REGENERATION AND THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CHARACTER CHANGES.

by

Alexander D. Dodd, Litt. B.

April, 1935

State Hospital for Mental Diseases,

Howard, R. I.

U. S. A.
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Introduction.

Chapter I. The Re-birth Desire.

Chapter II. Re-birth Experiences in a Therapeutic Relationship.

Chapter III. The Conversion of Augustine.

Chapter IV. The Conversion of Francis.

Chapter V. The Conversion of Martin Luther.

Conclusion.

Appendix.

Bibliography.
The subject of this paper is "REGENERATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CHARACTER CHANGES."

There is much question these days among theological students, and also among ministers in general, in liberal circles, about the reality of certain religious experiences. With the passing, in America especially, of religious revivals in the form in which they have long existed, and the coming of new and most valuable interests in social issues, personal confession, repentance, re-birth and sanctification by the Grace of God have tended strongly to become side-issues, and with some considered even morbid. Many are puzzled, and secretly troubled, by this shift in emphasis, not so much because of the coming of the new for which they are most grateful, but because the old has fallen into neglect. At worst there is sometimes the feeling that these typical religious experiences are even unreal; that those who seemed to experience them were quite unhealthy individuals whose experience was to be avoided and whose explanations of what they had been through could not be accepted; and that the terms I have mentioned are, after all, merely theological abstracts representing nothing real in actual every-day life.

This paper will take the term "re-birth" (regeneration) and endeavor to show that it is a name for an actual experience. It is not fiction. It is not a theoretical abstraction. Rather it is a correct description of what really happens psychologically to an individual under certain circumstances. In the experience of emotional up-heaval
he does retrace his course of development psychologically, and in a
disguised and symbolic form he does become a child again in his inner
struggles; he may even sink into a psychologically dark and extremely
restricted mental environment corresponding spiritually to the physical
environment of the womb, and be psychologically born over again; he does
emerge from this darkness into a new life, which also, however suddenly
it begins, is there-after a matter of growth like that of the develop­
ment of a child. This is my thesis.

The paper will not utilize a large number of cases to prove by
mass evidence. Instead it uses a very limited number. There are
four examples drawn from mental hospitals; there are two drawn from
therapeutic relationships; there are three drawn from religious
experience. The aim of the paper is to make rather careful study of
these few, especially of the conversion records, and from them bring
out how suggestive, reasonable, and valuable for further study, the
thesis of the paper is.

A further limit is that the paper deals only with the emotional
aspects of the experiences. Intellectual conceptions, problems and
solutions, and also religious and moral values, are considered only
in so far as they bear on the emotional life and resulting attitudes
of the individuals.

Moreover, this paper considers only those who are "sick souls",
to use the terms of William James; it does not examine the religious
experience of the "healthy-minded".

The paper will contain six chapters, besides this introduction.
The first chapter will give some evidence from psychoses, of the depth and intensity of the desire to be re-born in a very real sense. The second chapter will present material from experiences in therapy substantiating the reality of a psychological re-birth. The third, fourth and fifth chapters will consist of studies of the conversion experiences of St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, and Martin Luther, respectively, in order to bring out the evidence of similar psychological re-births occurring there also. The sixth chapter will sum up the conclusions.

The question may arise: what connection can there be between the experience of psychotic patients in a mental hospital, or neurotic individuals in a community, and that involved in a religious conversion of a historical personage? At first sight they seem far removed and in some respects, notably the outcome of the struggle, there is a great gulf in between. But a deeper study reveals the fact that the three groups start from much the same psychological situations. Human nature is, after all, one with comparatively few fundamental problems. Deep experiences are concerned with these. It is generally recognized by students of the mind that there is nothing new in psychotic experiences as compared with the average individual but only a difference of emphasis and of use of universal mental mechanisms. Certain things are exaggerated and others minimized, and a different balance arrived at. All people suffer from practically the same main conflicts to a greater or lesser degree. It is the solution of them and the importance given them that differentiates individuals. From the psychological point of view therefore, the study of the psychotic and the psychoneurotic is very relevant to the study of the religious convert.
Chapter I.

THE RE-BIRTH DESIRE

Cases A, B, C, D.
THE RE-BIRTH DESIRE.

There is such a thing as a psychological re-birth, occurring on occasion within chronologically mature individuals, under proper conditions and in respect to certain undeveloped or faultily developed aspects of the personality. It is necessary to establish this fact as a preliminary to studying psychological re-birth in the experience of religious conversion.

When the emotional change is marked, in such experience as is made possible by psychological therapy, there is seen to be at least two factors making it possible: an intense inner desire for growth, unity and completeness that seems to be inherent; an increased sense of personal safety due to some change in the external situation, usually the discovery of some individual's sincere concern and trained skill. Under the pressure from within and the new freedom from without, the individual gives up certain defenses for his self-respect previously maintained through such universal mechanisms as projection, repression and identification.

In place then of the distorted picture of himself, made possible by the mental defenses, the person now sees himself more as he actually is. He does so by becoming aware of emotions and ideas he had been experiencing previously without knowing it. These emotional attitudes and related intellectual conceptions are more immature than would be called for by the chronological age of the individual. They may be much the same or even identical with those actually experienced in childhood or infancy. Their absence from consciousness has prevented modification. He now, at such points in the change is mentally living in his own past, feeling as he did then, and acting or thinking symbolically the same as back there, or at least under the influence of

(1) MacKenzie, p 56
The Re-birth Desire

that earlier period of his life. He is re-living it.

In one sense it is a going backward in one's development, a regression. But in a truer sense it is merely living for the first time openly with admission of the fact to one's self, what he has been all of the time living but under a disguise. The sense of guilt is at this point felt most keenly.

That this is actually possible is abundantly proved today. Of course psycho-analytic literature is full of this. But non-psycho-analytic literature is also testifying to this. Mental hospitals present an abundance of examples of this fact that a person can reach physical maturity, and, apparently, maturity of personality, only to reveal in a mental break-down the presence underneath, never given up, of childish feelings and phantasies, still actively alive. Or we might quote the statement of Dr. Brown:

"By experiments on some of my hypnotic patients I have satisfied myself that the emotions of early life, even those of the first two years, can persist, and be recalled in their original form under hypnosis." (2)

In becoming aware of these attitudes in one's self, two discoveries are made. The person finds that these once feared emotions and thoughts do not destroy him. He also finds that they are unsatisfactory; they are inappropriate to his present life, in the form in which he first finds them in himself. He therefore gives them up. He does not see this preferable way of living with any clearness. In fact the sacrifices have to be made with a considerable degree of uncertainty. While he may see about him in the persons of either healthy (if he is neurotic and seeking normality), or of religious (if he is seeking a satisfying relationship with God) people, those like whom he would be, still what it all means for him personally is vague. He has to feel his way into it, however much some of it may

(2) Brown, p. 100.
come upon him with a burst. There are tentative efforts and recurrent withdrawals. There is often more struggling away from something than toward something. There is reluctance in giving up the old, and eagerness in reaching toward the new.

Here is where the figure of the mother comes in. For that first great separation of physical birth is the prototype of all future separations. It is therefore not the actual personal mother, but all that the mother stands for and has stood for in the age of man as a concrete symbol that is concerned in the psychological re-birth experience. Separation in the form of giving up an old value and taking on a new value is a frequent and inevitable experience in life, and the deeper the particular experience is the more it takes on the aspect of a return to the mother and of a re-birth.

All through such a psychological re-birth growth has been occurring. It is more marked and seems to be more rapid near that part of the experience that outwardly involves the most definite separation.

That children and grown people actually experience such psychological changes in the direction of development, when assisted with skill and personality, can be seen in the work of such doctors as Dr. Jessie Taft and Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, as well as many others.

The first fact that needs to be noticed is that there is in the human mind a deep and common desire for a new chance, an opportunity to start over again and learn better, a need to be re-born. Various writers have brought out the presence of this theme running through a much mythology; and if mythology is formed from the dreams of the race, and dreams represent longings and unfulfilled needs, as Jung and others have expressed it, then the presence of this idea so frequently in folklore and mythology is one indication of the desire I refer to. Other
The Re-birth Desire

writers have shown how often the idea of a re-birth is symbolically worked out in the rituals of primitive people, particularly in the rites connected with adolescence and the acceptance of a boy into the manhood of the tribe. Needless to say the idea of re-birth runs through the great religious systems of man.

All I would add to this large amount of evidence of something universal here, is some indication of the same need expressed in the ideas of the psychotic.

(Case A)

This patient was diagnosed as "dementia praecox". He came of Hebrew parents born in Russia, but was native born himself, in 1912. He received a college education, and was a student at the time he was admitted to the hospital in 1934. His intelligence was above average. He was abstinent. His religion was Jewish. The duration of the psychotic period was about two weeks, on this admission.

On admission he was paranoid at first. He felt that detectives were after him, and thought he was suspected of larceny in his job where he was in charge of one room of the factory. He had a somewhat complicated logic for explaining the need of his death. He was hospitalized because he attempted suicide by drowning.

He gave evidence of a serious sense of guilt. He said that he felt science was making an experiment upon him.

August 1. He said: "Now I'm beginning all over again, just the embryonic stage. I'm still in the ninth month, I have not yet been born."

Question: "Have you been born yet?"

Answer: "Yes and no. You have decided to reborn me. You are going to make me grow up in twenty-two days, (his age at this time, in years) just to see how certain people react to certain stimuli".

The patient emphasized the fact that he was going to be reborn tomorrow and that each day of his life in the hospital would represent a year of his adult life, so that in twenty-two days he would reach, spiritually, his normal age.

"I saw one of the nurses who resembled my mother. She looked as if she was pregnant......I figured that she was my mother and I was going to be reborn again.

August 2. "Things I expected did not materialize. I expected you were going to put me in a cradle, and I would have to learn all habits all over again. I thought you were going to humiliate me by making me soil myself and then the nurses would give me a bath."

August 8. "I think G (nurse in charge of the continuous baths, where patient was) is my brother......I was born again in the tubs. He arranged the clothing for my birth. I am eight years old. I have the emotional control of an eight year old boy."
The Re-birth Desire.

August 9. Patient said he was nine years old today in his mental development, but twenty-two in actual age. August 11. He denied that he was actually an embryo. He said that things happened in a symbolic way.

Two months later in a seminar, he stated: "I did not think I myself was the foetus. But I felt that they were going to bring me through the stages of being brought up all over again for the purpose of showing me my faults, and how I could have improved on myself. It was merely symbolic."

He was discharged but seven months later attempted suicide again, and was admitted with even greater guilt feelings.

