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### Incredible day-dream : Freud and Jung at Clark, 1909

William A. Koelsch

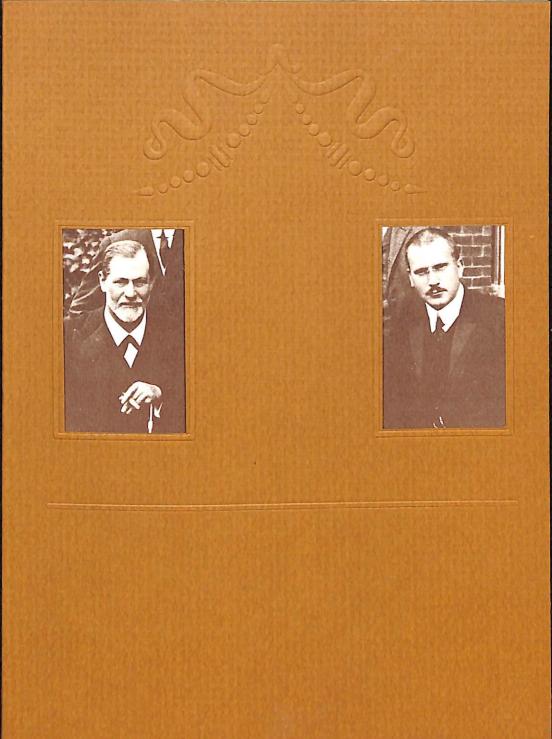
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### 'Incredible Day-Dream'



" 'Incredible Day-Dream': Freud and Jung at Clark, 1909"

# " 'Incredible Day-Dream': Freud and Jung.at Clark, 1909"

by William A. Koelsch

The Fifth Annual Paul S. Clarkson Lecture with Photographs and an Exhibition Catalog

THE FRIENDS OF THE GODDARD LIBRARY Clark University Worcester 1984

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For My Parents Alvin C. and Alice B. Koelsch

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## PREFACE

"A book", wrote Franz Kafka, "must be an axe for the frozen sea within us." Such a book was Freud's FIVE LECTURES UPON PSYCHOANALYSIS which popularized his theories and brought his work to the attention of the academic communities of Europe and America for the first time. His legacy is so much a part of the twentieth century that it is easy to forget that Freud was generally unknown when he came to Clark University to give the five lectures that have become so famous.

When Freud turned fifty in 1906 his masterpiece, THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS, had been in print for six years. The total worldwide sales had been only 351 copies. Freud was convinced that anti-Semitism, the prejudice of the medical fraternity against lay analysis, and the general fear of new ideas and sexual theories were responsible for his rejection. The vocabulary itself was inadequate for the ideas he had to express. Freud gave radically new definitions to some words (unconscious, analysis, eroticism, catharsis, hysteria, neurosis) and helped invent totally new concepts (libido, id, superego, oedipus complex, infantile sexuality, totemism, psychoanalysis). The Worcester lectures, while containing nothing new, do mark with precision the time and place where his ideas began to gain public importance and shape twentieth century thought.

Copernicus had proved that human beings were not at the center of the universe. Darwin then questioned the uniqueness of persons, even in contrast to animals. Now Freud added a psychological dimension to the cosmological and biological revolutions, challenging the assumption that a person was even in control of his or her own self. If "religion is based on infantile helplessness", perhaps there was not even a soul.

The Clark lectures brought Freud to the attention of a much wider audience, and accelerated the distribution of several fundamental ideas:

- (1) The ideas of the oedipus complex gave people an ever-increasing awareness of the importance of childhood for psychological development. Freud taught that behavior patterns are formed by the earliest impressions of life, which, in turn, take on a symbolic importance for adults.
- (2) It is the most crucial memories that are lost to consciousness, repressed deep within every person, effecting behavior every day.
- (3) Sexual discovery begins in infancy and sexual satisfaction is a healthy objective in any period of life. Most people, Freud suggested, become, prisoners of their early, morally implanted sense of conscience ("an unexamined residue of our early training and feeling about our world"). Freud's ideas about sex, morals, therapy, mental health, and self identity have been part of the intellectual and emotional inheritance of four generations of educated youth.
- (4) He emphasized the importance of dreams for self discovery, teaching that dreams give voice to a

highly concentrated, condensed, emotional language, censored even while a person is sleeping. He believed that there are "no innocent dreams" and that dreams are never concerned with trivialities and developed a method by which "every dream reveals itself as a psychical structure which has a meaning and which can be inserted at an assignable point in the mental activities of waking life."

- (5) Freud introduced the idea of a death instinct which helped to explain the human fascination with violence, war and weapons of destruction. "The ego represents what we call reason and insanity, in contrast to the id which contained the passions."
- (6) Freud developed psycho-analysis which "employs the instruments of suggestion (or transference)...to induce the patient to perform a piece of mental work — the overcoming of his transference-resistances which involves a permanent alteration in his mental economy." He proved how fundamental self-esteem is in mental health from the first moment of parental approbation for "good" behavior.

These six points are but a brief and superficial sketch of Freudian thought but they provide a glimpse of how pervasive his influence has been and indicate how important it is to have an accurate account of the days that Freud and Jung spent at Clark seventy-five years ago.

In these pages Dr. William Koelsch, Professor of History and Geography, and the University Historian, provides a fascinating picture of the event. With careful understatement and considerable wit and good humor, he allows the reader to relive some of the most important days of Freud's life. Within a few days Freud received the only honorary degree he would ever receive and delivered the lectures that were to make him famous. "The name of Clark University", Professor Koelsch wrote in another article, "may be found on the first page of Freud's autobiography, and that was no Freudian slip either."

Professor Koelsch helps the reader put the visit in perspective, carefully correcting claims that it introduced Freud to America or that original research was presented for the first time in the lectures. He also traces the importance of the visit to Clark for Carl Jung and the interesting relationship between Freud and Jung. The picture of G. Stanley Hall as part scholar and part folkhero is memorable and his detailed look at the city of Worcester at the turn of the century is a delight. From Emma Goldman to the power of a "free" press, we see town and gown come together, involved in a cultural adventure. Here is a complete record, full of insight and interesting asides, of the events that led to "the most concise and lucid account in and out of Freud's writings of the birth of psychoanalysis."

The Friends of the Goddard Library is honored to have Dr. Koelsch present this Fifth Annual Lecture honoring the contribution of Dr. Paul S. Clarkson to the Goddard Library and Clark University. William A. Koelsch (Sc.B., Bucknell; A.M., Clark; Ph.D., University of Chicago) founded the Archives of Clark University in 1972 and as the first University Archivist directed it for ten years. He is currently preparing a history of the University which will be published in conjunction with its Centennial in 1987.

Bill is a member of the Board of Directors of the

Friends of the Goddard Library, of the Massachusetts Archives Advisory Commission, and of the Diocesan Archives and Library Committee of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. He has done significant research in the history of geography and related sciences, the history of higher education, and the history of science. He has published another paper on this event, "Freud Discovers America" in the Virginia Quarterly Review and will present an interpretation before the American Psychological Association in Toronto. This is especially appropriate because the American Psychological Association was founded at Clark by G. Stanley Hall, its first President, in 1892.

