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FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP

Welcome to Volume 5 of *The Independent Scholar (TIS)*. Once again, we present a very diverse set of papers in a variety of disciplines, which exemplifies not only the journal, but the National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS) itself. This also is the first issue of TIS in which a paper is published bilingually, with a piece in its original French and a translation by Humanities Editor Amanda Haste.

While Volume 4 deliberately centered on one particular theme - gender - what stands out in this issue occurred quite by happenstance. A cursory glance at the Table of Contents reveals not only a diversity of papers, disciplines and methodologies, but an amazingly global perspective. A sociolinguistic paper on Spanish in Ecuador, the contributions of a Swiss psychoanalyst to Freudian theory, Australian influences upon the American women's labor movement, and the contributions of a British press magnate ins the struggle for Hungarian nationalism between the two World Wars. This number's book reviews include a cross-racial/ethnic account of America's Allotment Era, an exploration of the US Electoral College, a memoir of the Jewish Labor Bund in Warsaw, a book on women and American Muscle cars, a book on contemplation in paganism, and a volume on research ethics by a British author.

The TIS Editorial team could not have performed without the hard work of our anonymous Peer Reviewers – you know who you are! – and the proof reading genius of Catherine Prowse. For their work, the editorial board is profoundly thankful, and also to our authors who have willingly undergone up to three rounds of peer review to make their papers as good as possible . . .

As NCIS just finished celebrating our 30th Anniversary with a conference in Amherst, Massachusetts, our next issue – or two – will feature papers delivered at the Conference, on the conference theme "Making Connections, Meeting Challenges". Several papers are already under review, and once through this process will be published online as pre-prints, and then formally once TIS Vol. 6 is completed.

If you would like to submit a manuscript for consideration, please refer to the Notes for Contributors at the end of this volume, or go straight to https://www.ncis.org/the-independent-scholar/tis.

Shelby Shapiro, Ph.D.

General Editor, *TIS*

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THE SOCIAL VALUES OF TÚ, VOS, AND USTED IN ECUADORIAN SPANISH: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF USAGE IN AZOGUES

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Abstract

This study examines the use of forms of address among a community of practice in Azogues, Ecuador through both ethnographic observation and in interviewing participants about their use of address forms. Observations of usage and interview data show that usted *is the preferred address form among this group of speakers and among frequent interlocutors in their daily lives. Deviations from* usted *can have emotive function when occurring as variation from regular use of* usted. *However, using forms besides* usted *can be socially marked, as expressed by all informants in their interviews with the researcher. As such, this shows the sociocultural value of* usted *among this group of speakers and the degrees with which it can be used to express solidarity in conjunction with* tú *and* vos *in other contextually appropriate ways. The use of* tú *and* vos *is restricted by speakers' ideology of its use and the tendency is to limit its use in order to avoid misinterpretation of these forms by interlocutors.*

Keywords: Address forms; pronominal; social interactions; social markers; linguistics

1. INTRODUCTION

Language marks nearly all interactions between speakers in their daily lives, and, although a considerable amount of our use of language is concerned with speaking about ourselves, much of our language use concerns talking about, or to, others. The lexical items used to address others are referred to as *forms of address*. The way in which we address others can reveal how we perceive the relationship we have with that person and can express politeness, deference and respect, or solidarity (Jakobson 1960). Languages have different means of expressing various aspects of the relationships between speakers, that is, forms of address can refer to *pronouns of address, nouns of address* or *verbs of address*, referring to second person pronouns, nouns used in addressing others, such as *papá, mamá, etc.* and the verbal morphology that distinguishes between second and third person verb forms, as well as distinguishing between different types of forms of address. These various kinds of address forms interact with each other to create the social meanings mentioned above.

Many factors can affect the forms of address used by a speaker such as the type of communicative event, the features associated with the type of social activity carried out, commonly shared expectations of participants, and the social distance and power relation between the interlocutors, as well as, age, sex, social class, level of education, and geography (Blas Arroyo 2005). That is to say that everything from the location of the interaction, to the characterization of the participants involved, can affect the forms of address used and the meanings created by the speaker and those interpreted by their interlocutor. This dual process of production and interpretation characterizes the use of address forms in every interaction in which they occur.

This study analyzes the use of address forms among a group of speakers from Azogues, Ecuador, through on-site ethnography, by working with a group of informants and observing their interactions with interlocutors in their daily lives, and by interviewing participants to understand their use of address forms in daily interactions. It situates this analysis and examination of address forms within a broader discussion of the use of address forms in other Andean communities in Venezuela and Colombia (Álvarez 2010; Alvarez and Barros 2001; Álvarez and Carrera 2006; Freites-Barros 2008). In this sense, this study will expand our current understanding and knowledge of both the types of address forms used in Ecuador and the manner in which they are used by Ecuadorian speakers.

This study proceeds to document patterns of usage among the informants observed. Then deviations from *usted* will be analyzed in depth to understand the effect of alternative choices of address forms in interaction. To this end, this study answers the following questions:

(1) What forms of address are used by the speakers observed to address each other?
(2) How do deviations from commonly used forms signal the meanings of address forms in a sociocultural context?

The following sections will introduce crucial themes relating to address forms in situating the discussion of address forms in the broader context in Spanish, as well as more locally in other Andean regions.

2. ADDRESS FORMS IN SPANISH

Several varieties of Spanish have two singular, second person pronominal forms of address: *tú,* used with second person singular verb forms and *usted*, used with third person singular verb forms.

Table 1. *Tú* and *usted*

	Conjugation I	Conjugation II	Conjugation III
Tú	*amas*	*comes*	*vives*
Usted	*ama*	*come*	*vive*

These pronominal and verbal forms have evolved from classical Latin, which distinguished between a singular, second-person pronoun, *tu* and a plural, second person pronoun, *vos*. However, in late Latin, *vos* had acquired a deferential meaning in conjunction with the plural meaning. Hispano-Romance inherited this system (Penny 2002) but *vos* was gradually abandoned, as it acquired yet a third meaning as a marker of distance between superiors and subordinates. Various nominal address forms began to be used for formal address, most notably *vuestra merced*, from which the contemporary *usted* is derived. *Tú* and *vos* continued in competition for a few centuries, but were eventually abandoned in Spain in the 18th century with colonial centers of authority in Latin America following Peninsular varieties.

Many varieties in Central and South America, such as Costa Rica, parts of Colombia, Chile and Argentina among others, include the use of the subject pronoun, *vos*, which may be accompanied by a unique morphology. Table 2 presents various types of *voseo*[1], as presented in Torrejón (1986**)**, which are referred to here by Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3.

[1] *Voseo* refers to the use of the *vos* pronoun instead of the normative pronoun, *tú*, also called *tuteo*.

Table 2. Types of *voseo* in Ecuador[2]

	Normative tú	*Type 1* *Voseo auténtico*	*Type 2* *Voseo mixto verbal*	*Type 3* *Voseo mixto pronominal*
-AR Verbs	*Tú amas*	*Vos amáis*	*Vos amás*	*Vos amas*
-ER Verbs	*Tú comes*	*Vos coméis*	*Vos comés*	*Vos comes*
-IR Verbs	*Tú vives*	*Vos vivís*	*Vos vivís*	*Vos vives*

The use of varying *voseo* morphology can index a number of things about the speaker and indicate something about their linguistic identity (Ochs 1990). Páez Urdaneta (1981) showed considerable variation in the types of *voseo* in Ecuador, contrasting between a residual *voseo* in the Coast, an upper class *voseo* in the Sierra and a lower class *voseo* in the Sierra. Residual *voseo* in the Coast is associated with Type 2; upper class *voseo* in the Sierra with Type 3; and lower class and rural *voseo* in the Sierra with Type 1. Ennis (2011) argues that Ecuadorian *voseo* has simplified since Torrejón's (1986) study so that Type 3 is now the most prevalent form of *voseo* in Ecuador, noting an adoption of the upper class *voseo* by rural and lower class speakers. Other work has associated Type 3 with Ecuador and Peru (Arrizabalaga 2001) but noted that, overall, *voseo* is on the decline there (Moyna 2016).

3. ADDRESS THEORY

This section presents the two major streams of address theory, that being, one that presents forms of address as essentially indexing fixed, sociocultural values, and the other type, which considers forms of address to exist as essentially neutral terms that acquire interpretation and meaning in context through use in conversational episodes. Forms of address index many issues in a conversation, such as the nature of the relationship between the interlocutors, the nature of the circumstances of the interaction, and the place of each interlocutor in the larger, social order (Morford 1997: 3).

Brown and Gilman (1960) examined pronouns of address as indexical of the sociocultural values of power and solidarity. They postulated that pronouns of address could be divided into an informal T pronoun and a formal V pronoun.[3] The nature of when to use each address form relates to the dynamics of power and solidarity that exist between the speakers in an interaction. Power, in this context, is used to linguistically express a hierarchy between interlocutors, so that an asymmetrical treatment in verbal and pronominal forms will be manifested. An interlocutor, perceived to be of a higher social rank, will use T forms to address those of perceived lower ranks and would receive, and expect to receive, V forms from lower ranked individuals. Factors such as socioeconomic status, age, physical appearance, gender, social status or familial status are some factors that determine which interlocutors receive V forms and can also vary according to location. Speakers with equal power equivalence use equivalent forms, mostly T, although V forms can be used in cases where speakers do not have a close relationship (Brown and Gilman 1960: 258). This is to say that address forms act as a grammaticalized manifestation of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Both T and V forms have a politeness function in a conversation, relating to the concept of face. T forms are associated with the domain of positive face, the expression of solidarity in grammaticalized forms of address. The use of V forms is associated with the domain of negative face, which is manifested in deference to the interlocutor through indirect expressions. Calderon (2010) sees modern society as elevating T forms to emphasize solidarity, due to the prominence of egalitarianism in modern societies, and proposes a continuum with regard to the degrees of solidarity and intimacy a speaker can link to with the use of T forms: (1) minimal (solidarity without trust or intimacy; (2) middle (trust), and; (3) maximum (intimacy). The use of T forms implies proximity to the interlocutor in any of these three levels. The use of V

[2] This table shows both the normative *tú* conjugation and the variations in *voseo* conjugations. Type 1 and Type 2 differ from normative *tuteo* with an ultimate stress (in contrast to penultimate stress in tuteo) with Type 1 being diphthongized.
[3] The abbreviations are based on French *tu* and *vous*, with *tu* being informal and *vous* being formal

indicates distance. In the case of Spanish, *tú* or *vos* (both T forms) may be used with children or adolescents without regard to the three levels of solidarity previously mentioned (Calderón 2010: 233). The speaker relies on social convention or other forms of obligation to judge the right pronominal form in each situation. A misjudgment will result in the perception that the speaker is disrespectful, overreaching in solidarity, or cold, due to being excessively distant.

Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory has been challenged as treating pronominal forms as representing a static order of macrosociological categories, that is that the mere use of a pronoun of address necessarily always assigns a social category to the speaker or interlocutor. Other work has suggested that the individual speaker and their linguistic ideology must be taken into consideration when analyzing their use of forms of address, which might result in the fact that some uses of address forms are neutral or lacking in meaningfulness to the interlocutors. Additionally, while neutral forms can exist, the temptation to assign static values to address forms must be resisted, as variation is the rule rather than the exception, and the nature of the meaning of address forms finds meaning in the *contrast* between the various options available to speakers (Braun 1988). Yet, forms of address index aspects of the social identities of the interlocutors involved, and are indexical of some of the sociocultural values previously mentioned, such as formality, degrees of deference and/or intimacy, and aspects about the speaker's own identity (Morford 1997).

Indexicality reflects "the dimension of meaning in which textual features 'point to' (index) contextually retrievable meanings" (Blommaert et al. 2014: 4). Linguistic features can index a variety of social acts and social activities (Ochs 1990), or regional accents, a speaker's identity, verbal etiquette in deference and demeanor (Hanks 2000). The use of various linguistic features can be used to construct social identities (Eckert 2008) and speakers maintain their relatively fixed identities by aligning themselves with ethnolinguistic patterns associated with their ethnolinguistic group (Schilling-Estes 2004). However, identity is polyphonous, so that displays of identity can index multiple social categories, much in the same way that linguistic features can index multiple associations (Bakhtin 1981; Barrett 1999). The following sections will compare the use of solidarity forms in Venezuela and Colombia. This is followed by a discussion of the use of solidarity forms in Ecuador to situate the discussion in spatial terms, as it relates to the distribution of forms across various Andean communities.

3.1 Venezuela

The address forms used in Mérida, Venezuela, have been noted by many scholars (Álvarez 2010; Alvarez and Barros 2001; Álvarez and Carrera 2006; Freites-Barros 2008). This Andean region of Venezuela is characterized by its dual use of *usted* in both formal and informal situations. However, the use of *usted* of solidarity has also been noted in Costa Rica (Vargas 1974; Quesada Pacheco 1996; Michnowicz et al. 2016; Moser 2010b). The use of *usted* in Mérida can be explained in one of three possibilities: a) there is an absence of differentiation between trust and formality; b) there is a functional differentiation not manifested between trust and formality, an *usted* of solidarity and a formal *usted*, and; c) a functional differentiation between trust, intimacy and formality with three pronouns, *usted* of solidarity, *tú* of trust, and *usted* of formality (Álvarez and Carrera 2006). Freites-Barros (2008) asserts that *usted* is the *only* address form in Andean varieties and, as such, is not subject to being interpreted as the solidarity form or as indexing deference, which also functions as a regional identity marker. Álvarez and Carrera (2006) posit a dual function for *usted*, in contrast to Freites Barros (2008), constituting of a formal *usted* and an *usted* of solidarity. This dual function can be a result of the proximity between politeness and emotivity. As identity work occurs in discourse, speakers use deictics in the form of *usted* as a way of expressing identity, which consists of a continuum of three levels: personal identity, relational identity and communal identity (Álvarez 2010; Goffman 1967). Additionally, identity markers serve to assign a connotation of group membership and symbolize communal beliefs about social categories (Alvarez and Barros 2001).

However, research in the area has documented a shift to the use of *tú*, especially when addressing speakers from non-Andean regions and among young people (Álvarez 2010; Freites-Barros 2008: 22). *Tuteo*[4] is a trait associated with normative varieties, and, as such, it is slowly being incorporated into Andean varieties, most notably by younger speakers, who are more familiar with its use and more comfortable with its use. Álvarez and Carrera (2006) likens the shift from *usted* to *tú* to language shift, describing it as a 'code switch.' *Voseo* is used in limited contexts in Mérida, particularly among family and close friends (Álvarez and Freites Barros 2010), although many note that it is in danger of extinction (Freites Barros 2008).

[4] The use of *tú* forms

3.2 Colombia

The use of *usted* with friends and family has been noted in Colombia. This type of usage of *usted* to show solidarity has since been noted by other researchers in Cuba, Chile, and Uruguay (Marín 1972) and in Honduras (Castro 2000). Flórez (1965) noted the use of *usted* in family interactions in the Santander Department in Colombia. In Bogotá, Montes Giraldo et al. (1998) note that *usted* is used to address a trusted interlocutor more by males than by females and more among younger speakers than older. Uber's (1984, 1985) earlier studies note that the use of *usted* in Bogotá can imply solidarity when used with family members or friends and no solidarity when used with others not known to the speaker. Many families used *usted* among members of the family, with pets, and with close friends. The use of *tú* in Bogotá conveys familiarity but with a certain distance implied. This implies a continuum with two opposing uses of *usted*, one use of *usted* implying a lack of solidarity ('usted of no solidarity') and social distance and another being an *usted* of solidarity, which implies social proximity and solidarity. *Tú* occupies a middle space between these two types of *usted*. Uber's (2011) later studies in Bogotá confirm that in the 1990s the use of *usted* of solidarity was still common among family and close friends. This latter study adds that among close friends, either *tú* or *usted* may be used and confirms an overall trend in the increase of *tú* (Uber 2011).

3.3 Ecuador

Many studies on forms of address in Ecuadorian Spanish focus on Quito (Peñaherrera 1988; Placencia 1996; Toscano Mateus 1953; Uquillas 1989). Toscano Mateus (1953) described the variation found in Ecuadorian Spanish with regard to form of address in four forms: *tú, vos, usted,* and *su merced (sumercé)*, the latter is only heard in very rural communities. The context of the interaction can influence address forms but also speakers exhibit considerable intra-speaker variation, such as the use of either *vos* or *usted* to address children. Placencia (1997) found reciprocal use of pronominal forms in analyzing telephone calls in Quito. Older speakers preferred *usted*, while younger speakers preferred *tú*. However, work in Andean regions, other than Quito, has been less frequent.

The use of *vos* in Ecuador has varied uses in indexing power and solidarity, often depending on the regional background of a speaker, as it is found to be used between social 'superiors' to 'inferiors', in which they are expected to respond with *usted*, yet, *vos* is also used between interlocutors to index closeness and intimacy (Ennis 2011; Páez Urdaneta 1981). Ennis' (2011) study of *voseo* in Quito elaborates on the various use of pronouns of address among a group of speakers, where *usted* is used as a general form of address and with strangers. Among friends, *tú* and *vos* alternate, although the latter expresses greater *confianza*[5]. Children generally use *usted* with parents and teachers, as, in general, older interlocutors are treated with *usted* and older speakers can use *tú* or *vos* to address younger interlocutors; however, *vos* is generally used with one's own children. Ennis (2011) also outlines the ideology of *voseo*, showing its various sociocultural values in Ecuador, also noting a dual function of *voseo* to mark closeness but also in expressing emotion, particularly anger. It can also be used to express social distance, particularly when used 'out of context' and, in these cases, indexes social inequality to be used in a derogatory manner. Ennis' (2011) informants reflect a powerful ideology of *voseo*, which reflects a broader social concern with politeness and upbringing. That is to say, that the misuse of pronouns of address shows bad manners and a poor upbringing.

Lavender (2017) studied the use of address forms on Facebook Messenger among a group of speakers from Azogues, Ecuador. Facebook Messenger is a type of synchronous computer-mediated communication in which users expect a quicker response time than in other mediums. This type of instant messenger CMC is regarded as being close to natural conversation (Crystal 2006; Sebba 2012). He found an extensive use of *usted* among friends and family members, which followed similar patterns in Colombia and the Venezuelan Andes, but which differed slightly from other studies of Ecuadorian use of address forms. The results of Lavender (2017) seem to indicate a preference for a use of *usted* as a solidarity form over *tú* or *vos*. The use of *usted* of solidarity was marked linguistically by the inclusion of nominal address forms, such as kinship terms, terms of endearment, and other such nominal forms that distinguished *usted* of solidarity from formal *usted*.

[5] Literally refers to confidence, trust, etc. but in a linguistic sense is referring to familiarity, particularly in Latinx culture, denoting a sociocultural value attached to closeness.

Figure 1. Map of Azogues

Figure 2. Cañar Province

4. DATA COLLECTION

This study expands current knowledge of how forms of address are used in Ecuador by focusing on a group of speakers in Azogues and follows in calls for more ethnographic studies of address forms (Steffen 2010: 443; Vázquez Laslop and Orozco 2010: 264). This is to account for the considerable variation that accompanies the use of forms of address by various speakers (Braun 1988).

Azogues is the capital of the Cañar Province and forms part of the Cuenca metropolitan area. It has a population of around 40,000 citizens. It also includes a larger *cantón* ('county'), which encompasses much of the eastern half of Cañar. The population of the city itself and the *cantón* is 70,064. Figure 1 shows the location of Azogues within the Cañar Province, as well as the location of Cuenca in relation to Azogues, while Figure 2 shows the relation of the Cañar Province of Ecuador, which is the outlined region in the map below.

The researcher stayed with an Ecuadorian family in the summer of 2017 and observed patterns of use of address forms in a well-defined community of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464; also Lave and Wenger 1991), in observing the forms used among these four principal informants and with various interlocutors with whom they interacted during the researcher's stay in Azogues. Table 3 outlines the four principal informants of this study and their relationship to each other.

Table 3. Informants[6]

Informant	Description of participant	Location	Age	Sex
María	Daughter of Gloria; aunt of Cristina; has a son, Marco	Metropolitan Azogues	40s	female
Enrique	Husband of María; son-in-law of Gloria; uncle by marriage to Cristina	Metropolitan Azogues	40s	male
Gloria	Mother of María; grandmother of Marco	Metropolitan Azogues; has US visa	60s	female
Cristina	Niece of María; granddaughter of Gloria	Metropolitan Azogues	20s	female

Semi-formal interviews were conducted with the informants in various locations and recorded for transcription, which were recorded in Enrique and María's house with the four informants. Informants were asked about how they used address forms with a short questionnaire and follow up discussion about their use of address forms. Informants were asked about the social values of these forms and how using different forms would be interpreted by an interlocutor. These interviews were accompanied by observation in day-to-day interactions with a group of interlocutors, which consisted of friends, family, and some frequently visited shops. The researcher mostly accompanied Gloria and Cristina in daily activities, such as going to buy groceries, sending clothes to be repaired by the seamstress and other such activities. The researcher observed interactions between informants and these interlocutors and recorded interactions as they occurred.

5. FINDINGS

This section will describe the forms of address used among the informants and their interlocutors as observed by the researcher to establish a general pattern, as well as the preferences of each speaker. After establishing the prevalence of the use of *usted* in the data, it will proceed to describe deviations from *usted* will be analyzed in depth to understand the effect of alternative choices of address forms in interaction. The observations will be compared to statements made by the informants in their interviews with the researcher through the presentation of extracts.

[6] For the sake of anonymity, all informants were assigned a pseudonym.

5.1 Address forms used between interlocutors

The most commonly heard form of address was the use of *usted*, which was used in nearly all interactions observed among the participants in this study. This was true of all age groups from Cristina when addressing a variety of interlocutors, both older than her, and younger, as well as among middle-aged groups of María and Enrique and Gloria and her interactions with older interlocutors.

Gloria, and interlocutors of a similar age, use *usted* in nearly all contexts and are addressed with *usted* forms, both when addressing informants of a similar age or older, as well as with younger informants. Gloria's linguistic behavior and comments made in her interview reveal that she believes that the use of *usted* is better and that *tú* or *vos* can be bad social practice, which was also reflected in Ennis (2011) in her interviews with informants from Quito. Gloria corrected Marco on one occasion as he addressed the researcher with *vos* and she wanted him to use *usted*, as she believed this was more polite. She exhibited similar behavior when she corrected Cristina when she addressed her boyfriend with *tú*, as she believed that *usted* showed more respect between the couple than *tú*, although she revealed in her interview that she used *vos* with her late husband and that she thought it was acceptable for couples to use *tú* or *vos* among themselves.

María, Enrique, and Cristina all grew up in Azogues. While many of Enrique and María's interactions with friends of a similar age could not be observed, their overall use of *usted* was noted. The only case noted where *usted* was not used extensively was in the family interactions between María and Enrique, who are married and have a son. María and Enrique use both *tú* and *vos* forms among themselves and when addressing their son, Marco. There was variation between *tú* and *vos* forms used by both of them when addressing him, as well as when addressing each other. Cristina grew up in Azogues and like Gloria uses *usted* in most of her interactions with family members, including acquaintances of the same age as her. One example of this occurred when Cristina went to purchase additional minutes for her cellphone. The worker in the store was a distant cousin and social acquaintance of around the same age as Cristina, who invited Cristina to a baptism party.

This is to say that the usual form is *usted*; however, with the significant exception of María and Enrique, when addressing each other. This pattern of usage seems to conform with previous research on the use of address forms in Ecuador, as the immediate family uses *tú/vos* when addressing each other but older members of the family are addressed with *usted* and outsiders, such as the researcher, are addressed with *usted*, as well.

5.2 Deviating from usted

The above section described general patterns of usage of address forms among the participants in this study, noting the general preference for the use of *usted*, with the notable exception of María and Enrique. This section will describe how deviations from *usted* were observed in various interactions between participants and their interlocutors and how these participants describe the meaning of not using *usted*. In cases where *tú/vos* prevail, deviations from these forms will also be described.

On one occasion, Gloria and Cristina participated in a conversation with four other individuals in a small town outside of Azogues, in which an informal discussion occurred about forms of address. They believe that the use of *tú* or *vos* require a contextually appropriate situation to be used and the misuse of these address forms can result in social awkwardness or misinterpretation by an interlocutor. However, *usted* lacks such restrictions and can be used in all contexts and does not result in a negative interpretation. This interpretation gives *usted* a sense of neutrality so that it can be used when one is not sure of how to proceed with regard to address. These informants seem to indicate that *vos* is a better option than *tú*, if one were to deviate from *usted*, but they indicated that *usted* was the preferred form among themselves and observation of linguistic behavior revealed this to be the case, as they consistently addressed each other and the researcher, as well as Gloria and Cristina with *usted* during our conversations with them. Yet, the implication is that *vos* signals a higher degree of intimacy and less possibility of misinterpretation.

The informants consider that others might be willing to address intimate family members with *vos*, and express that individuals might learn different ideas about address forms, depending on their upbringing, which highlights the variation among groups of speakers with regard to their ideologies of the sociocultural meanings of address forms. They seem to be wary of saying that they use *tú* forms in interviews, as they are questioned about its use with children

or relatives and initially they say that they might use *tú* but then walk back and say that they only use *usted*. Even though Gloria states that she believes *usted* is best in all contexts, her linguistic behavior reveals that she does not always follow this rule. She does indicate that *tú* or *vos* can be used among close family, such as between husband and wife, as Enrique and María alternate between *tú* and *vos* in their conversations with each other. Gloria frequently retells stories about her mother and childhood in which she quotes her mother using *vos* forms when addressing her. In one case, Gloria left Cristina a voice message on her phone for Cristina's birthday. Gloria addressed Cristina with *usted* in all other contexts, except in this case. The message begins with the use of *usted* but switches when Gloria begins to send her birthday wishes to Cristina.

(1) Extract from voice message from Gloria to Cristina

> *Mija por ser **su** cumpleaños voy a decir unas dos palabritas mija linda que en este día tan especial que cumpleaños que el Altísimo **te** cubra con su manto y **tu** corazón se llene de alegría y que siempre conformes conserves la- lo que **te** inculcado y que Dios **te** cu- **te** bendiga hoy y siempre y un feliz cumpleaños mija*
>
> [My dear, as it's your [*usted*] birthday, I wanted to say a few things on your special day, your [*tú*] birthday. May God cover you [*tú*] with his mantle and your [*tú*] heart be filled with happiness and may you [*tú*] always conform, conserve the- what He has instilled in you [*tú*] and may God bless you [*tú*] today and forever. Happy birthday, dear][7]

Other informants were not in agreement about *vos*, for example, María indicated that *vos* was stronger than *tú*, but it all depends on how it is interpreted by the other person, which is an implicit admission of variation among speakers.

(2) Extract of interview with María

> *Sí, hay una diferencia. Dice, "tú estás dispuesto ayudarme," es como pidiendo ayuda. En cambio, si es como vos es como más de ordenarle, más fuerza. Si es, "vos tienes que hacer," es como una orden. En cambio, cuando usted escucha tú, es como, puedes hacer esto… [Tú] es más delicado. En cambio, vos, es una orden… Es un ejemplo de cómo la toma la otra persona. Si apenas lo estoy recién conociendo a usted, entonces, yo no le voy a decir, "Oye vos, irás abajo a dormir.*
>
> [Yes, there is a difference. One says, "You [*tú*] are free, help me," is how to ask for help. However, if it's with *vos*, it's more like an order, and somewhat stronger. If it's "you [*vos*] have to do it," it sounds more like an order. Whereas, when you [*usted*] hear "*tú*", it's like, "can you do this?" [*Tú*] is more delicate, whereas *vos* is an order… It's an example of how the other person takes it. If I am barely just getting to know you [*usted*], then, I am not going to say to you [*usted*], "Hey, you [*vos*], go downstairs to sleep."]

However, María indicates that deviating from *usted* implies a lack of respect for the other person, except in the few cases she indicated that *vos* or *tú* was acceptable, mostly in family situations.

(3) Extract of interview with María

> *Es como hay más respeto. En cambio, que cuando se trata de "vos, hey muévete," ese tipo de palabras, se dice como que más, o sea como que le está faltando al respeto a la persona.*
>
> [It's as if there is more respect. Whereas when you say, "hey you! [vos], move!" These types of words, they are said when there is more, I mean that the person lacks respect for the other.]

[7] This and subsequent translations of the corpus are those of the author.

María revealed a distinction between *tú* and *vos*. She emphasizes the manner in which address forms are used, which can carry more meaning than the actual form itself. She gave the example of the relationship between the researcher and her, as they were only getting to know each other during the stay and observation of the family, it would be very inappropriate for her to use *tú* with the researcher. Therefore, to be able to use *tú* or *vos* requires familiarity between the interlocutors and to use those forms prematurely or in a contextually inappropriate manner results in misunderstandings or the perception of rudeness. She does indicate that there can be differences in the interpretation of *tú* or *vos* by the interlocutor. It seems that, when used with the wrong interlocutor, i.e. when there is a lack of familiarity, the use of *vos* can be taken to mean a command, whereas *tú*, used in this context, would be the more appropriate choice of address forms. She strongly associates this negativity in the context of requests in her interview. *Vos* is always associated in her examples with requests that *could* be perceived by the interlocutor as rude. She offers several examples with *vos* and offers a 'corrective' *usted* version that would be more acceptable. For example,

(4) Extract of interview with María

> *Es que los niños también sienten eso. Porque a veces ven a los niñitos del campo, les trató, 'oye, vos niño, muévete, cojete'. Les dice, 'oye vos coje ese caramelo'. En cambio es diferente que se diga, 'venga mijo, reciba ese caramelo'.*
>
> [It's that kids also feel this. Because sometimes they see other rural kids, they address them, 'hey, you kid, move away, take this'. They say to them, 'hey you, take this candy'. However it's different from saying, 'Come on dear (?), take this candy'.]

However, in contexts where there is familiarity between interlocutors, *vos* does not have this negative connotation. She explains that there is more intimacy in family life and between spouses or with children that *vos* can be used without having the connotation of being a command or being too 'strong', thus showing that familiarity is an important aspect in the interpretation of address forms by interlocutors and that these forms are often used between them without this negative association. She believes that other couples also use *vos* forms among themselves in much the same way that she and her spouse use them. Additionally, *tú* or *vos* can be used with children, as was observed between her and her son Marco, as noted above, without any negative connotations.

However, Enrique was observed using *usted* with Marco on several occasions, when involved in parenting tasks, such as encouraging Marco to finish his food at meals, which suggests a possible pragmatic function in shifting to *usted* by a parent. This compares with Gloria's deviations from *usted* mentioned above and her retelling stories of her own mother addressing her with *vos*. Cristina is now older and should be addressed with *usted* because she is now an adult. However, these variations in address forms are noteworthy because they are contextual, more so with Enrique's use of *usted*, in attempting to get Marco to do various tasks. This indicates an emotive use of *usted* to convey frustration when Marco did not do what Enrique wanted him to do. Gloria's use of *tú* might also indicate an emotive function of *tú,* so that it could be used in a positive context.

Cristina does not universally use *usted,* as she uses *tú* and *vos* with some of her interlocutors. Cristina met up with two friends from her high school during the researcher's stay in Azogues. She addresses both of these friends with *tú* and they likewise reciprocate with *tú*, which is not surprising, as recent work has documented a shift towards *tú* in many varieties of Spanish. However, Cristina's use of *tú* in these contexts should not be interpreted as 'neutral' or necessarily indicating a positive relationship between interlocutors in these interactions. Cristina revealed in later ethnographic interviews that her use of *tú* implies a certain distance. She described how there had been some 'falling out' among her and at least one of the friends she met up with during the researcher's stay in Azogues. In the case of one of these interlocutors, she reported that her use of *tú* implied a type of distancing between her and her friend from her perspective, yet, she doubted that her friend interpreted her use of *tú* in the same light, as she noted that her family uses *usted* more than her friend's family. On the other hand, she reported that the other friend in question was from Guayaquil, which she indicates had influenced her decision to use *tú* with that person, as she said that *Serranos* prefer *usted*, while speakers from other regions in the country preferred *tú*. Her use of *tú* with this friend seems to indicate an accommodation for a speaker not originally from the Andean region. In ethnographic interviews with Cristina, she

reveals that she grew up with what she called the 'traditional' way of thinking about address forms. She notes that she prefers the use of *usted*, as being more polite and necessary when addressing interlocutors, yet, she is willing to accommodate to others who prefer *tú*, such as her friends and when addressing Marco. She adds that she does not feel comfortable trying to correct the linguistic forms chosen by Marco, as she is not the mother of the child but, overall, she agrees with Gloria in that all interlocutors should, at least ideally, be addressed with *usted*, indicating a preference to use *vos* with one's own children and not necessarily with any child.

6. DISCUSSION

The previous presentation of findings of this study reveals a picture of how address forms are used in Azogues by observing their use among a group of speakers there. This study provides more recent information on how address forms are used in Ecuador after previous work by Placencia (1997). It reveals how speakers from Azogues differ from other speakers in Ecuador, as reported by Ennis (2011) but how they are similar to speakers in Colombia and Andean Venezuela. Previous work in Azogues shows how *usted* is used in a variety of contexts to address friends and family (Lavender 2017), and this study confirms this function of *usted* in Azogues. *Usted* is used in nearly all interactions that were observed in this study. There were few deviations from *usted* in interactions.

The use of *usted* is typically indexical of deference or respect, which can be linked to the important sociocultural notion of *confianza,* a "highly appreciated value that describes the types of close relationships in which people may genuinely express their identities…[which] involves affection, familiarity, confidence and sincerity" (Díaz Collazos 2016: 35), as several informants express concern that using an inappropriate address form can be interpreted as rude. There is a particular concern about the misuse of *tú* and *vos*, which suggests a belief that *tú* and *vos* have more rigid strictures with regard to their use that was also found by Ennis (2011) in what was described as an ideology of *vos*, which relates to politeness and linguistic upbringing. The use of *tú* and *vos* can be related to the degrees of solidarity: (1) minimal (solidarity without trust or intimacy; (2) middle (trust), and; (3) maximum (intimacy) (Calderón 2010). Different instances of the use of *tú* and *vos* by informants fall along this scale, such as the use of these address forms by María and Enrique among themselves and with their son, Marco, falling in (3) as expressing maximum intimacy. However, the use of *tú* by Cristina would express (1) minimal solidarity without trust or intimacy. The issue of *usted* and its use as a solidarity form adds another layer of complexity in considering the nature of pronominal forms of solidarity. The use of *usted* in Azogues by these speakers seems to follow Uber's (2011) scale of a formal *usted*, *tú* and *usted* of solidarity:

Formal *usted* → *tú* → *usted* of solidarity

Cristina's use of *tú* conforms with this pattern, as she indicates that her use of *tú* with certain friends does indicate a lack of solidarity in some sense. However, the use of *tú* as evidenced by observations of Enrique and María complicates this pattern. This leads us to remember Braun's (1988) assertion that variation is the rule and not the exception so that different speakers create different uses for address forms through contextual use. For instance, Cristina's use of *tú* suggests a dual function of *tú* in much the same way as *usted*, implying a four-way distinction, rather than a tripartite division of functions:

Formal *tú / usted* vs. *tú / usted* of solidarity

Thus, one who uses *usted* in a familial context can index more intimacy through the use of *tú* of solidarity in a way beyond *usted* of solidarity, this shows how María and Enrique's use of *tú/vos* fits into this paradigm. This also relates to María's reflections on the use of address forms and the notion that the interpretation of the interlocutor also affects the meaning of a form in addition to *how* it is said. Future research should extend Lavender's (2017) work on nominal address forms to examine the use of nominal forms in oral communication to ascertain if this trend carries over from online communication.

The preference for *usted* among these speakers could be viewed from a variety of points of view, beyond the discussion of solidarity above. One such function is the use of *usted* as an identity marker, particularly in Mérida, Venezuela, by Andean speakers (Álvarez 2010; Alvarez and Barros 2001; Álvarez and Carrera 2006; Freites-Barros 2008). The use of

usted in Azogues can have some association with Andean identity but its indexical values are overlapping and complex so that it has a multiplicity of functions. This is not to say that there is no aspect of identity present in the use of *usted* among Andean Ecuadorians. For instance, Cristina's use of *tú* with her friend, who is originally from Guayaquil, is an example of this. However, as discussed extensively above, Cristina's use of *tuteo* indexes dual associations. Her use of *tuteo* with this friend has an additional value of denoting a distance in the friendship. Cristina seems to possess a system similar to what Uber (2011) described in Bogotá, a continuum between *usted* of no solidarity - *tú* - *usted* of solidarity, with the addition of *vos*, which seems to be used in intimate family contexts, particularly when addressing children. The informants express a belief that the use of *usted* is the most correct address form and associated with 'traditional' ways, in contrast to *tuteo*, which is considered to be associated with young people, particularly children.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This study has analyzed the use of forms of address by a community of practice in Azogues, Ecuador through a combined approach of using ethnographic observation of how address forms were used by informants and through conducting interviews with participants themselves in which they reflect on their use of address forms. Each of the four principal informants reveals noteworthy linguistic behavior. Gloria uses *usted* in most contexts in a consistent way, yet, in one case that was observed, she deviated from *usted* in a birthday wish to Cristina, indicating an emotive function of switching forms. María and Enrique use *usted* with everyone except among themselves and with their son. Enrique was also observed using an emotive switch in trying to get Marco to do various tasks in which he switched to *usted*, which accompanied frustration with Marco. Cristina uses *usted* in most contexts, except with her friends from high school, with whom she had recently had a falling out. She describes this as having a social function in indicating distance between her and them, yet, notes that they likely interpret her use of *tú* differently. The observations in Azogues reveal that *usted* is the default choice among this group of speakers and among frequent interlocutors in their daily lives. Deviations from *usted* can have emotive function when occurring as variation from regular use of *usted*. However, using forms besides *usted* can be socially marked, as expressed by all informants in their interviews with the researcher. As such, this shows the sociocultural value of *usted* among this group of speakers and the degrees with which it can be used to express solidarity in conjunction with *tú* and *vos* in other contextually appropriate ways. This study has contributed to current understanding of Ecuadorian Spanish, particularly by investigating a region of the country that has not been accounted for in linguistic research to the author's knowledge. This study shows the value of ethnographic research in linguistics and, particularly, in analyses of address forms, as a valuable tool in linguistics to understand the use of address forms in a detailed and contextual manner.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THÉODORE FLOURNOY TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS MIND[1]

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Abstract

This historical research aims to examine the contribution of Théodore Flournoy to the discovery of the unconscious mind, in the original historical context of his work but without a historiographic bias. It is for this reason that this paper focuses on the genealogy of the concept of the unconscious mind before Freud, to reveal the work in French-speaking Switzerland which led to the discovery of a creative and mythopoetic subliminal subconscious at the end of the nineteenth century.

Keywords**: **Théodore Flournoy, creative unconscious, subliminal and mythopoetic, Jungian psychology, occultism, sexuality, unconscious according to Freud, From India to Planet Mars, Interpretation of Dreams, medium, Hélène Smith, mythology, morality, religion.