In estimating the value of these delusions, I would quote the following:

"Symptoms, then, are not abnormal functionings of unitary faculties but are really psychobiological reactions or expressions of the total organism at the mental level ....... They (among other things) .... indicate the present aims of the organism. To be understood, symptoms must be studied developmentally, the life history of the individual be retraced and their relevance to the problems and purposes of the personality be ascertained. In studying mental symptoms we must remember that their manifestations are specific and intimate life-revealing signs." (3)

The later period of adolescence, in the early twenties, seems to be one of those critical periods in development when changes either for better or for worse are apt to occur. One woman patient (Case B) who came under my observation was twenty-four years old, a Roman Catholic, single, who had been considered, outside of a certain emotional instability, to be quite normal up to that time. She broke down mentally very suddenly and went into a serious regression. During her time in the continuous baths she felt she was to stay there immersed in water, unable to get out, until she was taken through the "tunnel" (a basement passageway for steam pipes, from one main building to another, used often for transferring patients in bad weather), and allowed to get out. Another patient I knew, (Case C) a young man of twenty-one, was a Protestant, who also, after an apparently wholly normal boyhood, and success in school and business of a fairly average quality, became mentally ill quite suddenly. Like the other two patients mentioned, while in continuous baths, fastened with a canvas covering in the tub of

(3) Noyes p. 78.
comfortable warm water, he felt that he must remain there until he could become small enough to go out through the drain in the bottom of the tub. Then he would be free.

Comparing these with other similar cases and the one I am yet to relate, convinces me that these ideas are symbols for physical birth--enclosed in a small space, inability to get out, surrounded by water, completely taken care of, in time emergence through a narrow passageway, freedom from former restrictions after emergence. But considering, all through their illnesses and after recovery, the struggles of these two patients with simple childish problems connected with their parents and childish interests and desires, either directly or symbolically presented, it seems more reasonable to suppose that the ideas of birth were not referring only to physical birth, but were rather utilizing that universal inescapable experience as a carrier to picture their desperate efforts to remake their emotional lives and solve their tangled problems, through the wish to start over again from the beginning and this time conquer life.

The last patient I would mention in this connection, was a married, childless, Protestant young woman of twenty-four (Case D).

She repeatedly insisted that her husband was absolutely perfect and far superior to her. In reality he was very ordinary and socially much less attractive than she. At times she would complain of his drunkenness, and other habits of his which had always been taboo in her own home.

Her father had been severe to her, at one time threatening her with a girls' reformatory they were passing— an unforgettable memory. Her mother was most particular. She was drilled in obedience.

After marriage, she secretly began to smoke, and felt excessively guilty about it during the two weeks she smoked. Anything she felt forbidden to do she was wild to do, but could not seem to bring herself to do them.

In her memories, accidents that seemed always to occur whenever she attempted anything new such as swimming and bicycle riding, predominated.
The Re-birth Desire.

She always took the blame for everything, she said. She also felt very inferior.

Her illness began with an attempt to entertain a large group at Thanksgiving time, on her own initiative.

Some of her attitudes that followed quickly, were spending much more time than previously at her mother's home; darkening the rooms and burying herself in a blanket; or sitting in a chair in the foetal position; or going down cellar and declaring she was going to stay there; or shutting herself in a closet, and curling up, huddled on the floor.

In the hospital she felt she had polluted all the waters of her home town; that she was in a sewer.

At different times she expressed such ideas as these: "The longer I stay in tubs, the harder it will be to get out through the sewer." "I will have to stay till I rot and go down through the 'hatch'". "I seemed to die, and go through the hole (the drain.) I was afraid. It was a terrible experience. Snakes came up through that pipe." "The plumber nailed me into the tubs. I had to stay for thirty years. (Later she explained that that was the age of her husband when she first met him). Then I could climb out." "The hatch led to the sewer. It was the way doctors chose for me to die."

As she recovered, I had many interviews with her. Toward the end of her stay in the hospital, these ideas, related above, she recollected, and began to discuss. After describing them to me, she went on: "It all goes back to re-incarnation." When asked what she meant by "re-incarnation", she explained that an aunt of hers, whom she "thought a lot of" had believed in re-incarnation, and that it meant being re-born in different forms until you are a complete human being. She went on to state that that aunt died when she, the patient, was eighteen; that the aunt had a daughter just the patient's age, and that that daughter, who had been paralyzed for years, became suddenly wholly well at the instant of her aunt's death. "It was a miracle." "When I come out of a spell I am born again. In a way I always wanted to be re-born. When I could not stop smoking I wanted to be re-born. I always wanted to be converted."

At this point I began to explain the necessity of a psychological or spiritual re-birth, bringing in Les Miserables, Pilgrim's Progress and other thoughts, and working around slowly to her own ideas expressed about the tubs. She had come in to this interview very flippant and joking about her ideas. As I talked, she sobered down, her gaze became fixed upon me, she became very still, tears welled up in her eyes till, at the end, she broke down into weeping. When she had sufficiently recovered herself to speak, she said in a husky voice: "I guess that is it".

None of these individuals, so far as is known, had a background of revivalist training, or any religious teaching that would particularly emphasize conversion and re-birth. So that the evidence of these examples, clearly those of Cases A and D, particularly the latter, points to an intense hunger for a new chance at life from the very beginning, deeper than any theological system or religious training. Chosen for
The Re-birth Desire.

the ideas they expressed in their illnesses, it is worth noting that the individuals happened to represent the Jewish faith, the Roman Catholic Church, the Episcopal Church, and the Swedish Lutheran Church.
Chapter II.

RE-BIRTH EXPERIENCES

in a

THERAPEUTIC RELATIONSHIP.

Cases E, F.
RE-BIRTH EXPERIENCES

in a

THERAPEUTIC RELATIONSHIP.

In the last chapter I picture a little, the craving for a re-birth experience that seems to be so much more radical than anything that can be explained in terms of religious education. In this chapter there will be presented summaries of the therapeutic relations which I have undertaken with two women which bring out an actual psychological rebirth. They picture such an experience as really occurring, and indicate something of its quality.

Case E - Re-birth experiences in a Therapeutic Relationship.

Memories of childhood, except where required to explain a current emotion are omitted as irrelevant to this inquiry. What will be recorded is the actual inner experiences the patient went through during the period of the interviews. Of course the account has to be greatly shortened, whole periods being summed up in one sentence. It is arranged in chronological order, but dates are not recorded as of no importance.

Further I have not showed the patient's recognition of the present inappropriateness of her feelings, ideas and attitudes as they broke out. Although at times it was difficult for her to distinguish between her impressions and external reality, such as her ideas about me, such distinctions became possible. Progress could only occur as they did.

It must also be remembered that during all this period of relationship to me with childish attitudes, she was carrying on her social life in the community and in her home, so that others, seeing the mature woman, had no conception of this inner life here depicted.
Re-birth Experiences.

1. Case E is that of a thirty-five year old woman, married, Protestant, whose parents are no longer living. Her father was a quiet, submissive, kindly man. Her mother was the "boss of the family," capable, masculine, rather crude in her sensibilities. She favored boys. There were nine children. The patient was the seventh. The father was of Scottish descent, and a laborer; the mother of Scandinavian parentage.

2. The patient had received a high school education, and later spent some years in orphanage work. She married a business man, member of several clubs, a Congregationalist, with close church connection. He was sociable, cooperative, intelligent, but with rather domineering, somewhat crude characteristics, similar to the patient's mother.

3. The patient had often been depressed, and all her life had felt very inferior. After marriage these feelings increased. She was very conscientious and hard on herself. Four children arrived. After this she began to show a change, revealing a new side of her personality. She began to have affairs with men, of a mild nature, and at the same time became somewhat excited and also suspicious. Her husband then succeeded in arranging to have her go to a psychiatrist from whom she received some treatment about this time. Her husband had to go abroad on business.

4. Shortly after, the psychiatric treatment had to be discontinued on account of expense, and she came to me. My work with her extended over a period of seven months with five interviews a week. The method followed was to encourage her to talk freely of whatever she chose, assisting her to see the unconscious feelings or ideas that revealed their presence in her thoughts and attitudes, particularly to realize her changing feeling-attitude toward me, as the relationship progressed. However I endeavored to interfere as little as possible with either interpretations or teaching of any kind, merely sharing insights when she seemed unable to get them herself, or pointing out realities in our relationship she was obviously missing.

*Note 1.

5. Among her first thoughts were the fact that she was fascinated by the breasts of women and troubled about her own lack of proper development here.

6. Then she began to feel guilty. Realized she was punishing herself, and had for years.

7. Began to realize for the first time that she was kind to people in a compulsive way, because she could thus keep from expressing the anger she actually felt.

8. Begins to realize occasional cruel wishes in herself—the impulse to thrust the needle she was using into the person who was bothering her, an impulse to throw something at me. Feels ashamed to tell of these.

9. Shows antagonism to me, and much toward others. It is brought out that these others resemble one of her sisters.

10. She feels that no one loves her. (Actually quite untrue, as some of her friends and relatives are devoted to her.)

11. Feels as if I was going to hurt her with a sharp instrument. Re-experiences with intensity what she feels is an old fear, of being attacked by her mother with a sharp instrument. (External evidence has been obtained by me corroborating the conception of her

*Note 1. Necessary information about the patient is written nearest the left-hand margin; her inner experiences as they came are indented, recorded a little further from the left-hand margin; and comments on my part are indented much further and enclosed in brackets.
Re-birth Experiences.

12. Recognition of some more cruel wishes in herself, with great distress at admitting them.

13. Gives evidence of being afraid at the moment, then tells of how the sound of wind terrifies her. Memory of over-hearing as a child the heavy breathing of her parents, in the next room, evidently having intercourse, and the terrifying conviction that her mother was being killed. Is convinced that the fear she feels now is the same.


15. A great deal of longing expressed for demonstrations of affection for her by me. The wish that there should be nothing between us. Fear of rivals for my affection.

16. There followed a period of fears of being destroyed. Something seemed to be exploding. Fearful ideas of the destructive effect of sexual intercourse cropped up through here.

At this point the patient expresses the purpose to leave me and return to the psychiatrist with whom she received treatment previously. Makes her plans accordingly. Then after deciding, suddenly changes her mind, and returns to me, deciding now to remain permanently with me.

17. States that she thought I would be hurt, or get angry, or at least lose interest in her, if she changed from me to another. On finding that none of those were true, she realizes that in fact she had planned to leave me as a flight, and also as a test of the genuineness of my interest in her.

18. Great relief found now in interviews. Feels a new freedom. Nothing seems to be between us. Feels she can give herself easily.