The catalog of the display which accompanied the Koelsch lecture is a listing of items selected for exhibition from the Clark University collection of original historical material relating to the visit of Freud and his companions. These materials are available for study in the University Archives. Professor Koelsch reminds us of their importance and underlines the responsibilities groups like the Friends have to assist in the preservation of our intellectual heritage by supporting libraries and research institutions.

Clark University has become so noted for its involvement in the exploration of inner (Freud's visit) and outer (the experiments of Dr. Robert Goddard) space, that this paper gives us the opportunity to note the University's general excellence in so many departments, from geographic studies to the liberal arts. The Friends of Goddard Library is now establishing a second major lectureship and invites you to join us in our work. We look forward to the day when we will have a full time curator to protect and build our collections. We invite you to become a member and support this dream.

In response to the spirit, dedication and creative intelligence of Jean' Perkins, our group has developed an extensive program of fund raising projects in support of the Goddard Library and cultural events for those who live in central Massachusetts. James Joyce labeled himself a shy guest at the feet of the world's culture. We want the best in our culture to survive so that those frozen seas within may be broken anew in every generation.

> Blaine E. Taylor, Chairman Friends of the Goddard Library Worcester, Massachusetts April 3, 1984

## INTRODUCTION

It is a privilege to be asked to give this Fifth Annual Clarkson lecture, which commemorates the 75th anniversary of the Freud-Jung visit to Clark. I regret that our scholarly friend and sometime curatorial colleague, Paul Clarkson, is unable to be present to hear it.

The Board of Directors of the Friends of the Goddard Library have graciously provided the platform from which I plunge once more into the roiled waters of Freudian historiography. I want especially to thank Mary Helen Morgan, who has taken such a strong interest in the Clarkson lecture series from its inception, and Alice Higgins, whose quiet and persistent encouragement of the scholarly work of this university regularly enriches my life as it does that of so many of my colleagues.

Four other persons whose "behind-the-scene" work deserves public recognition have been immensely helpful in planning for the event, organizing the special exhibits prepared in connection with it, efficiently providing research materials, and preparing the manuscript for delivery and eventual publication. I should like to thank Jean Perkins, Assistant to the Librarian; Stuart Campbell, University Archivist; Dorothy Mosakowski, Special Collections Assistant; and Karen Shepardson of Clark's Word Processing Center.

During February my parents made their Florida home a comfortable haven in which the first draft of this lecture could be worked out. In gratitude, though of course not only for that, the published version of this year's Clarkson lecture is inscribed in their honor.

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William A. Koelsch

THE lead article of the September, 1909 issue of the Worcester Magazine, house organ of the city's Board of Trade, was a highly complimentary account of the history and twentieth anniversary celebration of Clark University. In a separate commentary on the latter event, under the heading "Clark University's Vicennial," the Editor pointed out that, given the brevity of the conferences and the scope and profundity of the ideas exchanged there, the general public would see no immediate benefit. "As the years go on, however," the Editor predicted, "and the scientific facts here presented become collated, published and digested, the importance of this anniversary will be more generally understood and appreciated."

From the Clark standpoint, one might see the Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung lectures on that occasion simply as one part, though an important part, of a group of scholarly conferences held during the Summer and Fall of 1909 to observe the twentieth anniversary, not of the university's charter, but of the beginning of its research function.

It may seem somewhat peculiar that a university

should take special pains to mark its twentieth anniversary at all, let alone commemorate it with a series of international conferences. Indeed, Freud himself places an exclamation mark after the word "twentieth" in explaining the occasion in letters to Karl Abraham and to Jung. Yet almost from its moment of conception Clark was aware of its special role as what Trustee William Rice, writing late in 1887, had called "peculiarly the University of the future," devoting a major part of its resources to scientific investigation, and directing its findings toward an international scholarly audience.

In the scale of its organization the Clark University of 1909, with its sixteen faculty members (only eleven of them, including President G. Stanley Hall, teaching full-time in the graduate school) and its ninety-one graduate students (1908-1909), was smaller in staff and only slightly larger in student body than our current largest single graduate departments. In its aspirations and its array of scholarly credentials, however, Clark was self-consciously a part of the Euro-American network of research institutions at that critical period between c. 1870 and c. 1920 when the major part of the world's organized research effort took place within university precincts.

In July, 1899, President Hall and his faculty had

organized a week-long series of public lectures and social events to mark the completion of the first Decennium. The observance was funded by Trustee Stephen Salisbury III and other Worcester citizens. Lectures in French or in German were given by Emile Picard, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Paris; Ludwig Boltzmann, Professor of Theoretical Physics in the University of Vienna; Angelo Mosso, Professor of Physiology in the University of Turin; Santiago Ramon y Cajal, Professor of Histology in the University of Madrid; and August Forel, former Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Zurich and Director of the Burghölzli Asylum.

These lectures were open to the Worcester community as well as to scholars from other institutions. On the final day there was a convocation at which honorary degrees were conferred on the five visitors. A reception, to which prominent Worcesterites were invited, was held in the Main Building, made festive by decorations of emerald green and white (the University's colors), by the flags of the nations represented, and by potted plants. Nearly six hundred people came, a "collation" was served in the library, and there was an exhibit of scientific apparatus. The observance was, of course, also an opportunity for Clark's own faculty and students to interact with their distinguished guests. In every respect, the Decennial Celebration provided the working model for the larger Vicennial observances ten years later, right down to the University's colors, the national flags, and the potted plants.

Now, why Freud, why Jung? Stanley Hall had not been the first American psychologist to call Freud's work to the attention of his peers. That honor belongs to Hall's Harvard mentor, William James, who abstracted the preliminary version of Freud and Josef Breuer's work on hysteria for the first number of the new *Psychological Review*, in 1894. James had also begun to mention this research in his lectures at Harvard and publicized it again in his Lowell Lectures on "Exceptional Mental States" in 1896. Hall may have learned of Freud's work through one of these sources, or through a reference in Robert Edes' book *The New England Invalid*, published in 1895, which Hall later cited.

In his 1899 Clark lecture on "Hypnotism and Cerebral Activity," Forel had discussed Breuer and Freud's Studies in Hysteria. Erwin Runkle published a lengthy review of that book the same year in Hall's American Journal of Psychology. Although between 1899 and 1904 there was no further mention of Freud in

American psychology journals, Hall personally began to follow it. At least as early as the 1901-1902 academic year he was calling Freud to the attention of his graduate students in his own lectures.

In 1904, Hall published his two-volume work Adolescence, which, a skeptical historian once remarked, was "a concept whose modern meaning he virtually invented, with frightful results." Adolescence contains several references to Freud's work, particularly concerning the early sexual traumas underlying cases of hysteria. But few non-Clark psychologists appear to have made their way through that 1373 page opus. Both William James' and Freud's personal copies survive; their pages are uncut. And James' Swiss friend Théodore Flournoy complained that, although he had tried to read a chapter, he had found its style so boring that he had laid it aside. In any case, American reviews of Adolescence were generally negative, and the private opinions of American psychologists even more so. After savaging the volume in a review for Science magazine. E. L. Thorndike wrote J. McKeen Cattell that Hall's new book was "chock full of errors, masturbation and Jesus. He is a mad man."