This historical research aims to examine the contribution of Théodore Flournoy (1854-1920) to the discovery of the unconscious mind, in the original historical context of his work but without a historiographic bias. This paper therefore focuses on the genealogy of the concept of the unconscious mind before Freud, to reveal the work in French-speaking Switzerland which led to the discovery of a creative and mythopoetic subliminal subconscious at the end of the nineteenth century.

The origin of the concept of the subconscious dates back to Régine Plas[2] in the mid-nineteenth century and was a convergence of the three strands of philosophy, psychophysiology and psychopathology. Indeed, before Freud, the concept of the subconscious informed the thinking of several philosophers[3] such as Arthur Schopenhauer[4] and Eduard

[1] Translated by Amanda Haste.
[2] R. Plas, « L'inconscient avant Freud », *Sciences humaines*, n° 29 June 1993, pp.18-20.
[3] T. Bonfanti, « L'inconscient d'hier à aujourd'hui », *Sciences humaines*, n° 52 July 1995.
[4] A. Schopenhauer (1788-1860), German philosopher; his pessimism led him to seek happiness in the extinction of the will to live and of all rapport with reality. We are indebted to him for his essay on free will (1839).

von Hartmann (1842-1906) who promoted the idea of a subconscious as a vital force and an unconscious perception. This is how Arthur Schopenhauer conceived of the unconscious as an attribute of the will. For him, the will is not the simple activity of the mind that we all know, notably when we comment on someone's "lack of will". It is a blind and irrational force at the root of every thing, including matter, a universal will to live which is a constituent of every being. The will is not the unconscious mind, but it is unconscious.

But the philosophical theme of the unconscious was primarily popularized by Eduard Von Hartmann. His book *Philosophy of the Unconscious*,[5] which appeared in 1869, aroused exceptional interest throughout Europe, and it is for that reason that this book is worthy of mention. The philosopher Hartmann was a contemporary of Freud and deserves consideration because the basis of his philosophy is precisely the existence of a psychological unconscious, conceived as a universal principle. This unconscious is a synthesis of the unconscious minds of the philosophies which preceded it, while also integrating evolutionary theories and the new approaches to the functioning of the nervous system.

Also, in the 1840s, the British doctors Thomas Laycock and William Carpenter, and the German psychiatrist Griesinger, extended the schema of reflexes, which until then had only been attributed to the spinal cord, to the functioning of the brain. A "psychophysiological" model of the unconscious was established in the nineteenth century, and found its definitive formulation courtesy of the English neurologist John Hughlings Jackson. The unconscious processes were viewed as reflex activities forged over the course of evolution, and this model would become known as the "unconscious mind".[6] Psychophysiologists considered that the brain, until then considered to be the seat of consciousness, was also at the origin of an automatic reflexive activity at work in the phenomena of magnetism, hysterical manifestations, somnambulism, and dreams. This new model also led to the realization of actions relating to voluntary activity in normal people, but which seem to be realized without the knowledge of the subject. A case in point is the sudden resolution of a problem after we have stopped thinking about it. In his book *L'Inconscient cérébral* [The Unconscious Mind] Marcel Gauchet demonstrates the degree to which the impact of the notion of neurological unconscious, put forward by physiologists, had been underestimated in representations of subjectivity. All the same, it is not in terms of influences, particularly on Freud, that this new model must be considered, but rather insofar as "it very effectively undermined the bases of the classic representation of the conscious subject and his strength of will".[7]

To sum up, the "psychopathological" source is the most visible part of this of this story, exploring the phenomena of dual (split) personality, hysteria, neuroses and so on, through those "strange states of consciousness" of hypnosis and somnambulism. The last two decades of the century saw not only an extraordinary vogue for hypnotism which spread throughout Europe,[8] but also a reconfiguring of the field of psychiatry, starting with a new definition of hysteria. Indeed, from 1870 onwards, Jean Martin Charcot[9] was opposed to a conception of hysteria as an illness which simulated all other illnesses. He endeavored to describe hysteria as a completely separate illness, characterized by a set of symptoms, even though no lesions can be discerned in the brain *post-mortem.* He provides a scientific warning about hypnosis by using it at the Salpétrière Hospital in Paris in order to reproduce hysterical symptoms experimentally. According to Jean Martin Charcot (1825-1893) only hysterics can be hypnotized, and the subjects' acting out of the hypnotist's suggestions is by definition one of the characteristics of these somnambulists.

At a time when hypnotic phenomena and dual personality were in vogue, the French psychologist Pierre Janet (1825-1893), another contemporary of Freud, thought of these phenomena as the expression of subconscious phenomena. In his thesis *L'Automatisme psychologique* (1889)[10] Pierre Janet studied hysterical women by using hypnosis as an experimental method and highlighted the activities which he qualified as inferior or automatic which were usually inhibited in normal subjects by superior functions. Pierre Janet was interested in the phenomena which elude the will of the subject: he studied, for example, the manner in which hypnotized subjects and spirit mediums wrote texts without

[5] Eduard von Hartmann, *Philosophie de l'inconscient*, 1869. See also the reports by Charles Secrétan « Une nouvelle philosophie par E. de Hartmann », *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie et compte rendu des principales publications scientifiques à l'Etranger*, n° 2, April 1872, pp.219-257et n° 3, July 1872, pp.345-422.

[6] M.Gauchet, « Du réflexe à l'inconscient », *Psychiatrie, Sciences humaines, Neurosciences*, vol.5, n°2, 2007, pp.89-96.

[7] M.Gauchet, *L'inconscient cérébral*, Seuil, 1992, p.32.

[8] See also J.Carroy, *Hypnose, suggestion et psychologie. L'invention de sujets,* PUF, 1991.

[9] Jean-Martin Charcot was a member of the *Académie de médecine* in 1872 ; his research on hysteria was an important event.

[10] P.Janet (1889), *L'Automatisme psychologique*, Paris, Republished by the Pierre Janet Society, 1973.

apparently being aware, in an automatic way. For him, these facts could not be reduced to physiological causes, as in the thinking of Théodule Ribot (1825-1893), founder of French psychology, and Jean Martin Charcot, but had a psychological nature insofar as they are accompanied by a certain, if rudimentary, form of consciousness. It is for this reason that he speaks of subconscious phenomena, that is to say phenomena situated at a deeper level than normal consciousness. That of hysterics, due to their more or less congenital psychological weakness, exacerbated by emotional shocks experienced by the subject over the course of their life, can only contain and synthesize a small number of mental states. This "shrinking of the field of consciousness" as he called it explains the "dissociation" of the self which can lead to the formation of a dual personality. Pierre Janet thus attempted to account for the phenomena of duality which his contemporaries were studying. Several authors popularized this notion of a "double-self".[11] Pierre Janet went on to extend the research of his humanities thesis: in 1893 he published his medical thesis under the title *L'Etat mental des hystériques*,[12] [The Mental State of Hysterics] with a preface by Jean Martin Charcot, in which Janet focused on the notion of "field of consciousness" and "its shrinking" in patients due to their psychological weakness.

In conclusion, the subconsciousness to which Pierre Janet is referring is the site of expression of an inferior and pathological consciousness. This shows that the psychologists, even those who, like Pierre Janet, claimed priority over Sigmund Freud, were very far from considering this radically new object to be the same as the Freudian unconscious. Indeed, for Freud, the unconscious was constitutive of all human psyche, whether normal or pathological. Sigmund Freud and Pierre Janet both collaborated with Jean Martin Charcot. Together they were perceived, at the end of the nineteenth century, as researchers and therapists each engaged in researching a psychology of hysteria, and later the psychasthenia of obsessive-compulsive disorders, and are often cited together. However, from this point on they each developed differing conceptions of the phenomena which eluded consciousness. From 1895, Sigmund Freud suggested a form of hysteria which results from defense mechanisms rather than from psychological weakness. This then led him to formulate the hypothesis of an unconscious, which cannot become conscious because it is repressed.

1895 is indeed the year in which Freud published his *Studies on Hysteria*.[13] Because it is the problem of hysteria which, through Jean Martin Charcot, Josef Breuer and Anna O., and possibly also through reading Pierre Janet's *L'automatisme psychologique* [Psychological Automatism], set Sigmund Freud on the path to his later discoveries. From 1896 onwards, he proposed a general theory of neuroses as opposed to neuroses *per se* (neurasthenia and anxiety disorders) whose origins lie in the current sex life of the patient, or psychoneuroses (hysteria and obsessive-compulsive disorder) linked to sexual trauma – whether real or imagined – in early childhood. He then applied the symbolic realizations of unconscious desires, the theoretical model he had devised for hysteria, to dreams and "faulty acts".[14] *The Interpretation of Dreams*[15] and *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*[16] clearly constitute a reconsideration of the primacy of the conscious mind in traditional philosophies. It is because the topic became divided that after 1900 Freud could state that "the unconscious mind is the psyche itself and its essential reality". 1900 also saw the publication of Flournoy's book *Des Indes à la Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*[17] [From India to Planet Mars: A Study of a Case of Somnambulism with Glossolalia], which was responsible for initiating the public to the theory of the subconscious. As Pierre Bovet[18] pointed out in his *hommage* to Flournoy, "the subconscious to which Flournoy introduced his students lies at the meeting point between three strands of research".[19]

This first strand was medical, and tapped into three *de facto* orders: hypnotism, the spontaneous disaggregation of the personality, and the psychopathology of everyday life. It is certainly the axis along which Jean Martin Charcot and Sigmund Freud situated themselves, but also Flournoy's long monograph[20] devoted to a spirit medium, whom he called

[11] E.g. the work of philosopher and doctor Max Dessoir (1867-1947), a major figure in the hypnotism movement.
[12] P.Janet (1893), *L'Etat mental des hystériques*, republished by L'Harmattan, 3 vol., 2007.
[13] S.Freud, J.Breuer (1895), *Etudes sur l'hystérie*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1956.
[14] *Parapraxis*, now known more colloquially as 'Freudian slips'.
[15] S.Freud (1899-1900), « L'interprétation des rêves », *Œuvres Complètes Psychanalyse*, IV, Presses Universitaires de France, 2004.
[16] S.Freud (1901), *La psychopathologie de la vie quotidienne*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988.
[17] T.Flournoy, *Des Indes à la Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*, In-8, XII and 420p. With 44 figures. Genève 1900, Eggimann.
[18] P.Bovet, « L'inconscient à Genève », *Internationale Zeitschrift fürPsychoanalyse*, VII, 1921, pp.129-131.
[19] Ibid, p.130.
[20] T.Flournoy, op. cit..

Hélène Smith, and whose real name was Elise Müller. This woman was a commercial employee who maintained that she was constantly guided in life by Leopold, a singularly possessive and authoritarian spirit who was her protector and advisor. He manifested himself during spiritualist séances by dictating messages or by speaking through her mouth. She "relived" and performed, in a state of somnambulism, previous existences: she had apparently had successive lives as a Hindu princess, and then Marie-Antoinette herself. To this "Hindu cycle" and "royal cycle", as Flournoy designated them, must be added the "Martian cycle," during which Hélène Smith entered into a relationship with the planet Mars and its inhabitants. In this cycle in particular, she presented a glossolalia: she spoke and transcribed the "Martian language", studied by the linguist Victor Henry[21] from 1901. Flournoy interpreted these phenomena in psychological terms: according to him, Hélène, as all mediums, was a very suggestible subject who, influenced as much by spiritualism as by the interest Flournoy showed in her, organized her childhood daydreams into coherent narratives which were the product of her subliminal imagination. As for Leopold, he equates to a subconscious personality of the medium. As Flournoy himself pointed out, neither the Genevan spirits nor Hélène Smith agreed with his interpretations.

The second strand was metapsychical. At the end of the nineteenth century, the considerable interest in the occult which was flourishing in America also swept through Europe. If humans have hidden powers, people wanted to prove it scientifically. The Englishman Frederick Myers (1843-1901),[22] a personal friend of Flournoy, is an excellent example of this. Indeed, in 1903 Flournoy dedicated a major article to him in the *Archives de Psychologie*,[23] the journal founded in 1902 with Edouard Claparède.[24] Flournoy was interested in Myers' theory of the subliminal self. For Myers, heir to the trends of magnetism and romanticism, the empirical or supraliminal self is far from an understanding of all of our conscious mind or our faculties: if deeper levels exist, there must also be a consciousness which is far greater, with unexploited faculties which are sometimes revealed in certain states such as trance or somnambulism, and of which most remain virtual. His conception of the subliminal self therefore both heightens and deepens the conventional conception of the human personality. Myers' psychologist-metaphysician method would therefore serve to broaden the spectrum of the conscious mind; to establish a natural series of facts which, using as its starting point that which academic psychology considered to be acquired – the phenomena of hysterical dissociation for example – lead the reader, through a series of transformations, towards the manifestations of lucid ecstasy or of mediumnity, thereby demonstrating the continuity and natural affinity which exist between the most banal and the most extraordinary.

Flournoy returns to the theme of the subconscious by situating himself closer to Frédéric Myers than to Pierre Janet, even though he rejects the metaphyscial aspect of Myers' work and distances himself from some aspects of it. And so it is that Flournoy, a member of the Society for Psychic Studies in Geneva, who studied spirit and parapsychological phenomena, thought that behind the potential of certain mediums lie only the normal mechanisms, including that of the unconscious mind. With the medium Hélène Smith, he investigated and wrote his famous work *From India to Planet Mars*, in which he demonstrated the capacities of this woman to speak Sanscrit and Martian by working with Ferdinand de Saussure[25] to understand glossolalia.[26] He postulates the efficacy of a subliminal unconscious which is differentiated from the Freudian unconscious by its cryptomnesic, compensatory and, above all, mythopoetic dimensions.[27] According

[21] V.Henry, *Le langage martien*, Paris Maisonneuve, 1901..

[22] F.W.H.Myers (1843-1901), author of *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death* (1903).

[23] T.Flournoy, « F.W.H.Myers et son œuvre posthume », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.2, 1903, pp.269-296.

[24] Ed Claparède (1873-1940), Genevan doctor and psychologist born into a patrician family. From the early twentieth century, he became the central person around which all psychology in Geneva was organized. Co-founder of the *Archives de psychologie* with Théodore Flournoy in 1901, he was editor from 1921. In 1912 he founded the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute, and in 1926 became the permanent secretary of the conferences on Psychology.

[25] F.de Saussure (1857-1913). See O.Flournoy, *Théodore et Léopold, de Théodore Flournoy à la psychanalyse*, A la Baconnière, Neuchâtel, 1986. See also O.Flournoy, « Sigmund Freud, le psychanalyste, Ferdinand de Saussure le linguiste. Deux contemporains de génie. Convergences, divergences. », Lecture given at the University of Geneva by Olivier Flournoy, 11 January 2007 organized by the *Centre de psychanalyse Raymond de Saussure* in Geneva.

[26] See also M Cifali, « Une glossolale et ses savants : Elise Muller, alias Hélène Smith », *La linguistique fantastique*, Paris, Clims-Noël, 1985, pp.236-245 ; M Cifali, « La fabrication du martien : genèse d'une langue imaginaire», *Langages*, n°91, 1988, pp.39-60. See also M Yaguello, « Introduction », in T Flournoy (1900), *Des Indes à La Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1983 (reedition), pp.7-16; M Yaguello, » Postface I. Psychanalyse et linguistique, première rencontre », Ibid, pp.365-370 ; M Yaguello, *Les fous du langage*, Editions du Seuil, 1984.

[27] Mythopoetic : myth-making.

to Henri Ellenberger[28] It would seem that it was Myers who forged the term of the mythopoetic unconscious to describe an unconscious activity of the "subliminal self" (in other words the unconscious) in which there is a constant and strange process of story-making. These are the stories that we constantly tell ourselves, often barely imperceptibly, but which may emerge in dreams, somnambulism, hypnosis, médiumnic trances and so on, as well as in certain forms of delirium. It is precisely this mythopoetic unconscious that Flournoy explored in *From India to Planet Mars* in which he showed that it is a playful activity, distinguished from the truly creative activity of the unconscious by a particular tendency for mystification: as much self-mystification as the mystification of others. Confronted with the subliminal creations of his medium Hélène Smith, Flournoy also fell foul of "transference".[29] This quest drove him to quickly read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*. Even though he still had reservations regarding the Freudian discovery, and above all his theory of the sexual etiology of neuroses, he would give an account in French of several publications on psychoanalysis in the *Archives de psychologie*. In 1913, Flournoy gave a course on psychoanalysis at the University of Geneva.[30] There was no doubt that, from the beginning of the century until the First World War, French-speaking Switzerland was a central hub in the discovery of the unconscious and the spread of psychoanalysis in francophone countries. The *Archives de Psychologie* regularly published and discussed psychoanalytical works in German, and several original dissertations directly addressed Freudian doctrine. These were the reality for the many Swiss doctors and psychologists[31] who were interested in psychology in all its aspects. The principal centers of interest of this eclectic journal were psychic phenomena; the psychology of children, both normal and abnormal; and psychopathology. It is moreover by presenting and analyzing an article by the Protestant pastor Adolf Keller (1872-1963), one of the most significant representatives of the psychoanalytic school of Zurich, in the *Archives de Psychologie* in 1913, that Flournoy heralded in a premonitory fashion the rupture which was to take place between the Zurich and Vienna schools of thought.[32]

In rejecting spiritualist beliefs, he himself defined his attitude in two pairs of principles that he judged indispensable to working scientifically:

- in metapsychics, Hamlet's principle that "everything is possible" and that of Laplace that "the burden of proof must be proportionate to the strangeness of the facts;"
- in religious psychology, the principle of exclusion of transcendence and that of biological interpretation. The principle of the exclusion of transcendence which reproduces the Kantian distinction between *Wissen* and *Glauben* [Knowledge and Belief] is stated in his work, from his first book *Métaphysique et Psychologie* [Metaphysics and Psychology].[33]

The place of Flournoy in the diffusion of psychoanalysis in French-speaking Switzerland is central. Through his interest in occultism and mysticism,[34] he is at the heart of a questioning of the relationships between psychoanalysis and occultism which, until 1910, Freud addressed briefly, uneasily and with skepticism. How was psychoanalysis flirting with the occult? In what ways were they differentiated? The debate took place, with Jung as interlocutor, but with Flournoy nevertheless remaining in the background. It is interesting to point out to the reader the negligence of the specialists in ignoring the role played by Flournoy in Freud's relationship to occultism, notably in the evocation of the question of telepathy.[35]

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[28] J.Mousseau, « Entretien avec le Professeur Henri Ellenberger », *Psychologie, comprendre, savoir, agir dans le monde d'aujourd'hui*, n°27, April 1972, p.40.

[29] M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », *Nervure*, t.VIII, n°8, 1995, p.13. See also O.Flournoy, *Théodore et Léopold, de Théodore Flournoy à la psychanalyse*, op. cit. ; « Les Flournoy », *Tribune de Genève*, 15/10/2005.

[30] M.Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime (posface II) », *Des Indes à la Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1983, reedition, pp.371-385, p.378. This course is incidentally mentioned in the Viennese journal of pychoanalysis the *Internationale zeitschrift für ärzliche psychoanalyse*, vol.2, 1914,p.297.

[31] A Maeder, P Menzerath, P Bovet, Ladame, C.G.Jung, for example.

[32] T.Flournoy, « Ad.Keller, Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse: considérations impassibles dans le combat autour de la psychonalyse (Kirchenblatt für reformierte Schweiz, 3 et 10/02/1912), *Archives de Psychologie*, t.13, 1913, pp.202-203, p.203.

[33] T.Flournoy, *Métaphysique et psychologie*. Genève, 1890, 1 vol.in-8, 195p.

[34] See T.Flournoy, « Une mystique moderne » (Documents pour la psychologie religious), *Archives de Psychologie*, t.15, 1915, pp.1-224.

[35] C Moreau, Freud et l'occultisme, Privat, Toulouse, 1976.

The third strand is theological, in which the ideas of the American philosopher William James (1842-1910), one of the founders of pragmatism and a childhood friend of Flournoy, play a major role.[36] In 1911 Flournoy even devoted a small book to him which he entitled *La Philosophie de William James*.[37] Influenced by James' pragmatism, he shared with him the need for clarity and life and above all this disgust with the construct within psychological studies for live observation. Concerning James, Flournoy also stated that: "His philosophy actually lies more in an attitude which is communicated by the contagion of sentiment, than in a doctrine which is taught through didactic means".[38] The Genevan tradition of religious psychology is illustrated by Flournoy's work which disseminates the theses of William James[39]. From 1895, the Genevan Protestants became interested in James's research. In 1904-1905, Flournoy gave a series of lectures at the University of Geneva on a newly-named discipline: "religious psychology". In his mind, this expression did not involve "any religious character, any more than antireligious". For him it was a matter of applying to the religious life the same observational processes as experimental psychology attempted to apply to psychic life in general. Moreover, his last major work, *Une mystique moderne* [A Modern Mystic], published in the *Archives de Psychologie,* is entirely devoted to religious psychology.[40] Furthermore it is in this second and last clinical study that he again states that:

> "The overall approach of the Zurich School must be much more sympathetic than that of the Vienna School to religious people in our land, because it places more emphasis on points of contact and mutually supportive relationships than there are between Psychoanalysis and religion (particularly Christianity)".[41]

In "Religion et Psychoanalyse"[42] Flournoy explains the physiological and psychological point of view of the phenomenon of religious sentiment. This is seen as the supreme fulfilment of the human personality, the sublimation of our many instinctive drives. Flournoy therefore has a valid claim to a place in the history of psychoanalysis,[43] because even before Jung (1875-1961) came to represent psychoanalysis in Switzerland it was Flournoy who interested the doctors, pastors and pedagogues in the rise of the new science. [44]

At this point I would like to digress slightly on the subject of the tradition inherited by Oskar Pfister (1873-1956),[45] that of the cure of souls (*Seelsorge*).[46] This typically Protestant institution does not exist in the Catholic Church, which itself is more concerned with the practice of individual confession to a priest, who is strictly bound by the seal of the

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[36] See Théodore Flournoy's letters to William James : Flournoy T., « Letters to William James", Departement Manuscript, Houghton Library of the Harvard Collège Library, Oct.15, 1890-July 20 1910. See also Théodore Flournoy's bibliographic summary on William James's book in the *Archives de Psychologie* : Flournoy T., « W.James.- The Varieties of Religious Experience. A Study in Human Nature. London, 1902, Longmans, Green et Cie.534 p.", *Revue Philosophique*, t.2, 1902, pp.517-527. See also Ed.Claparède, « William James (1842-1910) », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.10, 1910-1911, pp.96-105.

[37] T.Flournoy, La Philosophie de William James, St-Blaise, un vol., 222 p., 1911.

[38] T.Flournoy, Ibid, p.191.

[39] See P.Borgeaud, « L'histoire des religions à Genève. Origines et métamorphoses », *Asdiwal*, n 1, 2006, p.20.

[40] T.Flournoy, « Une mystique moderne », op. cit.. See also H.Silberer, « Mystik und Okkultismus », *Jahbuch der Psychoanalyse*, 1914, pp.414-424, and O.Pfister, « Theodor Flournoy », *Internationale Zeitschrift fûr Psychoanalyse*, VII, 1921, pp.101-106.

[41] T.Flournoy, Ibid, p.220.

[42] T.Flournoy, « Religion et Psychanalyse ». Notes for a lecture given on 27 septembre 1916 at Sainte-Croix and 24 January 1917 at the Society of Theology and Philosophy. Published in *Bloc-notes de la Psychanalyse*, 4, 1984, pp.191-199.

[43] On the history of psychoanalysis in Switzerland, see the texts of H F Ellenberger, « La psychiatrie suisse », *l'Evolution psychiatrique*, n°XVI-XVIII, 1951-1953 and also *Histoire de la découverte de l'inconscient*, Fayard, Paris 1994 ; F. Meerwein, « Réflexions sur l'histoire de la Société suisse de Psychanalyse en Suisse alémanique », *Bulletin de la Société suisse de Psychanalyse*, n°9, 1979, pp.40-54.M.Roch, « A propos de l'histoire de la psychanalyse en Suisse romande », ibid, n°10, 1980,pp.17-30. See also A.Haynal, « Les Suisses-En psychanalyse », *Le Bloc-notes de la psychanalyse*, n°4, 1984, pp.163-170.

[44] See M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », op. cit..

[45] Pfister was a Swiss pastor and pedagogue and long-term friend of Sigmund Freud. We know from his correspondance with Freud (Editions Gallimard, October 1966) their discussion about religion and Pfister's rôle in the writing of Freud's 1927 book « L'avenir d'une illusion », *Œuvres complètes*, XVIII, pp.145-197.

[46] See J.Besson, « Freud et Pfister, des protestants sexuels », op. cit., p21; M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », op. cit., pp.14-15 ; H.F.Ellenberger, « La psychiatrie suisse », op. cit.,n°III, pp.139-142. See also M.Baron, *Oskar Pfister, pasteur à Zurich 1873-1956. Psychanalyse et Protestantisme*, Editions du Monde Interne, 1999.

confessional. Priests thus accumulate a body of psychological knowledge, systematized to a certain extent in the manuals of moral theology, but the very nature of the rigor of the seal of the confession means this knowledge becomes abstract.

The Protestant reformers abolished compulsory confession, but among the Protestant communities a new practice and a new tradition emerged, that of the cure of souls.[47] Certain Protestant ministers had a particular spiritual gift which meant they were capable of receiving the confidence of a painful secret which tormented distressed souls and helped them to surmount their difficulties.

According to Henri Ellenberger,[48] the first doctor to work on the notion of a pathogenic secret and who systematized this as well as its intrinsic therapeutic was the Austrian doctor Moriz Benedikt (1835-1920) in Vienna. Between 1864 and 1895, he published a series of articles, in which he showed that hysteria, as well as other neuroses, are often rooted in a painful secret, most often connected with the sex life of the patient, and that many patients may be cured by confessing their pathogenic secrets and the solution of the related problems. In 1893, Sigmund Freud together with Josef Breuer indicated, in a note, that it was in certain remarks by Benedikt that he had found the closest ideas to their theoretical and therapeutic position. In the later evolution of psychoanalysis, the notion of the pathogenic secret[49] was gradually absorbed into those of traumatizing memories, of repression and sentiments of neurotic guilt. Jung[50] attached much importance to this notion, which he had probably heard about from his pastor father.

Oskar Pfister was therefore the first to apply psychoanalysis to "*Seelsorge*". He saw in psychoanalysis, to a certain point at least, a rediscovery and sophistication of the traditional cure of souls and had always considered his psychoanalytic practice to be a part of his pastoral work. Pfister was also the first to apply psychoanalysis to education.[51] In his Zurich parish his work involved caring for children, and he very soon asked the question: could not pedagogy inspired by psychoanalysis provide a prophylaxis for adult neuroses? And his answer was yes, and in this sense he is one of the precursors of the analytical pedagogy of which Anna Freud would later become an eminent representative.

The educator, as Pfister reiterated in his books and lectures, must eliminate the damaging inhibitions which originate from the unconscious powers, and subject these forces, once uncovered, to the mastery of the moral personality. Above all, he emphasized what was a new and revolutionary idea at the beginning of the century, that the educator would substitute the unconscious repression with a conscious repression. Therefore the educator needs to talk about sexuality, and in very precise terms, because psychoanalytical education has the essential task of prevailing over the sexual images already present, but repressed, which arrest normal development and often bring about mental illness.

The religious element must find its place in education, as Pfister stated in his *La psychanalyse au service des éducateurs*[52] but not in a haphazard way:

> "When it's a matter of interpreting manifestations, it goes without saying that the moral judgment must not intervene, because it is essentially about determining what is, not what should be. But then, when it's a matter of adapting the forces observed to conscious life, the pedagogical purposes play an important role…I am not afraid to declare that a healthy moral and religious conception of life, which is moreover for thousands of healthy people an indispensable support and blessing, and the most powerful auxiliary of an analytical education. Psychoanalysis has profoundly moral principles which only vulgar, cynical men

[47] See J.Besson, « Freud et Pfister, des protestants sexuels », Nervure, t.VIII,n°8, 1995, pp.20-22 ; M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », op. cit..

[48] H F Ellenberger, *Histoire de la découverte de l'inconscient*, op. cit..

[49] For the future developments of this notion see J.Dupont, « Repères sur la question du trauma : Freud, Balint, Abraham et Torok », *La psychanalyse avec Nicolas Abraham et Maria Torok*, Erès, 2001, pp.77-79 and S.Tisseron, « Toujours le secret suinte.. », *Enfances et psy,* 2, n°39, 2008, pp.88.96.

[50] C.G.Jung, « Psychanalyse et cure d'âme », *L'Ame et le Soi*, 1990, pp.181-189.

[51] See J Besson, « Freud et le pasteur Pfister », *Thèse*, Université de Lausanne, Faculté de médecine, 1986 ; D.Milhaud-Cappe, *Freud et le Mouvement de Pédagogie psychanalytique 1908-1937*, Paris Librairie Philosophique J.Vrin, 2007 ; A.Ohayon, « Psychanalyse et éducation, une histoire d'amour et de désamour 1908-1968 », *Revue Cliopsy* n°1, 2009, pp.25-40 ; M.Cifali, F Imbert, *Freud et la pédagogie*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998.

[52] Pfister, *La Psychanalyse au service des éducateurs*, Ernest Bircher Editeur Berne, 1921.

> may sully: liberate the instinctive forces which are missing in the conscious personality and susceptible to being controlled by the spirit, destroy the illusions which sometimes mean living a lie ones whole life, spiritualize the personality, the intransigent problem of truth for an honest soul which aspires not to see themselves as they really are…. Who could deny the moral character of these demands? Life, nobly conceived as the realm of moral purposes, also opens us to a wide range of neuroses which are a powerful stimulus for their aspirations for freedom, turn the best forces of their personality towards emancipation through analysis and open them up to the life which will lead them from the dreams of neurosis to the world of realities." [53]

Also, for Pfister, the prevention of neuroses is achieved through analytical education, and religion is a preferred route for the sublimations necessary in achieving a healthy and fulfilled life, and on these two points, he would never really be contradicted by Freud, as can be seen from their *Correspondance*.[54]

Many Swiss psychoanalysts, other than pastors, had a deep wish to create a "reformed psychoanalysis"[55] which was "Protestant" and stripped of its hypothesis of a sexual etiology of neuroses. Flournoy sincerely believed in a reformed psychoanalysis, as it was called at the time: in a psychology of the depths, not Aryan but culturally determined by Protestantism. He returned to these controversies around Freudian psychoanalysis in the *Archives de Psychologie* in 1913,[56] beginning with several reviews of articles on books on psychoanalysis and offering a precursor of the inevitable separation of the schools of Zurich and Vienna.[57] Flournoy would even go to the Munich Congress,[58] the site of this separation, to support Jung as he endured this painful process.

At the center of the quarrels was sexuality, but also the fact that at Zurich the seculars – pastors and educators – had appropriated the new therapeutics which, for the lesser of two evils, should have remained within medical circles.[59] This was however qualified, and at times even recognized. Freud was often spared, and only the fanatics of the Zurich school were taken to task. Although Jung was not cited by name, he felt targeted, insulted and slandered. He consulted a shrewd lawyer about defending himself, but the attack was too indirect to warrant a legal case. After three weeks, he settled for an official letter in the name of the International Psychoanalytical Association of which he was chairman.[60] This formal intervention really put the cat among the pigeons. Freud knew about it.[61] Jung had declared war on two

[53] Pfister , op. cit..

[54] Sigmund Freud, *Correspondance de Sigmund Freud avec le pasteur Pfister 1909-1939*, Gallimard, 1966.

[55] M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », op. cit. See also M.Cifali « Les chiffres de l'intime », op. cit.. See also M.Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », *Le Bloc-notes de psychanalyse*, n°4, 1984, pp.171-188.

[56] T.Flournoy, « Comptes rendus bibliographiques », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.XIII, 1913, pp.183-206. The collection of these ten reviews caused a great commotion according to Pfister. See Pfister, « Théodore Flournoy », op. cit.. These bibliographic reviews concern the psychoanalytic works of Bleuler, Jung, Pfister, Maeder, Keller, Rank.

[57] T.Flournoy, « Ad Keller, Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", opus cite, p.203.

[58] Se the publication of the pastor Adolf Keller who belonged to the Ortsgruppe Zürich and participated in the Munich Congress, « Aus der Frühzeit der Psychoanalytischen Bewegung : Sur le début du mouvement psychanalytique par A Keller », Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Psychologie und ihre Anwendungen, t.XV, 1956, pp.122-125. See M.Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », op. cit. et « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », op. cit..

[59] See for example n°3 of the *Revue d'Histoire Internationale de la Psychanalyse* devoted to the history of the exercise of psychoanalysis by non-doctors, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1990 ; C Bori , « Oskar Pfister, pasteur à Zurich et analyse laïque », *Revue internationale d'Histoire de la Psychanalyse*, n°3,1990, pp.129-143 ; M.Cifali, « De quelques remous helvétiques autour de l'analyse profane », ibid, pp.145-157. See also J Besson, « Freud et Pfister, des « Protestants sexuels » », op. cit.. See also S. Freud (1926), « La Question de l'analyse profane », *Œuvres complètes*, XVIII, pp.5-92. See also F Meerwein, « Réflexions sur l'histoire de la Société suisse de Psychanalyse en Suisse », op. cit..

[60] See « La lettre de Carl Gustav Jung » of 27/01/1912 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published and translated in M.Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », op. cit., p.187 (note 30).

[61] See S Freud, C G Jung, *Correspondance*, 1906-1914, Editions Gallimard,1992, p. 609 (Lettre 296 F)

fronts: he wrote *Metamorphoses and Symbols of the Libido* [62] and against his detractors in *Knowledge and Life* a long final response.[63] He would return to the pastor Adolf Keller,[64] to add the final touch.

"The great challenge issued in the press," as repugnant as it was, ended up in the *Journal of the Swiss Reformed Church.*[65] One cannot help wondering if the rupture between Jung and Freud did not involve the undisputed influence of Flournoy and the hoped-for perspective of a "Protestant psychoanalysis"?[66] Was it not the case that Adolf Keller's article "Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse" [Stable Considerations in the battle surrounding psychoanalysis][67] favored Geneva, the background to the rupture between Zurich and Vienna?[68] In his review of this publication Flournoy wrote:

> "It is clear that this excellent article is inspired by the same range and scale of viewpoints as the writings of Jung, etc. We have a good sense of the contrast between the purely psychobiological and narrowly positivist inclinations of the Viennese school, and that of the Zurich school which, while in no way compromising in terms of scientific rigor, demonstrates a far greater open-mindedness, a more delicate sensitivity, and a livelier preoccupation with moral, religious and pedagogic issues, etc. One wonders if this difference in temperaments will not result in a schism between the two schools, and to a bifurcation in the subsequent development of psychoanalytical doctrines."[69]

It could not be more explicit: bifurcation, schism, temperamental differences. Further on, in the bibliographic summary of Jung's *Metamorphoses and Symbols of the Libido,* invoking common sense, Flournoy wrote: "While it is easy to say, he writes, that science does not need to preoccupy itself with its moral consequences or with public opinion, the fact remains that gratuitously causing damage gets us nowhere".[70] And he adds: "It will be no small service for the Zurich school in general, and Dr Jung in particular, to have made the profound truth in Freud's discoveries more easily acceptable for the common understanding".[71]

In his 1913 *Cours sur la psychanalyse* [Lessons in psychoanalysis] he says "Should morality be a preoccupation of the psychanalyst or not? This is the point at which the rupture occurred".[72] The "spiritual" is preserved, but the "materialism" of Freud criticized. Jung is charming. "I prefer the notion of the Christian Ideal – which is itself that of the Psychoanalysts of the Zurich school (Pfister, Keller, Riklin, Maede, Bleuler) – to the Jewish notion of Religion subscribed to by the Freudian school," writes Flournoy in chapter four of his notes for a paper whose title turns out to be "Religion and Psychoanalysis".[73] Flournoy says "I prefer" ; and he adds that they are "Protestants, metaphysicians, theologians".[74] So

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[62] See the bibliographic reviews of T.Flournoy, « Dr C.G.Jung, wandlungen und symbole der Libido : Beiträge für entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens.412p.Leipzig, Deutike 1912 », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.XIII, 1913, pp.195-199

[63] The protestation of C G Jung , « Zur Psychoanalyse. Letter of28/01/1912 », *Wissen und leben*, t.IX, 1911-1912, pp.711-714. Jung's protestation is translated in M Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », op. cit., p.187 (note 31). Jung's response marks the end of a series of polemic articles in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* which appeared in January 1912, signed by Forel, Jung et Franz Marti among others. For the whole narrative of the controversy see H F Ellenberger, *Histoire de la découverte de l'inconscient*, op. cit., pp.830-836.

[64] A Keller, « Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 3* and *10/02/1912(Journal de l'Eglise Réformée Suisse)*

[65] A Keller, Ibid.

[66] M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », op. cit., p.15.

[67] T Flournoy, «Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 3 et 10/02/1912(Journal de l'Eglise Réformée Suisse* »,op. cit..

[68] M Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg »,op. cit..

[69] T.Flournoy, «Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 3 et 10/02/1912(Journal de l'Eglise Réformée Suisse* »,op. cit., p.203.

[70] T Flournoy, « Dr C.G.Jung, wandlungen und symbole der Libido : Beiträge für entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens.412p.Leipzig, Deutike 1912 », op. cit., p.199.

[71] T Flournoy, ibid, p.199.

[72] See M Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », op. cit., p.378.

[73] Flournoy T, « Religion et Psychoanalyse », op. cit., p.4.

[74] Ibid, p.4.

in 1916, Flournoy, the "*ami paternel*"[75] seems close to Jung, and who knows whether there was a link between Jung and Flournoy in which the work of Flournoy was nodal in Jung's early writings.[76] Also, to the extent that this connection may have had unknown implications,[77] did it not contribute to the rupture between Jung and Freud?
Indeed, many of the hypotheses[78] follow the rupture between Jung and Freud at the Munich Congress of 1913. A number of commentators who were interested in the history of the Jung-Freud schism seem to agree that this was underpinned by a series of complex problems situated, above all, at the crossroads of the three specific issues: a scientific issue, a political issue, and the challenge posed by the problem of the psychic origin of religious sentiment as well as that of the origin of religions.

The scientific issue is set against the background of the recognition of the unconscious by the psychiatric and medical community. This issue supports and strengthens those more closely linked to the interests of the two protagonists, namely metapsychology and the psychoanalytical curing of psychoses: early dementia for Jung, paranoia for Freud. In the background, but soon to come to take center stage, was the debate on child sexuality.[79] It led to Jung's attempt to distance himself from this in his work, preferring to favor the notions of a collective unconscious and archaic archetypes. His work entitled *Metamorphoses and Symbols of the Libido*, published in two parts in the *Jahrbuch* (1911-1912), was at the origin of profound theoretical divergences which would be very clearly asserted in the months preceding the rupture (1912).