19. She expressed her feeling that she was reborn when she found I would still be interested, and indeed did care, even if she left me for a psychiatrist.

20. Felt her ideals were changing. Moreover she had always secretly wished to be able to love people as Christ did, and had struggled hard to do so, but could not seem to. Now felt that some measure

(1) Taft, p. 161 Note
of love for others was becoming natural to her. Expressed the thought that I was like Christ.

(It would seem as if her dire need of some one perfect in whom she could place absolute reliance at this time when she was giving up so much of her old defense against self-recognition, and when therefore there was so little she could trust in herself, was thus expressed in an idealization)

21. She now begins to discover the feeling that she is more masculine than feminine, and behind this dimly to sense a wish to be.
22. Her difficulties in handling money, particularly in spending any upon herself keep coming for attention. She feels as if I was pulling things out of her, ideas and feelings, and resents thus being compelled (apparently.) Anger against "tight wads".
23. Feels considerable shame in mentioning memories that now come of toilet affairs as a child, childish interests, for which she was scolded. Feels unloved again, and as if being pushed away.

At this point, her husband returns from abroad after six months of absence.

24. Great anger against her husband expressed during interviews. Attitude indicates much of it is really for me. I seem to expect her to adjust herself to him, when it really is impossible. I seem to be driving her to do so. Feels very rebellious against me.
25. More guilt felt, as tells of childhood toilet indiscretions. She says that I seem to be like her sister who told on her and ridiculed her.
26. At this point dreams about women giving birth to babies with great ease. The ease is the vivid part. (Dr. Taft states that her boy patient's statement in play that he is being born without getting hurt is a sign of a successful outcome of the therapeutic relationship, the fear of change leaving, and an ego achievement replacing it. (2)
27. More fears that she is too masculine emerge, with fear that I have noticed the length of her shoes, the flatness of her chest and other indications of her mannishness. Realizes that there is an old wish here, as her mother always preferred boys.
28. How feels keenly the desire to be loved as a woman. Feels like offering herself to me. Her pre-menstrual pains, always experienced, are now lessening.
29. Feels an intense longing to crawl into a hole and hide.
30. The throat constriction, from which she has suffered periodically for years and for which she has been operated upon, returns in force. Says she has fears that her husband is going to bite her breasts.
31. Realizes that for some time she has been afraid that she is acting so as to arouse my sympathies for her. (This discovery seems to remove an obstacle to freely feeling her feelings. For from now on the emotional experiences during the interviews are far deeper, more intense.)

(2) Taft, p. 232
32. More fears of biting, sometimes being bitten, sometimes herself biting now emerge. The constriction in her throat leaves and does not return during the remainder of the therapeutic relationship. There is much distress at the cruelty of others.

33. Again expresses many wishes to get close to me. Realizes she has the wish to disrobe in my presence, in order that there may be nothing between herself and me. Reacts with a fear that she is falling into a hole, or going to so fall. Realizes that behind the fear is a longing.

34. More anxieties about biting. During interview feels a strain in her head, which moves down to her jaws and her teeth. They feel tense. There is a great deal of anger expressed these days for various people. She beats the couch and the wall with her fist, and turns away from me, getting as far as she can from me.

(Evidently much that had blocked her has thus been removed by abreaction and insight, for now she experiences a sense of development.)

35. She says she is now beginning to see Jesus' way of life as never before.

36. There follows a sense of great fullness. It is a victory. She suddenly finds she can sing freely, perhaps indeed has a voice which may give herself and others some pleasure. It is to her a sign of a new life.

(By losing her fear of surrender, she yields up in open expression her rages, and with this finds a buried or lost part of herself. A few attempts to sing as a child were discontinued through a fear associated with singing.)

37. But a period of terrific anger follows. She feels hemmed in and thwarted; she always was. She hates herself virulently for submitting to it. She is a coward to let others dominate her. Along with this bitter anger come threats against her husband. Immediately there busts out a desperate need to sing. She simply must, MUST. She almost throws herself at me.

(It is as if her whole being cried out for help to break loose from old chains and express herself.)

38. Feels like tearing her mother to pieces. Realizes that this feeling is related to me.

39. Then some phantasies about very small babies in arms, the longing to be taken care of, with, at the same time, fear of the female genitals. Realizes there is a wish to be taken in my arms as a mother would take her baby.

(The excruciating pain of the longing for union with the mother-figure seems along here to be expressing itself, with the sense of fear of yielding to it.)

40. Expressions of great pain, acting during the interview as if feeling that she is right there being hurt by me. But feels only
the pain, and cannot express the source. Fears of being hurt by various people come a little later.

41. Now finds a relief, in discovering that she does not need subtly domineering or cruel people about her any more but has been choosing her own friends already for a while. Begins to see my faults and recognizes me as after all only a human being.

(This would seem to indicate the discovery of a source of security within her own self that freed her from such abject dependence upon me, and also from those who satisfied her guilt by being cruel to her.)

42. She finds her feet bothering her, then discovers that part of it is because she seems to be stepping into my shoes, and again into those of her mother.

43. Cries out as if being tortured, but also as if trying to hurt me by piercing my ears, and further as if endeavoring to shut out everything external. Will allow no interruptions.

44. Overwhelmed by feeling that she is being compelled by everyone, that she can not do as she wishes or thinks best, but must obey.

45. Embarrassed by discovering sexual feelings for me, and then that both I and her husband seem to be her father. Suddenly realizes that there is no reason to be ashamed for one’s feelings.

46. Nightmares of being chased by wild horses. Expresses fear of her own cruelty, which she is seeing more and more. Laughingly warns me of danger to myself. Says when in high school she was known as the girl who had no temper, and that in marriage she used often to find herself trembling and nauseated. Now she knows she was angry at such times, but did not realize it.

47. Feels much jealousy for the sister that was born nineteen months after herself. Realizes that present jealousies are new editions of this old one.

48. Finds greater ease in meeting people. Feels freer with her own emotions at all times.

(It is to be noted that after a violent outburst of emotion, she finds she has grown within herself and in her social relations.)

49. Surrendering seems very hard. It seems as if she had so much to give up that she has always held on to and that has been a part of herself.

50. She dreams of deep pools of dark water, and basements under the water, with stairs leading down to them.

51. She has another short, extremely painful experience, which she can only express by saying that she felt as if she had been reborn. This followed the discovery that she did not have to come to each interview, but that when there was a good reason for postponing it I would understand. With this also came, as she later revealed, the decision to set a date for the ending of the therapeutic relationship.

(I should explain that I had roughly given the date about when she might expect to approach the end, some months previous. By common consent we had agreed as this time came near, that it must be extended. I had then given her entire freedom to terminate the interviews when she felt ready.)
Re-birth Experiences.

52. At the last interview she states that she is now seeing how each of us is to be a spiritual center that will create the kind of atmosphere in which growth in others will be made possible.

53. One month later, she returned for one interview to discuss some efforts she was making in creative work that involved leadership in a small way.

54. Three months later there was another interview, at her request, to assist her to meet a family situation that was most painful, involving the blasting of a long-cherished hope.

55. A week later she wrote, "I am learning the meaning of Christ's words: 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world'".

56. Five months later, she passed through a most distressing experience of feeling she had killed her mother, that was so real, she had to keep reminding herself it was only phantasy. She felt also that she had in a sense killed me, and knew that that was the source of her feelings of guilt that bothered her at this time. She felt this was the final victory, the sign of her emancipation, the overcoming of my undue influence.

Several points should be noticed about this case. The woman had for years built a wall about herself, isolating herself, shutting herself away from others. This was indicated in her depressions, when absorbed in self, in her self-punishments, one element of which was never to allow anyone else to do things for her but always to do them for herself however unreasonable, in her sense of inferiority, and particularly in her suspiciousness that came out latterly. Toward the end there was an attempt to break over this barrier by affairs with men. She had never been able to give herself to her husband.

During the therapeutic relationship one can trace clearly the repeated efforts to give herself, to break over this barrier, and to come into fearless contacts with another. Paragraphs 15, 18, 28, 33, and 37 show this particularly.

But of course the manner of doing so is at first childish. It is all one-sided; it is largely a desire to be cared for, protected, supported, directed, loved (see paragraphs 10, 15, 23, 29, 39;) and on the other hand a feeling of my controlling her (see paragraphs 17, 22, 24, 51;) of my being cruel to her (see paragraphs 11, 17, 40;) and her re-actions of
Re-birth Experiences.

anger or cruelty (see paragraphs 7, 8, 9, 12, 24, 34, 38, 43, 46, 56;) or shame and guilt (see paragraphs 6, 23, 25, 27, 45, 51, 56.)

These immature attitudes, unseen and underlying her apparently maturely developed life, come out only gradually, increasing in frank expression.

There should also be noted other signs of a psychological return to her childhood mental life. The distinct feeling of being masculine as well as feminine, strongly, or the wish to be, is natural to pre-pubertal years, after early childhood. The girl plays boys' games, and often frankly wishes she was a boy. These gradually are uncovered in this patient, and she again experiences the emotions connected with that period of her girlhood (see paragraphs 21 and 27.) The emotional experiences of childhood connected with learning personal cleanliness are found to be still active; that is, she feels the same feelings, as far as can be observed, she felt as a child in those toilet situations, she is re-living those days (see paragraphs 23, 25.) The anxiety and fascination connected with breasts and the fear of, and desire to, bite, along with hysterical sensations in throat, jaws and teeth, would seem to have some connection with the affective experiences in that union with the mother in the nursing period (see paragraphs 5, 30, 32, 34, 36.)

There is some significance, it seems to me, in the order in which these experiences were lived over again, the most recent #pre-pubertal first, on the whole, the next following, and the most remote; namely, infancy, last.

Further returns of former life situations may be seen in the feeling behind her adult suspiciousness, that she was under the control of others, compelled by them, helpless before them as a child must often keenly feel. This was partly felt with me, partly with others, (see paragraphs
Re-birth Experiences.

24, 37, 44, 51.) The feelings about sexual matters are those of an uninformed, imaginative and fearful child (see paragraphs 13, 16, 45.) The self-punishment (see paragraphs 3, 6, 14), is an enactment within herself of what was once in childhood an external situation. The discovery she kept making now and then, that her attitudes were duplicates of former early attitudes toward members of her own family, becoming clear in their original form in the interviews, is also a re-living of childhood (see paragraphs 9, 35, 42, 45, 47, 56.)

