made him project his negative feelings onto other men whom he then perceived as enemies. This left him feeling isolated. To escape these feelings he drank and, once disinhibited, fell into quarreling and fighting.⁸¹ In August 1934 Pauli described to his colleague Ralph Kronig that, as a result of a one-sided development of consciousness, he experienced a revolution from inside, from the unconscious, and so became acquainted with the “autonomous activity of the soul” and “its spontaneous growth products” that he designated “symbols.”⁸² To Rosenbaum he describes himself as suffering from recurring depressive states and a social phobia. He later also describes a wasp phobia that went back to his fourth year, as well as anxiety states caused by a great tension between opposites in his psyche.⁸³ To Jung, Pauli diagnoses

⁷⁷ C. G. Jung’s letter of recommendation for Erna Rosenbaum to the Home Office, January 11, 1936. In the possession of the Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung. I am immensely grateful to professor Richard Brown of Bellarmine University in Louisville, Kentucky, for sending me a photocopy of this document.

⁷⁸ See H. Westman (1958), “Erna Rosenbaum,” *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 3:180.

⁷⁹ Erna Rosenbaum–Jung Correspondence, Rosenbaum to Jung April 30, 1939; Jung to Rosenbaum May 5, 1939, JA. It is worth noting that the Nazis had annexed Austria in March 1938 and Czechoslovakia in March 1939; a month later they were in Poland.

⁸⁰ Pauli to Rosenbaum, February 3, 1932. Correspondence Pauli–Erna Rosenbaum (JA).

⁸¹ Jung, 1935, par. 402.

⁸² Pauli to Kronig, August 3, 1934 (380), PLC II.

⁸³ See Pauli to von Franz, August 21, 1953 (1625), n. 5; W. Pauli (1999), PLC IV/II; Pauli to Jung, May 24, 1934 (30P), *PJL*.

himself by saying that behind the wasp “lurked the fear of a sort of ecstatic state in which the contents of the unconscious (autonomous part-systems) might burst forth, contents which, because of their strangeness, would not be capable of being assimilated by the conscious and might thus have a shattering effect on it.”⁸⁴ In the seminar, Jung concurs with this diagnostic observation, saying that Pauli’s condition could be compared to the kind of “complete disintegration” that can be seen in schizophrenia, a position Jung retains in his description of Pauli in *Psychology and Alchemy*.⁸⁵

The treatment for this serious condition was mostly left to Pauli himself, and Jung justifies this decision by describing him as a man with excellent scientific training and ability and a master mind with which he didn’t want to tamper. But he also rationalizes it because he wants to make “an interesting experiment” to get pure archetypal material and to ensure that Pauli’s development proceeded without any personal influence from Jung’s part.⁸⁶ The task of the doctor was just “to observe the process.”⁸⁷ The greater part of the analytical work consisted in writing down and reporting dreams, which were then passed on to Jung. Indeed, Jung makes a point of mentioning that he did not meet Pauli at all during the first eight months of his therapy. Thus 355 out of 410 dreams over a ten-month period were reported dreamed without any contact with Jung.

As he explains in the seminars, Jung instructed Rosenbaum not to analyze Pauli’s dreams, and when he himself took over the treatment he followed the same principle. He did not do any systematic dream analysis with him. If Pauli posed a question, Jung would either reflect the question back to him or he would share with him something from his own experience. But he also conveyed to Pauli to trust the helpful powers of the

⁸⁴ Pauli to Jung, April 28, 1934 (29P), *PJL*.

⁸⁵ Pauli to von Franz, August 16, 1953 (1624), plus appendix, August 21, 1953 (1625), PLC IV/II. See also “Modern Examples of ‘Background Physics,’” *PJL*, appendix 3.

⁸⁶ CW 12, par. 45; CW 18, par. 402. Pauli’s second wife, Franca Bertram, whom Pauli married after completing his analysis, considered this a frivolity on Jung’s part. See C. Enz (2000), “Wolfgang Pauli and Carl Gustav Jung,” in *Wolfgang Pauli and Modern Physics*, ed. ETH-Bibliothek (Zurich: ETH Zurich), 73.

⁸⁷ For a presentation of Jung’s view on objectivity, and his epistemological standpoint on “the reality of the psyche,” see for instance Gieser, 2005, 111–25. Here it suffices to say that Jung considered the psyche of man a piece of autonomous nature that can be studied on the same terms as physical nature. The problem of the influence of the observer on the observed is an integrated part of Jung’s phenomenological standpoint and was crucial for Pauli later embracing Jung’s psychology as belonging to the new scientific paradigm alongside quantum physics.

unconscious. In the seminars, Jung says that the presence of the doctor functions in the process as “a sympathetic audience” and that it does not matter so much *what* the psychotherapist says, only that he say *something* to show that he is present with the patient and to react spontaneously to what he hears.⁸⁸ With regard to sanity, Jung says that the critical thing is to be able to explain yourself to your fellow beings, that is, he puts great weight on the human desire to communicate and to make oneself understood to one’s fellows.