The political issue[80] included both Freud's desire to ensure the transmission of the psychoanalytic corpus by bringing his credentials to the notice of the psychiatric and medical world, to organize his succession by appointing Jung "crown prince" and thus to attempt to liberate psychoanalysis from the Jewish "ghetto". Doctrine, fidelity to the Cause, succession and lineage, would therefore play a pivotal role in the organization of the International Association of Psychoanalysis of which Jung would become the first chairman (1910). The political issue became superimposed onto the scientific issue and thus came to compound it.

Finally, the challenge representing the psychic approach to religious phenomena, to belief and the origin of religions. We know that these issues were paramount in the redaction, between 1911 and 1913, of *Totem and Taboo*,[81] a text

[75] In the second Preface of *Métamorphoses de l'âme et ses symboles*, Genève, Librairie de L'Université, 1993, p.41, Jung refers to Flournoy as his « ami paternel et vénéré » [revered paternal friend].

[76] See J.S.Witzig, « Théodore Flournoy : A Friend Indeed », *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 1982,27, pp.131-148; B Hannah (1976), *Jung, his Life and Work*, New York, G.P.Putnam's; C.G.Jung (1976), '*C.G.Jung, Letters,2*, London, Routledge &Kegan Paul; and S.Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology*, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

[77] Unfortunately I have found no correspondance from either Théodore Flournoy or Carl Gustav Jung, although I have found some letters from Jung addressed to Claparède at the Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de Genève : Letters of 22/01/1906, 23/10/1907, 30/11/1907, 28/04/1911, 5/10/1916 and 01/06/1917. I have also searched for correspondence between Théodore Flournoy and Sigmund Freud but without success. Nevertheless, there is an important collection of the papers of Edouard Claparède at the Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique in Geneva and I have been able to find some letters from Flournoy addressed to Claparède: Letters of 17/01/1899, 11/03/1899, 23/07/1900, 11/08/1900, 25/03/1903, 10/07/1903, 3/08/1903, 17/08/1903, 1/04/1905 and 22/07/1915.

[78] See F Roustang, *Un destin si funeste*, Les Editions de Minuit, 1976; E.Roudinesco, *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France.1 1885-1939*, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1994 ; N.Kress-Rosen, *Trois figures de la passion*, Editions Arcanes, 1994; see no. 57 of the Freudian journal *Topique,* « Scissions psychanalytiques », Dunod, 1995. See also M.Cifal, « Le péché du désaccord », *Le Bloc-notes de la psychanalyse*, n°4, 1984, pp.119-134 ; J.Chemouni, « Savoir ou révélation : la mythologie à l'origine de la rupture entre Freud et Jung »,*Kentron, Revue du monde antique et de psychologie historique*, vol.15, fasc.1, 1999, pp.5-63 ; M.Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », op. cit. ; E.Jones, *La vie et l'œuvre de Sigmund Freud*, t.2, Quadrige,2006, pp.134-161. From the protagonists themselves: S Freud, C.G.Jung, *Correspondance 1906-1914*, op. cit. ; S.Freud, « Contribution à l'histoire du mouvement psychanalytique », *Cinq leçons sur la psychanalyse*, Payot & Rivages, 2001 ; C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées* collected and published by Aniéla Jaffé.Paris, Gallimard, 1973.

[79] See J.Chemouni's 1980 thesis « Quelques aspects de la symbolisation en psychanalyse: corps, ontogénèse, philogénèse et structuralisme » supervised by Professor Meslin (Paris IV)

[80] In *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France. 1 1885-1939,* E Roudinesco examines precisely the political ins and outs of this dissidence.

[81] S Freud (1912-1913), « Totem et Tabou", *Oeuvres completes*, XI, pp.192-385.

which aimed to establish that "the Oedipus complex contains the roots of religious sentiments"[82] and sought to demonstrate the truly instinctual character of religion. For his part Jung focused on the universality of the symbolism which he set against the universality of the Oedipus. *Totem and Taboo*, published in 1913, emphatically endorsed the fundamental theoretical opposition between the two men, an opposition which was to put an end to their relationship.

Forged at the crossroads of these different challenges, the very dense relationship which rapidly developed between the two men, and of which their correspondence provides a tangible and moving witness, shows how each of them, taking "one for another",[83] are each trapped in the misunderstandings which result in their efforts at communication being perpetually at loggerheads.[84] Thus it was that Freud, who sought above all in his pupil a brilliant disciple to hold high the banner in all the battles fought in his name, seems to have had difficulty in accepting a Jung who did not position himself systematically as an unquestioning follower of the Cause (*"in partibus infidelium"*),[85] and as a successor for whom the question of originality would not really apply. For his part, Jung, who wanted above all to be a brilliant leader and who was only partially seduced by a saga in which he would be no more than a "crown prince," did not want to subscribe to the position of Freud as a master in search of a disciple in order to preserve his heritage, but wanted Freud to encourage him in his originality and recognize him as different.

In the maelstrom of hypotheses and accounts, the focus was mostly on the divergences which were directly connected to psychoanalytical theory, and principally on the libido,[86] and on their relational difficulties,[87] sometimes blaming Freud for his misplaced authority with regard to his pupil, and sometimes for the latter for his unreasonable ambitions or his psychological imbalance. Regardless of the pertinence of these approaches, they ignore the undoubted influence of Flournoy's work on the creative unconscious in the paradigmatic role that Jung granted to mythology,[88] the origin of the theoretical discord between himself and Freud. Indeed, the shift in Flournoy's thinking, of a curiosity for a psychoanalytical understanding of occult manifestations,[89] lay at the heart of Jung's interest in mythology.

The tension only appears to have been between Zurich and Vienna. Nevertheless, there is one detail which is worthy of our attention. Flournoy, who was never part of the *Ortsgruppe Zürich*, nonetheless participated in the Munich Congress. Jung writes about this in *Ma vie: souvenirs, rêves et pensées* [My Life: memories, dreams and thoughts]:[90] "in 1912, I asked Flournoy to attend the congress at Munich during which my rupture with Freud occurred. His presence was a great comfort to me."[91] Freud relates this meeting with Flournoy in a letter addressed to Edouard Claparède in 1922,[92] when the latter had sent him the major biography[93] which he had just dedicated to his recently deceased master Flournoy. Here is what Freud wrote about it: "I deeply regret only having spoken briefly to Flournoy on one occasion and at a period of profound gloom and dissatisfaction, in a break between papers at the awful Munich Congress. This

[82] S. Freud, C. G. Jung, Correspondance 1906-1914, op. cit., Letter 270 F of 1 September 1911, pp556-.557.
[83] F Roustang, *Un destin si funeste*, op. cit..
[84] A de Mijolla, « Images de Freud au travers de sa correspondance », *Revue Internationale d'Histoire de la psychanalyse*, 2, 1989, pp.9-50.
[85] J Sédat, « D W Winicott.Lecture du livre de C.G. Jung : « Ma vie : souvenirs, rêves et pensées », *Cliniques Méditerrannéennes*, n°43-44, 1994, pp.201-202.
[86] See for example J. Chemouni's thesis « Quelques aspects de la symbolisation en psychanalyse : corps, ontogénèse, philogénèse et structuralisme », op. cit.
[87] See: D W Winnicott « D W Winicott.Lecture du livre de C.G.Jung : Ma vie : souvenirs, rêves et pensées », *Cliniques Méditerrannéennes*, n°43-44, 1994, pp. 202-212 ; S Lebovici, « Freud et Jung », *Psychiatrie de l'enfant*, vol.IX, 1, 1966, pp.225-249 ;M Bouraux-Hartemann, « Du fils », Topique,n°14, 1974,pp.70 ; N Kress-Rosen, *Trois figures de la passion* , op. cit..
[88] In Jung's work one cannot dissociate occultism from mythology.
[89] See M. Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », op. cit., p.379. Cifali remarks that the same slippage operated in other European capitals. Ain London, the spiritualist Myers introduces Freud to England, while Sandor Férenczi and Carl Gustav Jung are interested in the occult.
[90] C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées* recueillis et publiés par Aniéla Jaffé, op. cit..
[91] C G Jung, Ibid, pp.590-591.
[92] See the reproduction of this letter from Freud in M. Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », op. cit., pp.378-379.
[93] E Claparède, « Théodore Flournoy, sa vie et son œuvre », *Archives de Psychologie*, XVIII, 1923, pp.1-125.

perceptive man took the opportunity to congratulate me at a time when I was feeling very disappointed. We will also have the best memories of him".[94]

So Flournoy was there, but was he simply an observer? Flournoy was born in 1854, Freud in 1856. Only two years separated them; in the generational scheme of things, Flournoy represented more of a father figure for Jung. Their relationship was born at the beginning of the century, from the publication of *From India to Planet Mars*. Flournoy was then forty-six years old, and Jung, twenty-five. He made a great impression on him.[95] Two years later, Jung edited his medical thesis *Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogennanter occulter Phänomene* [On certain 'occult' phenomena][96] in which he cited Flournoy at least as much as – if not more than – Freud. Jung leant heavily on Flournoy's book to justify his thesis. In Geneva, in a review in the *Archives de Psychology* of 1903, Flournoy[97] welcomes this publication as "a happy sign of the times"[98]: they are united by their interest in occult events. Jung asks Flournoy for his advice on more than one occasion. "I called on him from time to time, he writes, and stayed in contact with him. It was important for me to know what he thought about Freud. He shared his very intelligent reflections on the subject. First and foremost, he emphasized Freud's willingness to maintain the rationalism of the Enlightenment; that explains much of his thinking and, notably, his partiality".[99]

There was nothing that could not be discussed between Flournoy and Jung. Jung wrote: he meets Flournoy and speaks with him about the scientific problems related to "somnambulism, parapsychology and the psychology of religion".[100] What did Freud know of Flournoy's considerable influence on his successor?[101] And what did Jung tell him about this? If we look at their correspondence,[102] Jung gives Freud news from Geneva but only from the point of view of a political strategy which allows the favorable extension of psychoanalysis. This is the case in his letter of 12 June 1907 addressed to Freud, in which he talks of Flournoy's relationship to psychoanalysis:

> "Your teachings have already gained a firm foothold with the psychologists in Geneva, although they still haven't been digested. I am reminded of the result of Claparède's visit, principally for me anyway: Claparède now wants to publish a big paper giving an overview of all my work in the *Archives de psychologie*. This would once again be symptomatic of the progress of the cause. Flournoy is also extraordinarily interested in it."[103]

Moreover, nothing is said about the meeting of minds which had come about between Flournoy and Jung; not a word about the veneration[104] of the "ami paternel" Flournoy had become. However, it is from Flournoy,[105] fittingly, that he borrows the content of an article entitled "Some instances of subconscious creative imagination. By Miss Frank Miller" which appeared in the *Archives de psychologie* in 1905, to write *Metamorphoses and Symbols of the Libido* which

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[94] S Freud, *Lettre à Edouard Claparède du 5 février 1922*, private archives of the descendants of E. Claparède.

[95] C G Jung, *Ma vie : Souvenirs, rêves et pensées,* op. cit., p.590.

[96] C G Jung (1902), « Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogenannter okkulter Phänomene », *Gesammelte Werke*,1,et § 1-150., Fr. transl. by Ed Godet et Y Le Lay : « A propos de certains phénomènes dits « ocultes ». Etude de psychologie et de pathologie. », *Phénomènes occultes suivi de Ame et mort,Croyance aux Esprits*, Aubier, Paris, 1939, pp.1-94. See also: « Psychologie et pathologie des phénomènes dits occultes », *L'Energétique psychique*, Genève, Georg, 1956, pp.118-218.

[97] T Flournoy, « C G Jung, Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogennanter occulter Phänomene.-121p.Leipzig, Mutze, 1902. », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.II, 1903, pp.85-87, p.85.

[98] Ibid, p.85.

[99] C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées,*op. cit.,p.590.

[100] Ibid, p.591.

[101] For more on this see Cifali, "Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », op. cit..

[102] S Freud, C G Jung, *Correspondance 1906-1914*, op. cit.

[103] Ibid, pp.112-113 (Lettre 31J)

[104] C G Jung, « Préface de la deuxième édition », *Métamorphoses de l'âme et ses symboles*, op. cit., p.41.

[105] T Flournoy, « Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente. Par Miss Frank Miller de New-York. », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.V, 1905, pp.36-51. The original English text appeared with a preface by James H. Hyslop (1854-1920), the American philosopher who in 1906 founded the Americain Society of Psychic Research: J H Hyslop, « Some instances of subconscious creative imagination. By Miss Frank Miller », *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research,* vol.1, n°6, pp.287-308, pp.287-288.

would be the book of the rupture with Freud and which would receive the approbation[106] of Flournoy. Indeed, *Metamorphoses and Symbols of the Libido* de 1912 is a broad amplification of the case of Miss Miller[107] published by Flournoy, presenting the imaginations and dreams of this young American woman as a document which allows us to better understand "the obscure processes of intellectual creation".[108] Indeed, it is about a young, somewhat romantic and neurotic woman who herself describes in the text published by Flournoy, by means of a little sentimental poem, how all of a sudden she was surprised by the coherent imaginary productions arising from the unconscious mind which broke into the consciousness. Jung utilized Miss Miller's narrative as a golden thread to reunite and classify by motifs the different mythological, religious and philosophical images and ideas originating from world history. These amplify the narrative, that is to say they give it an objective value by reconnecting it with its most archaic roots. This method of amplification[109] led to criticism of Jung, and the reader who ventures into *Metamorphoses of the Soul and its Symbols* may find their head spinning as they discover the study of a little poem leading them through the dawn of Christianity, to Egyptian and Jewish religions, to Hindu thought, to authors such as Goethe, Nietzsche and so on. The comparative method thus employed provides a particular approach to the history of religions.[110] It is valid because it allows the author to show that the apparently anodyne writings of Miss Miller conceal unconscious and involuntary references to traditional, antique themes, as is also ther case with dreams. This is what was already forming in Jung's head,[111] the notions of collective unconscious and of archetypes, these structures of symbolic thought which exist naturally even if culture comes to leave its mark. It is for this reason that, taking all these considerations into account, I have tried to reveal the importance of Flournoy's work, not just in terms of the beginnings of psychoanalysis in Switzerland, but above all in the development of Jung's research, because Flournoy was influential for Jung, and to show the extent to which his ideas contributed to the widening of the gap between Jung and Freud.

[106] C G Jung, « Préface de la deuxième édition », *Métamorphoses de l'âme et ses symboles*, op. cit., p.41.

[107] See S Shamdasani, « A woman called Frank », *Spring*, vol.50, 1990, pp.26-56. See C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées,*op. cit.,pp.261 et al. See also S Freud, C G Jung, *Correspondance1906-1914*, op. cit., pp431 (Letter 199 a F). See also T. Flournoy, « Dr C.G.Jung, wandlungen und symbole der Libido : Beiträge für entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens. 412p. Leipzig, Deutike 1912 », op. cit.

[108] T Flournoy, « Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente. Par Miss Frank Miller de New-York. »op. cit., p.36.

[109] By this method, the analysis of a dream "is supported by either the associative matter of the dreamer, or the tradition available to him, or even, to broaden the perspective, by the conventions of his historica milieu, and finally also by the fundamental conceptions shared by all men": A Agnel, *Jung. La passion de l'Autre*, Les Essentiels de Milan, p.58.

[110] The paranormal and mysticism play an essential rôle in Jung's later work.

[111] See C G Jung, « La structure de l'inconscient. Par M. le Dr C G Jung Zurich », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.XVI, 1916-1917, pp.152-179.

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CONTRIBUTION DE THEODORE FLOURNOY A LA DECOUVERTE DE L'INCONSCIENT

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Karima Amer. « Contribution de Theodore Flournoy à la découverte de l'inconscient ». *Eres* 2014/3 – No. 218 : pp46-61.

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Nous souhaitons envisager dans cette recherche historique la contribution de Théodore Flournoy (1854-1920) à la découverte de l'inconscient dans les conditions historiques originales de sa production et sans partis pris historiographiques. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous nous intéresserons dans cette publication à la généalogie du concept d'inconscient avant Freud de façon à exposer les travaux qui en Suisse romande ont amené à la découverte d'un inconscient subliminal, créateur et mythopoïétique à la fin du XIXème siècle.

L'origine du concept d'inconscient remonte nous rappelle Régine Plas,[1] au cœur du XIXème siècle, à la convergence de trois sources : philosophique, psychophysiologique et psychopathologique. En effet, avant Freud, le concept d'inconscient nourrit les réflexions de plusieurs philosophes[2] comme Arthur Schopenhauer[3] ou Eduard von Hartmann[4] qui avancent l'idée d'un inconscient vu comme une force vitale ou une perception non-consciente. C'est ainsi que Arthur Schopenhauer conçoit l'inconscient comme un attribut de la volonté. Pour lui, la volonté n'est pas la simple activité de l'esprit que nous connaissons tous, notamment lorsque nous disons de quelqu'un qu'il « manque de volonté ». C'est une force aveugle et irrationnelle qui anime toute chose, y compris la matière, une volonté de vivre universelle, constitutive de tout être. Elle n'est pas l'inconscient mais elle est inconsciente.

Mais le thème philosophique de l'inconscient a surtout été popularisé par Eduard Von Hartmann. Son ouvrage, *Philosophie de l'Inconscient*,[5] paru en 1869 suscite un engouement exceptionnel dans toute l'Europe. C'est la raison pour laquelle ce livre mérite d'être évoqué. Ce philosophe, contemporain de Freud est intéressant à considérer car la base de sa philosophie est précisément l'existence d'un inconscient psychique, conçu comme un principe universel. Cet inconscient synthétise les inconscients des philosophies qui l'ont précédé tout en intégrant à son système les théories de l'évolution et les nouvelles conceptions du fonctionnement des centres nerveux. Ainsi, durant les années 1840, les médecins Thomas Laycock et William Carpenter en Angleterre et le psychiatre Griesinger en Allemagne, étendent au fonctionnement du cerveau le schéma réflexe attribué jusqu'alors à la moelle épinière. Un modèle « psychophysiologique » de l'inconscient s'impose au XIXème siècle trouvant sa formulation définitive chez le neurologue anglais John Hughlings Jackson Les processus inconscients sont vus comme des activités réflexes forgées au cours de l'évolution. Ce modèle sera connu sous le nom de «cérébration inconsciente ».[6] Les psychophysiologistes affirment que le cerveau, considéré auparavant comme le siège de la conscience, est également à l'origine d'une activité automatique, de type réflexe à l'œuvre dans les phénomènes du magnétisme, les manifestations hystériques, le

[1] R. Plas, « L'inconscient avant Freud », *Sciences humaines*,n° 29 Juin 1993, pp.18-20.

[2] T. Bonfanti, « L'inconscient d'hier à aujourd'hui », *Sciences humaines*, n° 52 Juillet 1995.

[3] A. Schopenhauer (1788-1860), philosophe allemand ; son pessimisme le porte à chercher le bonheur dans l'extinction du vouloir vivre et de tout rapport avec le réel, on lui doit un essai sur le libre arbitre (1839).

[4] Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906)

[5] Eduard von Hartmann*, Philosophie de l'inconscient*, 1869.Voir aussi les comptes rendus de Charles Secrétan « Une nouvelle philosophie par E. de Hartmann », *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie et compte rendu des principales publications scientifiques à l'Etranger*, n° 2, Avril 1872, pp.219-257et n° 3, Juillet 1872, pp.345-422.

[6] M.Gauchet, « Du réflexe à l'inconscient », *Psychiatrie, Sciences humaines, Neurosciences*, vol.5, n°2, 2007, pp.89-96.

somnambulisme, le rêve. Ce nouveau modèle permet aussi de rendre compte des actions relevant de l'activité volontaire chez l'homme normal, mais qui semblent réalisées à l'insu du sujet. C'est le cas par exemple, de la résolution soudaine d'un problème auquel nous avions cessé de penser.

Marcel Gauchet démontre dans son livre *L'inconscient cérébral* à quel point a été sous évalué l'impact de la notion d'inconscient neurologique, mise en avant par les physiologistes, sur les représentations de la subjectivité. Toutefois ce n'est pas en termes d'influences, en particulier sur Freud, que ce nouveau modèle doit être pensé, mais en ce qu' « *il a très efficacement sapé les bases de la représentation classique du sujet conscient et de sa puissance volontaire* ».[7]

Pour finir, la source « psychopathologique » occupe la partie la plus visible de cette histoire, explorant les phénomènes de personnalité double, d'hystérie, de névroses ,… à travers ces « états étranges de conscience » que sont l'hypnose ou le somnambulisme. Durant les deux dernières décennies du champ de la psychiatrie, à partir d'une nouvelle définition de l'hystérie.

En effet, à partir de 1870, Jean Martin Charcot[8] s'oppose à une conception de l'hystérie comme maladie simulant toutes les autres. Il s'efforce de décrire celle-ci comme une maladie à part entière, caractérisée par un ensemble de symptômes, bien que nous puissions *post-mortem*, déceler aucune lésion du cerveau. Il fournit une caution scientifique à l'hypnose en l'utilisant à la Salpétrière afin de reproduire expérimentalement les symptômes hystériques. En effet, selon Jean Martin Charcot, seuls les hystériques sont hypnotisables et la mise en acte, par ces sujets, des suggestions de l'hypnotiseur est une des caractéristiques de ces somnambules par définition.

A une époque où les phénomènes d'hypnose et de personnalité double sont à la mode, Pierre Janet,[9] psychologue français et contemporain de Freud pense ces phénomènes comme l'expression de phénomènes subconscients. Dans sa thèse de lettres, *L'Automatisme psychologique* (1889),[10] Pierre Janet étudie des femmes hystériques en utilisant l'hypnose comme méthode expérimentale. Il met en évidence des activités qu'il qualifie d'inférieures ou d'automatiques habituellement inhibées chez l'homme normal par les fonctions supérieures. Pierre Janet s'intéresse aux phénomènes qui échappent à la volonté du sujet : il étudie, par exemple, la manière dont les hypnotisés ou les médiums spirites écrivent des textes sans en avoir apparemment conscience, de façon automatique .Pour lui, ces faits ne sont pas réductibles à des causes physiologiques, comme le pensaient Théodule Ribot[11], fondateur de la psychologie française ou encore Jean Martin Charcot, mais ils ont un caractère psychologique dans la mesure où ils sont accompagnés d'une certaine forme, rudimentaire, de conscience. C'est pourquoi il parle de phénomènes subconscients, c'est-à-dire situés en dessous de la conscience normale. Celle des hystériques, en raison de leur faiblesse psychologique plus ou moins congénitale accentuée par les chocs émotionnels subis par le sujet au cours de son existence, ne peut contenir et synthétiser qu'un petit nombre d'états mentaux. Ce *« rétrécissement du champ de la conscience »*, ainsi qu'il le nomme explique la « dissociation » du moi qui peut conduire à la formation d'une double personnalité. Pierre Janet tente ainsi de rendre compte des phénomènes de dédoublement très étudiés par ses contemporains. Plusieurs auteurs popularisent cette notion d'un « double-moi »[12]. Pierre Janet approfondit les travaux de sa thèse de lettre dans sa thèse de médecine publiée en 1893, sous le titre *L'Etat mental des hystériques*[13], préfacé par Jean Martin Charcot, en insistant sur la notion de « champ de conscience » et de « son rétrécissement » chez ces malades du fait de leur faiblesse psychologique.

En conclusion le subconscient auquel se réfère Pierre Janet est le lieu d'expression d'une conscience inférieure et pathologique. On voit par là que les psychologues, même ceux qui comme Pierre Janet, revendiqueront la priorité sur Sigmund Freud, sont très loin de considérer cet objet radicalement nouveau qu'est l'inconscient freudien. Pour Sigmund Freud, en effet, l'inconscient est constitutif de tout psychisme humain, qu'il soit normal ou pathologique.

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[7] M.Gauchet, *L'inconscient cérébral*, Seuil, 1992, p.32.

[8] Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893), membre de l'Académie de médecine en 1872 ; ses recherches sur l'hystérie constituèrent un événement.

[9] P. Janet (1859-1947)

[10] P. Janet (1889), *L'Automatisme psychologique*, Paris, Réédition de la société Pierre Janet, 1973.

[11] T. Ribot (1839-1916)

[12] Par exemple les travaux du philosophe et médecin Max Dessoir (1867-1947), une figure de l'hypnotisme.

[13] P. Janet (1893), *L'Etat mental des hystériques*, réédition L'Harmattan, 3 vol., 2007.

Sigmund Freud comme Pierre Janet ont tous deux fréquenté le service de Jean Martin Charcot. Ils se sont perçus, à la fin du XIXème siècle, comme des chercheurs et des thérapeutes engagés l'un et l'autre dans la recherche d'une psychologie de l'hystérie, puis de la psychasthénie et de la névrose obsessionnelle, et se sont souvent cités mutuellement. Cependant, ils ont élaboré dès cette époque des conceptions différentes des phénomènes échappant à la conscience. Sigmund Freud met en avant, dès 1895, une forme d'hystérie qui résulte de mécanismes de défense et non d'une faiblesse psychologique. Cela l'amène ensuite à formuler l'hypothèse d'un inconscient, qui ne peut pas devenir conscient car il est refoulé.

1895, en effet, est l'année de parution des *Etudes sur l'hystérie*[14]. Car c'est le problème de l'hystérie qui, à travers Jean Martin Charcot, Josef Breuer et Anna O., et peut-être aussi la lecture de *L'automatisme psychologique* de Pierre Janet, met Sigmund Freud sur la voie de ses découvertes ultérieures.

Dès 1896, il propose une théorie générale des névroses opposant aux névroses proprement dites (neurasthénie et névrose d'angoisse) dont l'origine se trouve dans la vie sexuelle actuelle du malade, les psychonévroses (hystérie et névrose obsessionnelle) liées à un traumatisme sexuel-réel ou fantasmatique-remontant à la petite enfance. Puis il applique aux rêves et aux « actes manqués », réalisations symboliques de désirs inconscients, le modèle théorique qu'il a imaginé pour l'hystérie. *L'interprétation des rêves* [15]et *Psychopathologie quotidienne* [16]constitue incontestablement une remise en cause du primat de la conscience des philosophies classiques. C'est parce que le sujet apparaît désormais comme divisé que Freud dès 1900, peut affirmer que *« l'inconscient est le psychique lui-même et son essentielle réalité »*.

1900 est aussi l'année de publication du livre de Théodore Flournoy *Des Indes à la Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*[17], recherche qui en Suisse romande initie le public à la théorie du subconscient. Comme l'a souligné Pierre Bovet[18] dans un hommage rendu à Théodore Flournoy, *« le subconscient auquel Flournoy a initié ses élèves est au point de rencontre de trois recherches, de trois ordres différents ».*[19]

La première médicale est nourrie de trois ordres de fait : l'hypnotisme, les désagrégations spontanées de la personnalité, la psychopathologie de la vie quotidienne. C'est bien la ligne sur laquelle se placent Jean Martin Charcot et Sigmund Freud mais aussi la longue monographie[20] de Théodore Flournoy consacrée à une médium spirite, qu'il appelle Hélène Smith, de son vrai nom Elise Müller. Cette femme, par ailleurs employée de commerce, se dit constamment guidée dans la vie par Léopold, un esprit singulièrement possessif et autoritaire qui lui sert de protecteur et de conseiller. Il se manifeste durant les séances de spiritisme en lui dictant des messages ou en parlant par sa bouche. Elle « revit » et met en scène, en état de somnambulisme, des existences antérieures : elle aurait été successivement princesse hindoue, puis Marie-Antoinette elle-même. A ce « cycle indoue » et à ce « cycle royal », comme Théodore Flournoy les désigne, il faut ajouter le « cycle martien », durant lequel Hélène Smith entrait en relation avec la planète Mars et ses habitants. Dans ce cycle en particulier, elle présente une glossolalie : elle parle et transcrit la « langue martienne », étudiée par le linguiste Victor Henry[21] dès 1901.Théodore Flournoy interprète ces phénomènes en termes psychologiques. Selon lui, Hélène comme tous les médiums, est un sujet très suggestible qui, influencé tant par le spiritisme que par l'intérêt que lui porte Théodore Flournoy, organise des rêveries infantiles en récits cohérents qui sont le produit de son imagination subliminale. Quant à Léopold, il est assimilé à une personnalité subconsciente du médium. Comme le signale Théodore Flournoy lui-même, les spirites genevois et Hélène Smith ne souscrirent point à ses interprétations.

La seconde métapsychique. En cette fin du dix-neuvième siècle, l'occultisme fleurit : la vague vient d'Amérique qui envahit l'Europe. On affirme que l'humain a des pouvoirs cachés et on veut le prouver scientifiquement. L'Anglais

[14] S. Freud, J. Breuer (1895), *Etudes sur l'hystérie*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1956.
[15] S. Freud (1899-1900), « L'interprétation des rêves », *Œuvres Complètes Psychanalyse*, IV, Presses Universitaires de France, 2004.
[16] S. Freud (1901), *La psychopathologie de la vie quotidienne*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988.
[17] T. Flournoy, Des Indes à la Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie, In-8, XII et 420p. Avec 44 figures. Genève 1900, Eggimann.
[18] P. Bovet, « L'inconscient à Genève », *Internationale Zeitschrift fürPsychoanalyse*, VII, 1921, pp.129-131.
[19] Ibid, p.130.
[20] T. Flournoy, opus cité.
[21] V. Henry, *Le langage martien*, Paris Maisonneuve, 1901..

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Frédéric Myers[22], ami personnel de Théodore Flournoy, en est un excellent exemple. Théodore Flournoy lui consacre d'ailleurs un article important dans les *Archives de Psychologie* [23]en 1903, revue fondée en 1902 avec Ed.Claparède[24]. Théodore Flournoy s'intéresse à la théorie du moi subliminal de Frédéric Myers. Pour Frédéric Myers, héritier des courants magnétiste et romantique, le moi empirique, ou supraliminal, est loin de comprendre la totalité de notre conscience ou de nos facultés : s'il existe des niveaux inférieurs, il existe aussi une conscience plus vaste, des facultés inexploitées, qui parfois se manifestent dans certains états comme la transe ou le somnambulisme, et dont la plupart restent virtuelles. Sa conception du moi subliminal élargit donc par le haut et par le bas l'idée que l'on se fait habituellement de la personnalité humaine. La méthode du psychologue-métaphysicien de Cambridge va donc consister à élargir le spectre de la conscience ; à établir des séries naturelles de faits qui, partant de ce que la psychologie académique considère comme acquis-les phénomènes de dissociation hystérique par exemple-conduisent le lecteur, de transition en transition, vers les manifestations de l'extase lucide ou de la médiumnité, montrant ainsi la continuité et l'affinité naturelle qui existent entre le plus commun et le plus extraordinaire.

Théodore Flournoy reprend le thème du subconscient en se situant plus par rapport à Frédéric Myers que par rapport à Pierre Janet même s'il rejette par ailleurs la métaphysique associée à l'œuvre de Frédéric Myers et s'il s'en démarque sur certains points.

Ainsi Théodore Flournoy qui fréquente la Société d'études psychiques de Genève, qui s'occupe de phénomènes spirites et parapsychologiques, pense que derrière les potentialités de certains médiums, il n'y a que des mécanismes normaux dont celui de l'inconscient. Avec la médium Hélène Smith, il quête et écrit son ouvrage célèbre, *Des Indes à la Planète Mars*, où il démontre les capacités de cette femme à parler sanscrit et martien en travaillant avec Ferdinand de Saussure[25] pour comprendre la glossolalie[26]. Il postule l'efficacité d'un inconscient subliminal qui diffère de l'inconscient freudien par ses dimensions cryptomnésique, compensatoire et, surtout mythopoïétique[27]. Il semblerait selon Henri Ellenberger[28] que ce soit Frédéric Myers qui forge le terme d'inconscient mythopoïétique pour désigner une activité inconsciente du « moi subliminal » (autrement dit de l'inconscient) où s'effectue constamment une étrange fabrication de romans. Ce sont les histoires que nous nous racontons constamment à nous-mêmes d'une façon souvent à peine perceptible, mais qui peuvent transparaître dans le rêve, le somnambulisme, l'hypnose, les transes médiumniques ou autres et certaines formes de délire. C'est précisément cet inconscient mythopoïétique que Théodore Flournoy explore dans son livre *Des Indes à la Planète Mars* où il montre qu'il s'agit d'une activité de jeu, se distinguant de l'activité proprement créatrice de l'inconscient par une tendance particulière à la mystification : aussi bien l'automystification que la mystification des autres. En se confrontant aux créations subliminales de son médium Hélène Smith Théodore Flournoy se brûle aussi à ce que nous nommons depuis Freud « amour de transfert »[29]. Cette quête le pousse à lire

[22] F.W.H. Myers (1843-1901), auteur de *La Personnalité humaine* (Alcan 1906)

[23] T. Flournoy, « F.W.H. Myers et son œuvre posthume », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.2, 1903, pp.269-296.

[24] Ed Claparède (1873-1940), médecin et psychologue genevois issu dune famille patricienne. Dès le début du XXème siècle, il devient la personne centrale autour de laquelle s'organise toute la psychologie à Genève. Co-fondateur des Archives de psychologie avec Théodore Flournoy en 1901, il en est l'éditeur dès 1921.Il fonde en 1912 l'Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, puis dès 1926, devient le secrétaire permanent des congrès de Psychologie.

[25] F.de Saussure (1857-1913). Voir le livre d'O. Flournoy, *Théodore et Léopold, de Théodore Flournoy à la psychanalyse*, A la Baconnière, Neuchâtel, 1986. Voir aussi O. Flournoy, « Sigmund Freud, le psychanalyste, Ferdinand de Saussure le linguiste. Deux contemporains de génie. Convergences, divergences. », Conférence donnée à l'Université de Genève par Olivier Flournoy, le 11 janvier 2007 organisée par le *Centre de psychanalyse Raymond de Saussure* de Genève.

[26] Voir les publications de M Cifali, « Une glossolale et ses savants : Elise Muller, alias Hélène Smith », *La linguistique fantastique*, Paris, Clims-Noël, 1985, pp.236-245 ; M Cifali, « La fabrication du martien : genèse d'une langue imaginaire», *Langages*, n°91, 1988, pp.39-60.Voir aussi M Yaguello, « Introduction », in T Flournoy (1900),*Des Indes à La Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1983 (réédition), pp.7-16; M Yaguello, »Postface I. Psychanalyse et linguistique, première rencontre »,Ibid , pp.365-370 ; M Yaguello, *Les fous du langage*, Editions du Seuil, 1984.

[27] Mythopoïétique : qui fabrique des mythes.

[28] J. Mousseau, « Entretien avec le Professeur Henri Ellenberger », *Psychologie, comprendre, savoir, agir dans le monde d'aujourd'hui*, n°27, Avril 1972, p.40.

[29] M. Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », *Nervure*, t.VIII, n°8, 1995, p.13.Voir aussi le livre d'O.Flournoy, *Théodore et Léopold, de Théodore Flournoy à la psychanalys*e, opus cité. Voir aussi la publication d'O.Flournoy, « Les Flournoy », *Tribune de Genève*, 15/10/2005.

rapidement la *Traumdeutung*[30] de Sigmund Freud. S'il demeure réservé quant à la découverte freudienne et surtout en ce qui concerne l'étiologie sexuelle des névroses, il va faire le compte rendu en français de plusieurs ouvrages de psychanalyse dans la revue les *Archives de psychologie*. En 1913, Théodore Flournoy donne à l'Université de Genève un cours sur la psychanalyse[31]. Nul doute que le Suisse romande fut du début du siècle jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale une plaque tournante dans la découverte de l'inconscient et la diffusion de la psychanalyse dans les pays de langue française .Les *Archives de Psychologie* publient et discutent régulièrement des travaux psychanalytiques en allemand. Ainsi plusieurs mémoires originaux portent directement sur la doctrine freudienne. Ils sont le fait de plusieurs médecins et psychologues suisses[32] qui s'intéressent à la psychologie dans toute son étendue. Les centres d'intérêt principaux de cette revue éclectique sont les phénomènes psychiques, la psychologie des enfants normaux et anormaux, la psychopathologie. C'est d'ailleurs en présentant et en analysant un article du pasteur Adolf Keller[33], un des représentants les plus marquants de l'école psychanalytique de Zurich, dans les *Archives de Psychologie*, en 1913, que Théodore Flournoy[34] annonce de manière prémonitoire la rupture à venir entre l'école de Zurich et l'école de Vienne.

S'opposant aux croyances spirites, il définit lui-même son attitude par deux couples de principes qu'il juge indispensable pour œuvrer scientifiquement :
-en métapsychique, le principe de Hamlet « tout est possible » et celui de Laplace « le poids des preuves doit être proportionné à l'étrangeté des faits »
-en psychologie religieuse, le principe d'exclusion de la transcendance et celui de l'interprétation biologique. Ce principe d'exclusion de la transcendance qui reproduit la distinction kantienne du Wissen et du Glauben est affirmé dès son premier livre *Métaphysique et Psychologie* [35]

La place de Théodore Flournoy dans la diffusion de la psychanalyse en Suisse romande est centrale. A travers son intérêt pour l'occultisme et la mystique[36], il est au cœur d'un questionnement sur les rapports entre psychanalyse et occultisme que Freud effleure avec inquiétude et scepticisme jusqu'en 1910.En quoi la psychanalyse flirte-t-elle avec l'occulte ? Comment s'en différencie-t-elle ? Le débat a lieu avec C.G.Jung comme interlocuteur mais où Théodore Flournoy demeure néanmoins à l'arrière-fond Il est intéressant de souligner au lecteur la négligence que les spécialistes[37] ont commise quant au rôle tenu par Théodore Flournoy dans la relation de Freud à l'occultisme notamment dans l'évocation de la question de la télépathie.

La troisième théologique où les idées de William James[38], ami de jeunesse de Théodore Flournoy[39] occupe une place importante. Il lui consacre par ailleurs un petit livre en 1911 intitulé *La philosophie de William James*[40]. Influencé par le pragmatisme de William James, il partage avec lui le besoin de clarté et de vie et surtout ce dégoût du construit dans l'étude psychologique pour une observation vivante. Aussi dit-il à propos de William James *« Sa philosophie consiste*

[30] S. Freud (1899-1900), *L'interprétation des rêves*, opus cité. Voir aussi le compte rendu bibliographique de Théodore Flournoy sur ce livre dans les *Archives de Psychologie* intitulé « S.Freud, Die Traumdeutung », Archives de Psychologie, t.2, 1903, pp.72-73.

[31] M. Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime (posface II) », *Des Indes à la Planète Mars, étude sur un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie,* Paris, Le Seuil, 1983, réédition, pp.371-385, p.378. Ce cours est annoncé du reste dans la revue psychanalytique viennoise qui est celle de *l'Internationale zeitschrift für ärzliche psychoanalyse*, vol.2, 1914, p.297.

[32] A. Maeder, P. Menzerath, P. Bovet, Ladame, C. G. Jung, par exemple.

[33] A. Keller (1872-1963).