For the purposes of this study attention should be called to the re-birth ideas that emerged. There was the desire for union, perhaps too vague to be classed with these, but apparently having some relation to them (3) (See paragraphs 15, 16, 18, 28, 33, 37.) There are the fears of falling into some bottomless hole, that seem more definitely to be symbolic of the clutching power of that longing (see paragraphs 29, 33, 39, 50.) That this is related to the craving to escape from the present life by return to the mother, with then a new chance, will be seen more clearly in the next case. There are the definite re-birth ideas (see paragraph 26). And lastly but most important are the two experiences she could only describe as a re-birth (see paragraphs 19 and 51.)

That there was an experience of growing up seems to be evidenced in the latter part of the therapeutic relationship. There is a gradual shift from increasing dependence at first, to increasing independence. This is seen in the type of union that changes from a physically conceived one of a rather childish type to one more approaching fellowship in a common endeavor. The two seem to alternate, the more mature expression following expressions of the less mature, and finally displacing it altogether (see paragraphs 18, 33, 39 for the first, and 28, 37, 52 for the second.) There are the self-made decisions (see paragraphs 17 and 51.)

(3) Taft, the last chapter, especially p. 288
Re-birth Experiences.

There is toward the end, a definite separation from me, voluntarily undertaken in action, or symbolized with intense emotion (see paragraphs 51 and 56.) Something of this is also shown in the change from idealizing me as Christ to seeing me more nearly as I am (see paragraphs 20, 41.)

Finally there are the signs of a new "coming to one's self": increasing outside interests, especially in people (see paragraphs 20, 41, 48;) creative work (see paragraphs 36, 53;) and the finding of one's own ideals (see paragraphs 20, 52, 55.)

Case F.

This is a forty-five year old woman. Her parents were English born, Protestants. She is American. Her father, somewhat of a Beau Bromel, was in real estate. Her mother was quiet, small, home-loving, with an almost obsessive passion for orderliness and cleanliness but with outbursts of impatience and an er. Her mother died when the patient was twenty-six. Her father is still living, but has refused to see her for many years, saying he can not allow his life to be spoiled by such an impossible daughter. The father attended church.

The patient is the eldest child. She began to show signs of a childhood neurosis at the age of seven following a sexual trauma. She frequently was examined by doctors from then on. At the age of seventeen she finished the second year of high school. This late age was not due to poor intelligence, which is average, but due to physical illnesses and neurotic tendencies. She could hold no position for long during the next few years. At twenty-four, she was sent to a psychopathic hospital, was then put in the hands of an analyst. After seven months, during which the trauma at the age of seven was ventilated, she became well enough to take up nurse's training. On completing this with credit, she married, with great indecision and fear. She began to reveal an old, but now exacerbated phobia regarding cancer of the breast. On the birth of her baby, this became so serious she had to be sent to a mental hospital, for she was now very disturbed. There had been so many violent quarrels with her husband, and so much emotional upheaval that he declared he could never stand any association with her again. He took the child and neither has been seen nor heard from directly since then.

The patient remained four years in the hospital, part of the time quite regressed and on violent wards. Through a combination of analysis and suggestion, she was then assisted to get out into community life again, working as a house-maid. She remained out for eight years; during that time she was ridden with obsessions, but managed to keep most of them concealed. She began to get into sexual difficulties with occasional men, taking part in perversions, until finally in desperation, after losing her position, she went to live with a man far below her in education and culture, who merely took her as mistress. On finding out that he never intended to marry
Re-birth Experiences.

her, she became violent, and had to be hospitalized again.

In the hospital she quieted down somewhat, and in spite of her compulsions
and obsessive thoughts, managed to keep at work fairly steadily, mostly as a
waitress for the hospital staff.

My work with her, beginning six months after admission, consisted of
daily, hour interviews, in general, of the psychoanalytic type. Up to the
present, they have involved approximately nine hundred hours. They are
approaching a termination at the present time.

Like the previous record, the emotional attitude and the ideational
content will be summarized in chronological order, giving only the pre­
valent experiences. Again it will be only the actual affective experiences
within the interviews, or whatever relates to them directly, that will be
recorded. With this patient, as with Case E. the interviews of each hour
were written up immediately afterward. They therefore give a fairly accurate
record of the progress from one complex to another. The inaccuracy in­
evitably creeps in, when I summarize these notes in the form of brief
paragraphs as I have done here. This condensation is unavoidable, and
some distortion is present.

All I can say for both these records (2 sets) is that I have been as
careful as possible to have my summary reflect the dynamic movements of the
actual record. As my use of the summary does not involve details, but
rather the general sweep of events, I believe the distortion is reduced
to a negligible factor.

1. Her mind ceaselessly revolves around the man who deceived her in
refusing to marry her, and the necessity of compelling him
so to do, as soon as she had her divorce. There is much anger
against him, at the same time as she expressed love for him.

2. Slowly she begins to realize she could get better without him,
and ceased to daily insist on compelling him to marry her. She
began to recognize her hatred for him. She begins to see that she
often punishes herself. She thinks much of suicide.

3. She recognizes some of her antagonism to me.

4. She feels she must be locked up in a dark room. Becomes too
disturbed to continue work. Feels she is now back in her girlhood
sitting about the house.

5. Discovering that I remind her of her father, the fear that she had
had sexual relations with him broke into consciousness with almost
delusional force, and she had to be given sedatives and transferred
to a locked ward.

6. Became quieter gradually, in two months, and described her
condition spontaneously, as that of a mother giving birth to a
baby.

7. Remarks that I seem like an evil woman to her.

8. Troubled with a return of some adolescent difficulties, such as
arising in the morning.

9. Much feeling of being plotted against.

10. Feels she is being crucified, as if she is to be executed. Much
guilt present.

11. Clings desperately to my presence these days, and can with great
difficulty be induced to allow me to go, at the end of each hour.

12. Beginning to recognize her "contrariness" such as contradicting
things I say, compulsively. Discovers wish to be contrary.

13. Her body feels unclean. Frequently now sniffs at her hands.
Says she always used to smell her hands.
14. She feels that I am her mother. Realizes that in some respects her behavior now with me is similar to that she showed as a girl with her mother, such as contradicting, obstinacy, new symptom of compulsively destroying things.

15. Feels she is getting cancerous all over. A wart on her hand she feels convinced, in spite of the doctors, is an incurable and progressively developing cancer. Beginning to realize that there is a wish to die of cancer present there. Compulsively mauls the wart, inflaming it. Realizes that is what her mother told her not to do, and feels that I think she is wicked to do so now.

16. Return of a symptom of girlhood before puberty.

17. Feeling of not being loved, and longing for it. Remembers how she felt that way with her parents as a girl.

18. Feels that I can arrange anything for her, no matter what. Difficult to recognize any limitations.

19. Teases me often to get things.

20. States that when waitress a few months back, actions, such as she performed in childhood when her mother was not around, were beginning "to come thick and fast". He is ashamed of them before me. Place of work seems to be her girlhood home.

21. Begins to act further with me, as she did with her mother, such as calling out "Daddy" while with me, which is the same as doing what her mother prohibited; namely, telling her father of her mother's outburst of anger.

22. Realizes that she often thinks I am blaming her for something and finds it hard to recognize its falsity.

23. Beginning to show some affection for me, and with it come memories of longing for her mother, besides being angry with her.

24. Feels that I am punishing her with cancer.

25. Feels that her constant thought of me tires me, and so tries during the day to think about something else, to give me a rest.

26. Feels she has to wear a special dress for interviews, just as her mother always ordered her to wear an old dress for playing.

27. I am her sister, who treats her in a motherly way.

28. Occasionally throws herself on the floor, during interviews. Remembers that she used to do that with her mother, when her mother ordered her not to.

29. Frequently attempts to injure me. Remembers that when her parents had an argument, she used to wish her father would hit her mother.

30. Feels when in bed, that she is in a casket. Obsessed with thoughts of death. All is dark and dreadful.

31. Accidentally calls me "mother". Begs me not to beat her --- recalls saying that to her mother.

32. Feels that I hate her.

33. Instead of going about telling everyone of her troubles and her most private thoughts, is developing a reserve that is healthy.

34. Is afraid that I think she is too slow, or is not straining hard enough. There follow memories of remaining hours in the toilet as a girl, troubling the family.

35. Volunteers that my face and her mother's seem to fuse in her mind on a certain day.

36. Feels she is postponing insights, and is a "dirty old thing."

37. It seems as if so much of her life had been spent in bathrooms.

38. Many fears that she caused her mother's death.

39. Feels dead these days, lonely, as if no one cared. Much fear that I will cease seeing her.
Re-birth Experiences.

10. I seem to be a baby, my head a baby's head, being born from her. Horror at thought.
11. Feels as if there was a big hole in front of her and it was hell and she must jump in. She seems to be drowning.
12. She feels she can not talk to the other patients, and actually does not, because a baby can not cry till it is spanked, after birth.
13. Feels that her illness keeps her babyish.
14. Many fantasies involving illness or death for me. One of them brings out clearly that I seem to be her mother.
15. Many thoughts indicating confusion between the sexes. Many expressions indicating wish she was a boy.
17. Violent period follows. She is now smearing soap over mirrors and clothes. Many thoughts about toilets follow, and memories of toilet problems as a girl. In order to "get out the pictures", she is these days straining with her thoughts till she gets red in the face and the vessels stand out on her face and throat. Realizes that she thinks of her thoughts coming out or delaying to come out, as like defecating.
18. Feels as if she was wholly a man, but longs to be a woman.
19. Recognizes that straining to get her thoughts out is like straining on the toilet. These bring memories of similar situations in childhood. Throws herself on the floor, and then realizes with surprise that she used to do that as a girl, when refusing to go to the bathroom at her mother's command.
20. Putting her hand into water makes her think of the womb.
21. Refusal to use new conference room, brings out that it would be punishment, because her mother punished her in connection with some toilet problem.
22. Finds herself slopping her food around, throwing it over things, whirling around herself, and then it comes to her that that is what she used to do as a little girl.
23. Feels she is inside her mother. Wakes up in bed one morning finding herself in fetal position. Feels she is choking these days, cannot get a breath. After long emotional struggle, the thought comes to her that a baby just born, cannot get a breath.
24. She has been for a long time rubbing one eye till it gets inflamed. Now remembers she injured her doll's eyes as a girl, and that before that she looked through a crack in the door, when her mother and father quarreled. Realizes she feels like putting out my eye. Remembers "accidentally" injuring her mother's eye.
25. Musses the rug in the conference room, then remembers that she was always forbidden to do that as a child.
26. She feels she is drowning, is going down, it is all dark, she cannot seem to see which way to turn.
27. Lies on floor and cries out in pain;"I want to be a baby. I don't want to grow up."
28. During hour, goes into a sort of trance. Calls loudly, as if to some one at a distance, calling name of person. Waits, then calls "Yes", also as if answering from a distance. This repeated frequently.
Re-birth Experiences.