Hall was indeed something of a mad man. His mind worked like a vacuum cleaner, forever picking up some

new thing which, as he himself said, made his life seem like a series of fads or crazes. Yet there were more serious reasons for Hall's interest in Freud's new methods and insights. Both men grounded their view of psychological phenomena in a larger context of human development stemming from Darwin and Lamarck. Both placed great emphasis on the implications of childhood experience in the formation of the adult personality. With the exception of work done at the University of Chicago under Hall's former student John Dewey, Hall's department at Clark was the only Ph.D. program prior to 1900 to take the study of the child seriously as a part of psychology's research task. Hall had a long-time interest in what was then called abnormal psychology, and Freud's early studies on hysteria seemed to point to a functional rather than a neurological explanation of many types of mental illness.

Finally, Hall was a pioneer among American psychologists in the study of human sexuality, a hot topic which no respectable American academic psychologist would touch. In 1904 he had given a series of lectures on sex to an all-male audience, though was shocked when two or three students developed what he considered a "morbid" interest in the subject. Hall also discovered that "outsiders" had infiltrated the lecture hall "and even listened surreptitiously at the door." Nevertheless, in 1907 and for several years thereafter, Hall publicly advocated sex education in the schools, a position which, in Massachusetts at least, remains controversial over three-quarters of a century later.

As John Burnham has shown, early references to Freud in the literature did not American disciples make. Except for Hall and his students, few Americans took Freud's work seriously until about 1906, when psychotherapy discussion groups began forming in Boston and Cambridge, meeting at the homes of Morton Prince and Harvard neurologist James Jackson Putnam. With the establishment of Prince's Journal of Abnormal Psychology that same year, a new specialized outlet became available for the discussion of the work of Freud and his disciples. Shortly afterward the British psychiatrist Ernest Jones moved to Toronto, from whence he came down to Boston to evangelize the Boston area discussion groups and whet their appetites for more direct consideration of Freud's work.

For many Americans, however, the more attractive offshoots of psychoanalytic techniques thus far were coming out of Zurich rather than Vienna. The Burghölzli Asylum in Zurich was then directed by Eugen Bleuler, Forel's successor, and one of the first hospital psychiatrists to accept Freud's clinical ideas. Bleuler encouraged his staff members to experiment with psychoanalytic techniques. A youthful staff psychiatrist named Carl Gustaf Jung had adapted Freud's notions concerning dreams to severely disturbed mental patients, and Jung had developed what was called the "word-reaction association method" to open up repressed "complexes." In thus "decoding" the language of the insane, Jung had helped move the study of mental illness from a primarily neurological to a broader functional basis.

Using exact measurements and statistical methods, as one scholar has pointed out, Jung "brought about a rapprochement between experimental psychology and Freud's psychoanalysis." Jung's association tests and his new insights into schizophrenia were made known in this country by Adolf Meyer, a Swiss emigrant neurologist (who, while head of the Pathological Laboratory at Worcester State Hospital, had been Docent in Psychiatry at Clark), and later by Jung himself in English-language articles in various American journals. Between 1906 and 1908, then, both Freud and Jung had become somewhat visible on this side of the Atlantic, and there was serious scholarly interest in what they had found.

In the late fall of 1908 Hall and his faculty began

planning for the Vicennial observance, then scheduled, as the Decennial had been, to follow the close of the University's academic year. The Trustees appropriated \$10,000 for the celebration. Conferences were planned on child welfare, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology and pedagogy, and international relations, the last focused on China and the Far East. In mid-December, 1908, Hall wrote Freud inviting him to give a series of four to six lectures, in either German or English, making a statement of his own results and viewpoints. Such a statement, said Hall, would "perhaps in some sense mark an epoch in the history of these studies in this country."

Hall's first invitation was refused by Freud because of its date. Hall was turned down by some other prominent European psychologists, such as Wilhelm Wundt and Alfred Binet, as well. Only the conference on child welfare remained in the July slot originally planned, however. In January, all of the others were shifted to September, during the period just prior to the opening of the next academic year. This scheduling shift, along with an increased honorarium and the promise of an honorary degree, made a second invitation palatable to Freud, who would otherwise have lost three weeks' income from his private practice.

One of Hall's great talents was his ability to scout out important new scientific work and bring its exponents to Clark before it became generally well known in American academic circles. But, as Dorothy Ross points out in her admirable biography of Hall, at least part of Hall's motivation in bringing Freud on for the 20th anniversary conferences was not only his recognition of the stimulus Freud's insights might give American psychology, but also the desire to steal a march on the Bostonians, from whose circles he felt excluded. After all, this was no more than the Boston group had done in bringing on the French psychiatrist Pierre Janet, whose ideas on psychotherapy had influenced Prince, Jackson and James, for two important series of lectures in 1904 and 1906.

If Hall, in part, was using Freud for purposes of local academic politics, so Freud, in part, was using Hall for similar reasons. Freud had struggled along for some time seeing private patients and lecturing at the University of Vienna, either ignored or harshly criticized by his peers. His early disciples were, like himself, Jewish, and no more socially or professionally acceptable, as scientists or as Jews, to the Viennese medical establishment. For Freud, the "adoption" of Jung and the Zurich group had been a major breakthrough in the more general recognition he needed. As he was to tell his Viennese disciples rather harshly at the Nuremberg conference of psychoanalysts in 1910, "Most of you are Jews, and therefore you are incompetent to win friends for the new teaching.... It is absolutely essential that I should form ties in the world of general science."

The invitation to speak at the Clark conference was another such opportunity along the tortured path of Freud's search for validation by the broader scientific world. Clark was well-known in European academic circles; partly, to be sure, in the exaggerated form of Stanley Hall's hopes and dreams outlined on a European study trip in 1888-1889, but also through the research of its faculty. In 1910, James McKeen Cattell was to report that one out of every two professors at Clark was ranked among America's leading scientists, a ratio of distinction approached only by Johns Hopkins (one in five) and the University of Chicago, home of numerous former Clark scientists (one in six). The extraordinary statement of the Dutch psychoanalyst and historian Hendrik Ruitenbeek, in his Freud in America. that Clark "was no world-renowned institution" until it became "an important center for geographic studies" in the 1920's will no doubt come as something of a surprise both to Clark psychologists and to Clark geographers; it

certainly did to me. Freud's characterization of Clark as "a small but serious institution" more accurately assesses its contemporary significance abroad.

Although Freud later claimed that the Clark invitation was his "first opportunity of speaking in public about psychoanalysis", clearly this was not the case, as the research of Dennis Klein and others has shown. But as soon as Jung heard of it, he grasped its practical significance. "If at all possible," he wrote upon hearing of Hall's first invitation, "you ought to speak in America, if only because of the echo it would arouse in Europe....' Freud, too, realized the political usefulness of the invitation. In writing another disciple, Karl Abraham, he remarked that "perhaps it will annoy some people in Berlin as well as in Vienna." and encouraged him to spread the word of it there. Other disciples, and undoubtedly Hall as well, quietly leaked the news, so that by April some considerable interest had been generated on both sides of the Atlantic. Ernest Jones arranged with Hall to attend, and Sandor Ferenczi of Budapest, another Freudian, agreed to accompany Freud to Worcester.