[34] T. Flournoy, « Ad. Keller, Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse: considérations impassibles dans le combat autour de la psychonalyse (*Kirchenblatt für reformierte Schweiz,* 3 et 10/02/1912), *Archives de Psychologie*, t.13, 1913, pp.202-203, p.203.

[35] T. Flournoy*, Métaphysique et psychologie*. Genève, 1890, 1 vol.in-8, 195p.

[36] Voir Flournoy, « Une mystique moderne » (Documents pour la psychologie religieuse), *Archives de Psychologie*, t.15, 1915, pp.1-224.

[37] C. Moreau, Freud et l'occultisme, Privat, Toulouse, 1976.

[38] W. James (1842-1910), philosophe américain, l'un des fondateurs du pragmatisme.

[39] Voir les lettres de Théodore Flournoy à William James : Flournoy T., « Letters to William James", Departement Manuscript, Houghton Library of the Harvard Collège Library, oct.15, 1890-July 20 1910. Voir aussi le compte rendu bibliographique de Théodore Flournoy sur le livre de William James dans les Archives de Psychologie : Flournoy T., « W. James.- *The Varieties of Religious Experience. A Study in human Nature*. Londres 1902, Longmans, Green et Cie.534 p.", *Revue Philosophique*, t.2, 1902, pp.517-527. Voir aussi la publication d'Ed. Claparède intitulée « William James (1842-1910) », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.10, 1910-1911, pp.96-105.

[40] T. Flournoy, *La Philosophie de William James,* St-Blaise, un vol., 222 p., 1911.

bien plutôt en une attitude qui se communique par contagion de sentiment, qu'en une doctrine qui s'enseignerait par exposition didactique.»[41]. La psychologie religieuse, tradition genevoise s'illustre par les travaux de Théodore Flournoy qui diffuse les thèses de William James[42]. Dès 1895, les protestants genevois s'intéressent alors aux recherches de William James. En 1904-1905, Théodore Flournoy fait à l'Université de Genève une série de conférences sur une discipline au nom nouveau:« la psychologie religieuse ».Dans son esprit, cette expression n'impliquait « aucun caractère religieux, pas plus qu'antireligieux ». Il s'agit pour lui d'appliquer à la vie religieuse les mêmes procédés d'observation que la psychologie expérimentale tente d'appliquer à la vie psychique en générale. C'est d'ailleurs à la psychologie religieuse qu'est entièrement consacré son dernier travail important publié dans les *Archives de Psychologie* sous le titre *« Une mystique moderne »*[43]. C'est d'ailleurs dans cette seconde et dernière étude clinique qu'il affirme à nouveau : *« L'esprit général de l'Ecole de Zurich doit être beaucoup plus sympathique que celui de l'Ecole de Vienne aux personnes religieuses de notre contrée, parce qu'il accorde plus d'importance aux points de contact et aux rapports d'appui mutuel qu'il y a entre la Psychoanalyse et la religion (particulièrement le christianisme) »*[44]. Dans son travail intitulé « Religion et psychoanalyse »[45], Théodore Flournoy explique du point de vue physiologique et psychologique le phénomène du sentiment religieux. Celui-ci serait le suprême épanouissement de la personnalité humaine, la sublimation de nos multiples poussées instinctives.

Théodore Flournoy a donc une place bien réelle dans l'histoire de la psychanalyse[46]. Avant même que Carl Gustav Jung[47] ne devienne le représentant de la psychoanalyse en Suisse c'est Théodore Flournoy qui intéresse les médecins, pasteurs et pédagogues à l'essor de la nouvelle science[48].

Ouvrons ici une parenthèse sur la tradition héritée par Oskar Pfister[49] de la cure d'âme (Seelsorge)[50]. Cette institution typiquement protestante n'existe pas dans l'église catholique qui, elle, attache une grande importance à la pratique de la confession individuelle à un prêtre, strictement tenu de garder le secret. Les prêtres accumulent une somme de connaissances psychologiques, systématisées jusqu'à un certain point dans les manuels de théologie morale, mais la nature même et la rigueur du secret de la confession en font une connaissance abstraite.

Les réformateurs protestants abolirent la confession obligatoire, mais parmi les communautés protestantes, surgit une nouvelle pratique et une nouvelle tradition celle de la cure d'âme[51]. On attribue à certains ministres protestants un don spirituel particulier qui les rend aptes à recevoir la confidence d'un secret pénible qui tourmente des âmes désemparés et à les aider à surmonter leurs difficultés.

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[41] T. Flournoy, Ibid, p.191.

[42] Voir P. Borgeaud, « L'histoire des religions à Genève.Origines et métamorphoses », *Asdiwa*l, n 1, 2006, p.20.

[43] T. Flournoy, « Une mystique moderne », opus cité. Voir la publication de H. Silberer, « Mystik und Okkultismus », *Jahbuch der Psychoanalyse*, 1914, pp.414-424. Voir aussi la publication d'O.Pfister intitulée « Theodor Flournoy », *Internationale Zeitschrift fûr Psychoanalyse*, VII, 1921, pp.101-106.

[44] T. Flournoy, Ibid, p.220.

[45] T. Flournoy, « Religion et Psychoanalyse ». Notes pour une conférence donnée le 27 septembre 1916 à Sainte-Croix et le 24 janvier 1917 à la Société de théologie et de Philosophie. Publiées dans le *Bloc-notes de la Psychanalyse*, 4, 1984, pp.191-199.

[46] Sur l'histoire de la psychanalyse en Suisse, voir les textes de H F Ellenberger, « La psychiatrie suisse », *l'Evolution psychiatrique*, n°XVI-XVIII, 1951-1953 et aussi *Histoire de la découverte de l'inconscient*, Fayard, Paris 1994 ; F. Meerwein, « Réflexions sur l'histoire de la Société suisse de Psychanalyse en Suisse alémanique », *Bulletin de la Société suisse de Psychanalyse*, n°9, 1979, pp.40-54.M.Roch, « A propos de l'histoire de la psychanalyse en Suisse romande », ibid, n°10, 1980,pp.17-30.Voir aussi A.Haynal, « Les Suisses-En psychanalyse », *Le Bloc-notes de la psychanalyse*, n°4, 1984, pp.163-170.

[47] Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961)

[48] Voir M. Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », opus cité.

[49] O. Pfister (1873-1956), pasteur et pédagogue suisse lié par une longue amitié avec Sigmund Freud. Nous connaissons sa correspondance avec Freud parue aux Editions Gallimard en octobre 1966, leur discussion autour de la religion et le rôle de O Pfister dans l'écriture du livre de S Freud (1927), « L'avenir d'une illusion », *Œuvres complètes*, XVIII, pp.145-197.

[50] Voir J. Besson, « Freud et Pfister, des protestants sexuels », opus cité, p21.Voir M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », opus cité, pp.14-15. Voir H. F. Ellenberger, « La psychiatrie suisse », opus cité,n°III, pp.139-142.Voir aussi le livre de M.Baron, Oskar Pfister, pasteur à Zurich 1873-1956.Psychanalyse et Protestantisme, Editions du Monde Interne, 1999.

[51] Voir la publication de J. Besson, « Freud et Pfister, des protestants sexuels », Nervure, t.VIII,n°8, 1995, pp.20-22.Voir aussi M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », opus cité.

Selon Henri Ellenberger[52], le premier médecin qui s'intéresse à la notion de secret pathogène et qui la systématise ainsi que la thérapeutique qu'elle implique est Moriz Benedikt[53] à Vienne. Entre 1864 et 1895, il publie une série d'articles, où il montre que l'hystérie, ainsi que d'autres névroses, ont fréquemment pour origine un secret pénible, relié le plus souvent à la vie sexuelle et que bien des malades peuvent être guéris par la confession de leurs secrets pathogènes et la solution des problèmes s'y rapportant.

En 1893, Sigmund Freud signale conjointement avec Josef Breuer, dans une note, que c'est dans certaines remarques de Benedikt qu'ils trouvent les idées les plus proches de leur position théorique et thérapeutique. Dans l'évolution ultérieure de la psychanalyse, la notion de secret pathogène[54] se trouve progressivement absorbée dans celles des souvenirs traumatisants, de refoulement et de sentiments de culpabilité névrotique. Carl Gustav Jung[55] attache beaucoup d'importance à cette notion, dont il a probablement entendu parler par son père pasteur.

Oskar Pfister est donc le premier à appliquer la psychanalyse à la « Seelsorge ».Il voit dans la psychanalyse, du moins jusqu'à un certain point, une redécouverte et un perfectionnement de la cure d'âme traditionnelle. Oskar Pfister a toujours pensé que sa pratique psychanalytique faisait partie de son travail pastoral.

Oskar Pfister est aussi le premier à appliquer la psychanalyse à l'éducation[56]. Dans sa paroisse zurichoise, ayant à s'occuper d'enfants, il se pose très tôt la question : la pédagogie inspirée par la psychanalyse ne peut-elle pas assurer une prophylaxie des névroses de l'adulte ? Oui, répond-il, et dans ce sens il est un des précurseurs de la pédagogie analytique dont Anna Freud deviendra par la suite une éminente représentante.

L'éducateur, répète-il dans ses livres et conférences, doit écarter les inhibitions malfaisantes qui ont leur origine dans les puissances inconscientes, et soumettre ces forces, mises à découvert, à la maîtrise de la personnalité morale. Surtout, insiste-il, et l'idée est neuve, révolutionnaire au début de ce siècle, l'éducateur substituera au refoulement inconscient une répression consciente. C'est pourquoi il devra parler de la sexualité, et en termes très précis, l'éducation psychanalytique ayant pour tâche essentielle de triompher des images sexuelles déjà présentes, mais refoulées, qui arrêtent le développement normal et provoquent souvent une maladie morale.

L'apport religieux doit trouver sa place dans l'éducation comme l'affirme Oskar Pfister dans *La psychanalyse au service des éducateurs*[57] mais pas n'importe comment : « *Quand il s'agit d'interpréter les manifestations, il va de soi que le jugement moral ne doit pas intervenir, car il s'agit essentiellement de déterminer ce qui est, non ce qui doit être. Mais ensuite, quand il s'agit d'adapter à la vie consciente les forces que l'on a constatées les fins pédagogiques jouent un rôle important…Je n'hésite pas à déclarer qu'une saine conception morale et religieuse de la vie, qui est d'ailleurs pour des milliers d'hommes en santé un appui indispensable et une bénédiction, est le plus puissant auxiliaire d'une éducation analytique. La psychanalyse a des principes profondément moraux que seuls des hommes grossiers et cyniques peuvent souiller : libérer les forces instinctives soustraites à la personnalité consciente et susceptibles d'être rendues à la maîtrise de l'esprit, détruire des illusions qui parfois soumettent aux mensonges la vie entière, spiritualiser la personnalité, l'intransigeant souci de vérité d'une âme droite qui aspire à ne se voir que telle qu'elle est…Qui pourrait nier le caractère moral de ces exigences ? La vie, noblement conçue comme le règne des fins morales, ouvre aussi aux névrosés de larges horizons qui stimulent puissamment leurs aspirations à la liberté, tournent les meilleurs forces de*

[52] H. F. Ellenberger, *Histoire de la découverte de l'inconscient*, opus cité.
[53] M. Benedikt (1835-1920), médecin autrichien.
[54] Voir pour les développements futurs de cette notion la publication de J.Dupont, « Repères sur la question du trauma : Freud, Balint, Abraham et Torok », *La psychanalyse avec Nicolas Abraham et Maria Torok*, Erès, 2001, pp.77-79 et S.Tisseron, « Toujours le secret suinte.. », *Enfances et psy,* 2, n°39, 2008, pp.88.96.
[55] C. G. Jung, « Psychanalyse et cure d'âme », *L'Ame et le Soi*, 1990, pp.181-189.
[56] Voir J Besson, « Freud et le pasteur Pfister », *Thèse*, Université de Lausanne, Faculté de médecine, 1986.Voir aussi le livre de D. Milhaud-Cappe, *Freud et le Mouvement de Pédagogie psychanalytique 1908-1937*, Paris Librairie Philosophique J.Vrin, 2007.Voir A. Ohayon, « Psychanalyse et éducation, une histoire d'amour et de désamour 1908-1968 », *Revue Cliopsy* n°1, 2009, pp.25-40. Voir aussi le livre de M.Cifali, F Imbert, *Freud et la pédagogie*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998.
[57] O. Pfister, *La Psychanalyse au service des éducateurs*, Ernest Bircher Editeur Berne, 1921.

leur personnalité vers l'émancipation par l'analyse et leur ouvrent la vie qui, des rêves de la névrose, les conduira dans le monde des réalités »[58].

Aussi pour Oskar Pfister, la prévention des névroses passe par l'éducation analytique, et la religion est une voie privilégiée pour les sublimations en direction d'une vie saine et épanouie, et sur ces deux points, il ne sera jamais vraiment contredit par Freud comme nous le verrons dans leur *Correspondance*[59].

Bien des psychanalyses suisses, outre les pasteurs, souhaitent alors très sérieusement créer une *« psychanalyse réformée »*[60], *« protestante »* dépouillée de son hypothèse d'une étiologie sexuelle des névroses.

Théodore Flournoy qui a sincèrement cru en une psychanalyse réformée, ainsi qu'elle fut si joliment dénommée : en une psychologie des profondeurs, non pas aryenne mais culturellement déterminée par le protestantisme, revient sur ces controverses autour de la psychoanalyse freudienne dans les *Archives de Psychologie* en 1913[61], à partir de plusieurs recensions d'articles sur des livres de psychanalyse, annonçant un peu en avance l'inéluctable séparation entre l'Ecole de Zurich et l'Ecole de Vienne[62]. Théodore Flournoy va de même se rendre au Congrès de Munich[63], celui de la séparation, pour soutenir Carl Gustav Jung dans pénible démarche.

Au centre des querelles, la sexualité mais aussi le fait qu'à Zurich des profanes-pasteurs et pédagogues-se soient approprié la nouvelle thérapeutique qui, pour le moindre des maux aurait du rester dans le giron du cercle médical[64]. Des nuances sont cependant apportées, parfois même des reconnaissances déclarées. Freud est souvent épargné, seuls les fanatiques zurichois sont pris à partie. Carl Gustav Jung sans être nommément cité, se sent visé, insulté et calomnié. Il consulte un habile avocat pour se défendre, mais l'attaque est trop indirecte pour donner lieu à une poursuite judiciaire. Il se contente, après trois semaines, d'une lettre sèche au nom de l'Association psychanalytique internationale dont il est président[65]. Cette intervention officielle remet le feu aux poudres. Freud est au courant[66]. Jung se déclare en guerre. Le front de son combat est double : il écrit *Wandlungen und Symbole* der *Libido*,[67] et contre ses détracteurs

[58] O. Pfister , opus cité.

[59] S. Freud, *Correspondance de Sigmund Freud avec le pasteur Pfister 1909-1939*, Gallimard, 1966.

[60] M. Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse », opus cité. Voir aussi, M.Cifali « Les chiffres de l'intime », opus cité. Voir aussi M. Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », *Le Bloc-notes de psychanalyse*, n°4, 1984, pp.171-188.

[61] T. Flournoy, « Comptes rendus bibliographiques », *Archives de Psychologie*, XIII, 1913, pp.183-206.Le recueil de ces dix comptes rendus bibliographiques fit grand bruit selon O.Pfister. Voir O. Pfister, « Théodore Flournoy », opus cité. Ces comptes rendus bibliographiques concernent des ouvrages psychanalytiques de Bleuler, Jung, Pfister, Maeder, Keller, Rank)

[62] T. Flournoy, « Ad Keller, Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", opus cite, p.203.

[63] Voir la publication du pasteur Adolf Keller qui appartient au groupe de l'Ortsgruppe Zürich et qui participe au Congrès de Munich, « Aus der Frühzeit der Psychoanalytischen Bewegung : Sur le début du mouvement psychanalytique par A Keller », Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Psychologie und ihre Anwendungen, t.XV, 1956, pp.122-125. Voir M. Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », opus cité et « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », opus cité.

[64] Voir par exemple Voir le n°3 de la Revue d'Histoire Internationale de la Psychanalyse consacré à l'histoire de l'exercice de la psychanalyse par les non-médecins, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1990 : C Bori , « Oskar Pfister, pasteur à Zurich et analyse laïque », *Revue internationale d'Histoire de la Psychanalyse*, n°3,1990, pp.129-143 ; M.Cifali, « De quelques remous helvétiques autour de l'analyse profane », ibid, pp.145-157. Voir aussi J Besson, « Freud et Pfister, des « Protestants sexuels » », opus cité. Voir aussi le livre de S Freud (1926), « La Question de l'analyse profane », *Œuvres complètes*, XVIII, pp.5-92.Voir aussi F Meerwein, « Réflexions sur l'histoire de la Société suisse de Psychanalyse en Suisse », opus cité.

[65] Voir La lettre de Carl Gustav Jung du 27/01/1912 dans la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* publiée et traduite dans la publication de M. Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », opus cité, p.187 (note 30).

[66] Voir S. Freud, C. G. Jung, *Correspondance*, 1906-1914, Editions Gallimard,1992, p. 609 (Lettre 296 F)

[67] Voir le compte rendu bibliographique de T. Flournoy, « Dr C. G. Jung, wandlungen und symbole der Libido : Beiträge für entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens.412p. Leipzig, Deutike 1912 », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.XIII, 1913, pp.195-199

dans *Wissen und Leben* une longue et dernière réponse[68].Il reviendra au pasteur Adolf Keller[69], d'y ajouter la touche finale.

« Le grand défi lancé dans les journaux », tout répugnant qu'il soit, aboutit dans le *Journal de l'Eglise Réformée de Suisse*[70]. C'est à se demander si la rupture entre Carl Gustav Jung et Sigmund Freud ne passe pas par l'influence certaine de Théodore Flournoy et la perspective espérée d'une *« psychanalyse protestante »* [71]? L'article du pasteur Adolf Keller intitulé *« Considérations impassibles dans le combat autour de la psychoanalyse »*[72] ne sert-il pas via Genève, de toile de fond à la rupture entre Zurich et Vienne[73]. C'est à partir de la recension de cette publication que Théodore Flournoy écrit : *« Cet excellent article s'inspire ,on le voit, de la même largeur et hauteur de vues que les écrits de Jung, etc.On y sent bien le contraste entre la tendance purement psychobiologique et étroitement positiviste de l'école viennoise, et celle de l'école zurichoise, qui sans le céder en rien en fait de rigueur scientifique, témoigne d'une beaucoup plus grande ouverture d'esprit, d'une sensibilité plus délicate, d'une préoccupation plus vivante pour les questions morales, religieuses, pédagogiques, etc. C'est à se demander si cette différence de tempéraments n'aboutira pas à une scission entre les deux écoles, à une bifurcation dans le développement ultérieur des doctrines psychoanalytiques* »[74]. On ne serait être plus explicite : bifurcation, scission, différence de tempérament. Plus loin, dans le compte rendu bibliographique du livre de Carl Gustav Jung,*Wandlungen und Symbole der libido,* invoquant le sens commun, Théodore Flournoy écrit : *« On a beau dire, écrit-il , que la science n'a pas à se préoccuper de ses conséquences morales et de l'opinion publique, il n'en reste pas moins que cela n'avance à rien de heurter gratuitement celle-ci »*. [75]Et ajoute-il : *« De rendre plus facilement acceptable pour le sens commun ce qu'il y a de profondément vrai dans les découvertes de Freud, ne sera pas un mince service que lui auront rendu l'Ecole de Zurich en général et le Dr Jung en particulier »*[76]. Dans son *Cours sur la psychanalyse* de 1913, il dit *« La morale doit-elle, oui ou non, préoccuper le psychanalyste ? C'est sur ce point que la rupture s'est faite. »*[77].Le « spirituel » est préservé, le matérialisme de Freud critiqué. Carl Gustav Jung séduit. *« A la notion Judaïque de la Religion, école de Freud, je préfère la notion d'Idéal chrétien-qui est celui des Psychoanalystes de L'Ecole de Zurich (Pfister, Keller, Riklin,Maede, Bleuler.-) »*, écrit Théodore Flournoy dans le chapitre IV de ses notes à un exposé dont le titre se révèle être « Religion et psychoanalyse ».[78]Théodore Flournoy dit *« je préfère »* ; et il ajoute : *ce sont « des protestants, des métaphysiciens, des théologiens »*[79]. Ainsi en 1916, Théodore Flournoy, l' « ami paternel »[80] semble proche de Carl Gustav Jung, et qui sait si entre Carl Gustav Jung et Théodore Flournoy il n'existe pas un lien où l'œuvre de Théodore Flournoy serait nodale dans les premiers écrits jungiens[81]. Et

[68] La protestation de C G Jung, « Zur Psychoanalyse.Lettre du 28/01/1912 », *Wissen und leben*, t.IX, 1911-1912, pp.711-714.Cette protestation de C G Jung est traduite dans le texte de M Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », opus cité ,p.187 (note 31). Cette réponse de C G Jung marque le point final d'une série d'articles polémiques de la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* parus au cours de Janvier 1912, signées entre autres de Forel, Jung et Franz Marti.Voirpour le récit de l'ensemble de controverse H F Ellenberger, *Histoire de la découverte de l'inconscient*, opus cité, pp.830-836.

[69] A Keller, « Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 3 et 10/02/1912(Journal de l'Eglise Réformée Suisse)*

[70] A Keller, Ibid.

[71] M.Cifali, « Les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse » , opus cité, p.15.

[72] T Flournoy, «Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 3 et 10/02/1912(Journal de l'Eglise Réformée Suisse* »,opus cité.

[73] M Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg »,opus cité.

[74] T. Flournoy, «Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampf um die Psychoanalyse", *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 3 et 10/02/1912(Journal de l'Eglise Réformée Suisse* »,opus cité, p.203.

[75] T Flournoy, « Dr C. G. Jung, wandlungen und symbole der Libido : Beiträge für entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens.412p.Leipzig, Deutike 1912 », opus cité, p.199.

[76] T Flournoy, ibid, p.199.

[77] Voir M Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », opus cité, p.378.

[78] Flournoy T, « Religion et Psychoanalyse », opus cité, p.4.

[79] Ibid, p.4.

[80] Dans la seconde Préface de son livre Métamorphoses *de l'âme et ses symboles*,Genève, Librairie de L'Université, 1993, p.41, C.G.Jung appelle Théodore Flournoy, son « ami paternel et vénéré ».

[81] Voir la publication de J.S.Witzig, « Théodore Flournoy : -A Friend Indeed », Journal of Analytical Psychology 1982,27, pp.131-148 ;voir B Hannah (1976), *Jung, his Life and Work*,New York, G.P.Putnam's; voir C.G.Jung (1976), '*C.G.Jung, Letters,2*, London, Routledge &Kegan Paul; S.Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology*, Cambridge university, Press, 2003.

dans quelle mesure aussi ce lien aux implications inconnues[82] ne participe-t-il pas de la rupture entre Carl Gustav Jung et Sigmund Freud.

En effet, bien des hypothèses[83] courent à propos de la rupture entre Carl Gustav Jung et Sigmund Freud au Congrès de Munich de 1913. Nombre de commentateurs qui se sont intéressés à l'histoire de la scission Carl Gustav Jung-Sigmund Freud semblent s'accorder pour penser que celle-ci est sous tendue par une série de problèmes complexes qui se situent, pour l'essentiel, au carrefour de trois enjeux propres à cette rencontre : un enjeu scientifique, un enjeu politique et l'enjeu posé par le problème de l'origine psychique du sentiment religieux ainsi que de celui de l'origine des religions.

L'enjeu scientifique a pour toile de fond la reconnaissance de l'inconscient par la communauté psychiatrique et médicale. Cet enjeu étaye, et redouble, ceux plus spécifiquement liés aux intérêts des deux protagonistes, à savoir la métapsychologie et la cure psychanalytique des psychoses : démence précoce pour Carl Gustav Jung, paranoïa pour Sigmund Freud. En arrière plan, mais venant assez rapidement prendre le devant de la scène, le débat sur la sexualité infantile[84]. Il aboutit chez Carl Gustav Jung, à une tentative d'évacuation de celle-ci de l'œuvre qu'il crée, préférant privilégier les notions d'inconscient collectif et d'archétypes archaïques. Son travail intitulé *Métamorphoses et symboles de la libido*, publié en deux fois dans le *Jahrbuch* (1911-1912), fut à l'origine des profondes divergences théoriques qui devaient s'affirmer très nettement dans les mois précédant la rupture (1912).

L'enjeu politique[85] inclut, à la fois, les désirs de Sigmund Freud d'assurer la transmission du corpus psychanalytique en faisant reconnaître ses lettres de noblesse par le monde psychiatrique et médical, d'organiser sa succession en consacrant Carl Gustav Jung « prince héritier » et de tenter ainsi de faire « sortir » la psychanalyse du « ghetto » juif. Doctrine, fidélité à la Cause, héritage et filiation, présideront donc aux fondements de l'organisation de l'Association internationale de Psychanalyse dont Carl Gustav Jung sera le premier président (1910).L'enjeu politique se superpose à l'enjeu scientifique et vient donc le redoubler.

Enfin l'enjeu que représente l'abord psychique des phénomènes religieux, de la croyance et de l'origine des religions. Nous savons que ces questions président à la rédaction, entre 1911 et 1913, de *Totem et Tabou*[86], texte qui vise à établir que *« le complexe d'Œdipe contient la racine des sentiments religieux »*[87] et cherche à montrer le caractère véritablement pulsionnel de la religion. De son côté Carl Gustav Jung insiste sur l'universalité du symbolisme qu'il oppose à l'universalité de l'Œdipe. *Totem et Tabou*, publié en 1913, entérine de manière définitive l'opposition fondamentale théorique entre les deux hommes, opposition qui met fin à leur relation.

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[82] Nous n'avons malheureusement retrouvé aucune correspondance que ce soit du côté de Théodore Flournoy ou Carl Gustav Jung, alors que nous avons retrouvé des lettres de C.G Jung adressées à Ed Claparède au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de Genève : Lettre du 22/01/1906, Lettre du 23/10/1907, Lettre du 30/11/1907, Lettre 28/04/1911, Lettre du 5/10/1916 et 1er/06/1917.Nous avons également cherché des correspondances entre Théodore Flournoy et Sigmund Freud mais sans succès !Il existe néanmoins un fond très important des papiers Edouard Claparède au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de Genève et nous avons pu trouver des lettres de Théodore Flournoy adressées à Ed Claparède : Lettre du 17/01/1899,Lettre du 11/03/1899,Lettre 23/07/1900,Lettre du 11/08/1900,Lettre du 25/03/1903, Lettre du 10/07/1903,Lettre du 3/08/1903, Lettre du 17/08/1903, Lettre du 1/04/1905,Lettre du 22/07/1915.

[83] Voir F Roustang, *Un destin si funeste*, Les Editions de Minuit, 1976; E.Roudinesco, *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France.1 1885-1939*, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1994 ; N.Kress-Rosen, *Trois figures de la passion* , Editions Arcanes, 1994 ; voir le numéro 57 de la revue freudienne *Topique,* intitulée « Scissions psychanalytiques », Dunod, 1995. Voir aussi les publications de : M.Cifal, « Le péché du désaccord », *Le Bloc-notes de la psychanalyse*, n°4, 1984, pp.119-134 ; J.Chemouni, « Savoir ou révélation : la mythologie à l'origine de la rupture entre Freud et Jung »,*Kentron, Revue du monde antique et de psychologie historique*, vol.15, fasc.1, 1999, pp.5-63 ; M.Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », opus cité ; E.Jones, *La vie et l'œuvre de Sigmund Freud*, t.2,Quadrige,2006, pp.134-161.Du côté des protagonistes eux-mêmes : S Freud,C.G.Jung, *Correspondance 1906-1914*, opus cité ; S.Freud, « Contribution à l'histoire du mouvement psychanalytique », *Cinq leçons sur la psychanalyse*, Payot &Rivages, 2001 ;C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées* recueillis et publiés par Aniéla Jaffé.Paris, Gallimard, 1973.

[84] Voir la thèse de J.Chemouni (1980), « Quelques aspects de la symbolisation en psychanalyse : corps, ontogénèse, philogénèse et structuralisme » sous la direction de M Le Professeur Meslin (Paris IV)

[85] Dans son livre *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France.1 1885-1939,* E Roudinesco examine précisément les tenants et aboutissants politique de cette dissidence.

[86] S Freud (1912-1913), « Totem et Tabou", *Oeuvres completes*, XI, pp.192-385.

[87] S.Freud, C G Jung, Correspondance 1906-1914, opus cite, Lettre 270 F du 1er septembre 1911, pp556-.557.

Tissée au carrefour des différents enjeux évoqués, la relation très dense qui s'installe rapidement entre les deux hommes, et dont leur correspondance apporte un tangible et émouvant témoignage, montre combien chacun, prenant l'«autre pour un autre »[88], s'enferme et l'enferme dans des malentendus qui mettent leur tentative de communication dans un perpétuel porte-à-faux[89]. C'est ainsi que Sigmund Freud, qui cherche avant tout à trouver en son élève un brillant disciple portant haut la bannière de tous les combats menés en son nom, semble avoir de la difficulté à accepter un Jung qui ne se situe pas systématiquement comme un adepte sans restriction à la Cause (*« in partibus infidelium »*)[90], et comme un successeur pour lequel il ne saurait trop être question d'originalité. De son côté Carl Gustav Jung, qui souhaite avant tout être un brillant chef de file et qui n'est que partiellement séduit par une épopée qu'il ne vivrait qu'au titre de « prince héritier »[91], semble espérer , et tente d'obtenir, que Sigmund Freud ne tienne pas la place d'un maître à la recherche d'un disciple en mesure de préserver son héritage, mais qu'il l'encourage dans son originalité et qu'il le reconnaisse dans sa différence.

Dans le tumulte des hypothèses et des supputations, l'accent a surtout été mis sur des divergences liées directement à la théorie psychanalytique, sur la libido[92] principalement, ou sur leurs difficultés relationnelles[93], reprochant tantôt à Freud son autorité déplacée à l'égard de son élève, tantôt à celui-ci ses ambitions démesurées ou son déséquilibre psychologique. Quelle que soit la pertinence de ces approches, elle laisse dans l'ombre l'influence certaine des études de Théodore Flournoy sur l'inconscient créateur dans le rôle paradigmatique que Carl Gustav Jung accorde à la mythologie[94], origine de la discorde théorique entre lui et Freud. En effet, le glissement qu'opère Théodore Flournoy, d'une curiosité pour les manifestations occultes à un entendement psychanalytique[95], s'inscrit au cœur de l'intérêt de Carl Gustav Jung pour la mythologie.

La tension ne semble donc passer qu'entre Zurich et Vienne .Cependant, un détail devrait retenir notre attention. Théodore Flournoy, qui n'a jamais appartenu à l'*Ortsgruppe Zürich*, participe néanmoins au Congrès de Munich. Carl Gustav Jung écrit à ce propos dans *« Ma vie »*[96] : *« En 1912, j'incitai Flournoy à assister au congrès de Munich au cours duquel se produisit ma rupture avec Freud.sa présence fut pour moi un grand soulagement ».*[97]

Freud[98] relate cette rencontre avec Théodore Flournoy dans une lettre adressée à Edouard Claparède en 1922, alors que ce dernier lui avait envoyé l'importante biographie[99] qu'il venait de consacrer à son maître Théodore Flournoy récemment décédé. Voici ce que Freud en écrit : *« Je regrette vivement de n'avoir parlé qu'une fois très brièvement à Flournoy et à un moment justement de profonde morosité et d'insatisfaction, lors d'une pause entre les exposés de*

[88] F Roustang, *Un destin si funeste*, opus cité.
[89] A de Mijolla, « Images de Freud au travers de sa correspondance », *Revue Internationale d'Histoire de la psychanalyse*, 2, 1989, pp.9-50.
[90] J Sédat, « D W Winicott.Lecture du livre de C.G. Jung : Ma vie : souvenirs, rêves et pensées », *Cliniques Méditerrannéennes*, n°43-44, 1994, pp.201-202.
[91] Comme en témoigne la lettre de C G Jung adressée à S Ferenczi du 6/12/1909 traduite dans la publication de M Cifali, « Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », opus cité, p.185 (Note n°6).
[92] Voir par exemple la thèse de J. Chemouni, « Quelques aspects de la symbolisation en psychanalyse : corps, ontogénèse, philogénèse et structuralisme » sous la direction de M Le Professeur Meslin (Paris IV), opus cité.
[93] Voir les publications de : D W Winnicott « D W Winicott.Lecture du livre de C.G.Jung : Ma vie : souvenirs, rêves et pensées », *Cliniques Méditerrannéennes*, n°43-44, 1994, pp. 202-212 ; S Lebovici, « Freud et Jung », *Psychiatrie de l'enfant*, vol.IX, 1, 1966, pp.225-249 ;M Bouraux-Hartemann, « Du fils », Topique,n°14, 1974,pp.70 ; N Kress-Rosen, , *Trois figures de la passion* , opus cité.
[94] On ne saurait dissocier chez C G Jung la question de l'ocultisme de celle de la mythologie.
[95] Voir la publication de M. Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », opus cité, p.379. M. Cifali remarque que dans d'autres capitales européennes, le même glissement opère. A Londres, le spirite Frédéric Myers introduit Freud en Angleterre.Sandor Férenczi et Carl Gustav Jung s'intéressent à l'occulte.
[96] C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées* recueillis et publiés par Aniéla Jaffé, opus cité.
[97] C G Jung, Ibid, pp.590-591.
[98] Voir la reproduction de cette lettre de S Freud dans l'article de M Cifali, « Les chiffres de l'intime », opus cité, pp.378-379.
[99] E Claparède, « Théodore Flournoy, sa vie et son œuvre », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.XVIII, 1923, pp.1-125.

l'affreux Congrès de Munich. Cet homme perspicace trouva alors l'occasion de me féliciter alors que j'étais tout à la déception du moment. Nous aussi garderons de lui le meilleur des souvenirs ».[100]

Théodore Flournoy est donc là. L'est-il comme simple auditeur ? Théodore Flournoy est né en 1854, Sigmund Freud en 1856.Deux ans les séparent seulement ; dans l'ordre générationnel, Théodore Flournoy représente davantage pour Carl Gustav Jung une figure paternelle. Leur relation est née au début du siècle, dès la parution *Des Indes à La Planète Mars*. Théodore Flournoy a alors quarante six ans, et Carl Gustav Jung, vingt-cinq ans. Carl Gustav Jung se dit fortement impressionné[101]. Deux ans plus tard, Carl Gustav Jung édite sa thèse de médecine intitulée *Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogennanter occulter Phänomene*[102], où il cite tout autant-sinon plus-Théodore Flournoy que Sigmund Freud. Carl Gustav Jung prend nettement appui sur le livre de Théodore Flournoy pour justifier sa thèse. A Genève, Théodore Flournoy[103] dans une recension bibliographique des Archives de Psychologie de 1903 accueille cette publication comme *« un heureux signe des temps »*[104] : leur intérêt pour les faits occultes les rapproche. Carl Gustav Jung demande plus d'une fois l'avis de Théodore Flournoy. *« Je lui rendais visite de temps en temps, écrit-il, et m'entretenais avec lui. Il était important pour moi de savoir ce qu'il pensait de Freud. Il me fit à son sujet des réflexions pleines d'intelligence. Avant tout il mettait l'accent sur la volonté de Freud de faire régner le rationalisme des Lumières ; cela expliquait beaucoup de sa pensée et, notamment, sa partialité »*[105]

Les sujets de conversation ne manquent donc pas entre Théodore Flournoy et Carl Gustav Jung. Carl Gustav Jung l'écrit : il rencontre Théodore Flournoy en parlant avec lui de problèmes scientifiques relatifs au « somnambulisme, à la parapsychologie et à la psychologie de la religion »[106].Que sait Freud de l'influence certaine de Théodore Flournoy sur son Dauphin ?[107] que lui raconte Carl Gustav Jung à ce sujet ? Si nous consultons leur correspondance[108], Carl Gustav Jung donne à Sigmund Freud des nouvelles de Genève qui relèvent uniquement d'une stratégie politique permettant l'extension favorable de la psychanalyse. C'est ainsi que dans sa lettre adressée à Freud du 12 Juin 1907, parlant du rapport de Théodore Flournoy à la psychanalyse, il écrit : *« Vos enseignements ont déjà solidement pris pied chez les psychologues de Genève, quand bien même tout n'est pas encore digéré. Le résultat suivant de la visite de Claparède me revient, il est vrai principalement à moi : Claparède veut publier maintenant dans les Archives de psychologie un grand exposé d'ensemble de la totalité de mes travaux. Ce serait une nouvelle fois un symptôme que la cause est en marche. Flournoy s'intéresse aussi extraordinairement à la chose. »*[109].Par ailleurs, rien n'est dit de cette communauté d'esprit qui s'est nouée entre Théodore Flournoy et Carl Gustav Jung ; pas un seul mot de la vénération[110] à l' « ami paternel » qu'est devenu Théodore Flournoy. Pourtant c'est à Théodore Flournoy[111], justement, qu'il emprunte le contenu d'un article intitulé « Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente. Par Miss Frank Miller de New-York » paru dans les *Archives de psychologie*, en 1905, pour écrire *Métamorphoses et symboles de la libido* qui sera le livre

[100] S Freud, *Lettre à Edouard Claparède du 5 février 1922*, archives privées des descendants d'E Claparède.
[101] C G Jung, *« Ma vie ». Souvenirs, rêves et pensées*,opus cité, p.590.
[102] C G Jung (1902), « Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogenannter okkulter Phänomene », *Gesammelte Werke*,1, et § 1-150., trad.française par Ed Godet et Y Le Lay : « A propos de certains phénomènes dits « ocultes ». Etude de psychologie et de pathologie. », *Phénomènes occultes suivi de Ame et mort, Croyance aux Esprits*, Aubier, Paris, 1939, pp.1-94.Voir aussi : « Psychologie et pathologie des phénomènes dits occultes », *L'Energétique psychique*, Genève, Georg, 1956, pp.118-218.
[103] T Flournoy, « C G Jung, Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogennanter occulter Phänomene.-121p.Leipzig, Mutze, 1902. », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.II, 1903, pp.85-87, p.85.
[104] Ibid, p.85.
[105] C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées*,opus cité,p.590.
[106] Ibid, p.591.
[107] Voir à ce propos la publication de M Cifali, "Le fameux couteau de Lichtenberg », opus cité.
[108] S Freud, C G Jung, *Correspondance 1906-1914*, opus cite.
[109] Ibid, pp.112-113 (Lettre 31J)
[110] C G Jung, « Préface de la deuxième édition », *Métamorphoses de l'âme et ses symboles*, opus cité, p.41.
[111] T Flournoy, « Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente. Par Miss Frank Miller de New-York. », *Archives de Psychologie*, t.V, 1905, pp.36-51.Le texte anglais original paru avec une préface de James H. Hyslop (1854-1920), philosophe américain qui fonde en 1906 la Société Américaine de Recherche Psychique : J H Hyslop, « Some instances of subconscious creative imagination.By Miss Frank Miller », *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research*, vol.1, n°6, pp.287-308, pp.287-288.

de la rupture avec Freud et qui recevra l'approbation[112] de Théodore Flournoy. En effet, les *Métamorphoses et symboles de la libido* de 1912 sont une large amplification du cas de Miss Miller[113] publié par Théodore Flournoy, présentant les imaginations et les rêves de cette jeune américaine comme un document permettant de mieux comprendre *« les obscurs processus de la création intellectuelle »*[114].En effet, il s'agit d'une jeune femme un peu romantique et névrotique qui décrit elle-même dans le texte publié par Théodore Flournoy à partir d'un petit poème sentimental, comment tout d'un coup elle fut surprise par des productions imaginaires cohérentes issues de l'inconscient qui faisaient irruption dans la conscience. Carl Gustav Jung utilise le récit de Miss Miller comme un fil d'Ariane pour réunir et classer par motifs les différentes images ou idées mythologiques, religieuses et philosophiques provenant de l'histoire du monde. Elles amplifient ce récit, c'est-à-dire qu'elles lui donnent une valeur objective en le rattachant à ses racines les plus archaïques. Cette méthode d'amplification[115] sera reprochée à Carl Gustav Jung et le lecteur qui s'aventure dans les *Métamorphoses de l'âme et ses symboles* peut ressentir un certain vertige en découvrant comment l'étude d'un petit poème le conduit à l'aube du christianisme, aux religions égyptienne et judaïque, à la pensée indoue, à des auteurs comme Goethe, Nietzsche etc. La méthode comparative ainsi employée donne une certaine approche de l'histoire des religions[116]. Elle a du sens parce qu'elle permet de montrer que les écrits en apparence anodins de Miss Miller recèle des références inconscientes et involontaires à des thèmes traditionnels, antiques, tout comme le font les rêves d'ailleurs. C'est que s'élaborent déjà dans la tête de Carl Gustav Jung[117], les notions d'inconscient collectif et d'archétypes, ces structures de la pensée symbolique qui existent naturellement même si la culture vient leur imprimer son sceau.