(Previous to this, it should be stated, obsessive thoughts connected with incest had "faded" till now they no longer bothered her.)

59. Finds she has to dress and undress repeatedly in the morning. She used to do this as a girl, in anger at her mother.

60. If she hits me, she is apt to say: "Take that, mother."

61. Repetition of calling and answering (like 58). Remembers that as a girl upstairs dressing, she would call her mother, who was getting breakfast, and then hope that her mother would not answer.

(Apparently this is the expression of the wish to get rid of her mother, of her mother's influence over her, to gain freedom.)

62. Feels somehow she is in a night-dress all day. At home she used often to remain in a night-dress until late afternoon.

63. Memory of a nurse attempting to suckle a baby brings surprising discovery that she wished at the time she was the baby. Then states she wishes I would give her milk, but my face is a punishing face. A few minutes later states she seems to see a breast in front of her, only a breast, and it is a cross breast, an angry breast.

64. Tries repeatedly to bite me, gnashing her teeth.

65. She has been for some time occasionally leaning over and tying and untying her shoes. Now she remembers that she used to keep people waiting deliberately as a girl, by saying: "Wait a minute please", and then tying and untying her shoe lacings.

66. Interprets almost everything about her as punishment.

67. Long period of having her thoughts constantly revolve about toilet functions and finding surprising fascination for them.

68. "I am so afraid of my cruel mother. She seems to be changing. Or is it me that is changing?"

69. For some time has had absent-minded tendency in middle of conversation in conference of turning faucet in basin on and off. Now remembers that when her mother used to shut her in her room for screaming, she would repeatedly turn the door knob, but not dare come out.

70. Thoughts of a baby being born, withdrawing, and trying to be born again. "It seems to say that it wants to come out." Expresses fear of drowning in a bathtub, though never afraid at the shore. Water in basin associated with amniotic fluid.

71. Defiant in stating childish toilet interests as if expecting to be scolded for them.

72. Phantasies of sexual intercourse between various people, into which creep faintly but repeatedly impressions of the face of a baby replacing the sexual organs.

(Here seems to come definitely the thought that sexual intercourse is chiefly, in childish thinking, a means of physical union, so much desired, like that between mother and child.)

73. Changes from using the word "mother" to using constantly "mama". Feels helpless, "like a weak baby, no a weak woman."

74. Picture begins to be pieced together, covering many months, of waking up in crib, at between two and three years of age and
Re-birth Experiences.

seeing parents having intercourse on bed beside her. Great fear at the thought.

75. In the primal (74) scene: "The baby's shoes are frightened (meaning her own as a baby.) They try to climb out of the crib, but can't."

76. Admits many feelings she denied a few months back. Acts more naturally. Shows concern for the comforts of others. Shows some ability to control violent tendencies. Is happier, and is free for the time from desperate struggles.

77. Found herself restless in bed, and wondered why. Then noticed that "I had my arms around my neck. I was in the fetal position. " "The bed was mother."

(It is a commonplace in hospitals for mental diseases that occasionally a patient does take this position when deeply regressed and keeps it, without insight.)

78. Experience of above (77) again, but this time she seems to be also in a casket.

(This would seem to be due to the recognition that this longing to return to the mother merely as an escape is a spiritual death.)

The ward looks like a graveyard or a morgue. She has always had a horror of being buried alive.

79. Asks: "When will I be born? I need your help. I get things myself sometimes, but only so much. I got that part about the bed being mother, and I in the bed.....I was kicking in mother to get out. But I get so far and can't get any farther. You have to turn things over to get the new ones to come."

80. Conference room seems to be the bed-room, where primal scene occurred (74), I am her mother, the couch is her crib.

81. "I am between the devil and God these days, and the devil seems to have me more." Feels like biting me. Curses me.

82. "I am only one and a half years old", smiling at the fancy. (She dates the scene in 74 at that age.)

33. For some days, as she sits, she has been swaying back and forth. Now remarks that she seemed again to be in a casket, but it turned out to be a cradle.

84. Return of intense feelings of guilt. Tears at her breast as if she would tear it off.

85. Speaking to me: "You are mother, and you are yourself. But I can't seem to separate them." "Mama is leaving me, and it frightens me. I am trying to keep her. The harder she pulls away, the harder I pull back, and the harder it is to hold her." I ask: "You mean she is fading?" "Yes, and it scares me." "What is making her fade?" I ask. "I am (laughing). I want her to go, to get well." But I don't want her to go. I cling to her and I don't like it."

86. Many efforts brought to light, to get me to be hard on her, or cruel to her, even hitting me hoping I will hit back or at least hold her wrists. Then contrition. Realizes that it seemed as if, as a child, the only time she got attention (love) was when she did something bad and was admonished, scolded or punished.

87. Is screaming some, compulsively. She used to as a girl, and got shut in rooms for it. At suggestion that she wished to hurt family by screaming, she recollects how it bothered her mother.

88. For sometime, patient has been making sucking noises with her mouth, in between statements. Phantasies of sucking various objects have come to her, as well as reminiscences. Phantasies about babies nursing. Realizes she has been touching her tongue
to various objects. Very angry each meal if she does not get her milk.

89. Very upset. I seem to be her mother who is refusing to open the breast to her. Realizes all her life she has had a tendency to button and unbutton things, take things out and put them back, open letters and close them without reading them. She has frequently to open and close her locker these days. Remembers that in the scene described in 74, her mother tried to nurse her when frightened, and in anger the baby refused, although she wished to suckle. Sees herself lying in that scene upon her mother's lap, and looking up at her father and imagines herself saying (this is phantasied in the conference) "You shant have my mama. I won't let you have my mama. He is mine. I won't give her to you. You shant have my mama". A great deal of jealousy of me these days. Can not bear to see me speak to anyone else. Has to give up going to hospital entertainments for fear of seeing me converse with others.

90. Phantasy of a lake. "You were on my left hand, and had my left hand, leading me. Jesus was on your left, a little in front. He was standing there with his right hand out, his finger pointed. I was to take hold of that finger. You were leading me out onto the deep water to Jesus. Jesus was coming to meet us."

91. "Mother would have said not to do what I did last Wednesday. She was always keeping me from things...... But now I know. No, mother. I know what I am doing, and that it is right, and will do it. I can not do what you say."

92. "That picture of the sea of Galilee has been waiting all my life to come through. You are in grey, Jesus in white."

93. Speaks of herself as a little baby: "Hungry? Wet? etc." In phantasy frequently sees breasts. Trying to see the dress closed over the breast, but cannot seem to.

94. "I want to crawl inside of you. "I want to hide away from everything. "I want to crawl inside your heart where love is."

95. Many thoughts of swimming.

96. "I suffered a paralytic shock from the basinette scene (74). I felt the feelings of that day for the first time, really, this morning. I was wild and desperate. I tore my dress and can not mend it. I couldn't do anything. I lay in a room and called for a nurse."

97. All is dark and confused.

98. "I was trying to shut my window last night. It went hard (meaning she was emotionally blocked from doing it.) (In louder and vehement tone) "Well, you wouldn't let me get it out (the breast), when I wanted it, so you can' get it out now'. I seemed to be talking to mama. She would not let me have the breast when I wanted it."

99. With difficulty admits a phantasy of her mother trying to get her to nurse. "I was on my mother's knee, and my head would not go down to nurse. It was not a kind breast, but a cruel breast. But whatever it was I could not get my head down to nurse. Last night I tried and tried, and finally got it down, but it came up again." Explained that she had never nursed on a loving breast and did not know what it would be like. It seemed to her too painful (to nurse on a loving breast).

100. Asks me to spank her. On the other hand, becoming quite affectionate to me. More free in expressing her positive feelings.
to various objects. Very angry each meal if she does not get her milk.

89. Very upset. I seem to be her mother who is refusing to open the breast to her. Realizes all her life she has had a tendency to button and unbutton things, take things out and put them back, open letters and close them without reading them. She has frequently to open and close her locker these days. Remembers that in the scene described in 74, her mother tried to nurse her when frightened, and in anger the baby refused, although she wished to suckle. Sees herself lying in that scene upon her mother's lap, and looking up at her father and imagines herself saying (this is phantasied in the conference) "You shan't have my mama. I won't let you have my mama. "He is mine. I won't give her to you. You shan't have my mama". A great deal of jealousy of me these days. Can not bear to see me speak to anyone else. Has to give up going to hospital entertainments for fear of seeing me converse with others.

90. Phantasy of a lake. "You were on my left hand, and had my left hand, leading me. Jesus was on your left, a little in front. He was standing there with his right hand out, his finger pointed. I was to take hold of that finger. You were leading me out onto the deep water to Jesus. Jesus was coming to meet us."

91. "Mother would have said not to do what I did last Wednesday. She was always keeping me from things......But now I know. No, mother. I know what I am doing, and that it is right, and will do it. I can not do what you say."

92. "That picture of the sea of Galilee has been waiting all my life to come through. You are in grey, Jesus in white."

93. Speaks of herself as a little baby: "Hungry? Wet? etc." In phantasy frequently sees breasts. Trying to see the dress closed over the breast, but cannot seem to.

94. "I want to crawl inside of you." "I want to hide away from everything." "I want to crawl inside your heart where love is."

95. "Any thoughts of swimming."

96. "I suffered a paralytic shock from the basinette scene (74). I felt the feelings of that day for the first time, really, this morning. I was wild and desperate. I tore my dress and can not mend it. I couldn't do anything. I lay in a room and called for a nurse."

97. All is dark and confused.

98. "I was trying to shut my window last night. It went hard (meaning she was emotionally blocked from doing it.) (In louder and vehement tone) "Well, you wouldn't let me get it out (the breast), when I wanted it, so you can' get it out now'. I seemed to be talking to mama. She would not let me have the breast when I wanted it."

99. With difficulty admits a phantasy of her mother trying to get her to nurse. "I was on my mother's knee, and my head would not go down to nurse. It was not a kind breast, but a cruel breast. But whatever it was I could not get my head down to nurse. Last night I tried and tried, and finally got it down, but it came up again." Explained that she had never nursed on a loving breast and did not know what it would be like. It seemed to her too painful (to nurse on a loving breast).