Pauli was able to see Rosenbaum in her practice at Höggerstrasse 127 until the end of June 1932, when she left for Berlin. This means that they met for only five months. But even during this period she traveled, and Pauli tried to arrange to meet when they were both in Hamburg in April. They seem to have met several times a week. This is indicated in a note dated May 19, a Thursday. Pauli writes immediately after their session, to say that he is upset by a misunderstanding of the wording in a dream that he needs to correct straight away. The note ends with “See you on Saturday.” In addition to their regular appointments Pauli sent her his dream material, which was so extensive that he felt he had to excuse himself.⁸⁹

Although Pauli sometimes expressed satisfaction about the arrangement with Rosenbaum, as in March 1932 when he stated that things somehow functioned smoothly, his tone changed later.⁹⁰ During the summer of 1932 he writes her seven letters, describing his emotional difficulties (her replies have not been found). In July, after she left for Berlin, he fell into a deep depression. He mentions that this depression is different from the last one, which he had illustrated with a drawing of a crocodile. He goes on to say that his depressions often impinge on his capacity to work. This time around, he tries to handle his depression by stoically inviting it and keeping still. He thinks that the depression has a purpose: to force him not to run away. If he can manage to keep still, something will come of it. He explains that his ambition is to bring the wishes of the unconscious into harmony with those of his conscious life as a way to healing. But he misses his talks with Rosenbaum, and in two consecutive letters (in July) he asks for her phone number, for some sign of life from her. In a third

⁸⁸It is worth noting that Jung does not mention transference or countertransference as important factors in these seminars. Jung’s most worked through perspective on this issue was published in 1946 in the work *Psychology of the Transference* (CW 16) and is understood as best expressed by the ambiguous symbols in alchemy.

⁸⁹Correspondence Pauli–Erna Rosenbaum (JA).

⁹⁰Enz, 2002, 241. Also Correspondence Pauli–Erna Rosenbaum.

letter (also in July) he seems to have received a reply and feels happier. He informs her that he has thrown out his housekeeper, passed his driver license the same day, and is getting closer to his sister so that they soon will be on speaking terms again.⁹¹

Pauli's sister Hertha Ernestina Ashton-Pauli (her middle name was yet another homage to Ernst Mach) was six years younger, and they had a complicated relationship (see notes in the seminars). Pauli hardly ever mentioned his sister in his other correspondence, but in the letters to Erna Rosenbaum she is present. The only comment Pauli makes in the letters to Jung about his sister concerns the interpretation of dream number 16 on the ace of clubs and the number seven, when he doesn't fully agree with Jung's interpretation. Pauli associates the number seven to the birth of his sister in his seventh year and subsequently to the birth of the anima.⁹² Although Pauli sends these associations to Jung in February 1936, Jung chooses not to include them in his presentation of the dream at the seminar. Jung may have decided against adding Pauli's corrections for reasons of confidentiality, but Jung actually did disclose a lot of information about Pauli's relation to his sister that is found nowhere else in presentations of Pauli's case. Jung uses the strong wording "infantile fixation" to describe it and states that Pauli fell in love with women who resembled his sister, that she had to give her blessing to the women he chose, and that he resented her for marrying. Pauli later developed a very affectionate relationship to his sister.⁹³

Pauli's depression lingered on into August 1932 when he was in Engadin and later in Italy with a friend.⁹⁴ Even though he was physically active, swimming and rowing, outwardly looking healthy and suntanned, he felt depressed and afraid that he was becoming withdrawn and unso- ciable. He was getting increasingly impatient and sensed he was at a standstill in his personal development. After going to Venice he returned to Switzerland in September for a mathematics congress. In a letter he remarks that he is relieved to find that his sense of humor is not entirely

⁹¹ Correspondence Pauli–Erna Rosenbaum.

⁹² See Pauli to Jung, February 28, 1936 (16P) and June 16, 1936 (18P), *PJL*. The ace of clubs is a motif that reoccurred in Pauli's dreams. See Pauli to Jung, appendix to letter (1200), PLC IV/I.

⁹³ She was married for the first time in 1929 with a fellow actor named Carl Behr. The second time she married in the 1950s after moving to the United States, to another immigrant from Munich, Ernst Basch, who took the name E. B. Ashton. Enz, 2002, 17–18.

⁹⁴ The Engadin is situated in Switzerland south across the Maloja pass located in the Swiss Alps in the canton of Graubünden, a link to the Val Bregaglia and Chiavenna in Italy.

(continued...)

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