C'est la raison pour laquelle à partir de l'ensemble de ces considérations, nous avons voulu dégager ici l'importance des travaux de Théodore Flournoy non seulement pour les débuts de la psychanalyse en Suisse, mais surtout dans le développement des recherches de Jung, pour lequel il a eu une influence certaine, et de montrer combien ses idées ont pu creuser l'écart entre ce dernier et Freud.

Résumé

Il s'agit d'envisager la contribution de Théodore Flournoy à la découverte de l'inconscient dans les conditions historiques originales de sa production. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous nous sommes intéressés à la généalogie du concept d'inconscient avant Freud de façon à introduire et développer les travaux qui en Suisse romande ont amené à la découverte d'un inconscient subliminal, créateur et mythopoïétique à la fin du XIXème siècle.

Mots-clés : Théodore Flournoy, inconscient créateur, subliminal et mythopoïétique, psychologie jungienne, occultisme, sexualité, inconscient selon Freud, Des Indes à la Planète Mars , La Traumdeutung, médium, Hélène Smith, mythologie, morale , religion.

[112] C G Jung, « Préface de la deuxième édition », *Métamorphoses de l'âme et ses symboles*, opus cité, p.41.

[113] Voir la publication de S Shamdasani, « A woman called Frank », *Spring*, vol.50, 1990, pp.26-56.Voir C G Jung, *« Ma vie ».Souvenirs, rêves et pensées,*opus cité,pp.261 et suivantes.Voir aussi S Freud, C G Jung, *Correspondance1906-1914*, opus cité, pp431 (Lettre 199 a F).Voir aussi le compte rendu bibiogaphique de T.Flournoy, « Dr C.G.Jung, wandlungen und symbole der Libido : Beiträge für entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens.412p.Leipzig, Deutike 1912 », opus cité.

[114] T Flournoy, « Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente. Par Miss Frank Miller de New-York. »opus cité,,p.36.

[115] Par cette méthode, l'analyse d'un rêve « est soutenue soit par le matériel d'association du rêveur, soit par la tradition dont il dispose, soit encore, pour élargir la perspective, par la tradition de son milieu historique, et finalement aussi par les conceptions fondamentales généralement partagées par tous les hommes » : A Agnel, *Jung.La passion de l'Autre*, Les Essentiels de Milan, p.58.

[116] Le paranormal et le mysticisme jouent un rôle essentiel dans l'œuvre ultérieure de C G Jung.

[117] Voir la publication de C G Jung, « La structure de l'inconscient.Par M.le Dr C G Jung Zurich », Archives de Psychologie, t.XVI, 1916-1917, pp.152-179.

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AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE ON THE AMERICAN WOMEN'S LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: ALICE HENRY AND MILES FRANKLIN, EDITORS OF *LIFE AND LABOR*

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Abstract

This paper recounts the arrival in the United States early in the twentieth century of woman journalist, Alice Henry, and novelist, Miles Franklin, both feminists and social activists, fresh from Australia where women had won the right to vote and to be elected to Parliament, and where labor laws provided protection for workers. In Chicago they used their separate talents to further the cause of woman suffrage, labor reform and the organisation of the women workers, initially in their work for the National Women's Trade Union League, and later as editors of Life and Labor.

It discusses the extent to which Life and Labor *succeeded in its aim of enlisting a wider public in the struggle for women's rights as an essential step towards the reform of labor laws, the dedicated work of Henry as editor and Franklin as assistant editor in generating a considerable part of the contents and editing and producing* Life and Labor*, and the implications that followed from the publication's dependence on the financial support of Margaret Drieir Robins, the WTUL national president, women's rights leader and philanthropist,. It canvasses reasons for its failure to become self-supporting, its inherent disfunction as an organ of the trade union movement and a magazine for women readers, the departure of the editors and Henry's continued work as education officer for the WTUL and in producing books advancing the women's and labor movements.*

The paper evaluates their work in the United States in the context of their lives in Australia which were rich in achievements as feminists and activists, and individually – Alice Henry as a pioneer woman journalist and Miles Franklin as one of Australia's most esteemed writers and literary figures.

Keywords: Australian influence, women's labor movement, women's rights

Alice Henry, a pioneer Australian woman journalist and feminist, arrived in the United States at the beginning of 1906, aged 48; a tall, arresting figure with an air of authority and a shock of prematurely white hair. Miles Franklin, an acclaimed Australian novelist following the publication of her insightful and romantic first novel *My Brilliant Career*, arrived later the same year, a self-assured, vibrant, witty 27-year-old. This paper discusses why these two Australian social activists, feminists and successful women, left a country that was then a leader in women's suffrage and labor laws for one where women still had to win the right to vote and where many women worked in appalling conditions in unregulated industries. It canvasses what they achieved, initially as workers for the National Women's Trade Union League of America (NWTUL) during momentous events in the fight for workers' rights and social change, including the

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prolonged strike of garment workers in Chicago and New York, then as editors of the League's national monthly journal, *Life and Labor*, established in 1911.

Research for this paper is based on original source material in Alice Henry's papers in the National Library of Australia; Henry's *Memoirs* edited by Nettie Palmer and published posthumously; her books, *The Trade Union Woman* (1915) and *Women and the Labor Movement* (1923); and copies of *Life and Labor* from 1911 to 1916. Henry's papers comprise four boxes of typescript and manuscript material comprising articles, letters, scrapbooks and newspaper cuttings. Most of the material is concerned with women and trade unions and women's suffrage. Her papers are an essential guide to tracing her work through the events and conferences she attended and the articles, papers and book she authored. The paper draws also on Diane Kirkby's biography of Alice Henry, *The Power of Voice and Pen* (1993) and Kirkby's 'The National Women's Trade Union League of America and Progressive Labor Reform 1906-1925 ' (1982), Jill Roe's biography of Miles Franklin *Stella Miles Franklin* (2006), Susan Magarey's biography of Catherine Helen Spence, *Unbridling the Tongues of Women* (1991) and Marilyn Lake's more recent *Progressive New World* (2018). The correspondence between Alice Henry in her later years and Herbert Brookes held in the Papers of Herbert and Ivy Brookes in the National Library of Australia opens a new perspective on Henry's wide artistic interests.[1]

The paper aims to bring a different perspective from previously published work to the achievements of Henry and Franklin in Chicago and their influence on the American labor movement through their pursuit of political, industrial and social reforms and feminist objectives for the NWTUL, and their editorship of *Life and Labor*. It emphasises the experience the two women brought to the United States through their previous immersion and activism in what was then the 'social laboratory' of Australia, where the first major battle of feminism had been achieved with woman suffrage, as had some of the social and political aims of the labor movement through legislation establishing an eight-hour day, just working conditions and the right to organise. It aims to establish, to the extent possible within the limitations of an article, the unique qualities of character and experience they brought to their positions during the period each was active in the United States through a close study of their own records.

The years these two Australians devoted to publicising and advancing the aims of the American labor and women's movements formed only a part of their lives which were rich in achievements in Australia, both as feminists and social activists and as individuals. Alice Henry was a pioneer woman journalist and campaigner for social, feminist and political and social reform objectives; Miles Franklin was one of Australia's most esteemed young writers and a socially active feminist. In the United States they brought to the NWTUL the enthusiasm, confidence and ability that had made them successful advocates in Australia. As the older participant of these two Australians in these struggles, Alice Henry brought an added wealth of experience in state-based and national struggles for women's suffrage, for the reform of employment conditions, for legislation protecting children and women and for the feminist goals of freedom to participate equally with men in education and employment and for an equal moral standard between the sexes.

ALICE HENRY, JOURNALIST AND FEMINIST

The skills Alice Henry brought to editing *Life and Labor* and advocacy for the NWTUL stemmed from her twenty years' experience in Australian journalism and her years of social activism. Her social conscience came from an upbringing that made her a feminist and a radical. Born in the inner Melbourne suburb of Richmond on 21 March 1857 to Scottish immigrants, Charles Henry, an accountant, and his wife Margaret, a seamstress,[2] she wrote in her autobiographical notes of her childhood: 'no sex division, still less sex inferiority, obtruded itself …the distinctions between qualities and standing between boys and girls were literally unknown to me'. She quoted an episode in her childhood when her mother disapproved of a visitor's action in offering Alice's young brother a ride on a pony but not Alice. 'That was perhaps my first lesson in feminism,' she wrote.[3] Alice completed her education at Richard Hale Budd's Educational Institute for Ladies, one of the first girls' schools to follow traditional classical teaching.[4] Barred from further formal

[1] See bibliography.
[2] Information about Henry: Papers of Alice Henry, National Library of Australia (NLA) MS1066; Alice Henry, *Memoirs of Alice Henry*, ed. Nettie Palmer with a postscript, Melbourne, 1944; Diane Kirkby, *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice*; Patricia Clarke, *Pen Portraits. Women writers and journalists in nineteenth century Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1988, 183-8.
[3] Henry, *Memoirs,* 5-6.
[4] Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 8.

education – the University of Melbourne had only recently allowed to women to matriculate but did not accept them as students – she worked as a teacher and private tutor.

Her first success in journalism, an almost exclusively male profession, came in 1884 when, at the age of twenty-seven, she had an article published in *The Australasian*, the weekly paper associated with the Melbourne daily *The Argus*. When she secured a position on *The Australasian*, Alice was assigned to reporting social functions and supplying cookery recipes, a 'humble' position, as she described it, 'at the bottom of the ladder'.[5] Unsatisfying as her work may have been, she was almost certainly the first woman journalist in Australia to be taken on to the staff of a major newspaper and trained on the job. Her account of her training under David Watterson, a strict and conservative editor, is one of the few records of this aspect of journalism in Australia before the introduction of the cadet training system. She wrote: "I owe [Watterson] much for the training he gave me. But progressive in his opinions he was not. He felt that both the labor movement and the feminist movement should either be ignored or actively opposed."[6]

Waterson continued to confine Alice to the social pages. but she was an enterprising reporter getting a few articles on social subjects and suffrage published, sometimes under pseudonyms. But in the mid-1890s, when Watterson proposed to restrict her solely 'to the women's columns of fashions, frills and frivolities', she rebelled and resigned.[7] After leaving *The Argus* she supported herself by starting an enterprising business in Melbourne offering a range of services for women for example as including as a 'town shopper' for country residents and as an employment agent.[8] For some years, until she sold the business in July 1899, Alice was a part-time journalist only, but she continued to contribute many articles to newspapers and periodicals.

Free to write on topics she chose she was published in many Australian and overseas papers on the recognition and regulation of women's paid work, social issues and sexual freedom. Her article on the moral training of girls was published in the *International Journal of Ethics* (Philadelphia) in October 1903,[9] and an article on the establishment of children's courts in South Australia, first published in the Melbourne *Argus* and the Adelaide *Evening Journal*, was reproduced in *The Times* (London) in support of the establishment of a similar court for juvenile offenders in Britain.[10] In March 1898, her eyewitness accounts of the extensive bushfires raging through Gippsland in eastern Victoria appeared in London in the *British Australasian*.[11] She also tackled some often ignored social problems such as education for intellectually challenged children,[12] and the treatment of people with epilepsy then regarded as a mental illness.[13] Her series on these subjects led to extensive discussion in 'Letters to the Editor' columns.

Long before she left Australia, Alice Henry was aware of the wider opportunities available overseas for a woman of reformist views. She was a friend of Catherine Helen Spence who had represented Australia at an International Conference of Charities held in Chicago in 1893. A feminist and social reformer and the first Australian woman to stand as a political candidate, Spence and Henry shared similar views on suffrage, democratic voting systems, social problems, labor reform, access to education and better conditions for women workers. Spence believed that 'women could take a place in the world beyond their households and accept responsibility in the public affairs of the community'.[14] Henry regarded her as a mentor.

The ties that developed between the feminist movements in the United States and Australia arising from Catherine Helen Spence's visit were reinforced by the visit of Australian feminist and suffragist, Vida Goldstein. In 1902, invited to speak at the first International Woman Suffrage Conference, held in Washington, Goldstein was welcomed by the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Alliance, Carrie Chapman Catt, who expressed the hope that her

[5] Clarke, *Pen Portraits*, 186.
[6] Henry, *Memoirs*, 14.
[7] Jeanne Young, *Catherine Helen Spence*, Lothian Publishing Co., Melbourne, 1939, p.132; Clarke, *Pen Portraits*, 186-7.
[8] 'Cleo', *Bulletin*, 14 November 1896.
[9] *Australasian*, 28 November 1903, 49; *Evening Journal*, 30 December 1903, 2.
[10] *Advertiser*, 1 December 1903, 7.
[11] Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 15.
[12] Alice Henry, 'Teaching the Unteachables', *Argus*, 25 December !897, p. 4; 8 January 1898, p. 14.
[13] 'Industrial Farm: Colonies for Epileptics, paper to Australasian Science Congress, *Tasmanian News*, 17 December 1901, p. 3, reprinted in many Australian papers.
[14] Susan Magarey, *Unbridling the tongues of women*, University of Adelaide Press, Adelaide SA, 2010 (original ed. Hale and Iremonger, 1985), p. 20.

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visit would advance 'the bond of sympathy and good fellowship' between the Australian and American suffrage movements. As a representative of a country where women had won the right to vote and to stand as candidates at federal elections, following the federation of the Australian colonies as the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, Goldstein was greeted as a celebrity. Crowds flocked to her lectures on votes for women, she gave evidence to a United States Congressional Committee on the operation of female suffrage in Australia and she was invited to the White House to discuss suffrage with President Theodore Roosevelt.[15]

Influenced by the experiences of Catherine Helen Spence and Vida Goldstein, in 1905 Henry left Australia hoping that her experience in writing and speaking on feminist and labor issues would be valued and would lead to opportunities for meaningful work. She went as a delegate from the Melbourne Charity Organisation Society and a representative of the Women's Progressive League,[16] and after about six months in England and Europe she travelled to the United States. Catherine Helen Spence wished her well and sent her five pounds to help with her travelling expenses. She wrote:

> Oh my dear friend I shall go with you on this interesting itinerary … You are so much influenced by the experiences of Catherine Helen Spence and Vida Goldstein, more like minded with me than Vida Goldstein or any others to whom I have bidden God speed.[17]

In New York Alice Henry was invited to stay at Hull House, established under the settlement house social movement by Jane Addams whose invitation appears to have been prompted by correspondence with Spence. Addams, known as the mother of social work, was a pioneer American settlement house activist, reformer, social worker and leader in women's suffrage and world peace who in 1931 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Henry was surprised by how warmly she was welcomed in America:

> I was taken in at once and made welcome. At once! At first! A favoured visitor from far-away Australia! What those words mean to a mere newcomer! It was my introduction to the social workers' world at its best and highest, with close connections to the Labor Movement. …

Australia is a word to rouse interest in all that circle and I arrived at a moment when Australia was beginning some of her most notable experiments in social legislation, and, Federation having been accomplished, Americans generally were feeling a sense of sisterly interest in this new young community in a territory as large as their own, with a tiny population and a future all before it.[18]

From New York Henry went to Hull House in Chicago where she met Mrs Raymond Robins and her husband, a wealthy couple with progressive views, who were supporters of the settlement. Margaret Drier Robins had recently become national president of the NWTUL and the following day she offered Henry the job of office secretary of the Chicago branch of the League. She started work immediately under a veteran unionist, Emma Steghagen, sitting at a desk at the Chicago labor monthly, the *Union Labor Advocate*.[19] Very soon Henry was also editor of the Women's Department of the paper where her training on the Melbourne *Argus* and *Australasian* was invaluable.

MILES FRANKLIN, NOVELIST, NATIONALIST, FEMINIST

Towards the end of 1906 Australian novelist and feminist, Miles Franklin reached Chicago bringing with her introductions to Alice Henry from Vida Goldstein and Sydney feminist Rose Scott. Born Stella Maria Sarah Miles Franklin at Talbingo, New South Wales on 14 October 1879 into a pioneering grazing family, German and English on her mother's side, Irish on her father's, her ancestors had run sheep and cattle on the high plains of the Monaro in southern New South Wales for generations. She described her childhood in a bush home in the mountains close to what became after Federation of the Australian colonies, the border with the Australian Capital Territory in a book describing her life to the age of ten in *Childhood at Brindabella*. Her family's downward slide on the social and financial ladder to a small

[15] Clare Wright, http://theconversation.com/birth-of-a-nation-how-australia-empowering-women-taught-the-world-a-lesson-52492; Janice N. Brownfoot, 'Goldstein, Vida Jane (1869–1949)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB),* vol. 9, Melbourne University Press (MUP), Carlton Vic., 1983, 43-5.
[16] *Age*, 15 April, 12; 19 April 1905, 10.
[17] Letters Spence to Henry held in South Australian Archives, quoted in Magarey, p. 163.
[18] Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 38.
[19] Henry, Memoirs, p. 45.

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farm near Goulburn, heightened her pride and self-awareness and contributed to her emergence as a 'nationalist, feminist and novelist' and to the writing of her first novel, *My Brilliant Career*. Described as 'a marvellously rebellious' account of a bush girl growing up, the novel was rejected by Australian publishers, but was published in England in 1901 to instant acclaim. Its young author was welcomed in literary and feminist circles in Sydney by suffrage campaigner, Rose Scott, and later in Melbourne by feminist and suffragist, Vida Goldstein, who had only recently returned from her six-months' lecture tour in the United States.[20]

In the few years between the publication of *My Brilliant Career* and 1905, Franklin wrote three novels, but they remain unpublished. With Australian publishing prospects bleak, she left for San Francisco in April 1906 hoping that she would find work in a feminist environment while she followed up the success of her first novels by submitting further manuscripts to American publishers. Working her way across the continent Franklin reached Chicago where through her contact with Henry she was appointed secretary to the NWTUL's National President, Margaret Dreier Robins and worked from the same office.

WORKING FOR THE LEAGUE

Henry saw the work of the League in organising women workers and achieving industrial reforms as a link between the feminist and labor causes that she had championed all her life. She wrote:

> The connection between the woman movement and the labor movement is indeed close and fundamental, but that must not be taken to imply that the workingman and the woman of whatever class have not their own separate problems to handle and to solve as each sees best. … . The assumption that 'all working-woman's wrongs' would be solved by leaving them in the hands 'her working brother' … [has] led to the unfortunate neglect of suffrage propaganda among working women, and to a no less unfortunate ignorance of industrial problems, also on the part of many suffragists, whether those affecting working men and women alike or the women only.[21]

As a lecturer and a field worker organising new branches, Henry became a key figure in the campaign for woman suffrage, union organisation, vocational education, and labor legislation. She had a dignified appearance and spoke with all the conviction of years of activism in Australia. American audiences were 'in awe of her English accent, snowy head and great knowledge'.[22] Her dignified presence allowed her to grasp opportunities as she did in 1906 when, as a guest at an event at the White House she took the opportunity to pass on 'Australia's impromptu greetings' to President Theodore Roosevelt.[23] In her other role as editor of the women's section of the *Union Labor Advocate*, the journal of the Chicago Federation of Labor, she could draw on her experience of women's suffrage, labor legislation and measures adopted in Australia for dealing with social problems.[24] In her first year in America she had established her intellectual standing as a social historian with an article published in a New York weekly *The Outlook* on the Australian labour movement.[25]

GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE

During the next five years Henry and Franklin established their credentials as fighters for women workers. In 1910 during the prolonged strike of garment workers in Chicago and New York, they organised strike relief, joined barricades and, more importantly, publicised the plight of the strikers gaining wide publicity and mobilising sympathy and support. One of their articles, 'Why 50,000 refused to sew', which described in detail the conditions that had led these oppressed,

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[20] Information about Franklin: Jill Roe, 'Franklin, Stella Miles 1879-1954', *ADB*, MUP, 1981, vol. 8, 574-6; Jill Roe, *Stella Miles Franklin: a biography*, Fourth Estate, Pymble NSW, 2008; Drusilla Modjeska, 'Miles Franklin: A Chapter of Her Own', in *Exiles at Home: Australian Women Writers 1925-1945*, Sirius Books, Sydney, 1981, 182-220.

[21] Alice Henry, *The Trade Union Woman*, D. Appleton Co., New York, 1915, 255-6.

[22] Diane Kirkby, 'Henry, Alice (1857-1943)', *ADB*, vol. 9, MUP, 1983, 264-5.

[23] Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 41.

[24] Diane Kirkby, *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice. The life of an Australian-American Labor Reformer*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, 90.

[25] Alice Henry, 'Industrial Democracy: The Australian Labor Movement', *The Outlook*, 3 November 1906, 566-70.

unorganised women workers to strike, gained publicity as far away as England.[26] Alice Henry described the publicity they gained as 'immense', something that could not have been achieved except for a 'struggle on a stupendous scale'.[27] They exposed the reduction in piece rates, the long hours and unsafe and unhealthy working conditions and the power wielded by foremen in imposing penalties and demanding sexual favours, in an industry in which the overwhelming majority of workers were non-English speaking migrant women. The unsafe conditions women worked under were horrifyingly illustrated by the death of 146 workers in a fire in the Triangle shirtwaist factory in New York where employers had blocked exits and stairwells to prevent workers taking unauthorised breaks.[28] As the garment workers strike dragged on, the strikers and their families endured hunger, evictions and cold, and besieged the Chicago League headquarters for basic strike relief of food rations and help with rent and coal. Alice Henry and Miles Franklin joined picket lines and distributed relief to the workers while their publicity raised awareness of the conditions in the industry and the desperate plight of the strikers.

'THE HUNGER BARGAIN'

Early in 1911, the strikers were forced back to work through desperation, their sole gain being an agreement with one major employer to establish a board of arbitration with employee representation. 'The hunger bargain has been struck,' the editors wrote as they detailed the losses in human suffering through employers refusing to re-engage some strikers and the majority forced to return to the same unsafe and degrading conditions. They saw the principal gains as 'the sense of solidarity, of mutual understanding' that had grown between the huge unorganized group of immigrant workers and organised labour. The strike, they wrote, opened 'a window into industrial conditions' for 'thousands of well-meaning' but 'entirely ignorant' Chicago citizens'.[29] Reflecting on the strikes in the garment and allied industries, Henry wrote four years later:

The beginning of the present stage of the industrial rebellion among working-women in the United States may be said to have been with the immense garment workers' strikes. All have been strikes of the unorganized … One most important fact was that they had the support of a national body of trade-union women, banded in a federation, working on the one hand with organized labor and on the other bringing in as helpers, large number of outside women.[30]

The epic fight contributed to a decision by the NWTUL to expand the women's section of the *Union Labor Advocate* into an ambitious national monthly journal, *Life and Labor*, with the aim of enlisting the interest of a much wider public in the struggle for workers' rights. The new publication had a double function that Henry described as "an organ of the League activities, and the expression of members' views; and as a running diary of what was happening in the world of working-women, for the information of students and of all interested in sociological matters."[31]

The beginning of the journal signalled a new era in the League's work and the two Australians were chosen to take charge, Alice Henry as editor and Miles Franklin as assistant editor. In their first editorial in *Life and Labor* published in January 1911, they recognised the potential for revolutionary action by workers in situations such as the prolonged struggle of the garment workers and its bitter end and they pointed to the potential in awakening public opinion through the widespread publicity the strike had generated. They wrote:

> If the whole burden of remedying unfair industrial inequalities is left to the oppressed social group we have the crude and primitive method of revolution. To this the only alternative is for the whole community through co-operative action to undertake the removal of industrial wrongs and the placing of industry upon a basis just and fair to the worker. …

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[26] Alice Henry and S.M. Franklin, 'Why 50,000 refused to sew', *Englishwoman*, June 1911, 297-308.
[27] Alice Henry, *The Trade Union Woman*, 113-4.
[28] *Life and Labor (LL)*, January 1913, pp. 6-11; Alice Henry, *Women and the Labor Movement*, George Doran Co., New York, 1923, 118.
[29] *LL*, March 1911, 88-9; June 1912, 170-2.
[30] Henry, *The Trade Union Woman*, pp. 110-11.
[31] Henry, *The Trade Union Woman*, pp. 74-5.

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> Destructive action peculiarly affects women and as we know that woman's industrial life is inseparable from her civic and social development the purpose of *Life and Labor* will be to express the forces both latent and active in the woman movement of this country and thus bring the working girl into fuller and larger relationship with life on all sides.[32]

EDITING *LIFE AND LABOR*

Henry and Franklin brought to their positions as inaugural editors of the League's journal *Life and Labor* their experience in Australia of the two most important aims of the American feminist and labor movements. Under the Australian Constitution, adopted when the Australian colonies federated as the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, they had exercised the right to vote equally with men and they were entitled to stand for the Commonwealth Parliament; they had been active in the successful female suffrage campaigns in several Australian states, and they had seen the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration set a minimum male basic wage in a country where there was already an eight-hour day. There were glaring gaps – some states prevented women from standing as parliamentary candidates, female wages were set well behind male rates and many women slaved for long hours in home-based industries on piecework rates. Nevertheless, Australian women were far in advance of American women in these fields.

For the past thirty years, Alice Henry had exploited the print media, then the only method of mass communication, to 'educate, inspire, attract and influence readers'.[33] She had developed her ability to present the underlying need for woman suffrage to effect feminist goals, the need for workers to organise and for society to recognise the grave defects in an economic system that allowed such an imbalance between employers and the right of their workers to a living wage and just conditions. She had a vigorous, stimulating mind, enthusiasm and zeal. Miles Franklin brought different talents, described by Henry as 'her ready pen, her fresh interest in everything, her initiative and her easy adaptability' that made her 'an easy addition to the staff'.[34] Henry was educative and earnest, Franklin brought lightness, a human touch and her literary talent that gave 'vitality and verve' to the journal while 'her sense of irony of women's place' added to its 'distinctive feminist flavour'.[35]

Diane Kirkby, Henry's biographer, described their conception of the journal as 'a feminist working-woman's journal which was at the same time investigative and informative'.[36] Its major appeal was to middle-class professional women, feminists, activists, social workers and community leaders rather than the unionists it represented, many of whom had neither the money to subscribe nor the time to read the journal. The consequences of its ambivalence, in appealing primarily to middle-class professional women rather than working-class women, was to become more apparent and more threatening to its existence in following years. At its beginning, the editors saw harnessing the power of activist women to gain the vote as a first step in giving women the power to influence industrial and social legislation. Before the passing of the 19th Amendment to the American Constitution in 1920, American women had no right to vote in national elections and could vote in only a minority of states.

With their joint talents, Henry and Franklin produced an attractive, professional publication bringing together writing by Americans prominent in the labor and feminist movements. They featured interviews with trade union and political leaders, biographical articles on women workers, articles on their exploitation, reports of strikes and suffrage conventions, international suffrage and labor news, short stories and poems. Their article on the bitter end to the garment workers' strike in the first issue was followed by two more on the lessons of the strike. In subsequent issues, appealing stories on the lives of women who had emerged to become union leaders or those who worked in oppressed industries, were intermingled with educative articles on the aims of the League.

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[32] Editorial, *LL*, January 1911, 1.
[33] Diane Kirkby, '"Those Knights of Pen and Pencil": Woman Journalists and Cultural Leadership of the Women's Movement in Australia and the United States', *Labour History*, May 2013, 82-4.
[34] Henry, *Memoirs,* 89.
[35] Kirkby, *The Power of Pen and Voice*, 118.
[36] Kirkby, *The Power of Pen and Voice*, 119.

In editorials and articles, Henry and Franklin stressed the essential need for the organisation of the power of women in trade union and suffrage organisations. In an editorial in the February 1912 issue of *Life and Labor*, they wrote:

> As workers, organization is our instrument for enforcing just dealing, adequate return for service, safe and decent working conditions of labor. Organization is the engine for driving home the rights of labor, for protecting it against exploitation by financial interest. Organization is the tool by which wages are increased and hours shortened. This tool will yet pry the locks from the fire-tap factories and even jack up the courts to a sense of social responsibility. What organization really stands for us is the right to labor on terms of freedom, and to experience life in its fullness. Out of the completeness of organization must inevitably come these twin rights, to labor and to live in freedom.[37]

In Australia Henry had seen that the combination of the organisational power of trade unions and universal suffrage (with the exception of Indigenous people) had been successful in forming the first Labor Government in the world. She was passionate to bring these two forces together in the United States. In the same issue of *Life and Labor*, she wrote a hard-hitting article on the National American Woman Suffrage Association criticising the disunity and lack of organization that had seen the Association lose all its leaders of national reputation and long experience. Women in the organization must realise, she wrote:

> The day of primitive methods and of individual protests is gone ... the only protest on behalf of democracy of any weight is a planned and organized campaign. … Courage sisters! We can only fit ourselves for the responsibility that is coming to us by exercising faithfully the responsibilities we already possess.[38]

Franklin began an irregular book review section, 'When we have time to read' in the June 1911 issue but she recognised the problem for busy working women warning that they would not be able to keep up with reading without an eight-hour-day and a living wage**.** Her part solution was to reprint some popular stories women workers may have known in their childhood such as Hans Christian Anderson's 'The Ugly Duckling', which were easy and quick to read. She also reviewed relevant books, for example, one on the militant suffrage struggle in Britain in which she described 'the continual outrages against fair play' that had caused some of 'the most enlightened women of the age' to decide that militancy was the only resource left.[39]

MRS ROBINS BECOMES ASSOCIATE EDITOR

At the beginning of 1912, Margaret Dreier Robins joined as associate editor and began to contribute a series of practical articles on 'How to Organize' and instructions on letter writing. As the influential source of authority and finance, she contributed to editorial decisions and according to several accounts suggested many ideas for inclusions but left the work of carrying out some of her ideas to the overworked editors. Both were often away from Chicago, Miles Franklin in her other role as secretary to Mrs Robins as president of the NWTUL and Alice Henry giving speeches in her educative role in the trade union movement and attending conferences. They had to write most of the content of the monthly, edit the material, prepare it for publication and see it through printing. Miles Franklin did most of the office work and production, ensuring the 32-page journal got out on time. Henry was notoriously disorganised, and she was also often away from the office speaking at events, attending conferences in other cities and publicising the journal to potential subscribers and supporters. She kept the journal operating, however, during a period in 1912 when Franklin became ill during an emotional crisis. This followed news that her persistent Australian suitor, Edwin Brindle, had abandoned his pursuit and had married in Australia. Franklin had several romantic attachments in Chicago before she rejected the idea of marriage, describing it as 'rabbit' work.[40]

In 1913 Franklin also had to edit the journal alone for about four months while Henry was recuperating from illness in Canada. At the same time, she had charge of the America-wide National Women's Trade Union League while Margaret Dreier Robins was in Europe. In a letter to her aunt at Brindabella in the far distant Australian bush, Franklin described her situation in characteristic style:

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[37] Editorial, *LL*, February 1912.
[38] Alice Henry, 'The National Association American Woman Suffrage Association and Machine Politics', *LL,* February 1912, pp. 51-55.
[39] S.M. Franklin, 'When we have time to read', *LL,* June 1913, pp. 181-82.
[40] Roe, *ADB,* p. 575.

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> I have been doing all the editing for months … I have been crew of the captain's gig and chief bottle washer in all sorts of things. I have even given my opinion on settling strikes and sent organisers and investigators hither and yon. I will have to take in the size of my hat when Mrs Robins comes back.[41]

Her description of her workplace on Dearborn Street must have amazed the Franklins at Brindabella who still relied on a postman on a horse to deliver the mail and who had not encountered buildings approaching the height of skyscrapers:

> We have an office suite of four rooms in one of the big skyscrapers and one of them is my private office. I have an assistant to help me. I have my own telephone switch and all sorts of conveniences. Quite a change from the life of an Australian bush girl. We have a mail chute just outside our door in which we drop our letters and when we want a telegraph messenger to take things we press a button in the wall. The building has a barber shop and a restaurant and all sorts of things. There are some thousands of people quartered here. It is a great sight when the buildings light up at night.[42]

Although it was the subject of only a scant reference in *Life and Labor*, the news that a Chicago architect, Walter Burley Griffin, had won the competition for the design of Australia's new National Capital was exciting news to the two Australians, particularly Miles Franklin who had grown up just over the ranges to the west of the land on which Canberra was to be built.[43] They visited Griffin and his wife Marion Mahony Griffen, who was responsible for the drawings that were part of his winning entry, in their office only a few blocks away to congratulate them, recounting their visit in an enthusiastic article published in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*. In it they described Griffin as 'very modest about the stupendous achievement of planning a national capital, but enthusiastic about the great opportunity' offered by Australia. Griffin regarded Australia as: 'The newest of the great Commonwealths, already the most advanced economically, and with the fewest steps to retrace.' When a visiting architect queried Griffin's naming of the parliamentary building in his plan for Canberra as the Governor's Palace as out of keeping with democracy, Marion Mahony Griffin, replied: 'Not a bit, is not democracy the supreme monarch in our day, and a palace is none too good to house democracy.'[44] The Griffins are mentioned in only a sentence or two in *Life and Labor* in a Franklin article on 'Elisabeth Martini, Architect: A Pioneer in an Old Profession'. Apart from a portrait of Martini, however, the article is illustrated entirely with Marion Mahony Griffin's designs for buildings in Illinois: the Adolph Mueller residence and garage in Decatur and the Church of All Saints in Evanston.[45]

The editors' frequent absences reporting conferences and strikes and giving speeches at events make the appearance of the journal each month a remarkable achievement, as was the volume of writing they had to do. Miles Franklin wrote profiles of the first two women ever chosen by a national political party as delegates to elect a presidential candidate after attending the 1912 Republican National Convention, and in 1914 she reported the American Federation of Labor conference.[46] Henry reported many labor and women's conferences and was often a speaker. Both published many articles on industrial problems particularly campaigns for a minimum living wage, sometimes drawing on the Australian experience of state wage boards and the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration which in 1907 had set a minimum basic wage for male employees based on the needs of a family rather than solely on a company's profits.[47] They also highlighted the conditions in which women worked in individual American industries, for example, Franklin's piece on button makers in 'More about Pearl Buttons' and 'The new broom how it is sometimes made'', and Henry's 'The Chicago Waitresses'.[48] They also tackled some intractable social problems. Franklin began a discussion on

[41] Stella Miles Franklin to Aunt Annie (Mrs Thomas Franklin), Brindabella station, via Canberra, Life and Labour, Room 901, 127 Dearborn Street, Chicago, 21 November 1913, copy with author.
[42] Franklin to aunt.
[43] Franklin to aunt.
[44] *Daily Telegraph*, 3 August 1912, 15
[45] S.M. Franklin, 'Elisabeth Martini, Architect: A Pioneer in an Old Profession', *LL,* February 1914, 40-3.
[46] S.M. Franklin, 'The Women Delegates [to the Republican National Convention]', *LL*, August 1912, 234-6; December 1914, 361-4.
[47] Henry, 'The Living Wage', *LL*, July 1913, 195; Margaret Dreier Robins, 'The Minimum Wage', June 1913, 168-72; 'Wages Boards in Australia', June 1914, 179-81.
[48] Franklin, 'More about Pearl Buttons', *LL*, December 1911, pp. 377-9, 'The new broom how it is sometimes made', October 1914, 294-6; Henry, 'The Chicago Waitresses', April 1914, 100-03.

prostitution with an article querying the relationship between low wages and vice.[49] Henry wrote two articles, 'The Vice Problem from Various Angles' and 'Municipal Mastery of Vice,' in which she advocated 'a single standard of morality' between the sexes plus a living wage for all and votes for women to give them the power to influence legislation.[50]

The beginning of the First World War presented a dilemma for the Australian editors as unlike neutral America, Australia had followed Britain in declaring war and was raising the First Australian Imperial force to send overseas. In September 1914 they published a joint article blaming the tragedy of World War I on the build-up of armaments. 'The fallacy of the argument that armaments preserve peace has been exposed in a way that beggars the descriptive powers of the wildest journalism and leaves sober people aghast', they wrote.[51] Henry followed this in the December 1914 issue with 'War and its Fruits', in which she advocated sending a 'Peace Ship' from the United States to Europe. She hoped that American peace advocates would bring 'such pressure that at least an armistice must be declared'. If not, she wrote, European civilisation was 'doomed to destruction'.[52]

LIFE AND LABOR IN CRISIS

Life and Labor maintained its high standard for four years from the beginning of 1911 but by January 1915, it was in deep financial trouble when the major financial backer, Margaret Dreier Robins, decided to stop paying the bills. Her withdrawal of support may have indicated some disagreement with the direction of the publication, yet she held the position of Associate Editor and it was the responsibility of the League, which she also financed, to give clear directions on the journal's aims and scope. The editors appealed for new financial supporters and for greater efforts to enrol new subscribers and they made drastic economies, including a reduction from 32 to 16 pages and a move to cheaper premises.[53] But none of these measures led to improvement in the underlying problem—the publication's dependence on outside financial support.