100. Asks me to spank her. On the other hand, becoming quite affectionate to me. More free in expressing her positive feelings.
101. Is thinking of the future, when she will be out of the hospital, recovered.
102.-'ishes again to crawl inside of me. Longs for a warm, dark, hiding place. "Hold me tight."
103. Great anger against me. Refuses interview for half an hour, and then abusive. Apologizes the next day. Far more rapid changes these days between exaggerated antagonism and love; the two are coming closer together.
104. Feelings of paralysis, unable to move.
105. Intense desire to get back inside. Pleads: "Can I? Please let me. Why can't I?" till almost loses sense of reality.
106. Obsessed with thoughts of death these days. Phantasies of tearing her mother open.
107. Phantasy of lying in a hole in the ground. Jesus was above standing and holding out his arms to her. She was stuck in the hole; however, it was tight around her, and she could not move. Then it seemed to become her mother's arms, holding her and not letting her go. "Mother did not really hold me, when I went to nursing, but she seemed to be holding me just the same." These days she has wished me to hold her tight.
108."Last week I saw myself as dust in mother..... She did not like dust. I feel heavy. Dust is heavy. I want to get back of dust. To be nothing. Before even dust was formed. I want to be light."
109. Many puzzles as to whether her mother would think this was right or that, and so forth.
110. "As crying when time for interview arrived. During hour kept moaning "Mama". It was often like little squeals, very childish. After a time: "I have been trying to crawl back into that tiny dark hole. But it is too small. I can't get in." Associates this directly with return to the safety of the body of the mother. She is seeing a black hole. Black is death, like the grave. As she looks, the hole grows dark and then something shuts down over it. She is inside and she can not get out. That is the way she feels these days. She feels trapped.
111. "The whole room here seems to be mama. Everything is mama. Last night I was thinking, trying to think, that my bed was mama. Why does she seem a dark mama? I want to see her light."
112. Last week seemed to see a baby's head coming through in birth. In contrast with her experience of parturition, there was no pain in this phantasy. "The baby seemed to speak and say she felt no pain."
113. Great anxiety over fear that seeming "lump" in breast is cancer. Then one day the "lump" seems to be her cruel mother. Her own breast is her mother's. She feels as if she was her own mother. Is greatly troubled over compulsive pinching of this breast.
114. Much anxiety, over long period, for fear I will leave her. On my suggesting that it is because really she is afraid of her own wish to leave me, to be done with me and to be free, she one day says that it is hard to get used to that idea. All this time I am confused with her mother.
115. "Don't hold me tight. It seems as if you were holding me. Mother held me."
116. Seizes my hand and pulls my fingers slightly apart. "Yes I want to tear you to pieces. I see that this is my sickness. It is the anger that makes me feel so sick. I am swimming in anger these days"
117. "I want to get inside you. Where I know nothing. (said plaintively)
Inside you where it is dark and warm. I don't want to grow up.
I'm afraid of it. I want to go inside. I want to be dead in
mother."

(For months there is this alternation, with
gradual lessening of this wish for escape, and
increasing efforts at maturity.)

118. Gradually makes plans for future when through with therapy and out
of hospital. Begins preparations in small way, such as taking up
her music again and getting some necessary dentistry done. But
all the time swings back and forth for months, between anger and
love, wishing to go and wishing to stay. Complicated by many
fearful phantasies of my death. Gradually giving up some of her
childish attitudes.

119. Prolonged struggle with problem of being compelled, under author­
ity, and fear of disobeying imagined commands. Many of them recall
childhood experiences; for instance, she now feels I expect her to
sit in a certain chair all day, and remembers afterward that her
mother used to make her sit in a chair at times, saying: "Now
don't you move out of it, or I will cut you across the legs."

120. Increasingly "sick of the hospital and association with these
insane people."

121. Discovers that I am her cancer. Compulsion to pinch her breast
is then effort to make a cancer; i. e., to keep me.

122. Finds herse,f doing many things she imagines I would not wish.
Afraid of these. A little guilty for wishing to be reserved with
me, and not tell some things.

In this patient's therapeutic experience there is revealed quite
definitely a backward movement, psychologically, in contrast with the
development of the average individual. Of course it is in reality an
uncovering of lower layers, as it were of development, which had
remained still alive, at the age of forty-five, and active within
her. As the disguises were stripped off they disported themselves
in their original garb. Emotionally either view seems equally true,
if we disregard the element of time, for she certainly acted and felt
and thought as a child or an infant would.

This re-living of her earlier life is seen for one thing, in her
identification of me with her family circle, including her father whom
she had not seen for many years, and her mother who had died nineteen
years before. These were not mere resemblances; they were complete
distortions as a rule; yet so real that the patient had to act on the
basis of them. They showed themselves in paragraphs 5, 14, 27, 31, 35,
It is seen again in the way she found herself compulsively rehearsing certain by-gone periods of her life. Adolescence is seen especially in paragraphs 4, 7, 59, 62. Childhood, roughly, may be seen in paragraphs 12, 16, - 21, 25, 34, 52, 65, 69, 73, 87, 103, 110. Infancy, also roughly divided, may be seen in paragraphs 42, 43, 57, 73, 75, 82, 83, 89, 93, 94.

And finally it is seen in her re-experiencing the emotional struggles characteristic of, or one might suppose characteristic of, certain phases, or situations of her early life. There is the pre-pubertal experience of overlooking the differences of the sexes, and feeling like a boy, seen in paragraphs 45, and 48. There is a re-living of the struggle between childish (though greatly intensified by repression) toilet interests and social prohibitions, and the struggle with the parents this involved, seen in paragraphs 13, 34, 36, 37, 47, 49, 51, 67, 72. Again there is a combination of phantasies, desires, and attitudes connected with nursing experiences, depicted in paragraphs 63, 64, 81, 84, 88, 89, 93, 98, 99. Finally there is the weird and almost unbelievable (if one had not seen them lived out with deep emotionality over many, many months till one could not longer believe it was play-acting) experience of intra-uterine life. There is fear of it expressed symbolically in the form of dark rooms (4), drowning (41, 56, 70) dark holes (41, 107, 110), darkness itself (56, 97), death -- that was frequently equated later to a return to the womb (39, 106), and paralysis——perhaps like being caught (104 like 107, 110). There is more direct fear of it expressed in paragraphs 50, 53, 70, 78, and 110. On the other hand there is longing for that hidden away life expressed symbolically in paragraph 95, and directly in paragraphs 72, 77, 94, 102, 105, 108, 110, 111, and 117.
Re-birth Experiences.

There is another trend, opposed to the backward one, a moving forward which begins after a time, and crosses the other, as it were weaving in and out of it, and finally winning more and more over it. This progressive one is shown in ideas of re-birth, symbolically in paragraphs 6, 40, and 53, and here with fear; but more directly and with desire in paragraphs 70, 79, and 112. The new developments in her attitudes and thoughts might be classed with this re-birth group, indicated in paragraphs 33, 46, 68, 76, 90, 91, 101, 118, 120. Here is a struggle to break loose from family and external compulsion, first in recognizing how much she has been bound to it, indicated in paragraphs 107, 109, 115, and 119, and then in efforts to break loose directly from it, shown in paragraphs 114, 115, 116, 118, 120 and 122.

The record does not bring out, as a verbatim account of the interviews would, how resuscitated childish interests and struggles were gradually, after the peak of their expression, dropped behind, "fading" as she put it, in reality sacrificed for more mature replacements. These include the regressive phases in that backward movement and the immature way of living that was associated with them. Not that all of these were wholly left behind, but they disappeared so much as to take an increasingly minor place if left at all.

It is also to be noticed that there is a change in the attitude toward re-birth. At first there is fear of it. This changes to a desire for it, and its last expression includes the absence of pain.

The fear of a new life is being overcome, although by no means all yet. But the phantasy would signify an unconscious longing pressing for realization.
Re-birth Experiences.

'*here is another point, that is perhaps worth noting, although
the severe condensation of this record prevents putting too much
reliance upon it. I refer to the general place in the series in which
trends appear and disappear. As would be expected, repetitions of
adolescent experiences appear first (4), followed by those of child­
hood (12), with infancy ones coming in still later (42), but mingled
with the childhood ones. The infancy ones recede into the background
before the childhood ones do—growing up? (infancy 96, and childhood
110).

At first it might seem surprising, judging simply by the numbers
of the paragraphs that the problem of feeling and acting like a boy
instead of as a girl largely, breaks into the middle of the series on
that difficult adjustment to parents and society centering around the
concrete facts of toilet functions. But it should be remembered that
that was for her the most difficult period of her life—I mean the
toilet one—and should be expected to take precedence over everything
else except of course that of achieving independence. Further my notes
on the daily interviews prove beyond doubt, as the mere numbers of
paragraphs do not even show, that the real exposure of what I might call
the toilet adjustments came after the pre-pubertal problem of wanting
to be a boy had been dealt with. So that the order normally to be
expected occurred here also. Those emotional tangles associated with
suckling very definitely begin to reveal themselves late (63), at the
very end of the toilet series.

The fears of the cloying hold of an intra-uterine type of existence
begin to show fairly early (4?, 39, 41, etc.) but are very spasmodic
until far along in the series. It is not surprising that as the patient
felt herself becoming more and more childish, this fear of slipping all the way back into that dangerous condition of complete flight from mature life, should have occasionally obtruded itself as a resistance. But here again the expected occurs, for the peak of this trend is only reached after the others have retreated almost into forgetfulness (102 - 111).

Taken in the large, this record gives a remarkably clear picture of a psychological return to childhood and infancy, even to the womb, with a following period of growing up again. There has been some process going on that can only be described as a psychological re-birth.
Chapter III

THE CONVERSION

OF

ST. AUGUSTINE.

2. Sources of conflict, p. 5.
3. Pre-conversion progress of the emotional struggle, p. 16.
4. After the crisis, p. 32.
5. Theoretical considerations, p. 47.
HOME ATMOSPHERE.

In this account of Augustine's conversion and life, an immense amount of the facts will of necessity be omitted. Only those pertinent to the inquiry will be included. The object of this is to show that, after reaching manhood, Augustine retraced his psychological development, resurrected from the buried past of his life problems which had never been solved in his personal growth, or had been unsatisfactorily solved, and now dealt with them in a new way; and that out of this "becoming a child again", this "rebirth", there was released for development that personality which so influenced the life of the Christian Church and the civilization of the West.

Augustine's father was a member of the city council, in the town of Thagaste, Northern Africa. He seems to have been an irritable man, at times showing considerable anger against his wife. He was also perhaps a sensual man, being unfaithful to his wife. He became a Christian catechumen when Augustine was about 16 and was soon baptized, a year before his death; but it seems to have been more a formality to please his wife, than the result of a genuine conviction. Otherwise, he seems to have been a kindly, tolerant man, with ambitions for his son. We can see that it is possible that such unexpected outbursts of temper as this man appears to have been liable to, would create in the imagination of a sensitive boy, a fear of sudden injury if he made a false step. We can also guess that it is possible that his fairly prominent position in a small town, would render him somewhat of a hero in the boys' eyes, and lead to an unconscious identification of the boy with the father, and an effort to emulate him.