The Jung letter of invitation apparently does not survive, either here or in Zurich, but he was probably invited in mid-May. Undated notes in the twentieth anniversary file indicate Jung was originally suggested for the pedagogy portion of the conference and was not initially offered an honorary degree. At a June 15th vote of the Faculty, he too was offered an honorary degree, and his lectures were scheduled into the last three days of the conference. Freud learned of the invitation in a communication from Jung, now lost, and wrote his Swiss disciple Oskar Pfister in June that it was "great news." To Ferenczi he commented, "That magnifies the importance of the whole affair." Jung, himself thinking the invitation "splendid," at once began worrying about what he could say in his three lectures.

Arrangements were made for the three Europeans to travel together on the German steamer *George Washington*, though Jung's invitation came so late that he had to take one of the more expensive staterooms. The three analysts kept aloof from the other passengers, including Jung's former patient Harold McCormick of the Chicago McCormicks, and especially from the academic psychologist Wilhelm Stern of the University of Breslau, even though Stern too was going to Clark as a lecturer at the psychology conference. Instead, they occupied their time with analyzing one another's dreams; Ernest Jones called these sessions the "first example of group analysis."

The group arrived in New York on August 29th and was met by two more Freudian analysts, Bronislaw Onuf of the New York Pathological Institute (then directed by Adolf Meyer) and A.A. Brill, who had studied with Jung in Zurich. Brill took them sightseeing in New York for a week, during which Jones joined them. On Saturday, Sept. 4th, the group took the overnight boat for Fall River, and the next day went on to Boston and then to Worcester by train. After calling briefly on Hall, they stayed the first night at the Hotel Standish. On Monday morning Freud and Jung moved to Hall's home, adjacent to the Clark campus. Here they were sumptuously entertained with excellent wines, good food, cigars, and the hospitality of President and Mrs. Hall, described respectively by Jung in a letter to his wife Emma as "a refined distinguished old gentleman and his plump, jolly, good-natured and extremely ugly wife."

Jung had been particularly entranced by the New England landscape, rural and urban. He describes the countryside as "utterly charming" and its villages as full of houses "tucked away under large, beautiful trees." He characterizes Worcester as a "clean, cultivated and exceedingly peaceful and congenial" place, whose homes were "charmingly surrounded by flowers and flowering shrubs." And of Clark he writes "the University, richly endowed, is small but distinguished, and has a real, though plain, elegance." Surely neither Clark nor Worcester could want more by way of testimonial from a distinguished European visitor!

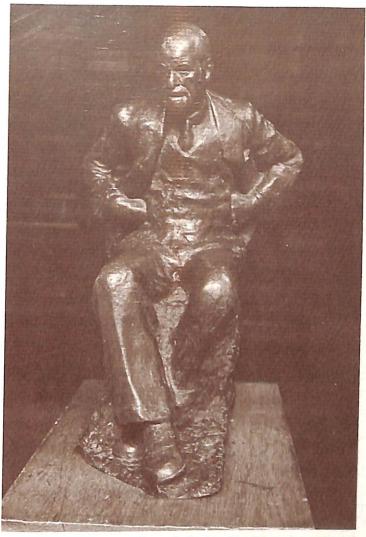
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The first series of Fall meetings was originally scheduled for Tuesday, Sept. 7 through Saturday, Sept. 11. Because of the large number of lectures and other events in psychology, however, that conference began on Monday, Sept. 6, which was Labor Day. The date meant that Mayor James Logan of Worcester, who had invited himself to be present at the opening session, was away at the shore and missed an opportunity to extend the city's greetings to the assembled visitors. The psychology meetings were held in the Art Room of the Library, surrounded by Jonas Clark's collection of paintings and rare books.

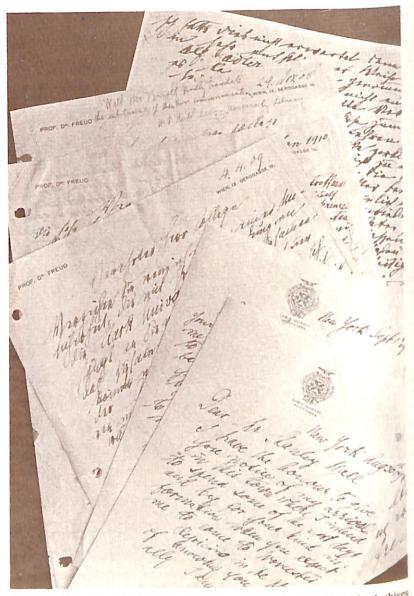
Following words of welcome by President Hall, Wilhelm Stern opened the conference with the first of a series of four lectures, in German, on the psychology of testimony and individual psychology. Jung reported to his wife that "Professor X" (as the published letter has it) "had first turn, with boring stuff," so much so that the psychoanalysts "decamped" from the session and took a long walk to the woods and lakes at the edge of town. Speakers over the next several days included Herbert Spencer Jennings of Johns Hopkins on animal behavior, E. B. Titchener on recent work in experimental psychology, and two former Clark scholars, Adolf Meyer on the interpretation of schizophrenia and Franz Boas on psychological problems in anthropology.

Freud's five lectures began on Tuesday at 11 a.m. They had not been written out in advance, but instead were improvised in early morning walks with Ferenczi, who suggested each day's focus and thus acted as a sort of midwife to the series. Although Freud had first thought he might speak of his recent theories on dreams, at Jones' suggestion he presented a general outline of the history and major findings of psychoanalytic research to date, in German. One more indication that for Freud and Jung the invitation was the message is contained in another comment of Jung. Freud had fretted about whether the audience would grasp his ideas if he spoke in a foreign language. "The kudos lies in the appointment itself," wrote the pragmatic Jung. "What if you do lecture in German? There's nothing they can do about it."

The lectures have recently been appraised as "the most concise and lucid account in and out of Freud's



1. A bronze statue of Freud. The work of sculptor Olem Nemon, it was presented to Clark University by the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1957 to commemorate the 1909 Freud lectures. Freud's daughter and long time collaborator Anna spoke at the presentation ceremonies and recalling her father's visit to Clark said, "it marked the beginning of the acceptance of him by a world that until then had rejected him." The statue is on display at Clark University in the Psychology Department's Hall Room.