The events that led to the departure of both editors are difficult to unravel. Whether voluntarily or through pressure or just by reading the situation, Alice Henry resigned stating that she wanted to take less harassing and fatiguing work as national lecturer and educator for the League, a position that had fallen vacant. This was not unlike the work she had done addressing meetings, conferences and groups when she was publicising *Life and Labor*, in the course of which she always stressed the need for workers to organise to fight for their rights and to work for the vote as a fundamental right and as the key to other reforms for women employees. At 58, Alice was a woman who had worked hard all her adult life so the move may have appeared reasonable. It also allowed her the time to finish a book she had been working on for some years and which Mrs Robins often urged her to finish. Her major publication, *The Trade Union Woman*, was published later that year.

Henry remained loyal to Margaret Drier Robins. As NWTUL president, she wrote, Robins 'put up a record for initiative, courage and resourcefulness' and in her public life 'the cause of the labor women **...** was always her first interest'.[54] She had given the organisation 'her time, energy and influence and most generous financial help and advanced by many years the position of working women'.[55] She continued with a justification for Mrs Robins ending support for the organization:

Mrs Robins felt, however, that if the Women's Trade Union League was to fulfil its true function of being a working women's organization, she must withdraw to some extent her helping hand and its management must devolve upon the girls themselves. Her judgment was sound, as has been seen in the League's subsequent success as an essential part of the labor movement and its facility for drawing more and more into women into trade unions.[56]

Nevertheless, the devastation of losing her journalistic career in such circumstances would have been a blow to Henry. She had maintained her career in difficult circumstances in Australia where she was a pioneer woman employed in an

[49] Ethel Mason and S.M. Franklin, 'Low wages and Vice–Are they related?', *LL*, April 1913, 108-10.
[50] Henry, 'The Vice Problem from Various Angles', *LL*, May 1913, 141-44; 'Municipal Mastery of Vice,' December 1912, 363-4.
[51] *LL*, September 1914, 260-3.
[52] *LL*, December 1914, 357-9.
[53] *LL*, February 1915, 1.
[54] Alice Henry, *Women and the Labor Movement*, pp. 115-16.
[55] Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 67.
[56] Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 67.

overwhelmingly male industry and then in an extremely demanding and multi-faceted position in the United States. Her remarkable journalistic career, so summarily ended in Chicago in 1915, was recognised in Australia in 2014 when she was inducted into Australia's Media Hall of Fame.[57]

Henry's departure left Miles Franklin an unhappy survivor. She had already been replaced in her long-held position as secretary to Mrs Robins in her role as president and chief backer of NWTUL. Now as editor with a staff of two she had to bring out a drastically reduced publication with, to say the least, a problematic future, while she was expected to maintain the quality of previous issues. At this stage Margaret Drier Robins whose moves had precipitated these events seemed doubtful about the outcome. She wrote that despite Miles Franklin's 'excellent qualities both as a writer and editor', she did not have Alice Henry's 'knowledge of the labor movement or her fine vision'.[58]

By August 1915, Henry had left the publication and in October Franklin left for England on three months' leave from which she did not return. Franklin had admired Margaret Dreier Robins' establishment of the NWTUL and her huge contribution to its work and finances. In her roles at the NWTUL and *Life and Labor*, however, she had carried a heavy workload with a great deal of responsibility and at the same time canvas for support and subscribers. It was two years before Miles Franklin felt any mitigation in her hostility to the treatment that she had received from Mrs Robins.[59] *Life and Labor* continued in a truncated form until 1921 when it was reduced to a 4-page union paper.

Alice Henry attributed the financial failure of *Life and Labor* to the periodical having to fulfil two different and inconsistent functions: 'as an organ of the movement' on one hand and 'a magazine for general reading' on the other.[60] It seems surprising that a journal of such quality did not attract enough subscribers and advertisers to make it self-supporting in a country as industrialised and populous as the United States. It is useful to compare this with the experience in Australia, then a country with a population of less than four million, where several publishing ventures advocating the emancipation of women in all forms garnered support from subscribers and advertisers. Louisa Lawson's crusading, radical, feminist paper *The Dawn: A magazine for Australian women*, which she began in Sydney in 1888 employing only female staff in all roles, remained a viable, commercial publication for seventeen years. From its first issue and through the 1890s depression, it was supported entirely by subscriptions and a healthy amount of advertising. Some of its success can be attributed to Lawson's pragmatic approach in including enough practical articles of general appeal, even supplying dress patterns, to engage women who were initially only peripherally interested in its reforming agenda.[61]

Australian writer and journalist, Dame Mary Gilmore, was equally pragmatic in her long-running column for women in the *Australian Worker*. She wrote powerful articles on important women's issues, but she also included a popular section in which she replied to women who wrote for advice, dispensing her own brand of down-to earth, hard-won wisdom.[62] While *Life and Labor* maintained a bright, appealing style, its content was almost entirely directed at the lives of women as activists and workers, barely touching their domestic lives and aspirations for their children which were as important to many of them as working conditions.

AFTER *LIFE AND LABOR*

For four years Henry and Franklin produced a substantial, challenging journal that set out and advocated the essential goals of the women's and labor movements. Henry continued this work throughout the United States for the next ten years in her new role as head of the League's education department. In 1915 in her book, *The Trade Union Woman*, she continued the campaign for voting rights and reform of labor laws. After American women won the right to vote and stand for political office, she concentrated in her second book, *Women and the Labor Movement*, on promoting labor

[57] Virginia Trioli, 'Alice Henry (1857-1943)' in *Media Legends: Journalists who helped shape Australia*, eds Michael Smith and Mark Baker, Wilkinson Publishing, Melbourne, 2014, pp. 47-50.
[58] Jill Roe, *Stella Miles Franklin*, 153-4.
[59] Kirkby, *The Power of Pen and Voice*, 121-3; Roe, *Stella Miles Franklin*, 154.
[60] Kirkby, *The Power of Pen and Voice*, 123-4.
[61] Clarke, *Pen Portraits*, pp. 160-71; Patricia Clarke, 'Jennie Scott Griffiths: How a conservative Texan became a radical socialist and feminist in World War I Australia', *ISAA Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2016, 37-8.
[62] Patricia Clarke, 'Women in the Media' in *A Companion to the Australian Media*, ed. Bridget Griffen-Foley, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 2014, 496.

reform, advocating a shorter working day, a minimum wage, promotion and wages based on competence not sex, and neither compulsion nor prohibition against wage-earning after marriage. She was described as 'spokeswoman for the millions of her sex', employed in industry in the United States.[63]

In 1924 Henry visited Italy, Switzerland, Austria and Germany to report on the Workers' Education Movement and to attend an International Workers' Education conference at Oxford. At the end of the year she visited Australia where she was welcomed home as a woman who had been a distinguished ambassador for her country for the past twenty years. Her greatest disappointment was the state of Australian trade unions which, once so flourishing and effective, had in her view become backward and lacking in thoroughness and persistence.

Alice Henry retired from the NWTUL in 1927 and, after a serious bronchial illness lasting eighteen months, moved to the milder climate of Santa Barbara, California. Earlier she had begun corresponding with influential Australian businessman, Herbert Brookes, who in 1929 was appointed Australian Commissioner-General in the United States.[64] This unexpected friendship between the feminist, radical Henry and the deeply conservative Brookes, had the unlikely result of revealing just how passionate was her interest in music, art and literature in Australia and the United States, an aspect of her life not otherwise apparent in her writing. She alerted Brookes to developments in artistic fields particularly American reaction to new books by Australian women writers. She sent him reviews published in the United States of the first two volumes of Henry Handel Richardson's classic novel, *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony. Australia Felix* and *Ultima Thule*, M. Barnard Eldershaw's *A House is Built*, Mary Fullerton's *A Juno of the Bush* and the first of Miles Franklin's 'Brent of Bin Bin' series.[65] When Herbert Brookes resigned his post on 22 October 1930 because he believed Australia could not afford the expense of such overseas representation while it was in the midst of the Depression, he left Henry the problem of getting a venue in San Francisco for the 'First Contemporary All-Australian Art Exhibition'. Curated by Australian expatriate artist Mary Cecil Allen, it had been shown successfully at the Roerich Museum in New York.[66]

In the crisis of the Great Depression, Alice Henry's League pension was reduced and then ceased. In 1933, at the age of 76, she returned to live in Melbourne and reunite with her brother, her only relative. Although she was welcomed as a notable and successful Australian woman, settling back was not easy and she missed her life in America, her home for nearly three decades and where she may have expected to live for the rest of her life in touch with her friends and colleagues from her years of work in the labor and feminist movements.

'A BACK NUMBER AND AN OLD HEN'

During the first few years back in Australia, Henry re-established herself as an active speaker, broadcaster and writer promoting the achievements of women. She gave lectures for the YWCA and wrote a chapter on the history of Australian women gaining the vote for the *Centenary Gift Book*, published for the centenary of the State of Victoria in 1934.[67] She was a prominent member of the Press, Letters and Art Committee of the National Council of Women for whom she compiled a 'Bibliography of Australian Women Writers', in response to a request from the International Council of Women. Although now a historic document held in the State Library of New South Wales, it remained in manuscript form only, an outcome that rankled Henry deeply.[68] She also assisted American writer and commentator, Hartley Grattan, an authority on Australian society and culture, during his tour of the country.

In 1936 she received a bitter blow to her self-esteem when a broadcast she had been scheduled to make on the ABC on Jane Addams, the joint founder of Hull House, an early settlement house in Chicago, was cancelled, the excuse being that her voice 'did not carry well over the air'. The blow was compounded when she heard studio gossip describing her as 'a back number and an old hen'. Henry's talk eventually went ahead, probably due to the influence of Herbert Brookes

[63] *Evening World*, 11 February 1925, Papers of Alice Henry NLA MS 132, Box 2.
[64] Herbert and Ivy Brookes Correspondence, NLA MS1924.
[65] Brookes correspondence, Box 80, NWTUL, Chicago, 25/1201, 2 September 1929; YWCA, New York, 25/1246, 23 September 1929; Santa Barbara, California, 25/1280, 1302,1576, 1833, 1991, 2063-4, 2387-8, 2821, 1 October 1929 – 7 April 1930.
[66] Brookes correspondence Box 84, 25/4990-2, 22, 31 October 1930; Box 11, Santa Barbara, 1/9359-60, 31 August 1931.
[67] Alice Henry, 'Marching towards citizenship', *Centenary Gift Book*, Frances Fraser and Nettie Palmer eds, Robertson and Mullins, Melbourne, 1934, 101-7.
[68] Brookes correspondence, Box 112, Kooralbyn, Erin St, Richmond, Vic., 39/191, 6 February; 39/195, 8 April 1938; Alice Henry comp., 'Bibliography of the works of Australian Women Writers', State Library of NSW, QA820.3H.

who was ABC vice chairman. Brookes told her he regretted that the young generation were 'so woefully ignorant of the services to society which you and the few others with similar ideals and gifts have rendered during your long and creative career'.[69]

There were further blows in 1937 when she turned eighty, the first being the death of her brother who was lost at sea. She also came to the realisation that, despite the intervention of influential friends who lobbied on her behalf, she would have to suffer the humiliation of applying to become a naturalised citizen of the country where she had been born and to which she had contributed so much. Simultaneously she had to give up her American citizenship.[70] 'To belong to two countries is a tragedy', she wrote.[71] In 1940, she moved to a nursing home where Miles Franklin visited her from Sydney and celebrated with a party. '[Y]ou know how she adored being given a party.' Miles wrote to a friend in America.[72] Her literary executor, writer and critic Nettie Palmer, a central figure in Australian literary life in the 1930s and 1940s, encouraged Henry to write her memoirs which Palmer edited and published after Henry's death on 14 February 1943.[73]

MILES FRANKLIN AT WAR

After she left *Life and Labor* in 1915, Miles Franklin went to England arriving during the maelstrom of World War I. She did voluntary war work in London and in 1917 volunteered to serve with the American section of the Scottish Hospitals Unit in Macedonia. After about six months she contracted malaria and had to return to Britain.[74] During the 1920s she was Secretary of the National Housing and Town Panning Committee in Bloomsbury and worked for feminist and progressive causes. She had several novels published under one of her pseudonyms, 'Brent of Brent Hill' and others under her own name before she returned in 1932 to live permanently in Australia. During the following two decades she became a central figure in the Australian literary world, her voluminous correspondence, particularly with women writers, comprising a rich record of Australian literary life.[75] She had a literary success with her novel *All that Swagger* published in 1936 but others were not published until after her death: *My Career Goes Bung*, written in 1902 but not published until 1946 and *On Dearborn Street*, the location of the *Life and Labor* office in Chicago, written in 1915 but not published until 1981.

Miles Franklin died in Sydney on 10 September 1954, leaving the annual Miles Franklin Literary Award, Australia's most prestigious literary prize, honouring her extraordinary contribution to Australian literary life. There was a further honour in 2013, with the inauguration of the Stella Prize, named in her honour, which is awarded annually to the best fiction or non-fiction book by an Australian woman.

CONCLUSION

The work of these two Australians in publicising and advancing the aims of the American labor and women's movements from 1906 formed only a part of their lives which were rich in achievements in Australia both as feminists and social activists and individually: Alice Henry as a pioneer woman journalist and Miles Franklin as one of Australia's most esteemed writers and literary figures. In the United States they brought to the National Women's Trade Union League

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[69] Brookes correspondence, Box 91, Wellington Parade, Melbourne, 26/321-2, 30 May, 1 June 1936.
[70] Brookes correspondence, Box 14, Wellington Parade, Melbourne, 1/12279, 28 January 1935; 1/12440, 8 June 1935; 1/13006, 6 June 1936; 1/13371, 19 January 1937.
[71] Brookes correspondence, Box 11, 1/8817, 9 January; 1/9109, 10 June, 1/9322; 5 August, 1/9359-60, 31 August 1931, Santa Barbara, California.
[72] Kirkby, *The Power of Pen and Voice*, 221.
[73] Henry, *Memoirs*; *Woman Today*, December 1936, 4; Nettie Palmer, 'Pathfinders: Who was Alice Henry?', *Australian Women's Digest*, April 1945, 19-20.
[74] Patricia Clarke and Niki Francis, 'Canberra Women in World War I', Australian Women's Register, http://www.womenaustralia.info/exhib/cww1/essay.html.
[75] Carole Ferrier ed., *As good as a yarn with you: Letters between Miles Franklin, Katharine Susannah Prichard, Jean Devanney, Marjorie Barnard, Flora Eldershaw and Eleanor Dark*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

the enthusiasm, confidence and ability that had made them successful advocates in Australia for women's suffrage, for the reform of labor conditions for women workers and for the feminist goals of freedom to participate equally with men in education and employment and for an equal moral standard between the sexes. During their work for the League and as editors of *Life and Labor*, they advanced these aims with great energy and ability imparting the freshness of their Australian experiences to this work.

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THE ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN ESSAY PRIZE 2018

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The Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize is open to all NCIS members and recognizes excellence in independent scholarship. The Prize is awarded annually for the best peer-reviewed published article submitted by a member of NCIS, and brings the winner an honorarium, which this year is $350. The Eisenstein Prize was established in April 1993 and is named for Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein (1923-2016), Professor of History at American University (1959–1979) and the University of Michigan (1975–1985), and mother of Margaret DeLacy, one of NCIS's founders, in recognition of Professor Eisenstein's long-standing support of NCIS. After 2012 the Prize lapsed due to lack of funding, but was revived this year following Professor Eisenstein's passing in January 2016, with funding from NCIS and Margaret DeLacy.

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In 2018, as in 2017, the strong field produced two front runners, so the Eisenstein committee decided to award the prize jointly.

Congratulations go to joint winners:

> **Amanda Haste** for "Conflict and Reparation: The Agency of Music in Modern Monastic Community Dynamics," in *Music & Arts in Action* 5.2 (2016): 39-51
>
> and
>
> **Janet Smith** for "Helen Taylor's work for land nationalisation in Great Britain and Ireland 1879–1907: Women's political agency in the British Victorian land movement," in *Women's History Review* Vol. 27 (Aug. 2018): 778-798. DOI:10.1080/09612025.2017.1366968 https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1366968.

Although Taylor & Francis declined Dr Smith's request to reprint her paywalled article, Dr Haste's article was published in an open access journal, and we are delighted to be able to reprint her winning essay here with her permission.

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CONFLICT AND REPARATION: THE AGENCY OF MUSIC IN MODERN MONASTIC COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

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Abstract

Despite the social climate of individualism and freedom of choice which pervades the early twenty-first century, men and women still feel called to enter monastic life, a decision which brings with it not only vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Monastic life also involves a serious commitment to living in community and, as such community living often presents interrelational problems, the aim of this paper is to use ethnographic data to show that the ways in which music acts as a crucial element in communal health and the resolution of social conflict in modern-day monastic communities.

A monastic community brings together highly disparate individuals with the sole common aim of a personal theocentric existence: every individual will bring their own attitudes into community, and one of the hardest lessons to be learnt is that of giving up their own will and agenda to pursue this goal, while simultaneously establishing themselves within their own community. Music has always played a major role in monastic life, and chant has long proved an ideal medium for supporting a life of prayer, but recent research in twenty-first-century monasteries and convents has shown that it also has considerable agency in the psychosocial structure of monastic communities. In this paper ethnographic data are used to explore the role of communal singing, and specifically chant, as an integral part of twenty-first-century monastic life, and its impact as a source of both conflict and reparation, division and cohesion.

Following a review of the current literature on monasticism and monastic music this paper outlines my own perspective and methodology for the collection and presentation of the ethnographic data; I then present and discuss my findings on the musical implications of joining a religious community, the role played by music in community bonding, and issues of elitism and exclusion which can complicate the ongoing community dynamics, before drawing conclusions on the agency of music in modern monastic life.

Keywords: community cohesion; conflict; entrainment; religious life; monasticism; music; chant

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'I tell you what drives me crazy here and that is when we recite the psalms and someone is out of time. I like it when we are all together, but when someone is too fast or too slow nothing is ever said. Gone are the days when [a tone deaf sister] would be politely asked not to sing. Now everyone sings and everyone speaks and if anyone is out of time it is too bad. But how beautiful it sounds when everything goes right!' [1]

INTRODUCTION

Despite the social climate of individualism and freedom of choice which pervades the early twenty-first century, men and women still feel called to enter monastic life, a decision which brings with it not only vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Monastic life also involves a serious commitment to living in community and, as such community living often presents interrelational problems, the aim of this paper is to use ethnographic data to show that the ways in which music acts as a crucial element in communal health and the resolution of social conflict in modern-day monastic communities.

The problem of this type of community living is that it brings together highly disparate individuals with the sole common aim of a personal theocentric existence: every individual will bring their own attitudes into community, and one of the hardest lessons to be learnt is that of giving up their own will and agenda to pursue this goal, while simultaneously establishing themselves within their own community. Music, and in particular plainchant and chant-based music, has always played a major role in monastic life, the chant having long been proved an ideal medium for supporting a life of prayer, but recent research in twenty-first-century monasteries and convents (Haste 2009; 2013a) has shown that music also has considerable agency in the psychosocial structure of monastic communities. In this paper ethnographic data are used to explore the role of communal singing, and specifically chant,[2] as an integral part of twenty-first-century monastic life, and its impact as a source of both conflict and reparation, division and cohesion.

Following a review of the current literature on monasticism and monastic music this paper outlines my own perspective and methodology for the collection and presentation of the ethnographic data; I then present and discuss my findings on the musical implications of joining a religious community, the role played by music in community bonding, and issues of elitism and exclusion which can complicate the ongoing community dynamics, before drawing conclusions on the agency of music in modern monastic life.

Contribution to Existing Literature

The bulk of current literature on monasticism is liturgical, theological or historical, and latterly the practical and sociological aspects have also been addressed, particularly by authors such as Carey (1997) and Nygren and Ukeritis (1993). This paper extends these psychosocial studies by examining the hitherto unexplored use of music – whether conscious or unconscious – as a coping mechanism for the individual in this most particular of environments. Evidence of the practicalities of living communal monastic life in the twentieth century has already been provided in general-interest books such as Loudon's *Unveiled: Nuns Talking* (1993) and Losada's *New Habits* (1999), which use informal interviews with present-day nuns to reveal them as very real – and very modern – women. This paper uses a similar ethnographical approach to animate the theoretical background with lively and personal evidence of the agency of music in modern monasticism, while providing a more structured analysis of the underlying forces.

The large body of existing literature on monastic music has tended to concentrate on medieval and renaissance communities, notably through the work of Monson (1995; 2010), Kendrick (1996), Montford (2000), Yardley (2006) and Boynton (2006), while other studies of music in particular monastic traditions, especially that of the Benedictines, can

[1] Sr Teresa CSC [Community of the Sisters of the Church, Surrey] but at the Society of the Sisters of Bethany, Hampshire at the time of interview. Qtd in Losada1999, 20.

[2] The terms 'Gregorian' chant, 'plainchant' and 'plainsong' are all used by the Religious (the collective term for those living the vowed religious life, whether monks, nuns or friars). However their interpretation varies widely, referring to a chant 'canon' rather than the narrower definitions required by medieval music scholars. Such terminology is to be understood in the context of each individual's level of technical knowledge, education in music history, and, most tellingly, their experience of the (often highly derivative) chant repertory of their own community. For the purposes of this paper, therefore, I will be preserving the terms 'Gregorian,' 'plainchant' and 'plainsong' for direct quotations, while in all other instances I will use a generic description of 'chant' to denote an unmetered, monophonic, modal musical medium.

be found in the work of Kavanagh (1998), Love (2006), Phelan (2000) and Brown and Ó Clabaigh (2005); in the 1980s Dom David Nicholson OSB, an American monk, conducted a study on the musical impact of Vatican II on the Office and liturgy of Benedictine monastic communities (Nicholson 1986-90). However, this body of literature concentrates on the music itself rather than the ways in which music actually functions within present-day monastic life. This paper aims to draw together the strands of these historical, psychosocial and musical studies to provide a sociomusicological examination of the agency of music in the community dynamics of convents and monasteries, in which it functions as a vehicle for both conflict and reparation in the microcosm of twenty-first-century monasticism.

Methodology

The initial research leading to this paper was conducted in Roman Catholic and Anglican religious communities in Great Britain, the USA and Canada between 2004 and 2008, and has since been followed up, the last dialogue having taken place in 2013. Initial research comprised questionnaires sent to a wide range of communities, and the questionnaire responses were used to select a sample group which was representative of every type of extant community, whether active or contemplative; large, medium or small; male, female or mixed; old or new foundations. Numerous field trips were then made, during which it soon became clear that immersion in a community's life for at least twenty-four hours was necessary to get the 'feel' of a community's worship, and to show serious intent and establish a rapport. The resultant issues were then followed up through return visits and extended correspondence with selected individuals.
Considerable care has been taken to respect the sensibilities of the individual respondent while collecting reliable ethnographical data. Courtesy demanded that initial contact with a community would be made through the superior, after which a first interview would usually be granted with the superior or, with their consent, the choir director. Having established my academic credentials and intentions, I was often granted access to other members of the community, either individually or in small groups. Further dialogue through correspondence was often established, mostly by email, which offered a valuable impersonal medium and overcame some of the reticence encountered in personal interviews. Interviews were only recorded with permission.[3] Any requests for anonymity have been respected, with care taken to ensure that no individuals can be identified by their confreres from information given in published work; these methods have led to a high degree of mutual confidence and trust which in turn have led to greater disclosure of information. This policy of confidentiality has been particularly relevant to this current work on music in community dynamics.

Ethnographer's Background

As an ethnographic researcher, I should situate myself within this work by revealing myself to be a white, middle-class female, and a classically trained flautist and saxophonist. I was brought up in an Anglican-Episcopalian household but also encountered Roman Catholic and nonconformist ritual; despite my agnosticism, this background may explain my enduring fascination with the role of music in worship, and the musical choices made by individuals and communities in their worship rituals. Such autobiographical details demonstrate my auto-ethnographic (emic) perspective as someone brought up in the Christian tradition observing others in the same tradition, and also my simultaneous etic perspective as an agnostic secular musicologist investigating a monastic subculture to which I remain an outsider. My goal has been to achieve the emic perspective by acquiring ethnographic data, through observation, interviews and correspondence, in a way which minimizes as far as possible my own subjectivity; although my personal "horizon" (Gadamer 2004, 301-306) will always be defined by own life experience, I would hope that any prejudices lurking within me prove to be "enabling" rather than "disabling" in terms of my interpretation of the data presented to me.[4] Useful ethnographic literature which addresses such problems of ethnographic research include the *Handbook of Ethnography*, edited by Atkinson *et al* (2007) and Barz and Colley's *Shadows in the Field* (2008) while Chock discusses the particular problems facing the auto-ethnographer in "Irony and Ethnography: On Cultural Analysis of One's Own Culture" (1986).

[3] The question of power relations in such oral histories is confronted by McKenna (2003).
[4] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer who reminded me of Gadamer's *Truth and Method (Wahrheit und Methode)* in respect of enabling and disabling prejudice.

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DISCUSSION

Joining a Community

There is a widespread misconception that becoming a monk or a nun represents an escape from a hostile world or the pain and uncertainty of personal relationships. While historically men and women have entered religious communities at an early age for many social reasons, these days would-be monastics always try their vocation voluntarily, and their choice is based on a firm faith and belief in their vocation.[5] New entrants (aspirants) are not accepted at an early age, and those who have not reached their mid-twenties are likely to be refused entry until they have experienced more of life in the secular world.[6] One of the most important requisites is that on entry each individual should have completed their emotional and sexual formation so that they have a strong sense of their own identity:[7]

> 'Knowing ourselves and coming to terms with ourselves is one of the most important things in life . . . . When you come into community you are confronted with yourself and certain aspects of yourself that you have not addressed before . . . relating to the same people day in day out is part of discovering yourself'.

Having chosen to explore their vocation, an aspiring monastic must find a community to which he or she feels well suited. They may achieve this in their first choice of community, or may try two or more communities before settling; in any case, they will be given a taste of several houses of the Order where this is possible, and may indeed be required to move between sister houses to fulfill a need at the request of the Order. While their faith and commitment are not in question, the reality of community life is almost invariably far harder than had been anticipated. However, some aspects of monastic life can be established before entry, and these include the 'uniform' which often comprises a habit, and the sound of the chant which is used to support the prayer life of virtually all the communities. So if the chant enjoys such a high profile as the 'voice' of monasticism, how much of the appeal of monastic life can be attributed to the music itself? One may well consider that such an idea belongs firmly in the realms of romantic fiction, as in Rumer Godden's *In this House of Brede*: 'my love of music brought me to the convent. I came to hear the plainchant, and then I knew' (Godden 1991, 67). However, while it would be very easy to dismiss this as romantic sentimentalism, Godden's novel was written with the collaboration of the nuns of Stanbrook Abbey, a Roman Catholic community with a very strong musical tradition, and although most Religious would not consider 'monastic' music to have played a significant part in their choice of vocation – at least not consciously – it certainly appears to have strong associations.

One British monk, Brother F, says that for him Latin plainchant was 'the language of heaven' with its own mystique, and that it was 'the real thing' and 'what monks did'. One of his confrères, Brother B, affords chant an even more positive role in his decision, giving a clear illustration of its effect on him. He has told me that, as a small child growing up in a privileged background in New England, USA, he and his sister were being driven home by the family chauffeur one clear, starry night when they heard the sound of 250 monks singing at the local monastery; on asking about this unearthly sound he was told it was the angels singing. Although still a child when he discovered the truth Brother B felt himself inexorably drawn to the Religious Life, but this was not to be an easy journey. He entered the novitiate twice, having 'lost [his] way' at the first attempt, but maintains that it was music that drew him back to it: the chant 'spoke to' him, which he interpreted as God speaking through the music, and having been brought back to the monastic life he was finally solemnly professed at the age of fifty-one.[8]

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[5] Although my respondents have frequently told me that they did not choose the Religious Life, but rather that the call proved too strong to leave them any choice in the matter.

[6] A new entrant is termed an aspirant, becoming a postulant a few weeks later. If all goes well, they are then accepted into community as a novice monk or nun, progressing after a few years to simple or temporary vows before later taking full vows. The whole process takes from three to ten years, although timescales vary between orders and in individual cases.

[7] Sr Margaret Anne ASSP [All Saints Sisters of the Poor, Oxford], qtd in Losada 131.

[8] Personal interview with the author, 30 Jan. 2006.

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For both Brother F and Brother B, the chant represented both musical and mystical bliss, a comprehension of beauty and the attainment of a higher plane which transcended the technical language and functionality of the music. Aldous Huxley writes of a similar 'mystical blessedness' (Blackwell 1999, 199), saying that 'There is . . . a certain blessedness lying at the heart of things, a mysterious blessedness' (Huxley 1970, 41) which we cannot adequately express in words: 'We cannot isolate the truth contained in a piece of music; for it is a beauty-truth and inseparable from its partner' (Huxley 1970, 43). For these would-be monks, later to become Brother F and Brother B, the chant was, from the beginning, inseparable from its monastic associations: just as cowls and habits characterize the visual image of monasticism, chant provides an identifiable sonic environment, in effect the 'sound track' to the monastic life.[9] However, their references to the 'mystique' of monastic chant (as described by Brother F), and its 'unearthly' nature (Brother B), are evidence of the general perception of monasteries and convents as unworldly places, in which the modern social norms do not apply. This misconception can mean, as we shall see in the following section, that the realities of communal life often present a rude awakening for the novice Religious.

Community Bonding

Several Religious have emphasized that the most difficult aspect of Community is community life, especially given that each member has rejected social convention. As Sr Teresa SSB says, 'anyone that joins a community is nuts. What women do you know that would want to live with a bunch of twenty women that have weird habits and dress funny? It's not natural'.[10] Fortunately the monastic system makes allowances for the difficulties of living alongside other adults and has developed strategies – such as silence – which 'enable people to live together without getting on each others' nerves,'[11] but the long periods of silence which, as has been observed, can make it easier to tolerate the company of 'obnoxious' individuals, (Carey 1999, 22) also deny the opportunity for healthy discourse which is so necessary for building interpersonal relationships and thus a community.

To this end, singing together is a physical demonstration of the communal bond: Ignatius of Antioch (d. *c.* AD 110) was one of many early writers who, when writing about the need for unity in the early Church, used choral singing 'as an illustration of the required concord'[12] and the sociological ramifications have since been further explored. The pioneering music therapist Everett Thayer Gaston (1968) acknowledged the important role of music in building social cohesion, and more recently Tia DeNora writes of the ways in which music can be used as a device for social ordering, 'organizing potentially disparate individuals such that their actions may appear to be intersubjective, mutually orientated,' and that it is a valuable tool for entrainment (DeNora 2000, 109). She offers exemplars for musical entrainment which generally feature careful choices of recorded music to control public scenarios such as aerobic classes, and private ones such as romantic encounters; in these the physical state of the subjects is deliberately engineered in order to achieve a particular effect, whether it be increased energy levels or sexual receptivity, by the regularization and modification of physiological states (DeNora 2000, 79).

Chanting has long been used for entrainment in both Eastern and Western religious ritual practice as it provides a means of attaining a state of calm receptiveness in the individual and for social ordering in groups. Singing the chant requires effective synchronization, the singers breathing together to sustain the long phrases of the liturgical and Office texts, and any discord will inevitably disrupt this process. A community's singing is thus a good indicator of its spiritual and social health: as Sister P says, 'I can always tell the temperature of a community from their singing'.[13] Music can also act as a conduit for interpersonal problems: Brother A quotes a former novice who complained of 'all

[9] The concepts of mysticism and beauty in music have been widely addressed in the literature on aesthetics, and the topic is discussed more fully in Blackwell 1999, 202-221. The author is also indebted to the anonymous reviewer who brought to her attention a study of the relationship between the mystical experience, monastic life and music in "The Flesh of the Voice: Embodiment and the Homerotics of Devotion in the Music of Hildegard of Bingen (Holsinger 1993).

[10] Sr Teresa SSB [Society of the Sisters of Bethany], now at CSC [Community of the Sisters of the Church]. Qtd in Losada 17.

[11] Lavinia Byrne, Institute of the Blessed Virgin, Hampstead, London, qtd in Loudon 1992, 154.

[12] Ignatius, *Epistolae*, ad. Eph., 4; PG 5.648B. Qtd in Davies 1984, 37.

[13] Personal interview with the author, 19 Dec. 2005.

the stuff flying around in chapel' as the frictions between people were aired in the chant, rather than the peace and communal love that he had expected.[14]

However, while singing together indubitably throws the frictions of communal living into sharp relief, it can also offer a medium for reparation. Certainly, ensemble singing, as with all ensemble music-making, necessitates listening to each other, and the monastic rhythm of meeting in chapel to sing the Daily Office anything from four to seven times a day means that not many hours go by without community members having to do this. One superior, Mother B, confirms that following a row between two cantors the effect on the liturgy is obvious as it pulls apart through lack of communication, but that the very need for concentrated mutual listening offers an ideal opportunity for re-establishing a bond.[15] Joseph Gelineau echoes the first-century Ignatius of Antioch when he says (Gelineau 1964, 22):

> 'Union of voices expresses union of hearts . . . it controls the steps of those who advance in pilgrimage or procession; it co-ordinates the movements of [sowers] or reapers; it unites the heart of a people in a hymn of victory; it strengthens the bonds of friendship among those who attend a marriage feast. In fact, it is impossible, without insincerity, to sing with other people and yet to hate them. How can members of the same chorus ignore one another?'

While the entraining properties of group music-making are generally acknowledged as being inherently useful, in religious communities they are seen as divine gifts and more theological symbolism is attached. Mother B's interpretation of the difficulties experienced in community, and of the necessity to overcome them through the Office, reveals a much larger overview of the role of her community: 'they recognize and acknowledge that they must sing together, as a way of bearing witness to the community as a representation of the body of the Church and thus of Christ,' and in so doing the chant becomes a sign of reparation and of healing.

Medical research, on the other hand, has provided a physiological rationale for the mood-altering effects of communal chanting: the poetry of the liturgical texts is generally chanted at between two and four seconds, a pulse which appears to correspond to a neurological system for integrating the processing of information between the right and left hemispheres of the brain (Norris 1997, 329). The phenomenon of controlled breathing has been further explored in an Italian study of cardiovascular function (Bernardi et al, 2001) in which rhythmic formulae such as the rosary and yogic mantras were shown to slow respiration to almost exactly six breaths per minute, essentially identical to that of endogenous circulatory rhythms. The synchronization of blood pressure and respiration then affects the balance of the activating (sympathetic) and relaxing (parasympathetic) arms of the nervous system, with the heart responsible for switching between the two.[16] The regulation of respiration through chant is effectively bringing the parasympathetic system into play, overriding the sympathetic stress response which causes the emotion-governing *amygdala* in the brain to prompt the adrenal gland to release adrenaline and cortisone (Burne 2006).

In their conclusions, the above-mentioned Italian researchers (Bernardi et al) propose that the rosary prayer in mediaeval Christianity, and mantras in Eastern religions, may have been adopted in order to regulate physiological and neurological systems. These systems for slowing respiration and synchronizing cardiovascular rhythms were seen to increase concentration and induce a sense of calm and well-being by actively focusing on spiritual thoughts rather than on breath and the body – a distinct advantage in an age when body-consciousness tended to be avoided. This struggle with physicality is particularly pertinent to monasticism and is a theme on which much has been written over the centuries, especially with regard to the beneficial effects of the chant: the early Christian monastic Evagrius Ponticus writes that 'psalmody lays the passions to rest and causes the stirrings of the body to be stilled' (Blackwell 1999, 224).

In the evangelical tradition worshippers are often encouraged to express their own intimate relationship with the Divine 'as the spirit moves them' and changes in physical stance – standing, falling to the knees, raising the arms in supplication – are all accepted as valid indicators of religious intensity. Such public manifestations of high emotion will often trigger

[14] Personal interview with the author, 27 Nov, 2006.
[15] Personal interview with the author, 25 Nov, 2006.
[16] This system is known as heart variability factor (HRV).

similar gestures from others, a situation remarked upon and positively encouraged in dramatic fashion by preachers; the effect on the congregation is to induce the sympathetic stress response, resulting in increased adrenaline and cortisone release, high heart and respiration rates. The monastic tradition, on the other hand, frowns upon such 'whipping up' and views such over-stimulation as temporary, shallow, unsustainable, and carnal rather than spiritual. Instead, monasticism emphasizes commonality rather than blatant individual response, deliberately using chant to regularize physiological states for musical entrainment and synchronicity.

Solidarity

Geoff Weaver cites the maxim 'Tell me what you sing and I'll tell you who you are,' which recognizes the tendency of social groups to affirm both their identity and their unity through song (Weaver 22). In rejecting the accepted life-plan of mainstream society (marriage, children, career) the Religious have effectively marginalized themselves and created an alternative lifestyle; this estrangement requires that their new identity be validated. While the work of individuals may be varied, it is by singing the Office together that solidarity of purpose and a sense of continuing communal identity is achieved. This use of music is described by Tia DeNora as 'a device' not only of 'artefactual memory' but for 'the generation of future identity and action structures, a mediator of future existence' (DeNora 62), and the eminent German music therapist Isabelle Frohne-Hagemann also deals with this concept of *Entfremdung* (estrangement) from life in mainstream society, advocating music as a means of countering this estrangement through its potential as a communal activity and experience (Frohne-Hagemann 2001, 109-111). Frohne-Hagemann goes on to suggest that through the partial engagement of music as experience and expression of solidarity the individual can explore their position in their own subculture and, from this perspective as a historically situated human being, to develop intercultural solidarity (Frohne-Hagemann 112-113).

This need to develop a communal ethos is known as *koinonia*, the biblical term used to describe the early Church, and which was also the name given to the first monastic communities (Jamison 2006, 125). It is noticeable that efforts to provide communal music always begin with the voice, with unaccompanied chant featuring prominently; in theological terms, vocality has long been considered holy in many cultures, the living breath often equated with the breath of life. It is also an inclusive and enabling medium, available to virtually everyone and recognized by the early Church Fathers: the continuing desire to use singing as a means of achieving *koinonia* in many types of community illustrates that St Augustine's Pythagorean perception of choral singing as an embodiment of the 'principles of cosmic ordering' and a source of 'congregational solidarity' (Warren 2006, 83) is still manifest well into the twenty-first century.

Emotional Expression

The soothing effect of chant has long been recognized: during the early days of the nineteenth-century plainchant revival writers were waxing lyrical about this phenomenon, with one anonymous contributor to *The Ecclesiastic* of 1846 asking that 'doctors [should] be made aware of the particular 'Vis Medica' [in the] tranquillizing effect of the Ecclesiastical Chant' (*The Ecclesiastic* 1846, 32). However, the aim of repetitive singing of elements such as the Psalms is to induce a state not of trance but of receptivity, and as such does not preclude the exercising of other emotions. When the same *Ecclesiastic* contributor refers to the 'consolatory' effect of the Psalms being recited to 'the calm, subdued, Gregorian chant,' (*The Ecclesiastic* 1846, 27-28) he has ignored the fact that the Psalms cover the gamut of human emotions, encompassing not only love and praise but also anger, fear and passion, all healthy human emotions which need to be expressed rather than internalized.