(1) Dr. Philip Schaff, "Life and Labors of St. Augustine", Trans. from the German by Rev. T. C. Porter, p. 9
(2) Ibid. p. 9. Also "Confessions", p. 224.
(3) Confessions, p. 226. Schaff, p. 9
(4) Schaff, p. 9
Augustine.

His mother appears to have been a gentle, self-controlled woman who kept silence under her husband's verbal abuse, and unfaithfulness, -- with some show of complacency about it, -- but who was not afraid to speak to him in self-defense later, not to seek to continually influence her son's life. Although she was nominally a Christian all her life, she does not seem to have shown as much zeal early as later. There was certainly great devotion to the church exhibited in her later life.

One would guess that this plain woman, noted more for her devotion than her intelligence, unwittingly had a strong desire to control her son's life, and that this desire was increasingly released when her husband died, and she both lost this outlet to her affections, and also was free from hindrance on his part to carrying out those wishes with regard to her son which were contrary to his. We judge this from her effort to prevent her son's leaving Africa, long after he had reached manhood, from her following him across to Milan and keeping house for him evidently without his invitation, from her frequent tears over him when he was living a rather fine and successful life from an ordinary standpoint, and from her petitions to influential church leaders to push him toward the Christian faith. There seems to be a mixture here of genuine desire for his conversion as leading to a saved and happier life, with a wish to make him subservient to her wishes. Of course, she is quite unaware of any such motive as the latter. But its presence, as a possibility, is strengthened by the impression Augustine himself has. Of course in the case of a historical character such a conjecture as I make here is somewhat uncertain, but seems worth considering as we see her persistence and

(11) Confessions 61, 63, 103, 104, 117. (12) Confessions, p. 62
Augustine.
determination to have her son "stand where she stood". We can then see
how, if there is some truth in this, a struggle would be aroused in the
son, a more intense one than would otherwise be the case, in growing
independent and developing along the lines of his own possibilities.

Augustine seems to have lived a rather normal healthy life as
a boy. He showed neither out-standing anti-social tendencies, nor that
excessive "goodness" that leads the psychiatrist to suspect serious
(13) emotional inhibitions. His mother taught him the elements of
(14) Christianity. But in his adolescence, we find him yielding rather
to his father's influence, in so far as the ideals of the two parents
differed. His father seems to have wished him to become a rhetorician,
(15) a figure of influence, of honor, and of financial security.

When he was seventeen his father died. It is of value to
contrast Augustine's passing reference in a merely parenthetical clause
to this important event, as having occurred two years earlier, with the
long detailed account he gives of his mother's death, covering eleven
(16) pages of his Confessions. Was there a reluctance to speak of his
father's death? Of course from the point of view of those later years
when he wrote his Confessions, his father was of little importance as
compared with his mother, to his mind; yet we can see, if we discount his
later condemnations of his early sexual activities, that in his adolescence
he enjoyed taking over his father's views and desires into himself, and
later was angry for having done so or for having been led by his father
to do so, indicating a possible ambivalent attitude toward his father,
neutralizing his feelings, and explaining his apparent indifference to his
death.

(13) Confessions pp. 12, 25, 26, 32, 34; McCabe, p. 130
(14) Confessions p. 13, 15, 49.
(15) McCabe, p. 18; Schaff-Herzog, p. 9; McCabe, p. 2.
(16) Confessions p. 48, and 227-238.
Augustine

Perhaps his father's death had more effect upon him than he realized. At least we find the traces of his later developing conflicts, first appearing soon after his father's death, as if something was here released. At eighteen, he took a mistress, and for fourteen years was faithful to her, having a son by her, whom he cherished. McCabe considers this an evidence of rare moderation of character, for that age, adding that such fidelity was almost unknown even among Christians, in Africa. Vincentius, a heretical bishop, who would be more likely to be influenced by the motive of casting aspersions upon Augustine than of defending him, admits that Augustine was considered a "quiet and respectable youth".

(18) McCabe, p. 40.
(19) McCabe, p. 39, 40, 41.
SOURCES OF CONFLICT

There is a feeling of timidity, common to adolescence, but in his case, lasting beyond it. It showed in his boasting among his fellows of being as "shameless" as they, in his declaring he had done what he had not done, because he was ashamed of his innocence, in his wish to take part in the noisy arguments and ridicule of the "gang" with whom he consorted, at the time that he was unable to and felt ashamed of this inability. This timidity lasted on into his adult years. In Milan, when hungry for light in his darkness, harboring "tides" of feelings and an "abyss" of danger, he used to visit Bishop Ambrose, yet be unable to ask him a question, or even disturb him enough to make his presence known as the Bishop read, waiting for inquiries. Augustine rationalized that it was unfair to intrude on so busy a man. Again he expresses his fear of "Assenting to anything, fearing to fall headlong"

We sense a fear of personal loss if he take any bold step, bold in his own estimation, indicating an underlying craving for safety. The choleric temper of his father, and the psychological pressure of his pious mother, would go far toward explaining the morbidly severe conscience which this timidity indicates.

One of his rather intense desires was for the praise of others, either as directly given, or as imagined by himself. In his memories of school, we find him quoting the praises of elders for his reading. Of course Augustine flays himself unmercifully in his Confessions, and moreover such desires for the support of praise are common to adolescents as well as others. What interests us is the conflict that the desire stirred up in him.

"For I would not be commended or loved, as actors are
(though I myself did commend and love them), but had rather be
unknown than so known; and even hated, than so loved.....Why,
since we are equally men, do I love in another what, if I did
not hate, I should not spurn and cast from myself?.....Do I
then love in a man, what I hate to be, who am a man?.....
But that orator was of that sort whom I loved, as wishing
to be myself such." (26)

It would seem as if at the time about which he is here writing, that is,
previous to his conversion, he was accustomed to "spurn and cast from"
him all praise, and adulation. Later, following his change of life,
he correctly recognized that this disdain in reality covered up and was
a defense against a craving for that very same praise and adulation. Why
would he so hate it, unless he really was afraid of the intensity of
his own longing for it? Why would he love it in another, unless he
identified himself with that other, (as passages indicate he did in the
(27)
case of actors, ) and so when that other received praise, felt he was
receiving it, thus unconsciously getting around his conscientious scruples
against receiving it?

Three more tendencies indicated in his Confessions, should be
mentioned. One he puzzles over himself --- the pleasure he derives from
grief, from his own emotional sensations. Coe calls attention to this .
While still a school boy reading Aeneas, he remembers that:
"I was grieved that I might not read what grieved me." (29)
He later calls this madness, recognizing something abnormal about it.
While at Carthage at 18 and 19 years of age, he remembers also attending
stage plays, and asks himself:

"Why is it that man desires to be made sad, beholding
doleful and tragical things, which yet himself would by
no means suffer? Yet he desires as a spectator to feel
sorrow at them, and this sorrow is his pleasure.....But I,
miserable, then loved to grieve, and sought what to grieve at." (30)

(26) Confessions p. 82. (27) Confessions p. 44, 45, 46.
Augustine

At the death of his best friend, in his early twenties, we find him again feeling the same way:

"At this grief my heart was utterly darkened.....I became a great riddle to myself.....only tears were sweet to me.....why weeping is sweet to the miserable.....Thus was I wretched and that wretched life I held dearer than my friend. For... though I would willingly have changed it, yet was I more unwilling to part with it than with him." (31)

This perverse tendency, to find a peculiar, and often unrecognized pleasure in one's own suffering, has undoubtedly contributed much to a variety of forms of religious asceticism of the severe sort. Augustine's recognition of its perverseness, indicated in the passages quoted, where he is passing a mature judgment upon an earlier experience, saved him from extremes, very likely, and we find that his monastic "rule" came to be adopted through the ages, largely on account of its moderation.

The other tendency to be mentioned is noted especially in the following passages:

"In those years when I first began to teach rhetoric in my native town, I had made one my friend, but too dear to me.... of my own age.....He had grown up of a child with me.....but he was not yet my friend as afterwards.....yet was it but too sweet,....With me he now erred in mind, nor could my soul be without him.....Thou tookest that man out of this life.....sweet to me above all sweetness of that my life.....I hated all places for that they had not him.....and I wondered yet more that myself, who was to him a second self, could live, he being dead.

......for I felt that my soul and his soul were 'one soul in two bodies': and therefore was my life a horror to me, because I could not live halved.....0 madness which knowest not how to love men, like man!" (32)

Here is not a normal strong companionship; there is this, and something more. There is a passion for another man, such as is usually reserved for a woman. It is not just grief that he feels at the death of his friend, but"horror". He himself in looking back upon it, calls it "madness", and realizes that it was not the kind of friendship one experiences for men, however warm. A psychiatrist would begin to wonder if the evolution of this man's psycho-sexual life had not been delayed or arrested, since

this period is in his late adolescence.

Another male "love" develops later when in Milan, with Alypius, and similar language is used in this case also, though not as strong. What increases one's suspicion that there was something unhealthy here, is a peculiarity in this same Alypius' attitude:

"Alypius indeed kept me from marrying; alleging that so could we by no means with undistracted leisure live together in the love of wisdom....in the outset of his youth he had entered into that course (sexual license with women), but had not stuck fast therein; rather had he felt remorse and revolting at it....he began also to desire to be married; not as overcome with desire of such pleasure, but out of curiosity. For he would fain know, he said, what that should be, without which my life, to him so pleasing, would to me seem not life but a punishment. For his mind, free from that chain, was amazed at my thraldom". (34)

If we may accept this small evidence, Alypius was hetero-sexually inhibited, "free from that chain,". He was not just self-controlled; he could not understand such a desire. He was better satisfied with male friendships.

Additional bits of evidence of this tendency in Augustine's growth lie in his effort to form a bachelor's group, shortly before his conversion, and his part in the development of a monastic type of life for the clergy. This bachelor's group was to live together, ten of them, in a household, with all property in common, and study wisdom. The plan failed to materialize. Augustine was greatly disturbed. After his conversion, while in Hippo, monasteries were not common as yet in the west. Augustine seems to have been one of the originators of the monastic type of life for the clergy,----that is, eager for it, feeling its need.