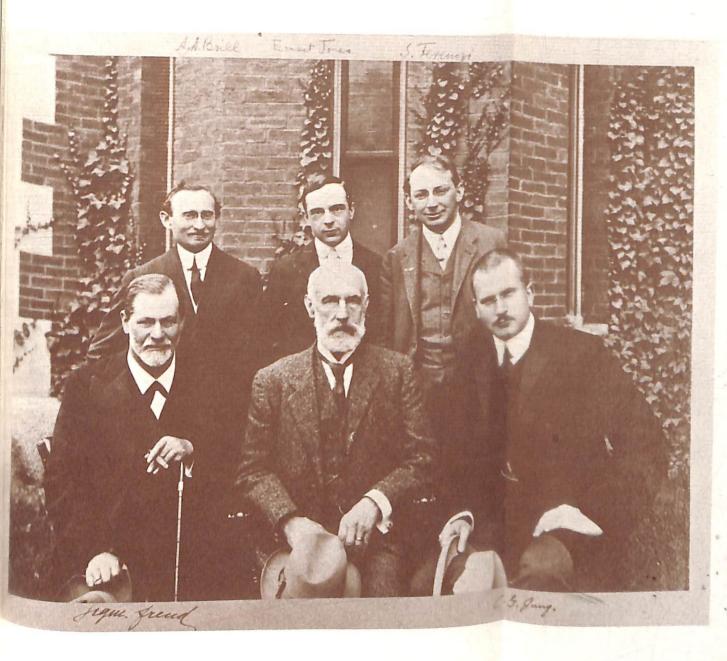
2. A sampling of the collection of autograph letters held in the Clark University Archives and identified in the Exhibit Catalogue.



4. Programs, invitations and other memorabilia for the Clark University Twentieth Anniversary celebration. The printed program includes the schedule for the Freud and Jung lectures. The items can be found in the Clark University Archives.



5. From the Goddard Library's Hall collection: Drei Ahandlungen zur Sexualtheorie with its original Clark University library card noting President G. Stanley Hall ("G.S.H.") as the first reader; a rare first edition of Freud's Clark lectures, The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis; two copies of Zur Auffassung der Aphasien von Dr. Sigm. Freud Leipzig und Wien, 1891–G. Stanley Hall's signature and book plate are on the front end paper of one copy.



3. Taken at the 1909 Bicennial Celebration, this photograph shows Freud and Jung seated with G. Stanley Hall. Standing behind them are A. A. Brill, Ernest Jones, and Sandor Ferenczi. All the principals except G. Stanley Hall autographed the photograph's mount. The original 9"x12" monochrome is located in the Clark University Archives.

(Translation) Postcard addressed to Dr. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., and mailed from Grand Central Station, New York. 21 Sept. 1909 Good bye and sincere thanks from three homewardbound travelers. Freud Jung Ferenczi

6. A postcard addressed to Dr. G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University in Worcester, Massi chusetts and mailed from New York's Grand Central Station. Written in German by Freud, it is signed by Freud, Jung and Ferenczi: "Goodbye and sincere thanks from three homeward bound travelers." writings of the birth of psychoanalysis," and characterized as "an excited celebration of the new science." I shall not treat their content here, since the so-called "Five Lectures on Psychoanalysis" are both readily available and quite accessible to the general reader. Hall's description of them as "masterpieces of simplification, directness, and comprehensiveness" has stood the test of time. They were, as Nathan Hale has pointed out, condensations of major themes worked out in Freud's earlier publications on dream interpretation, the theory of sexuality, hysteria, and what he called "the psychopathology of everyday life." Freud was inclined to downplay them afterwards on the grounds that they contained nothing new; he was, of course, quite correct.

Jung's three lectures covered the association test itself, the significance of the family constellation, and psychic conflicts in childhood. All three were given in German and read from manuscript, beginning on Thursday, Sept. 9th. The first described his development of word association tests, with suggestions for their practical application in criminology as well as in the treatment of mental disorders. The second was a discussion of the use of the association experiment in understanding the dynamics of family relationships and their long-term effects on the child's emotional development. In the final lecture, Jung described the case of a four-year-old female child, and the causes of those fears, fantasies and conflicts which had caused her to become "introverted." Like Freud, Jung had had to deal with the phenomena of early childhood sexual feelings, and although he claimed he was "no apostle of sex education," Jung concluded that "we should try to see children as they really are, and not as we would wish them."

We do not have a complete list of who attended these lectures, though we have frequently been asked if one survives. It is probable that not all of the people who attended any Freud or Jung lecture came to all of them. We can date a large conference group photo precisely to Friday, Sept. 10th, for example, because William James is in it. We know from other sources that he came to Worcester only on Thursday evening, staying overnight at the Halls', and left the next evening. Boas, Titchener, Stern, Leo Burgerstein, Meyer, Carl Seashore, Joseph Jastrow, Cattell, and of course the psychoanalytic group are all in the picture, as are several Clark alumni and faculty. There is one black man in the photo; this was Dr. Solomon Carter Fuller, the Boston psychiatrist.

Yet important figures from outside academic psychol-

ogy, such as Dr. William Alanson White, Superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane in Washington, and Dr. Isadore Coriat, later founder of the Boston Psychoanalytic Society, are not in the photo, though we know they were at the conference and met or heard Freud. Curiously enough, Putnam is not in it either. The group photo contains no women, though we know that Mary Calkins of Wellesley attended, at least on the same day as James, the day the photo was taken. Presumably Clark graduate students also attended, but were, perhaps, not considered photogenic.

Another woman present and not officially recorded was the anarchist Emma Goldman, a.k.a. "Red Emma." She came particularly to hear Freud, and saw him receive his honorary degree. While studying midwifery and nursing in Vienna in 1896 Goldman had heard Freud lecture, and had been impressed with the brilliance of his insights and the force of his personality. Four years before, Goldman and two of her male lovers, Alexander Berkman and his cousin "Fedya," had lived in Worcester and collectively run a successful ice cream parlor and sandwich shop. Contrary to their anti-capitalist principles, they did very well at this enterprise until the news of the notorious Homestead labor strike reached them, at which time they promptly closed out the operation and invested the evening receipts in the revolution.

Now back in Worcester on a lecture tour through what she called "the desert of American liberty" (New England), Goldman had been prevented from hiring a hall owing to pressure from Mayor Logan and the Worcester Chief of Police, who, having stopped Berkman from speaking in Worcester a year and a half earlier, now swore that "Emma Goldman will not speak in Worcester under any condition." In spite of the fact that the Boston Transcript had described her as "Satan," however, a supportive Episcopal clergyman and his wife had given Goldman the use of their home and its grounds, where her open-air address on "The Meaning of Anarchism" had managed to attract a crowd of some three hundred people, twenty of them policemen.

The question of what the hearers took away with them is one of the more vexed of Freudian <sup>2</sup>historiography, and I shall not attempt to treat it at any length. Though Jones claims that William James had told him that "the future of psychology belongs to your work," James must have meant this in some broad, general sense of advancing psychology, rather than an endorsement of the specifics of the Freudian program. In writing to Mary Calkins James averred that, although he did think that Freud and, his disciples could add to the understanding of functional psychology, he suspected Freud himself of being what he called a "halluciné." To Flournoy he confessed that he could make nothing of Freud's dream theories, thought his method of symbolism to be "most dangerous," and believed Freud personally to be "a man obsessed by fixed ideas."