I would suggest that channeling these 'negative' emotions through the controlled and depersonalized medium of chant allows the individual to vent the frustrations of communal living, and that the effects can only be verified retrospectively. The positive benefits of communal singing can be compared to a healthy diet: much as a balanced nutritional regime will keep us healthy, if we lack a crucial element such as a vitamin or essential mineral then deficiencies will arise and we become ill; in this way it is only when the emotional outlet of communal singing is removed that its value is recognized. I offer as evidence the experience of an American abbey in the 1960s. In 1963 the Second Vatican Council

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(Vatican II) decreed that Catholics could sing in the vernacular rather than in Latin.[17] As a direct consequence, an American abbey of the silent Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, commonly known as Trappists, ceased to sing the Daily Office in Latin. In this case, they did not replace it with a vernacular version and, before long, their life started to unravel (Godwin 1987, 63):

> 'most noticeably, they found that they could no longer survive with only four or five hours sleep a night, as some had done for years. Other troubles followed: sickness and psychological disturbances that threatened to upset the even tenor of their contemplative lives'.

The Brothers tried conventional remedies but without success and began to suspect that the loss of their sung Office was to blame so, having obtained a special dispensation to sing Gregorian chant, they returned to their old routine, and over a period of time their troubles disappeared. The Trappists are of course an extreme case as, having forsworn conversation, exercising their voices in song was their only vocal means of self-expression as well as their only manifestation of a communal voice. This sublimation gave them a practical means of harmonizing personality and community in a life which, albeit freely chosen, is otherwise 'devoid of human intercourse' and thus unnatural enough to cause great psychological stress (Godwin 63); however, the extreme nature of their existence highlights the role of communal chant, and this incidence of the consequences of its absence offers confirmatory evidence of its therapeutic value in monastic communities.

Elitism and Exclusion

If communal chanting is, as I argue, of such benefit, it should follow that all the members of the community should be involved, so I would like to examine the consequences of both the singling out of a musical elite and the exclusion of less musically able individuals.

It is the work of every Religious, irrespective of musical talent, to sing or say the Divine Office. The medieval model incorporated a two-tier system of choir and lay Religious, often with a parallel musical hierarchy in which the members of a community were ordered according to their musical ability; at its most extreme, this would entail a *schola cantorum* comprising the most talented, with the less able being told not to sing at all. Today's communities are organized far more democratically, although a tiny handful persist in excluding the less able. Quiet voices in inhibited personalities can be a problem, especially when early criticism has led to a lack of confidence in vocal abilities; some monastic choir directors have expressed exasperation with this state of affairs, with one expressing their desire to take inhibited singers to an empty cathedral so these 'non-singers' could experience their own voices soaring in a resonant acoustic.[18]

Even with inadequate voices a little practical help can sometimes solve the problem, as in the case of a nun who was excluded from singing in her community for thirty years: she eventually had the good fortune to receive some help from a music therapist who, within three sessions, had rectified a basic technical fault and freed her voice. The most illuminating aspect of this story is the dismay expressed by other Religious at thirty wasted years of exclusion, reflecting the late twentieth-century change in attitude towards valuing the contribution of the individual.

The consensus is that, although *ad hoc* groups of particularly capable individuals are perfectly acceptable for occasional liturgical enrichment, a regular *schola cantorum* will exclude the less talented and introduce an unwelcome elitism. Even an *ad hoc* event requires removal of the confident singers for extra rehearsals which can be a drain on time and energy and can also prove to be divisive, echoing the old model through which the community adopts a two-tier system, this time on musical ability alone. The question of elitism also arises when a conspicuous talent enters community. The 1983 papal *Magisterium on Religious Life* states that 'a gift which would virtually separate a member from the communion of the community cannot be rightly encouraged'(John Paul II, 1983) and in the past a postulant with outstanding musical gifts may at times have been forbidden from exercising them, with some instances of professional musicians being

[17] Despite the fact that this was not an obligation but a suggestion, many communities ceased using the Latin texts, with far-reaching effects on Catholic – and High Anglican – church and monastic communities.
[18] Personal interview with the author, 31 Oct. 2005.

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given menial work as an exercise in humility, as in the case of Sister M, who had graduated from the Royal Academy of Music before entering her convent in 1953 and being professed in 1956.[19] More recently, novices are encouraged to continue their musical studies, as attested by several female musician-Religious who entered the Religious Life between 1970 and 2010 have related.[20] This change of attitude among female Religious is partly because of the dearth of musical skills available in smaller communities, but also due to a more enlightened attitude following decades of secular feminism: many community members, especially the younger ones, reject the requirement of nuns to be totally abnegating, making it clear that their notion of the Religious Life does not include 'the pointless and defacing suppression of individuality' (Strahan 1988, 253).

Conflict and Reparation

An able musician will often find themselves assuming the role of choir director in their community. However, they soon discover that a choir director's duties entail far more than the music: disagreements during choir practices are not uncommon, and generally reflect the frustrations of communal living rather than a real problem with the music itself. Such tensions can also affect an individual's ability to contribute to the community's daily musical life; not infrequently, someone under stress finds themselves unable to sing, a situation exacerbated if the community is heavily dependent on that person's musical abilities. One community has mentioned a sister with a 'beautiful voice' who, if mentally or physically stressed, 'refuses to sing even though her community relies on her to lead the singing'.

The policy of inclusivity without regard to musical aptitude can also lead to frayed nerves, as expressed by Sr Teresa SSB in the epigram at the beginning of this paper. The vast majority of communities strive to be inclusive, while admitting that, although quiet voices do not constitute much of a problem, a tone-deaf or strident voice can cause others to stop singing. The presence of such voices, or a less-than-pleasing overall standard, may

lead to an aversion to a sung Office, and Sr Joan of the Society of the Sacred Cross (Tymawr, Monmouthshire) is quoted as saying (Losada 152):

> 'There are things here that drive me crazy. I don't like the sung Communion service on Sundays because none of us sing very well and, with apologies to Sr Anne, our choir mistress, I would much rather have a spoken service'.

In this instance, the effects of singing together appear to have been far from beneficial and in fact may have been divisive.

Even in otherwise musical people, conditions such as increasing deafness can be problematical, with several Religious citing this as a cause of someone starting to sing too loudly, or to be out of tune and out of time with the rest. Understandably, none of my sources have been willing to name names, but they would undoubtedly smile wryly at this 1909 account of an ageing Fr Richard Meux Benson SSJE (1824–1915), founder of the Cowley Fathers, following a prolonged period of hospitalization: 'he could not hear well enough to follow nocturns, but when Te Deum came, how he did "let out". All the love of public worship which had been pent up in his heart these many months found an outlet in his Christmas worship' (Woodgate 1953, 176-7). And five months later, still as deaf but evidently stronger: 'the great joy is that he gets to Mass now every morning, and on Sunday to the High Mass as well. He sings violently, to the complete overthrow of the plainsong' (Woodgate 1953, 177). The effect on Father Benson's confreres can only be guessed at, but his biographer – who may well have been one of them – seems to adopt an admirably tolerant approach which speaks volumes for the close familial bond within the Cowley community.

[19] Letter to the author, 26 Jan. 2008.

[20] Historically there has been a regrettable difference in attitudes to continuing musical education among male and female communities, which seems to have come about due to gender-based attitudes to professionalism among Religious. The issues surrounding professionalism among monastic composers have recently been addressed in conference papers [Lofthouse (2013) and Haste (2013b)] given by at the Institute for Music Sociology 'Music, Gender and Difference' conference in Vienna, and are also discussed in Haste (2014b).

In the past, however, when monastic communities were often larger and contained many musically literate members, there have been jealousies and friction: areas of musical conflict in early seventeenth-century Italian convents include choir nuns flouting the authority of the choirmistress, arguments over the election of organists, and singers of the *decani* and *cantoris*[21] contesting the superiority of 'their' side (Monson 115-117). All of these led to 'such wranglings and wars among [the nuns] because of musical rivalries that sometimes they would claw each other's flesh if they could' (Trans. Monson 116). Without wishing to suggest that such depths have been plumbed in modern communities, such historical accounts are indicative of music becoming a focus for a community's ills. The attributes required in order to function successfully as choir director would appear to include not only highly developed teaching and communication skills but also an ability to mediate, an understanding of conflict resolution, and security not only in one's own musical competence but in one's standing within the community.

CONCLUSIONS

If music has been known to draw people into communal life, and particularly the monastic life, it cannot be the main reason. However, the findings presented here suggest that the nature of the music can be a very good guide to the spiritual and corporate health of the community, as well as its ethos, and that the need for communal singing as a tool for promoting *koinonia* seems to be universally recognized.

Monastic communities have expectations of a disciplined lifestyle with the aim of lifelong commitment to the Religious Life and to the community; to this end, the physical entrainment engendered by communal chanting is recognized, and the rigours of chant singing are looked on as a welcome discipline. It can be also seen that the use of such music provides otherwise socially estranged people with a sense of themselves not only as part of a community of like-minded individuals, but also with a role to play as part of the historic past, dynamic present and projected future of that community.

The discipline required to establish and maintain long-term solidarity as a monastic community, while sacrificing the chance for personal intimacy, demands that every method of entrainment and conflict resolution is employed, including the loss of a certain amount of personal freedom of choice. While there is undoubtedly a certain tension between striving for inclusivity and the attainment of high musical standards (which has already been explored more fully in Haste, 2014a), music can also be seen to act as a great social leveler: whereas a contrast of styles reveals and illustrates differences in goals, social class and cultural tradition, the imposition of a communal repertory obliterates such indicators, the only separation now being based on musical aptitude. While the regulation of repertoire for the common good precludes the individual from asserting their own personal preferences – the tension between music as regulation and music as inclusion – no-one is excluded from participating in communal singing on grounds of class, education or culture.

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[21] *Decani* ('of the dean') refers to the choir stalls (generally on the south side of the church) while the *cantoris* ('of the cantor') refers to the cantor's side of the choir stalls. The two sides of the choir face each other across the chancel, the chant being sung antiphonally, i.e. by one side and then the other.

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BACK IN THE DAY

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This feature extracts articles from The Independent Scholar, which became The Independent Scholar Quarterly (TISQ); these publications preceded the current peer-reviewed journal The Independent Scholar (TIS) which first appeared in 2015. Papers that appeared in TISQ did not undergo the same peer review process as those critical papers appearing in the main body of TIS; there is nevertheless much of value to be gleaned from the earlier work in TISQ.

For this volume I have selected Katalin Kadar Lynn's "Strange Partnership: Lord Rothermere, Stephanie Von Hohenlohe and the Hungarian Revisionist Movement".

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SHELBY SHAPIRO

General Editor

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STRANGE PARTNERSHIP: LORD ROTHERMERE, STEPHANIE VON HOHENLOHE AND THE HUNGARIAN REVISIONIST MOVEMENT

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STRANGE PARTNERSHIP

The interwar period between the first and second World War found Hungary a nation with few friends in Europe and the west and a nation deeply troubled by the decidedly punitive nature of the peace accord it signed at the end of World War I, the Treaty of Trianon. Hungarians at home and abroad, regardless of social rank and education, were universal in their condemnation of the provisions of the treaty, thus revision of the treaty became a focal point, a centerpiece of public desire, although the official policy of the Hungarian government did not publicly support revision as part of it's public program. Nevertheless, it was the underlying theme around which Hungarian public policy was shaped.

A glimmer of hope appeared for the Hungarians, when the British press baron, Lord Rothermere, (Harold Sidney Harmsworth, First Viscount Rothermere) took up the cause of Hungarian revision as a result of his interest in the consequences of the Paris peace treaties. Lord Rothermere concluded that the Hungarians had been dealt with unfairly and began a campaign to champion the Hungarian cause with an editorial in his London newspaper *The Daily Mail* on 21 June 1927 entitled "Hungary's Place in the Sun."

Seemingly abandoned by the west and hemmed in by the antagonistic Successor States of the Little Entente [1], it seemed as if Hungary had finally found a champion of the revisionist cause and the movement spread like wildfire. The Hungarians "unofficially" sent Tibor Eckhardt as their emissary to meet with Lord Rothermere in Paris and the result was the founding of the Hungarian Revisionist League on 27 July 1927, with Ferenc Herczegh, the popular novelist of the era as it's president and Tibor Eckhardt as executive vice president. [2] As a result of his outspoken support for revision of the Treaty of Trianon, Lord Rothermere became the toast of Hungary.

Eckhardt and the Hungarian leadership chose to view Lord Rothermere's involvement with the movement for revision in a positive light, although there was much speculation about the origins of the Englishman's interest in the Hungarian cause. His interest has at times been ascribed to his desire to right an enormous wrong, his own ambition, or the influence of his lover and accomplice, Princess Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Archival material, including Rothermere's own correspondence, confirms the fact that it was the princess who planted the seed for Rothermere's support of Hungary during first their personal and then their business relationship.

But Stephanie von Hohenlohe was much more than simply a messenger for Rothermere. Stephanie von Hohenlohe could arguably be said to be one of the most powerful women in Europe during the inter-war period. She developed a network of contacts that was unparalleled among persons outside of professional political figures or professional diplomats. She was able to use her not inconsiderable charm and connections to regularly meet with Prime Ministers, with Kings, with heads of state. There is no other interwar figure who could claim to have meet with Lord Halifax, with

Hitler on a regular and personal basis, with Benito Mussolini, with the Prime Minister of Hungary (who solicited her advice) and Regent Miklos Horthy of Hungary who used her on one occasion to translate a letter into English for him. She had access to men of power and decision makers like no one else during that era. She was an influential and powerful woman. And while it might be easy to call her a spy or a inter-war Mata Hari, the fact remains that is too simplistic an explanation to describe her, as we would be hard pressed to name one other intelligence agent in recent history who had her access and contacts with the most powerful men of her day. Stephanie von Hohenlohe may not have been the most honorable of women, but she was certainly a woman of influence who has been sorely underestimated by her biographers and professional historians.

Having met Viscount Rothermere on the French Riviera in early 1927, the princess made her first trip to Hungary on behalf of Rothermere in April 1927. For the first five years of their association, she was not publicly financially compensated by Rothermere, although she became his emissary not just to the Hungarians, but also to Adolf Hitler and various key German powerbrokers. Beginning in 1932, she entered Rothermere's employ as his paid agent at a rather generous level of compensation of five thousand pound sterling per year. This arrangement lasted from 1932 to late 1938, when the princess and Rothermere had a spectacular falling out as the result of a lawsuit she filed against him for breach of contact. [3] The resulting scandal was covered extensively by the papers of the day, and the princess, herself clever at using the press, played the media interest to the hilt. Unfortunately, the publicity backfired on her as more and more personal information about her double-dealing activities came to light, including her close relationship with Hitler. It was said she was an agent for Rothermere, the Hungarian government and the German government at the same time – a triple agent – a spy. This paper will attempt to shed light on Stephanie von Hohenlohe, to trace through archival material her relationship with Rothermere, her decades long connection to Hungary and her influence on the politicians of her day. It will also attempt to show the extent of her influence regarding the cause of revision of the Treaty of Trianon over a period of more than ten years.

There are many scholars who have written about Stephanie von Hohlenlohe and her role in the interwar Hungarian Revisionist Movement. Some mention her but are not willing to reveal her name, some have gotten the facts distorted, some have made her out to be an interwar Mata Hari. Who was this woman who, though a commoner, entered into a morganatic marriage with a prince of royal blood, met and mingled with the high society of her day, was an agent for a British press baron, and perhaps a double or triple agent as well.

In scholarly circles the one of the well-regarded histories on the Revisionist Movement was written by András Bán. [4] Several biographies of the princess, including a book written by her son Prince Franz Hohenlohe in 1976, appeared over a period of two decades after her death in 1972.[5] Many were riddled with errors and sensationalist exaggerations.[6] Early scholars who dealt with her history did not have access to the personal papers that her son deposited in the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University first in 1977and then the balance in 1993, consequently many questions that were posed could not be answered definitively until her personal material became available. Some of the questions in regard to her background and activities can now be answered, but many remain unanswered to this day.

Characteristically for Stephanie, she played fast and loose with facts and altered them to suit herself and the image she wished to portray. From the point of view of scholars of twentieth century Hungarian history, the princess' role in the Hungarian Revisionist movement is of the greatest importance although from the vantage point of her entire career, that may or may not have been her most important contribution. It is worth looking beyond her activities related to Hungary to judge for ourselves.

WHO WAS PRINCESS STEPHANIE VON HOHENLOHE?

Stephanie Maria Veronika Juliana Richter was born in Vienna on 16 September 1896, in the golden twilight of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the second daughter of Dr. Johannes Sebastian (Hans) Richter and Ludmilla Kuranda. Her father, a Roman Catholic, came from a decidedly common background, his wife, Stephanie's mother, Ludmilla descended from the Kuranda family of Prague which was Jewish. Although the birth father of Stephanie was not Dr. Richter, but Max Weiner a Jewish moneylender with whom Stephanie's mother had an affair while Dr. Richter was imprisoned for embezzlement for seven months.[7] Originally Dr. Richter studied for the priesthood, after leaving the seminary, Dr. Richter took a law degree and practiced law in Vienna. His grandson Franz Hohenlohe says that his clients

were "...solid, middle-class people of good stock". [8]

Her son tells us that one of his mother's early mentors was Princess Fanny Metternich, a descendent of Prince Metternich, Austria's great diplomat and politician, and one of her father's most distinguished clients. Princess Metternich took Stephanie under her wing when she was fourteen and as a result of her patronage Stephanie was able to move in the highest levels of society, to which her family, in the strict social structure that was maintained in Vienna, would never have had access. Stephanie was not a good student, in fact, she loathed formal schooling, but she was clever, pretty, loved fashion and became good rider with an ability to ride, jump and hunt as a result of the Princess' tutelage and thus was able to hunt with Vienna's most exclusive set. She was recognized early on as having a "vivacity and originality" that set her apart. [9]

Stephanie, daughter of a lawyer, with not even a "von" in her name thus was able to move in the world of Viennese aristocracy. Her second patron was a Polish aristocrat, Count Josef Gizicki. A known womanizer and something of a rake, he had married into the distinguished Patterson family that owned the Chicago Tribune and was a part of the set in which Stephanie now moved. He took her under his tutelage and became the first of her many male patrons.

During Stephanie's teens, her father became increasingly religious and as his health began to fail he withdrew from his family into a religious order, the Brothers of Charity as a lay brother and died there just before the outbreak of WWI. The family was left in disastrous financial condition, only to be rescued by one of Ludmilla's brothers who had emigrated to South Africa and made his fortune. There are two distinct versions of the story of how Stephanie Richter of Vienna became a princess. The first is the official version of Stephanie and her son and admiring biographer, Franz. He tells us that once the Richters family's financial affairs were in order again, Stephanie began to travel, sometimes with her maternal aunt Clotilde, sometimes with her older sister Milla, six years older and appropriate as a chaperone and it was after these travels that upon returning to Vienna at age 17, she met Prince Nicolas Hohenlohe Waldenburg Schillingfürst. [10] Part of the huge clan of Hohenlohe, who had been princes of Germany for over a thousand years, Nicolas was attracted to Stephanie, but Stephanie was not attracted to him. By chance, she soon met his younger brother, Prince Franz Friedrich Hohenlohe, who became enamored of her and asked for her hand. The young Prince was a working diplomat and would have to ask for permission of the Court to marry as well as the consent of his family and of course, as a Catholic, post banns and wait the required amount of time to marry. The Richter's, particularly Stephanie's mother were all for the marriage and realized that Stephanie's position in Viennese society was tenuous and approval would not necessarily be forthcoming for a girl of Stephanie's background and reputation, for she already had a reputation. It was decided that Stephanie and Franz would avoid the delay and possibility of being refused permission and thus they were married at Westminster Cathedral in London on 12 May 1914. [11] Her son, Franz was born on 5 December 1914.

The second version of how Stephanie Richter became a princess is a more accurate but less charming story. In Martha Schad's biography of Stephanie which differs on many of the biographic details as claimed in her personal papers and her son's biography. Schad states that Stephanie became pregnant by the husband of Emperor Franz Josef's daughter Archduchess Marie Valerie, the Archduke Franz Salvator of Tuscany. To avoid scandal a suitable husband had to be found for Stephanie and Franz Hohenlohe was pressed into service by Emperor Franz Josef and the Court to marry her. Stephanie not only maintained her relationship with Archduke Franz Salvator throughout his life, but her son Franz was christened with the names of Franz and both her natural father Max and her adopted father Hans, as Prince Franz Josef Rudolf Hans Weriand Max Stefan Anton Von Hohellohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst. [12]

Upon her return to Vienna, her morganatic marriage, not recognized by the court did not suit Stephanie's ambition and she freely used the title of Princess without the right to do so. She moved in society where women such as she were still supported by their beaux and made her way through society using Franz's name and with the patronage of many other patrons. Divorced in 1920 from Franz, who had immediately after their marriage in 1914 left for his military posting, she made the rounds of the social capitals of the world, moving with the seasons to the watering holes of the rich and powerful. She said of this period, "I could never deny it; I enjoyed the 20's enormously. I was free to go where I liked and play when I pleased. I was pleased to play most of the time." [13] Clearly Stephanie was enjoying her role "entertain (sic) the tired diplomats and ministers in whose overburdened laps these responsibilities lay. They always liked to chat with a woman after a hard day of treaty signing. So I did just that, and had a fine time doing it." [14]

Anticipating further chaos in Central Europe, she chose to move to France in 1922, selling her home and all of its contents in Vienna for cash. She moved first to Nice, then Paris in 1925, with a villa in Biarritz. No mention is made by

her biographers, other than the fact that she was a shrewd manager of money, as to how she went from a virtually penniless commoner to a princess with a luxurious villa filled with precious contents in less than a decade. Nevertheless, Stephanie, always clever with money, was able to extract gifts and tribute from her admirers very successfully – enough for luxurious lifestyle funded by her patrons or perhaps the Court. As she personally recognized later, the connections that she made in those "hedonistic days" would later prove invaluable to her. "They provided me with a passport that could open any door, and later did." [15]

ROTHERMERE AND "JUSTICE FOR HUNGARY"

Stephanie first met Lord Rothermere in Monte Carlo at his sporting club, well informed in advance of his power, wealth and influence. She had earlier made friends on the Riviera with James and Annabel Cruze a young English couple, Annabel having been a few years earlier the mistress of Harold Harmsworth (later Lord Rothermere) and having married, both she and her husband remained a part of Rothermere's inner circle. In conversation with Stephanie, Rothermere bemoaned the fact that there was a dearth of news that would sell newspapers and Stephanie offered the opinion that indeed there was a theme that had not been exploited and which would have appeal and that was the cause of Hungary. The princess insisted that it would arouse public interest and was a viable cause. Rothermere was intrigued by the idea and asked Stephanie for further details. She explained the details of the Treaty of Trianon that Hungary had been forced to accept and the forced dismemberment of Hungary, but also the human interest aspects of what Trianon, with its arbitrary boundaries had done to the people, where county seats were separated from their countryside and where families found the outbuildings of their farms in a different country than their homes. "Rothermere, with a superb nose for newsworthiness, was instantly captivated by Steph's disclosures. He had certainly never given any prolonged thought to the small distant Central European country. However he did see the possibilities of a crusade and wanted to know more". [16] He and the princess met again the next day at his villa, La Dragoniére in Cap Martin where Rothermere further explored the idea of justice for Hungary perusing maps and atlases to make certain he understand the issues involved. She then introduced him to Count Rubido Zichy, the Hungarian ambassador to Great Britain who filled him in more on the situation Hungary found itself in.

Why was Hungary a cause for Stephanie, who had no Hungarian blood? One of the mysteries that confounded researchers for many years was in regard to the Princess' Hungarianness, many questioning how she was able to travel on a Hungarian passport and be regarded as Hungarian citizen, although she had never lived in Hungary and did not speak Hungarian. The answer lies in her marriage to Prince Franz Hohenlohe. As a consequence of the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Hohenlohes no longer had dual citizenship available to them and had to choose a nationality. The some eight hundred members of the Hohenlohe family chose to be Austrian, German, Czech, Polish or Hungarian depending on their estate holdings and where they lived. Stephanie's husband, Franz Hohenlohe chose to be Hungarian. His mother Countess Eszterházy de Galanta was Hungarian and his father who had married a second Hungarian wife when Franz mother died, lived all of his married life Hungary. Stephanie, still married at the time of the breakup of the Dual Monarchy, also acquired a Hungarian passport and nationality that she was to retain all of her life.

This then was the basis of Stephanie's official connection to Hungary and why she brought up the idea of justice for Hungary to Rothermere. But additionally it must be remembered she had spent a great deal of time in Hungary particularly on shooting trips and her former husband Franz lived in Hungary and was the head of Hungarian civil aviation. Rothermere seized the idea and ran with it, traveling to Hungary to investigate the injustice of Trianon in time to view a demonstration protesting Hungary's dismemberment in Budapest. He returned convinced of the Hungarian's cause and on 21 June 1927 published the article entitled Hungary's Place in the Sun, which was to launch not only world wide publicity for the cause of Hungarian revisionism, but more than a decade long relationship with Stephanie as his representative to the political leadership of the European Continent. Rothermere, in a telegram sent to the princess the day before the publication of the article and the firestorm to follow, made clear that the article was being published "boosting Hungary according to your desires". [17]

As might be expected, after publication of the Rothermere article on 21 June 1927, speculation soared as to who had influenced Rothermere to take up the cause of the Hungarians as it seemed implausible that the British Press baron had

come up with the idea himself or through his advisors. Ignac Romsics takes us through all of the options voiced at the time in his well-researched study published in 2004. Needless to say, speculation was rife in all of Europe, with credence being given to the influence of István Bethlen to Benito Mussolini to various Hungarian expatriates who either worked with or for Rothermere. Of course the politicians of the Little Entente felt that the real instigators were in the British Foreign Office as it was hard for them to fathom that a private individual would take up a cause without the support of Whitehall. Ultimately, each settled on the answer that made most sense to them and nary a mention was made of the Princess Stephanie Hohenhole.

However, as time passed and more pieces of the puzzle were revealed, the name of Princess Hohenlohe kept surfacing not just in regards to Rothermere's campaign for Hungary but also in relation to Rothermere's relations with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The first question that puzzled scholars including Miklos Vasarhelyi – who wrote a book on the Rothermere campaign, published in 1977 – was: What role did this mysterious woman play in the wider picture? András Bán clearly substantiates in his 1998 book as can this author, having worked with the archival material, that indeed Stephanie von Hohenlohe WAS the instigator of Rothermere's support for Hungarian Revisionism as the original telegram from the *Daily Mail* to Princess Hohenlohe informing her of the launch of campaign exists in her papers at the Hoover Institution Archives. Ignac Romsics quotes the Ban version of the telegram text that does not give quite the personal import that the actual text does. He quotes the telegram as reading, " in tomorrow's edition an article in support of Hungary's claims is to appear, in accordance with your wishes." [18]

In fact the telegram sent by the editors of Rothermere's *Daily Mail*, on 20 June 1927, to the princess at her apartment in Paris on the Avenue George V, reads in full as, "We have received instructions from Vis count (sic) Rothermere to notify you that an article boosting Hungary according to your desires is appearing tomorrow." [19] By leaving out the key words relating the fact that the direction to notify her came directly from Rothermere himself and changing the word "boosting" to "support" the full personal nature of her influence is not felt, nor is the phrase " in accordance with your wishes" quite the same as "according to your desires."

However, regardless of the nuances that altered the translation of the wording of the telegram, it provides scholars proof that it was Stephanie who planted the idea of boosting the cause of Hungarian revisionism in Rothermere's mind. As does the subsequent correspondence between the princess and Rothermere related to the subject after the appearance of article and the firestorm of reaction that it caused.

Rothermere's article argued that the injustice of the new frontiers represented a standing danger to the peace of Europe and that the peace of Central Europe was of direct importance to Great Britain. He made the case that some reasonable revision of the Trianon peace settlement would benefit all of Central Europe and advocated the restoration of a monarchy in Hungary, " Why should not the Hungarians have a king, if such is their wish, so long as they conduct their affairs in a peaceful and proper manner? Rumania (sic) and Yugoslavia, which threaten to invade Hungary if she calls back her royal house, are both monarchies themselves..." [20]

There is no question that the response to the article was overwhelming. The Hungarian press printed the text of the article in full the next day in Magyar, along with articles hailing the new champion of Hungary. Cables, letters, phone calls and congratulatory messages poured into the editorial offices of the Daily Mail along with a flood of gifts. Franz Hohenhole tells us that Rothermere had to hire two Hungarian speaking secretaries to deal with the "unexpected and fantastic" reaction, the "expression of a suffering country's boundless gratitude". Rothermere was hailed as Hungary's savior, feted and honored wherever he turned.[21] Rothermere turned to the princess to then put him in contact with important figures in Hungary and he made several official visits to the country as did she on his behalf. His support prompted the Hungarians to establish the Revisionist League that advocated for reforms to the Treaty of Trianon until the first Vienna Awards in 1938. All in all, Rothermere's advocacy of Hungary and justice for Hungary made the issue an item on the world stage.

Rothermere continued to rely on the princess for advice on the Hungarian situation and on 30 April 1928 Rothermere wrote to the following letter to the princess. This is reproduced in full as it clearly shows the influence that the princess had on Rothermere and that he turned to her for her counsel and advice.

> "My dear Princess, My propaganda in the cause of Hungary has reached the stage where I must seek your advice. As I told you on several occasions, it was largely through my conversation with you that my

> interest in Hungary was aroused. I had no conception that a recital of Hungary's sufferings and wrongs would arouse such world –wide sympathy. Now from all parts of the world I am in receipt of such a flood of telegrams. Letters and postcards that the work entailed in connection with the propaganda is rapidly absorbing all my energies and my most valuable time. I have to make the decision whether I shall neglect my work and interests and be preoccupied with the cause of Hungary only, or whether I should neglect the cause of Hungary and remain preoccupied with my world wide interests. Can you suggest anyone or any organization to whom I can hand over this, to my mind, most responsible work? Do you think from what you know of the Government in Budapest, it would be possible for them to continue without my aid the good work now, I venture to believe, effectually launched for the redress and restoration of Hungary? Will you reply and let me know, without undue delay, your views. You may say I am necessary in this matter. A woman's intuition- I mean yours – is usually much better than a man's reasoning, and anything you say will, as you know, receive my most careful consideration.
> My kindest regards, and hoping to see you very soon in Paris.
> Yours very sincerely, Rothermere" [22]

The princess' advice to Rothermere was that it was unthinkable for him to abandon Hungary after he had initiated the campaign that had focused the attention of the world on her situation. Rothermere took her advice and continued his advocacy of Hungary consulting with her on other issues, such as the immensely flattering offer he received from certain royalist Hungarian quarters that he be elected King of Hungary to fill the vacant throne. While a distinctly unexpected offer to Rothermere, both he and the princess were stunned by it, he was flattered and of course refused, but then the royalists began to float the idea of his son, Edmond as King of Hungary. He wrote to Stephanie from the Savoy Hotel in London.

> "The Catholic Party in Germany is steadily disappearing. The German Elections mean no more Monarchies for Germany and no revival of smaller Monarchies like Bavaria and Saxony. Hungary cannot remain outside the orbit of this influence. If you wish to save the Monarchy of Hungary there is only one man who can do it, Esmond Harmsworth. No Habsburg or Royal prince from elsewhere can do it. The growth of Republicanism in Germany will give immense impetus to anti-Bethlen parties in Hungary.
> R." [23]

The princess advised Rothermere not to pursue this line of action or thinking, that political adventurism would only harm Hungary as well as the Harmsworths. During this period, Rothermere consulted with the princess on more than one issue and saw her on a regular basis. The world-wide depression of 1929 impacted her luxurious life style and finally made her think about economizing. At this time she met Donald Malcolm, an American financial wizard who lived in Paris, who saved her from total financial ruin. In 1932 she gave up her Paris apartment and moved into the Plaza Athénée.

Later in 1932 she made the move to London, to the Dorchester Hotel, and Donald Malcolm moved as well. He knew the financial pressure she was under and suggested that she approach Rothermere about formalizing their arrangement and asking for a salary. She initially resisted but finally approached Rothermere, who agreed and she returned from her interview with him with an agreement that promised her five thousand pound sterling every year for the next three years. However, as her son writes in his biography of the princess, she also received two thousand pound sterling per every assignment that she took on behalf of Rothermere and "sometimes there were two assignments in one week". [24]

On 29 July 1932 she began her formal arrangement with Rothermere, with three assignments. The first to Empress Zita, widow of Karl, the last Austrian Emperor, the second to call on the ex-Emperor of Germany Wilhelm II and the third to see Regent Horthy in Budapest. All of the calls were related to the notion of restoration of monarchies in Europe, as Rothermere had one blind spot and it was the continuation of the royal houses of Europe. She continued on assignment for Rothermere, shuttling back and forth to the continent from London on a regular basis.

In 1933, Hitler came to power in Germany. Rothermere wanted to have someone take the measure of the man and gave

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the assignment to the princess, who used her contacts with German Crown Prince Wilhelm to obtain an audience with Chancellor. At that time, many believed, as did this royal, that Hitler would provide a bulwark against the growth of communism and be the salvation of Germany. Introduced through the princess, Rothermere and Hitler established a long personal correspondence which lasted right up until the outbreak of WWII, with the princess often serving as the personal courier for the delivery of the letters between the two men. It is clear from the correspondence that Rothermere genuinely admired Hitler and felt that he had considerable support in Great Britain, and while it is true that the Cliveden set and pro-Nazi true believers such as Nancy Astor were pro-Hitler, the great portion of the British public were not.

Rothermere also carried on a regular correspondence with the Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös and with the Duce, Benito Mussolini, using the princess as an emissary. Rothermere in fact did not just use the princess as a courier, but she arrived to see these heads of state with questions that Rothermere wished her to submit to them, messages were also given to the princess to bring back to Rothermere. Several examples of these exchanges show that princess was not simply a messenger but also a participant in these dialogues. First a letter dated 24th of August 1932.

> "My Dear Princess Stephanie,
> I enclose a copy of an article by myself which has appeared in to-day's *Daily Mail*. I wish you would, during your forthcoming visit to Budapest, ascertain for me whether this article in in consonance with the view in official circles in Budapest.
> The views of three and four of the leaders of the Government would interest me very much. As you know, I am entirely devoted to the cause of Hungary, and I wish nothing to appear over my signature except what accords with the views of those who are responsible for the government of the country.
> Will you let me know as soon as you return?
> Yours very sincerely,
> Rothermere" [25]

As another example, on the 4th of November 1932, Gömbös the Hungarian Prime Minister writes to Rothermere, "I very much appreciate your messages Prinzes[sic] Hohenlohe has given me. I am sending you my sincere thanks and everything else I have to say, the Princess will tell you verbetum [sic]..." Another undated letter written by Gömbös to Rothermere in 1935 reveals, "Princesss Hohenlohe kindly promised to convey you [sic] a copy of the 'Blue Book' containing the summary of the Governments three years work...As regards to the affair of Princess Stefanie Hohenlohe I shall give instructions to the new minister in London, that he should proceed with all the proper regards and courtesy." Adding in his own hand, "That to do all that is necessary to amend and ___ the harm done to Princess Hohenlohe." [26] Gömbös clearly was replying to Rothermere's letter of 8 November 1935 in which Rothermere writes, "Within my knowledge the Princess has to the utmost of her power and influence done all she can on all occasions to help forward the cause of Hungary. The ill-treatment of the Princess, known to many of the friends of Hungary in London, has been very discouraging, particularly to myself." [27] In this case, the Hungarian Minister to London, László Szechenyi, was actually recalled and replaced as he had snubbed the Princess Hohenlohe and her English friends. There was no question that Stephanie had power and did not fear to use it.

Using the assignments from Rothermere, Stephanie being nothing if not an opportunist, ingratiated herself with Hitler to the point where he called her his "favorite princess" and she was invited along with Rothermere for a personal visit to Berchtesgaden in January of 1937. It was at this time that she became enamored of a member of the Führer's entourage, Captain Fritz Wiedemann, who had been Hitler's commanding officer in WWI and enjoyed his complete trust, served as Hitler's aide-de-camp. The princess charmed the Captain and soon they were more than just friends, with Wiedemann providing inside information and immediate access to the princess and Rothermere In the meantime Stephanie went to see the Foreign Minister, Lord Halifax in the spring of 1938 and asked him to meet with Captain Wiedemann unofficially to have preliminary talks about preserving the peace. Unfortunately, this attempt at diplomacy failed badly, the meeting being uncovered by the press. It was a miracle that Wiedemann's career didn't end then and there and that he escaped punishment. The princess though was held in high regard by Hitler, having been able to arrange the meeting with Lord Halifax and thus was given use of the castle expropriated from the director Max Reinhardt, Schloss Leopoldskron, by Hitler and Göring, as a personal residence and a political salon in the spring of

1938. [28] In addition to the renovation of the castle, for which the chancellery paid at the cost over nine thousand marks, she also received a payment of over sixty thousand marks on November 1938 for "expenses" at a time when the average German worker earned about two hundred marks a month. [29]

30 September 1938 brought the Munich Agreement, which with the First Vienna Award restored Hungarian lands in Czechoslovakia to Hungary. Overjoyed at the result of his decade long campaign on behalf of Hungary, Rothermere then pressed Hitler for restoration of Hungarian lands in Romania, which Hitler was then not willing to grant but would do so later in the Second Vienna Award in 1940. The fact that Stephanie had played a not inconsiderable part in bringing about this political event was not left unnoticed by the press. The National Socialists also gave her credit, Fritz Wiedermann wrote to Lord Rothermere. " It was her [Princess von Hohenlohe's] preparation of the ground that made the Munich Agreement possible." [30] While working with Rothermere as a paid associate since 1932, Stephanie had long passed the terms of their original three-year agreement. Rothermere attempted to end the formal relationship in 1935 when the agreement expired, but was prevailed upon by Stephanie to continue as her son was then enrolled at Oxford and she had expenses related to his education that had to be paid. However, by 1938, Rothermere told her that he was discontinuing her arrangement, a decision she took very badly and made the ill advised decision to sue him in 1939. This led to a very public battle between Rothermere and the princess, which resulted in the German's holding the princess at arm's length and Rothermere losing his access to the Fuhrer. Stephanie eventually lost the lawsuit on 8 November 1939. Rothermere paid her court costs as she claimed to be without funds, but refused any further payment.