James was far more impressed with Jung, and the regard was mutual. They had a long evening conversation at Hall's house, discussing such topics as parapsychology and the psychology of religious experience, which James had opened up a few years before in his famous Gifford lectures and which Jung was to develop more fully after his break with Freud. Half a century later, in a letter to an American student, Jung remembered with great pleasure James' clarity of thought and tolerant outlook.

I think it is safe to say that to some degree Freud and Jung's American hearers were prepared to listen to and learn from the two men, but had varying reactions to their messages, depending on what presuppositions the hearers had brought to the conference. There were few, if any, "conversions." There was a quickening of interest which resulted, in some cases, in increased reference to their research work and eventually a partial incorporation of the new psychoanalytic framework into previous orientations. That is certainly the case with Hall, and probably with other, pragmatically-inclined Americans. Dr. Coriat later recalled, perhaps with some retrospective distortion, that "the revelations were so revolutionary that for the time being some of us found it difficult to either assimilate or believe in this new science from Vienna." That too seems a not untypical first reaction, at least from those encountering Freudianism undiluted for the first time.

Probably the most important benefit of the visit, aside from focusing listeners' attention on certain seminal ideas, was the personal aspect. One eyewitness account, indeed, avers that "special interest attached to these lectures in large part on account of the interesting personality of the lecturer." Many conference-goers expressed it in some such terms as those used by Putnam, that personal acquaintance has shown the Europeans to be "kindly, unassuming, tolerant, earnest, and sincere." These men might have been talking about sex and other unpleasant topics (and, as I've indicated, American psychologists found sex unpleasant). Yet the visitors were clearly not crusading fanatics, but perfectly respectable and scholarly gentlemen whose company one might profitably seek out without physical or moral harm.

Hall and others were also astounded at the seemingly quick results of the psychoanalytic method, shown during a clinical demonstration on a young woman claiming psychic powers, held at Hall's home. And the five psychoanalysts also got a rare opportunity to talk among themselves and plan movement strategy. One of the results was the formation, the following April, of the International Psycho-Analytic Association.

Of course the conference was not all lectures and demonstrations. Several social events gave opportunity for conference attendees and townsfolk to talk informally with the visitors. Jung, who wrote his wife that "the people here are exceedingly amiable," had a conversation about psychoanalysis with two elderly American women and was surprised by their knowledgeability, openess to new ideas, and general level of cultivation. At a garden party for fifty people he even made jokes in English to the five ladies who "surrounded" this handsome young Swiss, whose magnetic attraction for American women was to become legendary.

In addition, on Friday Sept. 10th, there was a "solemn academic session" in the gymnasium. It was described by Jung as "a grand and festive assemblage" of some three hundred people, at which twenty-one of the visitors were awarded honorary degrees. Although in her memoirs Emma Goldman sniffs at "the array of professors, looking stiff and important in their caps and gowns," and likens Freud on that occasion to "a giant among pygmies," clearly it was a very significant event for those honored. The recipients responded to their awards with impromptu remarks; Freud, visibly moved, noted that "this is the first official recognition of our endeavors."

Both Freud and Jung received the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*; Freud explicitly for his work in the psychology of sex as well as psychotherapy and analysis, and Jung, described as a "brilliant investigator," for his contributions to the analysis of psycho-pathology through his association method. It was the only such academic honor Freud was ever to receive, though the first of many for Jung, who at age 34 was and remains the youngest person on whom Clark has conferred an honorary degree. Indeed, with perhaps pardonable pride, on his return to Zurich the young scientist immediately ordered new stationery, whose letterhead now prominently proclaimed "Dr. med. C.G. Jung, LL.D."

Unlike the materials from the Decennial Conference,

the correspondence surviving from the Vicennial does not include acceptances to 'the various lectures and social events, so we cannot tell at this time who was thought to be whom in the Worcester community. The Worcester citizen, if uninvited, could have learned of the events retrospectively through the Worcester Magazine. More immediately, there was detailed local newspaper coverage of all of the conferences, including partial lists of names of those attending, from Worcester and elsewhere. To be sure, some of it was on the order of the Worcester Telegram's fatuous headline "All Types at Clark ... Men with Bulging Brains have Time for Occasional Smiles." But there also seems to have been a serious attempt to cover the content of the scientific lectures, which is especially noteworthy since so many were being given in foreign languages.

The Worcester Telegram gave better coverage of the psychology conference as a whole than the Gazette, and the Telegram found Freud's lectures to be among the most interesting of the psychology group. Jung's first lectures were vaguely described by the Worcester Post as "related to many phases of the mind which are now but little understood," and the Gazette reported that "he spoke for an hour going into much detail" to a "goodsized audience" of persons who had largely read his work earlier. In general, however, the Worcester and Boston papers, which were about the only ones covering the conferences, paid more attention to the lectures of scholars who today are barely known except to specialists in the history of psychology.

Two other media notes may be of interest. Freud and Jung were interviewed by a knowledgeable reporter, Adalbert Albrecht of the Boston Transcript, who described Freud as "one of the greatest, if not the very greatest of psychotherapeutists." Jung is merely described as a friend and colleague whose merits Freud praises. Nevertheless, Jung, who was not yet used to the glare of publicity, wrote home that "we are the men of the hour here," conceding that it was very gratifying to the libido. Finally, there was an article in The Nation, discussing the conferences and especially the work of Freud in a most favorable light. As the files in the Archives demonstrate, the article was written by prior arrangement with the magazine by Hall and other Clark faculty members. It was then edited and sent to The Nation by Hall himself, though substantially cut down by the Editor, Paul Elmer More, prior to publication.

Freud and Jung, exhausted and exhilarated by the tight schedule and what Jung called "all the fabulous things we have been through" during the week at Clark,

left Worcester on Sunday Sept. 12th, accompanied by Ferenczi. The three friends visited Niagara Falls and then spent four days at Putnam's camp in the Adirondacks. They discussed psychoanalysis with Putnam and his guests, Jung enlivened the party with German songs, and Freud saw a porcupine, which he had claimed was the principal reason for his American trip.

On the 18th they came out of the woods at Albany, Jung tired but still ecstatic over "the hundred thousand enormously deep impressions I am taking back with me from this wonderland." The three Europeans returned to New York City on the 19th, sending Hall a card signed by each saying "goodbye and sincere thanks from three homewardbound travellers." They embarked on the 21st on the steamer *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, sailed past what Jung describes as the "heavenstorming towers of New York City," and after eight days arrived at Bremen.

Freud's lectures were written out from memory, beginning in October. He wrote Jung that he was making some minor changes, yet Jones assures us that there is no substantial difference between the oral and written versions. Under pressure both from Hall and from his Austrian publisher, Deuticke, Freud finished the job in mid-December. The manuscript versions were translated by Hall's Ph.D. student, Harry Chase, himself later to be a university president, and sent back to Freud for his review and correction.

Jung was somewhat slower in getting his lectures to America for publication and the delay almost caused Hall to have to omit them from the "Freud number" of his Journal. Jung's lectures were translated by Brill, the American translator of Freud's earlier work. Brill had emigrated to New York from Eastern Europe at the age of fourteen and had never fully mastered either German or English, so perhaps we are fortunate that manuscripts of the first two and a printed version of the third survive and could be retranslated for their reappearance in Jung's Collected Works. The Freud and Jung lectures, as well as papers on the Freudian analysis of dreams by Ferenczi and Jones, were published in the American Journal of Psychology in April, 1910. That same year the lectures were reprinted, along with others, in a book published by Clark under the cumbersome title Lectures and Addresses Delivered Before the Departments of Psychology and Pedagogy in Celebration of The Twentieth Anniversary of the Opening of Clark University. Freud dedicated the first German edition, also published in 1910, to G. Stanley Hall.

Freud had predicted earlier in 1909 that "once [the

Americans] discover the sexual core of our psychological theories, they will drop us." It was indeed this sexual core over which the dissent from Freudian orthodoxy was to take form in Europe and America. Jung chose another set of American lectures, this time at Fordham University Medical School in 1912, publicly to announce his own change in position on the centrality of the sexual drive.

After the break with Freud, as Jung began his long trek through the world of symbols, archetypes and religious psychology, he was continually to be harried by the Freudian orthodox with a volley of such epithets as "mystic," "obscurantist," "pseudo-philosopher," "heretic," and even "Judas." When Freud heard that Hall was trying to invite Alfred Adler, another former disciple, to lecture at Clark, he wrote off Hall as well, observing to Ferenczi that "presumably [Hall's] object is to save the world from sexuality and base it on aggression." As John Burnham has pointed out, the fundamental misunderstanding between the two was the issue of "what Hall regarded as Freud's intolerance and what Freud regarded as Hall's inconsistency." Each was, I should say, quite right about the other.

Hall did, however, try to keep on good terms with Freud and, after his retirement, Hall wrote Freud urging him to be more magnanimous toward "deserters" such as Adler and Jung. "For me," he went on with characteristic Hallian exaggeration, "your work has been the chief inspiration of most that I have done for the last fifteen years." Hall also kept up with Jung's work, and was particularly impressed with his 1917 book on the psychology of unconscious processes. Only one rather routine exchange of letters on that book survives, in the Hall papers, of what may have been a longer run of correspondence.

Hall remained as President of Clark for another 11 years after 1909. During that time, of course, he continued to lecture, write and produce Ph.D.'s, so there is a fair amount of surviving evidence concerning the continuing relevance of Freud to his work and that of others here. Even though Hall, by Freud's standards, had strayed from the true faith, he continued to lecture on Freud's work. Increasingly, however, he cautioned against carrying sexual explanations to the point he considered "morbid" or "perverse." Hall's view of sexuality remained somewhat double-gaited. He was convinced that it was psychologically important and that one should speak openly of it, at least among professionals and even in educational situations. But he also worried a great deal lest the whole matter get out of

hand by the standards of the middle-class, late-Victorian world which he still inhabited to a large degree until his death in 1924.

Hall's several journals remained more or less open to psychoanalytic and related insights, some of them anything but orthodox and middle-class. But on the whole, as Hall's "high fever" stage of romance with Freudianism waned, so did his journal coverage, though this also may be in part because of the increasingly wider acceptance of articles on such themes in other outlets.

In his Educational Problems, a collection of essays published in 1911 and also coming under reviewers' fire for its frank essay on "The Pedagogy of Sex," there are several references to Freud's work and one to Jung's (one of his Clark lectures), though these references are often accompanied by cautionary phrases. At Edward Bernays' urging, Hall wrote the preface to the American translation of Freud's General Introduction to Psychoanalysis in 1920. In his none-too-reliable autobiography, Life and Confessions of a Psychologist (1923), Hall expresses both praise for and reservations about the social consequences of Freud's teachings. In it he opined that he was "old-fashioned enough to have felt slightly shocked at a few of the more frank discussions in which both sexes have participated, even in my seminary, and still franker discussions of which I have learned outside it."

It would extend this lecture to an unconscionable length to look at the early Clark dissertations done under Hall, to uncover the surprising amount of pioneer work done here which either anticipates the insights of Freudian thought or traces out its implications for psychology. In his Clark lectures Freud had high praise of Sanford Bell's early work on infantile sexuality, for instance, which anticipated some of his own findings. I should like simply to mention the comparative study of the psychoanalytic thought of Freud and Adler by Francis C. Sumner, Hall's last Ph.D., who, at age 25, was the first black American ever to earn the Ph.D. in psychology. While at Howard University, where he became the mentor, among others, of Kenneth Clark, Sumner established an undergraduate program in which all students were required to study Freud and the other figures of the psychoanalytic movement as a part of their basic orientation to general psychology.

It is not so clear, however, that other members of the Clark faculty in the human sciences were so taken with Freud as was Hall. Hall's colleague in pedagogy, William Henry Burnham, incorporated, with reservaand during his presidency made two other symbolic links with the Freud-Jung visit of 1909. One of these was the invitation to Anna Freud, Sigmund's daughter and a noted children's analyst, to receive an honorary LL.D. degree in her own right from Clark, and to give a major address at Clark's sixtieth anniversary celebration in 1950. Miss Freud returned in September, 1957 to dedicate the bronze statue of her father presented to Clark by the American Psychoanalytic Association in commemoration of the 1909 lectures.

After Jefferson's retirement in 1967, it was he who, in working through the non-current files of the Office of the President, discovered and made public the folder containing materials relating to the 1909 Conferences. These materials are the most important pieces of manuscript evidence scholars now have available to them thus far on the local context of Freud's visit. One hopes, when the Freud Archives are finally fully opened, that Freud's family letters, like those of Jung, will be released to illuminate more fully the personal side of that perpetually engaging encounter.

In his autobiography, first published in German in 1925, Freud reflected on his Clark experience with these words: "In Europe I felt as though I were despised; but over there I found myself received by the foremost men as an equal. As I stepped onto the platform at Worcester to deliver my *Five Lectures upon Psychoanalysis* it seemed like the realization of some incredible daydream: psychoanalysis was no longer a product of delusion, it had become a valuable part of reality."

The early hopes and dreams of the psychoanalytic movement were soon to be darkened by what Frank Sulloway has called the "long and conflict-ridden quest for recognition as an independent branch of modern science." More recently, the culturally determined parameters of Freud's insights have been historically defined, and the limits of the Freudian model for understanding such variants as blacks, women and gays effectively exposed and challenged. In recent months there have been even more spectacular charges concerning both the scientific validity of the Freud corpus and the intellectual honesty of the guardians of its documentary record. It has even been suggested that every psychoanalytic patient since 1901 should be recalled, like the Pinto.

None of that, however, need concern us here. We gather to commemorate that incredible day-dream, which was indeed a bright, shining moment in the history of the psychoanalytic movement. Its meaning, like that of any day-dream, is perhaps more biographical than institutional. Certainly the visit spurred further discussion of Freudian ideas by American scholars. But it may be that we have spent too much time arguing over the lines of influence of the event. It may be that Jung's flippant insight, that the kudos lay in the invitation itself, tells us that it was more important for Freud and Jung personally than for its specific effect on the world at large.