In January of 1939, Hitler found out that his aide de camp and the princess were lovers, which further lowered Wiedemann's standing with the Fuhrer. Wiedemann's enemies, particularly Ribbentrop used the fact that he had been less than supportive during the Czech crisis to undermine him and now the revelation that he was Princess Hohenlohe's lover added to his precarious situation. As a result Wiedemann was exiled to San Francisco as the German consul-general there. Stephanie immediately seized upon the idea that she would travel to the United States. Her intention to immigrate there was made clear by the fact that she traveled with 108 pieces of luggage, [31] even though she was traveling on a tourist visa under the name of Maria Waldenburg, obtained only after the Consul General for America at the Royal Hungarian Legation wrote a letter on her behalf on 24 August 1939 requesting that she be issued a visitors visa to enter the United States. [32]

After her move to America, she led an equally astonishing and controversial life in the United States, first with her lover Wiedermann, assisting him in managing Germany's espionage efforts in the US, then in a alien internment camp for four years, which we know about in detail as she was not often out of the sight of the FBI after her arrival. Later through her careful use of the patronage of prominent lovers she was totally rehabilitated in American society and developed a career in journalism becoming very close to the conservative press baron, Axel Springer after her return to the continent in 1962.. She lived in Switzerland, where she passed away in 1972. After 1939, Stephanie von Hohenlohe would not have contact with the Hungarians or the Hungarian government, although she continued to travel on her Hungarian passport and the press continued to refer to her as a "Hungarian Princess" although she really was neither a princess nor Hungarian.

It is difficult to think of any individual outside of government circles who had the extraordinary access that Princess Stephanie von Hohenlohe had during the interwar period. We have proof that she was a paid agent of Lord Rothermere and of the German government, and it is suspected that she received some form of compensation from the Hungarian government as well. She had access to and met with heads of state, former royals and countless other important personages. Despite her somewhat suspect reputation, each overcame his reservations about her and gave her access. She deserves the credit for giving Rothermere the idea of supporting Hungary and also the credit for continuing to promote Hungary's "place in the sun" through Rothermere and through her connections for the better part of a decade.

NOTES

[1] The Little Entente, a mutual defense agreement between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania created in several agreements signed in 1920-1921 was directed against German and Hungarian domination in the Danube River basin and toward the protection of the members' territorial integrity and political independence.
[2] *Tibor Eckhardt: Recollections of Tibor Eckhardt: Regicide at Marseille*. New York: The American Hungarian Library

and Historical Society, 1964, 95-96.
[3] Note: Although Rothermere wanted to end his financial arrangement with the Princess in 1935 but she prevailed upon him to continue it as her son was at Oxford and she was in dire need of funds. Papers of Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Hoover Archives. Box 1 File: 1939 Letter from her solicitors dated 9 January 1939.
[4] Ignac Romsics. *Hungary's Place in the Sun: A British Newspaper Article and its Hungarian Repercussions*. László Péter, Martin Rady, editors. *British-Hungarian Relations Since 1848*. London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, 2004, 193-204.
[5] Prince Franz Hohenlohe. *Steph, the fabulous princess*. London: New English Library, 1976.
[6] Including the biography written by her son, who followed the script prescribed by her to the "t."
[7] Martha Schad. *Hitler's Spy Princess: The Extraordinary Life of Stephanie von Hohenlohe*. Phoenix Mill, England: Sutton Publishing, 2004, 1-2. Although the above date of 1896 is given as her birthyear in her son's biography, Martha Schad dates her birth at 16 September 1891 (2-3). Her later documents completed when she entered the United States, changed the date again, making her even younger.
[8] Prince Franz Hohenlohe. *Steph: The Fabulous Princess*. London: New English Library, 1976, 8.
[9] Ibid, 9.
[10] Stephanie tells us about this period in an outline written by her for an autobiography, the preface of which was titled "Woman's Will." "It was pleasant to be thought beautiful and to be envied. It was especially useful to me, for about that time, I decided that my ambition in life was to marry a prince. I reasoned that looks would not be liability to such an undertaking." Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie Juliana zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingfürst. Hoover Institution Archives. Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Box 3, Folder 2.
[11] Note: The personal papers of Stephanie von Hohenlohe, differ substantially on the dates of her marriage and the date of her son's birth. Her United States of America: Declaration of Intention Immigration Papers dated 30 November 1951, state her date of marriage as 5/9/1919 and shows her son's date of birth as 12/9/1921. Hoover Institution Archives. Box 1. Folder ID 1951, p 4.
[12] Schad, 8.
[13] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Hoover Institution Archives. Box 1: Folder: Woman's Will, p 6.
[14] Ibid., 7.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Franz Hohenlohe, 38-39.
[17] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohenlohe 1914-1972. Hoover Institution Archives. Stanford University, Stanford California. Box 1, Folder 1927.
[18] Romscis, 193-204.
[19] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie Juliana zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingfürst, 1914-1972. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Box 1, File 1927. Author's italics on the quote.
[20] Prince Franz Hohenlohe, 40-41.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohelohe. Hoover Institute Archives. Box 1 File: 1928.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Franz Hohenlohe, 53.
[25] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Hoover Institution Archives. Box 1 Folder 1932.
[26] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Hoover Institution Archives. Box 1, Folder 1933.
[27] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Hoover Institution Archives. Box 1, Folder 1935.
[28] Schad, 92.
[29] Fabrice d'Almeida. *High Society in the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006, 190-191.
[30] Schad, 103.
[31] Schad, 122.
[32] Papers of Prinzessin Stephanie von Hohenlohe. Hoover Institution Archives. Box 1. Folder: 1939.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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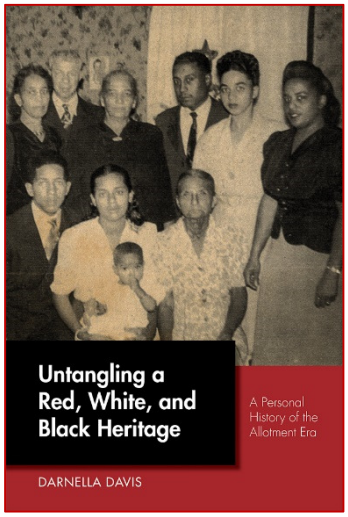

Untangling a Red, White, and Black Heritage: A Personal History of the Allotment Era

Darnella Davis

Hardcover $45.00 ISBN 978-0-8263-5979-7
E-book $45.00 ISBN 978-0-8263-5980-3

6"x9". 312pp., 21 figs.
Published by University of New Mexico Press, November 2018.

https://unmpress.com/books/untangling-red-white-and-black-heritage/9780826359797

Review by Amy Absher

Untangling a Red, White, and Black Heritage (2018) is a history of Darnella Davis's family experience during the allotment era in American. The author began writing and researching this book as a college student when she was looking for scholarships set aside for indigenous students; however, before she could access these funds she had to find evidence supporting her family's place in indigenous history in the United States. What the author discovered was a history in which claims to status had little relationship to tribal devotion, language, religion, or ties to the land(31). Instead, claims to status brought Davis into a world of contested racial meanings.

Divided into three core chapters and a long appendix, this book primarily grapples with the history of the place of Africans in indigenous history. For example, Davis had to contend with Cherokee Freedman identity, which is a tribal status assigned to the descendants of African slaves held by the Cherokee before and after removal to Indian Territory. In addition to researching this status, the author also discovered links to Muscogee (Creek) history and in the end expresses great affinity for this indigenous group. Yet, being "mixed-race" is problematic because, as the author explains, "Though race is a construct, racial categorization has been a very big political issue in terms of social benefits,"(120). Pursuing these benefits brought the author face to face with historical racism and the recent turn toward DNA testing to assess identity. Hers is a difficult family history to untangle because in her roots are the struggles with the specific complexity that comes from origin, othering, ownership, and white supremacy.

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Those looking to position this book within a scholarly context might turn to Gary B. Nash's *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. Over several editions, Nash wrote and re-wrote this book as he tried to explain American history. However, Davis is trying to do more than write a history. She is writing a family, which links her work to Lori L. Tharps' *Same Family Different Colors* (2016) and Alice Walker's classic *In Search of our Mother's Gardens* (1983). The strength of all of these books is that the authors pay special attention to the voices of those they seek to understand. Being "mixed-race" is a complex reality and only those who live it can truly explain it. For this reason it is also worth revisiting Alicia Woods' seminal 2006 film *American Red and Black: Stories of Afro-Native Identity.*

It is a difficult task to criticize a book as personal as this one. Instead, readers might focus on the usefulness of the work. For example, over one hundred pages of the book are appendices that reproduce interviews and documents. These pages will be a treasure trove to anyone teaching public history methods, procedures, ethics, and objectivity. Next, the book requires readers to confront race. Though the author asserts this story is more than about race (9), much of the book discusses concepts of racial purity, which may be of interest to anyone teaching how critical race theory plays out on the ground. Finally, the author uses phrases like "bringing to light," when discussing sources (9), and views her research an act of uncovering history. These phrases are more than metaphors. The language and the methodology clearly link this book to what was once called "the new social history." Maybe it is time to revisit "the new" and see the outcomes of that intellectual movement in how we "do" and how we understand history. *Untangling a Red, White, and Black Heritage* would be a good place to start.

Amy Absher is based in Seattle, Washington, USA, and is a historian, writer, and teacher specializing in the 20th-century African American Experience.

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Twenty Years with the Jewish Labor Bund: A Memoir of Interwar Poland

Bernard Goldstein.
Translated and edited by Marvin S. Zuckerman

West Lafayette, IND: Purdue University Press, 2016.

396pp + Glossary of Terms, Names & Acronyms, References and Index.
ISBN 978-1-55753-749-2. US$ 59.95.

Review by Shelby Shapiro

In *Twenty Years with the Jewish Labor Bund: A Memoir of Interwar Poland*, Bernard Goldstein, a member, leader and organizer of the socialist political party and labor organization, the Jewish Labor Bund (usually referred to simply as "the Bund"), presents a picture of the Bund, its members and activities, in Warsaw between World Wars One and Two. It is both a memoir and living eyewitness history: Goldstein relates only what he saw and knew. Although the Bund was active throughout Poland, Eastern Europe and beyond, he

restricts his book only to his region of operations, Warsaw. The only time we leave its environs is when Goldstein left them.

The Jewish Labor Bund was founded in 1897 – the same year as the first Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland. The two movements had radically different aims. Zionists sought a national solution to the so-called "Jewish problem" through the formation of a Jewish state. The Bund, as a Marxist organization, opposed any form of nationalism as reactionary, and instead sought cultural autonomy wherever they lived. Zionists sought to end the diaspora, while Bundists sought to claim their rights within the diaspora. Significantly, one of the Bund's leading lights, Henryk Erlich, was married to the daughter of one of the founders of Jewish diaspora nationalism, Szymon Dubnow. Nonetheless, Sophia Dubnow-Erlich was an activist in her own right.

Another group, the Territorialists, called for a Jewish homeland, but not necessarily in Palestine or Israel. Within the Zionist camp, there were multiple tendencies.

In 1898, the Bund and a number of other organizations and political leaders formed a new political party: the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP), which would later split into two factions: the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin was not present at the 1898 founding congress; his unremitting hostility to the Bund stemmed from the fact that the Bund had a mass, working-class base. Furthermore, unlike the Bolsheviks. the Bund was organized democratically; they organized labor unions (actually, a labor movement), a militia, an educational system in Yiddish, a sports federation (*Morgenshtern),* and organizations for youth (*Yung bund "tsukunft"*) and children (*SKIF*); in short, it developed a "movement culture." That culture included a vast multilingual press for printing newspapers, magazines and broadsides (both above-ground and underground), as well as books. People could live their lives within the precincts of the Bund.

The Bund was most active in Eastern Europe, but had outposts everywhere from South Africa to South America and Scandinavia, to Paris and Palestine (later Israel); everywhere the Bund went, a Bundist press existed. It was only within the last few years that the Bundist magazine in Tel Aviv, *Lebens fragen* (*Vital Questions*) ceased publication.

This multilayered book covers the depth and breadth of Bund activity in Warsaw. The author was active in so many of its manifestations that he could become the party's chronicler from the frontlines: labor organizer, founder of the Warsaw Bund militia, a member of the Bund's executive leadership. We learn about other political formations in Warsaw, including the various Zionist parties. Another Warsaw Bundist, Isaac Przetycki, would later recall the vitality of the city's intellectual life in his piece "At the Ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1946," appearing in Tel Aviv's *Lebens fragen.* Przetycki particularly noted the variety of speakers and the publications, and the excitement of hearing newsboys announcing the latest issue of the Bund paper.

As the author takes us through his activities as a union organizer, readers learn about the structure of various industries, and the sub-groupings within each. Warsaw's labor movement had a huge Jewish component, and among those Goldstein organized were transport workers, matzah bakers, general food workers, bagel bakers, candy makers and clerks. Thus, Jewish porters and teamsters included both back porters, and rope and handcart porters. The meat workers union had separate organizations for the various divisions of labor within that industry. His treatment is almost ethnographic – and somewhat reminiscent of the typologies of German workers presented in the photographs of Germany's August Sander. Goldstein duly notes the political factions within the various industries, and the struggles between those factions. He reveals the powers behind the thrones, and how various factions parlayed their power positions.

Two institutions receive constant treatment: the criminal underworld and the Communist Party. He pays especially close attention to the instances – and they were neither fleeting nor incidental – when the two worked in tandem. The violence employed by the Communists was systematic, representing a new and horrible innovation within the Jewish labor movement. It was aimed at all non-Communists, including students attending the Bundist schools, tubercular children at the Medem Sanatarium, and workers in non-Communist unions. Goldstein was asked to form a workers' self-defense organization for protection against antisemitic *pogromchiks* – and gangster-

assisted Communists. This would later become the core of armed Bundist resistance against the Nazis during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. This book should serve as an antidote to anyone still harboring naive illusions about the Communists – a condition strangely existing in the United States with fanatic diehards still proclaiming the innocence of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs (despite the Venona transcripts and the statements of fellow spy Morton Sobel).

We learn of the problems in organizing a militia composed of workers, who were expected to stay on their jobs while exercising their paramilitary functions. To form an effective fighting body of part-time members without any special privileges represented a clear organizational challenge. Training and discipline made for additional problems. The Bund militia did much more than march in May Day parades: they protected workers, union organizers, students and children from violence. Goldstein writes of Krochmalna Street, deep in the Warsaw slums, and a Communist stronghold. Readers of the memoirs of Isaac Bashevis Singer [*More Stories from My Father's Court*, transl. Curt Leviant (NY: Farar, Straus and Giroux, 2000)] may recall Krochmalna Street as an important address in the Warsaw underworld. In the chapter "An Unusual Wedding" Bashevis recalled watching from his father's study, the marriage of a Krochmalna prostitute together with a wedding party of gangsters, pimps, and prostitutes, glancing first down at the raucous crowd in the courtyard, and then at the wall of religious texts in his father's study, going back and forth, comparing the two scenes (170-177).

For the Bund, Krochmalna was a challenge, and the nexus of the cooperation between Communists and the underworld. Goldstein was able to "turn" some underworld figures who wished to go straight. They were able to use their underworld connections, often familial, in this or that campaign. Former underworld members literally used their muscle to keep gangsters or Communists in line.

Comparing the translation with the original – *20 yor varshever "bund" (1919-1939)* – demonstrates Marvin S. Zuckerman's skill as a translator; random comparisons of the original with his translation reveal both faithfulness to the original text and a fluent rendering in translation. Further, his notes and definitions place everything into context. As a bonus, this volume contains many more photographs than the original, including some depicting the translator's father. This volume is highly recommended.

Shelby Shapiro *obtained his Ph.D. in American Studies with a dissertation on the Yiddish press and how various publications of differing political and religious viewpoints sought to construct different identities for Jewish immigrant women. He has also written about Jazz, Anarchism, and the labour movement.*

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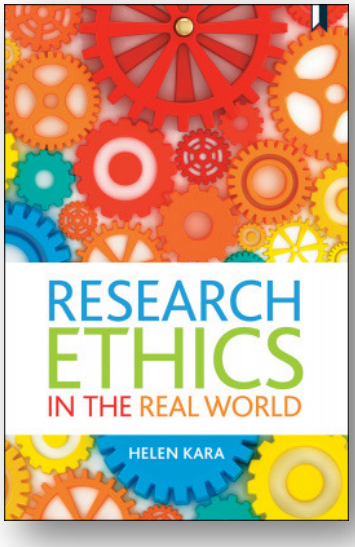

Research Ethics in the Real World: Euro-Western and Indigenous Perspectives

Helen Kara

Published by Policy Press, Bristol, GB (November 2018)

Paperback, 302pp £21.99 (20% discount if registered on Policy Press website)

ISBN: 978-1447344759

http://policypress.co.uk/resources/kara-ethics/research-ethics-in-the-real-world

Review by Amanda Haste

Helen Kara has been an independent researcher since 1999 and focuses on research methods and ethics. Her initial aims in writing *Research Ethics in the Real World* were to "raise awareness of the need for good ethical research practice at all stages of the research process," and to show that research ethics should not exist in isolation, but rather be connected to "individual, social, institutional, professional and political ethics" (1). However, just as she was preparing to start writing, a seminar on post-colonial and Indigenous research methods led her to "rethink the entire book" (2) and ultimately to present the issues of ethical research from these two very different perspectives.

Although researchers are generally "working to make the world a better place" (9), for researchers in the Euro-Western tradition "'truth' is something that can be empirically verified"[1] while for researchers in Indigenous societies "'truth' may exist in stories, experience and relationships with ancestors[2] (9). Kara argues that, rather than assert that Euro-Western culture's notion of 'truth' is "the right way" – effectively "another way to colonise the world"[3] – we should "respectfully engage with each other's knowledges" between – and within – societies "as a basis for mutual learning" (9).

The book is in two parts: Part I, Research Ethics in Context begins with a detailed introduction covering

[1] Alldred, P. and Gillies, V. (2012) "Eliciting research accounts: re/producing modern subjects?" In Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. and Jessop, J. (eds) *Ethics in Qualitative Research* (2nd edn). pp140-56. London: Sage. p142.

[2] Chilisa, B. (2012) *Indigenous Research Methodologies* Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage, p116 ; Blackfoot Gallery Committee, The (2013) *The Story of the Blackfoot People : Niitsitapiisinni.* Richmond Hill, Ontario : Firefly Books, p18.

[3] Castleden, H., Sylvestre, P., Martin, D. and McNally, M. (2015) "'I don't think that any peer review committee … would ever 'get' what I currently do': How institutional metrics for success and merit risk perpetuating the (re)production of colonial relationships in community-based participatory research involving Indigenous people in Canada." *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 6(4), p12-13. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/iipj/vol6/iss4/2/

issues such as ethics methods, ethics interactions, and reflexivity, and explaining the overall structure of the book. This is followed by four chapters exploring Indigenous research and ethics, which precede the discussion of Euro-Western research and ethics, a placement this reviewer found particularly telling, and enriching because the Euro-Western researcher is then confronted with the 'other' cultural norm effectively as the starting point, with the Euro-Western tradition as the comparison.

Part II, Doing Research Ethically, contains nine further chapters covering ethical considerations in planning, context setting and literature review, data gathering and analysis, presentation and dissemination of findings and ends with substantial and useful chapters on ethical aftercare and researcher well-being.

Case studies throughout the book clearly and deftly illustrate the "real world" ethical problems that can arise even with the best-prepared fieldwork, whether through loss of key participants, issues of consent from a research community, changes in political circumstances, war and civil conflicts. Each chapter is also a stand-alone entity which ends in a conclusion and "reflective questions," these latter providing a very useful teaching resource for courses in ethics in research methods as well as for individual reflection.

This reviewer particularly appreciated the wealth of detail in the case studies and direct quotes from participants and researchers which bring the ethical issues to life, rather than leaving them as a dry checklist to be ticked off when accomplished. For instance, on gatekeepers, Kara points out that in Indigenous research, consent may need to be agreed collectively rather than by an individual. Also, in some Indigenous societies "it is inappropriate to refuse a direct request for help," meaning that friends or relatives of Indigenous researchers may need to be used as intermediaries (105).

Kara also provides useful examples of ethical considerations that are fluid and ongoing, even after the data collection has been completed:

"Different ethical difficulties arise with using visual methods in the Indigenous paradigm. For example, some Indigenous peoples, such as those in parts of Australia and the Torres Strait Islands, can be very distressed by the publication of photographs of people who have died. It is essential to be aware of this if you use photographs from these communities, as you would need to be prepared to amend or remove these images from your research outputs following the death of any participant: perhaps for a period of mourning, or for good, as specified by the community".[4] (143)

This excellent book goes far beyond the basic tenet of "do no harm," and its comprehensive and holistic approach to the very real ethical issues confronting scholars, especially those in qualitative research, provides a wonderful resource. The balanced referencing of both Euro-Western and Indigenous paradigms considerably enriches the discussion, taking the Euro-Western researcher outside their (narrow?) comfort zone and forcing them to see again with new eyes the cultural bases for the ethical decisions to be made at every stage of the research process and beyond…and to question them. Not only that, but the book is beautifully written and, despite the author's clam that there are "not many laughs" to be found (x) this reviewer has found herself repeatedly diving into her review copy just for the pleasure of it.

Amanda Haste *is a British musicologist and academic translator who teaches as adjunct faculty at Aix-Marseille University, France. Her own largely ethnographic research focuses mainly on identity construction through music and language.*

[4] Bostock, L. (1997) *The Greater Perspective: Protocol and Guidelines for the Production of Film and Television on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities.* Australia: Special Broadcasting Service, p38.

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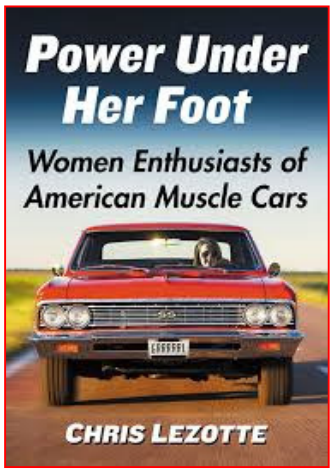

Power Under Her Foot: Women Enthusiasts of American Muscle Cars

Chris Lezotte

https://mcfarlandbooks.com/product/power-under-her-foot/
Jefferson, NC: McFarland, May 2018. Paperback, 200 pages.

Print, ISBN-13: 9781476670164. $40
Kindle, ISBN-10: 1476670161. $18.50

Interview with author Chris Lezotte (from 3:00) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R3T1YEXS08U

Review by Dorothy Woodman.

American automobility is not just about transportation: cars are implicated in the ways in which gender, race, class, and national identity are idealized and consolidated. From the beginning cars represented American innovation, urban expansion, and new access to privilege. Marketing upheld gender narratives: cars signified masculine power, independence, and status for men, and achieving domestic goals for women. However, muscle cars, created in the 1970s, gave a primarily white, heteronormative male driver newfound speed, excitement, and access to women. Despite growing scholarship on car culture, the women car enthusiasts who found their way into a male enclave have been given scant attention.

Mobilizing her "Motor City upbringing," advertising career," as well as graduate and post-graduate research, Chris Lezotte documents a significant, yet largely unrecognized, cohort in muscle car culture: women drivers and, later, owners. *Power Under Her Foot: Women Enthusiasts and American Muscle*, generously illustrated with advertisements and supported with testimonies by women themselves, spans three generations of muscle car history: 1964-1973, 1974-2004, and 2005 to the present. Lezotte's study cohort of eighty-eight "white, Christian, middle class, heterosexual, and overwhelmingly conservative in ideology" (13) Southeastern Michigan women offer "firsthand accounts of the passion, involvement, attachment, connections, influence, and empowerment the automobile contributes to women's lives" (5). Applying object- and conservative feminist theories, *Power Under Her Foot* explores how respondents' passions have been expressed, as well as limited and shaped, by car culture's hegemonic masculinity and how conservative feminist investments have enabled traditional domestic and familial responsibilities to coexist with car culture's opportunities for excitement, freedom, and individual expression.

Opening with "The Generations," Lezotte provides an overview of muscle car history as a gendered social space and how women have entered it, first as girlfriends or wives of car owners, and later as owners themselves, without upending the gendered roles and social structures that muscle car culture represented. As demonstrated throughout the book, despite self-imposed restrictions such as deferring muscle car ownership to fulfill "domestic responsibilities" (59), women found car culture an opportunity for sharing mutual interests with husbands (31), even considering it "important to marriage stability" (31). Leaving these

undisturbed, women could experience risk-taking, independence and newfound self-expression; as one representative respondent comments, one could "feel carefree and reckless and young" (54). More recently, muscle car culture's gender distinctions have softened somewhat. Divorced women now celebrate their new independence by purchasing a long-desired muscle car. Those with tomboy natures find expression through car ownership. Some describe their new public aggressiveness; as one woman explains: "for some reason that 'super bitch' emblem [on the hood] became me. Because all of a sudden people would get out of my way'" (48). Yet, while the gender politics of the seventies shift somewhat, according to Lezotte, conservative values remain intact.

"Women's Roles in Muscle Car Culture" provides an overview of women's changing relationship to and in car culture with liberal use of representative car ads and respondents' observations. Against stereotypes of women drivers as incompetent, ads targeting women for minivans and SUVs, and a car culture hostile to liberal or radical feminists, Lezotte's respondents negotiate gender restrictions by incorporating their car interests into family culture and their roles as community-builders, transforming "a male-centric . . . space into a community" (78), thus introducing an acceptable feminine role into a male culture. By painting cars pink for example, and even developing "masculine" expertise such as mechanical know-how while maintaining clear gender markers, women have gradually gained access to a male-dominated social world.

As in the earlier section, Lezotte cautions the reader against single interpretations of women's roles. "Making Meaning Out of the Muscle Car" asks: What does this form of transportation *mean* to women as they increasingly enter traditionally masculine domains while juggling their roles in the domestic sphere? While they, she reminds us, share homogenous, conservative feminist politics, nonetheless, there are differences in the group about what acquiring a muscle, pony, or retro-muscle car represents. For some the car is an investment, while for others it is "a way to relive their youth, obtain something they longer for in the past, or celebrate the era in which American auto industry had presence and power" (113). They create means to participate that share, complement, and enhance car culture without challenging principles of gender, consumption, the nuclear family, and American national ideals. Those who challenge them are met with generally good-humored rebuttals by women and men alike.

In the final section, "The Woman Driver and the American Muscle Car," Lezotte details persistent stereotypes of women, who continue to be characterized as incompetent or distracted, as decorations and rewards, or are targeted for family-functional vehicles. Films reinforce hegemonic masculinity with car chases, and race tracks continue to be largely the domain of men (146). Lezotte's survey is important because it demonstrates decades-long work to claim spaces for women in muscle car culture, thus forming a legacy on which contemporary women can build their own forms of interest. In practical terms, she encourages women to "become more auto-centric" and "more effective car consumers" (168), thereby creating greater employment opportunities. As a study of identity-formation and object-relations, Lezotte hopes her work will develop "new avenues of research" (168), particularly by including conservative feminism into "traditional feminist scholarship" (169).

Power Under Her Foot opens a window into an important world of American white, middle-class women's history. For the most part a conservative feminist commentary built on objects' roles in identity-formation, Lezotte's study is a rallying cry to give serious attention to this part of American car history. It will be of interest to second wave feminists and the politically conservative. However, despite some brief references, her disinclination to substantially critique women's complex and conflicted relationships with gender ideology and American consumption, nationalism, race politics, and conservatism, means one must look for such insights elsewhere.

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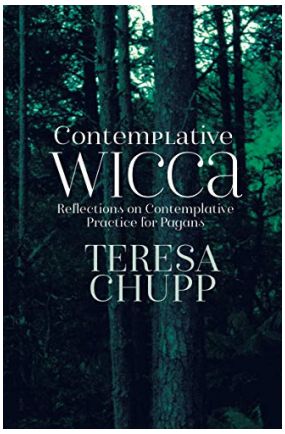

Contemplative Wicca: Reflections on Contemplative Practice for Pagans

Teresa Chupp

Aeon Books (November 15, 2018)
144 pp.

Paperback	ISBN-10: 1911597094	$14.50
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Review by Literata Hurley

Teresa Chupp's *Contemplative Wicca* attempts to establish a theological basis for a type of Wicca practiced solely through contemplative efforts at mystical union with a singular divine. Her effort draws on mainstream scholarship in traditional theological understandings of mysticism and is heavily influenced by developmental psychology and the author's own beliefs about the nature of individual and societal development and progress over time towards her preferred style of mystical union and its theoretical benefits for people and the environment.

Chupp's first chapter argues the benefits of doing theology for Wiccans and then positions the ideas of contemplative Wicca as connected to traditional Wicca in their reverence for nature. She then describes numerous key departures from commonly held Wiccan beliefs and practices such as polytheism (in any of its "soft" or "hard" forms, a distinction she neglects to discuss) and ecstatic, often group, ritual.

The second chapter, "God," expands on these distinctions by arguing for a panentheistic monotheism which seems to this reviewer to verge more on a sort of monism. She grapples with concepts such as whether God is all-good or all-powerful, but brushes aside any specific characterizations of the divine with terms other than "God" as unworthy anthropomorphisms which inevitably lead to tribalism and thus run counter to the values of compassion through recognizing unity that she advocates. The emphasis that deity cannot be gendered excludes any discussion of feminist spirituality or feminine conceptions of the divine, which are major features of Wicca that attract many current practitioners.

In Chapter 3 she examines the contributions of psychology to understanding the roles of religion and how religion can best help humanity. Her discussion of Evelyn Underhill's landmark study of mysticism as it can be experienced by Pagans and Wiccans is fascinating; however it is hampered by her continued emphasis on the preeminent value of contemplative mystical union without discussing any of the connections to more common Wiccan practice.

Similarly, her discussion of ethics in Chapter 4 turns much more heavily on a generalized application of the value of compassion springing naturally from a sense of the oneness of all things in order to achieve a society founded on values. These values are supposed to be different from virtue ethics, but the distinction remains

unclear as she spends more effort theorizing about the sort of pacifist, compassionate society she would like to see created as a result of this seemingly inexorable progress along a developmental scale for which she advocates.

When she discusses the actual methods she advocates for practicing contemplative Wicca in Chapter 5, she spends as much space arguing against the ideas and uses of magic as widely practiced in Wicca today as she does explaining how her own possible methods more closely resemble eremitic life as understood by contemplative branches of mainstream religions, with an emphasis on withdrawal from daily life to deepen contemplative practice. She raises interesting ideas of what an eremitical Wiccan life might look like, but then fails to discuss what would make such an eremitical life specifically Wiccan rather than generally peaceful, contemplative, and mystical, aside from a generalized reverence for nature that has been shared by mystics from many faith traditions.

In Chapter 6 she continues to argue against animism, repeatedly characterizing it as a mistake of thinking that is meant to be outgrown, and thus explains much more what she is against than what it is about her form of contemplative Wicca that is a theological understanding of death and the soul that would motivate practitioners and believers to engage with her suggested approach. By the conclusion, she repeats her assertion that theology must point to a monotheistic (or monist) conception of the divine in order to support her preferred values of unity and compassion among humanity, and in so doing argues against almost all the distinguishing characteristics of Wicca as it is commonly practiced today.

Chupp's tone alternates within chapters, and even within sections, between the academic addressing other academics with reference to scholarship and established ideas of theology and the believer explaining how her preferred type of contemplation leads to mystical union that will (dare one say 'magically'?) benefit all of humanity and the environment, if only more people, especially Wiccans, would try her methods. Her developmental perspective emphasizes progress to such an extent that a distinctly triumphalist tone repeatedly emerges, even as she tries to situate herself within the context of Wicca while simultaneously disregarding and even disparaging its unique features and typical practices. In the end, this reader found the work a convincing description of why the author's preferred type of contemplative practice is loosely rooted in Wicca and deeply beneficial to the author herself, but as a discussion aimed at other Pagans and Wiccans it falls short; she may be mostly preaching to the choir.

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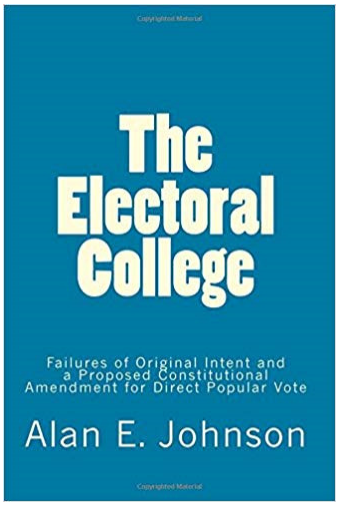

The Electoral College: Failures of Original Intent and a Proposed Constitutional Amendment for Direct Popular Vote

Alan E. Johnson

Philosophia Publications; 1st edition (March 7, 2018)

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"It is necessary that the Executive Magistrate should be the guardian of the people, even of the lower classes, against Legislative tyranny, against the Great & wealthy who in the course of things will necessarily compose the Legislative body. Wealth tends to corrupt the mind and to nourish its love of power, and to stimulate it to oppression. History proves this to be the spirit of the opulent... The Executive therefore ought to be so constituted as to be the great protector of the mass of the people."

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Governeur Morris, Constitutional Convention, July 1787

In his newest book, *The Electoral College: Failures of Original Intent and a Proposed Constitutional Amendment for Direct Popular Vote*, Alan Johnson takes a bold and thought- provoking look at the origin and history of the Electoral College – the early beginnings of what we have accepted heretofore as the Founders' best system for electing the nation's Chief Executive.

As Alan Johnson disclosed in his Preface to *The Electoral College*, he had, like many Americans at the time, "shrugged off" the controversial outcome of the 2000 Presidential election between the then Vice President, Al Gore, and his challenger, Texas governor George W. Bush (ix). However, four election cycles later, in the 2016 presidential election, Johnson found an undisputable reason to take a closer look at the system – although long entrenched in our national psyche – that had given a result for the highest office in the land that was leaving much unanswered and even less understood.

Johnson tells us that his inquiry "turned out to be quite fascinating," and also revealed that "the origins of the Electoral College were more complicated than what is often represented today" (x). Ultimately, his investigation, research, and analysis led to this timely book; and his exploration has culminated with the proposal to re-visit the Constitution of the United States. As Thomas Jefferson suggested, as "new discoveries are made" and circumstances change, "institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times" (front sheet).

Johnson's Preface points out that the first piece written for *The Electoral College* was a "lengthy Appendix entitled 'A Detailed Narrative of the Debates on the Selection of the President in the 1787 Constitutional Convention,'" a "chrono-
logical discussion" (xi) of the many debates surrounding the "various [and] competing methods for selecting the president" of the new United States (1). That no one came out of the Constitutional Convention

of 1787 completely satisfied with the results is well expressed by the delegate from Pennsylvania, James Wilson, who stated that: "This subject has greatly divided the House, and will also divide people out of doors [the public]. It is in truth the most difficult of all on which we have had to decide" (1).

Johnson provides a brief overview of each chapter, explaining that Chapter 1 will "treat some of the same material" as did the Appendix, only topically while the Appendix handled the "Narrative of the Debates…" chronologically (xi). The next five chapters go on to cover the Ratification process for the new Constitution, through the early years of the Electoral College, to the "current operation" of today's "winner-take-all" system, which Johnson points out is "essentially different from [that] conceived of by the… Founders." He then concludes with "the legal text of a proposed constitutional amendment for direct popular vote with instant run-off voting" in Chapter 6 (xi).

The Appendix, along with Chapter 1, gives not only the factual steps involved in establishing our particular system for electing the nation's president, but also provides us with the various protestations against it and possible alternatives to it presented by several of the delegates in attendance. That the Electoral College decision was a given was by no means certain at the time. Varied and numerous opinions pervaded the Convention in 1787, but, despite arguments and ideas to the contrary, the system now in place was the one which prevailed. Chapter 2 then describes the process that took the Electoral College from a proposal to a Constitutional Amendment as it was brought before ratifying conventions in each of the States. And as Johnson points out, there was no shortage of disagreements and debates as the proposed Constitution made its way through the several States comprising the new Union (50, 82).

Chapter 3 covers the Electoral College in practice from its beginning in 1789 "through the ratification of the 12th Amendment in 1804," including, as Johnson puts it, the frustration of "original intent" in its actual operation as part of our constitutional government (xi). Johnson argues that as the Electoral College procedure moved from a theoretical concept to a functioning feature of government, serious flaws became apparent (98) – flaws that were only partially dealt with in the 12th Amendment. Chapter 4 then picks up with the ratification of the 12th Amendment and discusses the "failures of 'original intent' from that point, through the "critical" and controversial elections of 2000 and 2016, to the present day (xi, 107).

In addition to evaluating the current Electoral College system, Chapter 5 also "analyzes and evaluates the major alternatives, other than direct popular vote, that have been proposed" to replace it (xi). Johnson opens the chapter by "examining and evaluating the standard defenses of today's Electoral College" (115). What many seemingly fail to understand, according to Johnson, is that today's Electoral College is not exactly the same Electoral College the founders had believed themselves to be establishing. Johnson points out that a number of those involved in designing the Electoral College system wanted the electors to be chosen by the people as a whole in each state; however the final result was that each state was free to choose its electors in whatever manner they saw fit, therefore allowing for some of the electors to be elected in that manner while others might be selected by the individual state legislatures. But as the proposed constitution made its way to the various ratifying conventions, a number of those in favor seemed to believe just that and argued accordingly (36, 82, 102). However, regardless of the exact method for obtaining the presidential electors, all were basically in agreement that the Electoral College was an adequate safeguard against the election of a demagogue or incompetent, or someone easily manipulated, to the highest office in the land because the belief was that the electors, while coming from the citizenry in general, would be members of good quality and an upstanding character, "capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station… possess[ing] information and discernment requisite to so complicated an investigation" regarding the suitability of the proposed presidential candidates (80, 117).

Chapter 5 also explores some possibilities for replacing the existing system with a new, more well-suited procedure for electing the president. Johnson points out that while some believe a solution to be a "return" to the idea of "independent electors" – those who would exercise their own individual or collective judgement to vote for the best candidate, rather than perhaps the candidate with the largest number of votes in a particular state – it would be impractical and likely impossible. He argues that "Americans value their

ability to vote… and have never accepted the idea (in *Federalist 68*) that electors should [use] independent judgement in choosing a president," and would be quite unlikely to do so now. He cites the recent election of 2016 where electors acting independently of their state's winner-takes-all stance could have swung the election away from Republican candidate Donald Trump and to Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton, thereby potentially causing an "armed insurrection" from the deprived side (130-32). Therefore, a new system is needed that would not leave voters feeling left out of the process and would lead to more engagement of the populace in our electoral system. He then discusses three potential possibilities: the "District Plan," "Proportional Plan," and the "National Popular Vote Interstate Plan" – a proposal by law professor Robert Bennett as a possible alternative to a constitutional amendment (132-38).

Chapter 6 is Johnson's "Proposed Constitutional Amendment for Election of the President and Vice President by Direct Popular Vote" (139). His chapter begins with "the text and an explanation of the proposed amendment." Following this, he discusses "both advantages and anticipated objections" to the proposal, along with some "specific references" to help avoid "abstractions" (140). Johnson believes that the amendment proposed could "solve the longtime problem of the Electoral College," but acknowledges that "such an amendment will not be adopted in the near future." However, he notes that as political scientist, Matthew Streb said, "American history is full of examples of reforms that at one time seemed impossible…" (155, 159).

Anyone with an interest in electoral politics will find *The Electoral College* an invaluable read. Alan Johnson has provided both the backdrop for our electoral system and the details making it understandable to the average reader. And it leaves us with a curiosity about what is next to play out on our electoral stage.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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