For the older man, according both to his own reflections and the contemporary testimony of his disciples, the recognition carried with it the welcome assurance that he would have a fair hearing for his ideas before a distinguished scientific audience. For the younger man, it was the same. And in that we are reminded of a truism, that to do one's best scholarly work at any age, one needs a bit of external recognition now and again. Daydreams do sometimes come true, and that Clark University made them come true for both Freud and Jung in 1909 is surely worthy of our taking a 75th anniversary backward glance.

This concludes the lecture, but not the program. I want to stress that, as in 1899 and 1909, there will be a "collation" served in the Library. In the Wilson Rare Book Room we have arranged a small but choice exhibition of manuscripts, first editions, photos and memorabilia concerning the Freud-Jung visit, some of which have never before been publicly displayed. I urge all of you to visit the Rare Book Room, and to look closely at the materials displayed there and upstairs in the main library exhibit case. For, as our sometime colleague Gerald Grob rightly says in his latest and most excellent book, *Mental Illness and American Society*, "Manuscript collections of both individuals and institutions constitute an indispensable source for an understanding of the development of psychiatry...." We are indeed fortunate that Clark still possesses these precious traces, which help us understand the local dimension of a significant international cultural encounter.

2

## Freud-Jung Visit to Clark, September 1909

## 75th Anniversary Exhibit Catalogue

## Prepared by Clark University Archivist Dr. Stuart W. Campbell

1. G. Stanley Hall letter to "Professor Sigmund Freud, K.K. University, Vienna, Austria," December 15, 1908.

This typed unsigned letter in English, marked *Copy* invites Freud to lecture in July, 1909 at Clark's twentieth anniversary celebration. President Hall's letter compliments Freud's work and offers an honorarium of "\$400."

- 2. Professor Freud to G. Stanley Hall, December 29, 1908, autograph letter in German, signed by Freud. Though honored, Freud declines because his work continues through July 15th, after which he rests until September.
- 3. G. Stanley Hall letter to "Professor Sigmund Freud, K.K. University, Vienna," February 16, 1909.

This typed, unsigned *Copy*, in English, renews the invitation because the conference date has been changed to the week of September 6 and Clark is able to increase the honorarium to \$750. This letter also announces Clark's intention to grant Professor Freud an honorary degree.

4. Autographed letter in German, February 28, 1909, from "Freud" to his "Colleague."

This letter, in Freud's handwriting, accepts the renewed invitation.

- 5. English typed translation of Freud's February 28th letter. The translation is on President's Office stationery. The translator is not identified.
- 6. Page one of a G. Stanley Hall letter to "Professor Sigmund Freud, Wien, IX, Bergasse 19, Austria," April 15, 1909.

This typed page, in English and marked Copy, discusses the schedule for the week of Freud's visit to Clark.

7. "Freud" to Dr.[?] Stanley Hall, "Hotel Manhattan stationery, New York, Aug. 30th, 1909," autograph letter, in English, signed.

Freud announces his arrival in New York.

- 8. Printed invitation card announcing "A Solemn Academic Session" to be held September 10th, 1909.
- 9. Printed invitation from "The President, Trustees, and Faculty of Clark University" to attend "Exercises" celebrating the completion of the Twentieth Academic Year.
- 10. Printed program for the Psychology and Pedagogy session at Clark University's Twentieth Anniversary celebration.

This bulletin contains the schedule for the Freud and Jung lectures, among others.

11. Postal card dated "21 Sept 09", in German, signed

by Freud, Jung, Ferenczi. Mailed in New York City.

The greeting, written by Freud, extends a farewell and expresses gratitude to President Hall.

12. Typed, unsigned copy of a letter from President Hall to Freud, October 7, 1909. Hall suggests that Freud provide Clark a copy

of his lectures for printing.

 Autograph letter from "freud" to Hall, in German, November 21, 1909, on "Prof. Dr. Freud, Wien IX, Bergasse 19", stationery.

In this signed letter Freud discusses his preparation of his Clark lectures for publication.

- 14. English translation of item #13; translator not named.
- 15. Typed unsigned copy of a letter in English from President Hall to "Professor Sigmund Freud, Wien, IX, Bergasse 19, Austria."

This letter discusses the translation and printing of Freud's first Clark lecture.

- 16. Typed unsigned copy of a letter from President Hall to Professor William James, "Sept. 7, 1909." Hall expresses his pleasure at the prospect of James' attendance and offers to provide hospitality at the Hall home at which Freud and Jung also plan to stay.
- 17. Autograph letter, signed, from William James to Hall, "Sept 8, '09."

James accepts Hall's invitation but notes his busy schedule will only permit his attendance on Thursday evening, September 9, and Friday, September 10.

- Postal card from "Prof. Dr. Sigm Freud LLD (1909)" written at "Wien 11 Feb 21", to Clark's new President Wallace W. Atwood, in German, signed.
- Letter, typed and signed, in English, from "Dr. C.G. Jung, Seestrasse 228 Küsnach-Zürich", to President Hall, "5.XII.1917."

Carl Jung thanks Hall for his comments on one of Jung's writings.

- 20. The American Journal of Psychology, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April, 1910. In this number, Clark published the Freud and Jung lectures. The title page of Freud's lectures stated that they were "translated from the German by Harry W. Chase, Fellow in Psychology, Clark University, and revised by Prof. Freud."
- 21. Copy of the 1910 first edition of Freud and Jung lectures, now rare, published separately with other lectures in "Psychology and Pedagogy in celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Opening of Clark University."

The flyleaf is a contemporary photograph of Freud, Jung, and Hall together with other scholars in attendance.

22. Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie von Prof.

Dr. Sig. Freud, Leipsig and Wien, 1910. This volume is exhibited with its original Clark University Library card noting "G.S.H." was the first reader.

23. Zur Auffassung der Aphasien von Dr. Sigm. Freud, Leipzig und Wien, 1891. The front end paper bears G. Stanley Hall's signature and bookplate.

- 24. Photograph made during the Freud-Jung visit showing Freud and Jung seated with G. Stanley Hall. Standing behind them are A.A. Brill, Ernest Jones, and Sandor Ferenczi. The monochrome print is 9 inches by 12 inches. All the principals except G. Stanley Hall autographed the photograph's mount.
- 25. Brick saved from G. Stanley Hall's Downing Street home which stood on the site of Clark University's Robert Hutchings Goddard Library.

Freud and Jung stayed here during their Worcester visit.

26. Pszichoanalizis Dr. S. Freud Forditotta Dr. Ferenczi Sandor Budapest 1919.

This is a copy of Freud's Clark lectures translated from German into Hungarian by Dr. Sandor Ferenczi.

- 27. Studien über Hysterie von Dr. Jos. Breuer und Dr. Sigm. Freud, in Wien. Leipzig und Wien, 1895.
- 28. Diagnostische Assoziationsstudien Herausgegeben von Dr. C.G. Jung Erster Band, Leipzig, 1906.
- 29. G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet, Dorothy Ross, Chicago, 1972.

This first edition of " 'Incredible Day Dream': Freud and Jung at Clark, 1909" is limited to 50 copies. All copies are numbered and signed by the author. This is No. 2 in the Bibliolog Imprint Series. This is Copy No.

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