Note 1. In speaking of the struggle of his soul at the time of his conversion, he first calls his soul "it", and then calls his soul "she" (if the translation is correct) as if the essential part of him was more feminine than masculine, Confessions p. 194. In referring to his mother's religious life, after his conversion, he speaks of her presence "in female garb", with "masculine faith", Confessions p. 213. The coining of this phrase might indicate an ideal to which he would attain, that is, which he felt he as yet lacked.
Another tendency that created difficulty in his life, which I would mention, is the relationship between mother and son. While he was a boy in his "teens", his mother warned him against fornication:

"For she wished, and I remember in private with great anxiety warned me, 'not to commit fornication; but especially never to defile another man's wife'. These seemed to me womanish advices, which I should blush to obey." (37)

The son of course disregarded the first part of this advice, and embarked upon a course of life quite contrary to his mother's wishes.

Conflict between them became sharp over the religious difference. Augustine's Manichaeism was so great an offense to his mother that for a time she declined to eat with him.

The next passage at arms between them occurs on his leaving Africa.

"my mother, who grievously bewailed my journey, and followed me as far as the sea. But I deceived her, holding me by force, that either she might keep me back or go with me, and I feigned that I had a friend whom I could not leave, till he had a fair wind to sail. And I lied to my mother, ....and escaped." (38)

The story continues with her efforts to prevent a separation, and his deception to get rid of her presence. Evidently only by subterfuge could he break loose. He was at this time twenty-nine years old.

He speaks of an excessive tendency on her part to hold him.

"For she loved my being with her, as mothers do, but much more than many." (39)

(37) Confessions p. 32
(38) Confessions p. 103
(39) Confessions p. 104.
Taking account of her earnest desire to have him become a Christian, as she was, and her feeling that he was following a spiritual road leading to destruction, it still seems to me that these desires and fears are augmented by a need to have him physically present by her at the expense of his development and future work, to lean on him, and to control his decisions, long after he has reached what should be independent manhood. This suspicion is strengthened by discovering that somewhat later, his mother, without his invitation evidently, follows him across the sea and the land—a big undertaking in those days—and comes to keep house for him. He mentions that in crossing the mariners were worried about reaching their port, but that instead of being more fearful as a passenger unaccustomed to the sea, it was she who "comforted" them, because she was so confident that God meant her to arrive, evidently a woman of indomitable purpose. He confides in her that he has abandoned Manicheism. From then on he is no longer opposed to her way of life; he no longer flees from her physically, morally and religiously; he now strives to see his way to something of his own, but yet like her beliefs and life. Again and again he refers to her passionate desires for him, and his feelings of being drawn by her influence. "Then he makes his momentous decision in the garden, it is worth noting, that what enables him to sacrifice his mistress is the appearance in a sort of vision of a lovely figure:

"there appeared unto me the chaste dignity of Continency, serene, yet not relaxedly, gay, honestly alluring me to come and doubt not; and stretching forth to receive and embrace me, her holy hands full of multitudes of good examples:......and Continence herself in all, not barren, but a fruitful mother of children of joys, by Thee, her Husband, O Lord. (42)

This figure is a mother, "her holy hands full of multitudes of good

examples", quite similar in description to that which later he gives of
his mother's life. And finally, he makes his first announcement of the
change in his life, to his mother, and there follows a reconciliation with
her that is deeply stirring to him. His first reflection after this
decision is that her prayer and confidence that he should some day stand
where she stood, had been fulfilled. He had moved over to her faith.

Just before her death, he records an experience of sweet communion with
her. Here he mentions the physical setting, one of the very few times
in the whole book that this is done—evidently a vivid and permanent
impression. What I wish to point out, is that above and beyond what
is generally conceded—the heavy influence of his mother in bringing
about his conversion—this weight constituted a serious problem to
Augustine himself; so that he reacted first by rebellion against it, second
by flight, and finally by acquiescence; that further, it was so powerful
upon him in his earliest formative years, that it was responsible for
part of his feelings of guilt, later, which constituted a major portion
of his spiritual struggle.

There are also minor and indirect indications of a conflict with
his father, or rather the father figure. These indications begin in
adolescence and, according to my interpretation, are seen again in his
spiritual wrestling just before his crisis in the garden, and also
much later, at the time of the writing of the Confessions. "hen he was
sixteen years of age, in company with a group of boys, he stole some pears
from a pear tree near his father's vineyard, not because they tasted good,
but for the fun of stealing, and threw the pears to the hogs. "hat healthy
normal boy has not at some time, done something of the sort, and then in

(43) Confessions p. 205  (44) Confessions p. 227
Augustine later years, as a man, however high his ideals or sensitive his conscience, only smiled at such boyish escapades, although he may regret some of them for the injury they did others. But Augustine does not feel this way. He expresses no regret for the injury done to the owner of the tree. He writes eight pages of bitter remorse and self-condemnation for this single minor act of his boyhood. And what he condemns in it becomes plain:

"Nor cared I to enjoy what I stole, but joyed in the theft and sin itself." "And this, that to do what we liked only, because it was misliked." "that I should be gratuitously evil, having no temptation to ill, but ill itself. It was foul and I loved it; I loved to perish, I loved mine own fault...Foul soul, falling from Thy firmament to utter destruction;" "What then did wretched I so love in thee, thou theft of mine, thou deed of darkness, in that sixteenth year of my age." "For, when gathered, I flung them away, my only feast therein being my own sin, which I was pleased to enjoy." "Thus all pervertedly imitate Thee, who remove far from Thee, and lift themselves up against Thee." "Did I wish even by stealth to do contrary to Thy law, because by power I could not, so that being a prisoner, I might mimic a maimed liberty by doing with impunity things unpermitted me, a darkened likeness of Thy Omnipotency...O rottenness, O monstrousness of life, and depth of death! I could like what I might not, only because I might not?" "Thou hast forgiven me these so great and heinous deeds of mine."

"What then was this feeling? For of a truth it was too foul; and woe was me, who had it." "Foul is it; I hate to think on it, to look on it." (45)

He himself clearly recognizes that it was not the act itself, but the motive, that was so heinous to him. What he condemns is the rebellion against God, and enjoyment of that rebellion; the desire to step into God's place, and imitate him, if only in a "darkened likeness". It seems quite unreasonable to suppose, however, that at the age of sixteen, from what we know of Augustine's life, he was not consciously rebelling against God as here described. This represents Augustine's later explanation of the incident, in terms of that later theology. At sixteen he was simply flouting authority, in the persons of some property owner, the civic authorities, and possibly his own father. Here is the struggle with the thwarting father figure.

(45) Confessions, p. 158
Augustine.

Of course in adolescence it is not only normal to have such desires, but necessary, if one is to pass from the submission of childhood to the independence of maturity, where compliance with authority springs not out of fear, but out of one's recognition of its social value; and where one becomes a father and figure of authority one's self. The fact that Augustine takes so much space to abuse himself unmercifully for this early attitude, makes one suspicious that he is still, at the age of forty-six, when writing his Confessions, troubled with temptations to rebellion against the authority; that, because of continuing guilt, as here indicated, about such rebellion, he has never out-grown this adolescent attitude.

We find a similar attitude described in connection with his conflict over recognizing the source of evil as in himself, just previous to his surrender in the garden:

"But when I rose proudly against Thee, and ran against the Lord with my neck, with the thick bosses of my buckler!" (46)

About the same time there is the new emotional charging of an old argument concerning Manicheism. The argument is in regard to the source of evil. According to the Manichean doctrine, evil is due to an "opposing mass" which can corrupt the soul of man. The soul of man is an "offspring of Thy Substance". Corruption therefore of it constitutes a conquest of God, or an injury to God. This was an old argument to Augustine. It only now appeals to him with emotional force. It evidently once was an intellectual matter to be discussed cleverly, with balancing of pros and cons. But now he feels all too keenly within himself, without external argument, that he must think of God as inviolate to save his soul, and refuse the fearful temptation to think of God as injurable. Moreover he says now that the logical end of the Manichean reasoning is

"horrible blasphemy of heart and tongue",

(46) Confessions, page 158
(47) Confessions, page 148
(48) Confessions, page 148
from which there is no escape. As we read these pages, and see how vividly later he tells of trying to beat away from his mind his "phantoms", and with belief in the incorruptibility of God to get rid of "all that unclean troup that buzzed around it" (his mind) and to keep from falling into that hell of supposing God responsible for evil, it seems that we are reading of Augustine's own efforts not to blaspheme God.

At this time Augustine is thinking of God in abstract terms. One can hardly become so excited, so furiously disturbed, over an abstract idea only. There must be something behind this. Is it too hazardous a guess to suppose that the emotional charge in this instance comes from the old rebellion against authority, that arose in connection with the figure in 'his mind of his own father? It is in reality this that he is tempted to revile. It is of course a commonplace that our early ideas of God are moulded heavily by the images of our parents. Augustine's feeling for his father, in all references is none too friendly, in fact he blames his father for the beginning of his sexual difficulties. His mother encouraged him to think of God as his father, instead of his earthly father. And abnormal psychology has shown so conclusively that the images of our parents are still very much alive to us, influencing our behavior unconsciously, if there has been an undue attachment to them, although the parents themselves may have long since died. One patient has consistently used the present tense, saying "My mother is punishing me", "When I saw you walking away, I saw my mother walking away from me", although her mother had been dead eighteen years. Augustine was unable ever to break free from his mother's control over him; it is not unreasonable then to suppose that the distorted image of his father also continued to exercise an undue if unconscious influence in his mind. This hypothesis is

(49) Confessions, p. 146
(50) Confessions, 146, 147, 150, 151
(51) Confessions p. 15.
Augustine

strengthened by his reluctance in speaking of his father's death.

I think we should bear in mind that these struggles with the parents are the concrete foci where fundamental forces representing far more than the actual parents meet. The family situation is the stage on which is acted out a theme that is recurrent in many other situations. Union and separation, specifically felt at times as dependence and independence, are alternating necessities. Any emotional union with another or others, may become a prison wall against a larger union, and separation is required. Usually this occurs in such gradual steps that one may hardly notice it, resulting in a growing relationship. But at times union continues in one form so long, that separation to allow a deeper or larger union never occurs, or only at the cost of some dramatic break.
We come now to trace, sketchily, as far as is possible in a historical character, the effort Augustine made to deal with his various emotionally charged desires, some of them bound to conflict with others, in reaching that universal goal of men---some degree of unification of personality, to provide a clear channel through which greater power might find expression.

Augustine's first apparent step was in finding the work of Cicero called Hortensius. He felt, he says, for the first time, the desire not to embrace any one sect, but to find truth herself. We shall notice as we go on that a certain integrity, a certain honesty with himself, marked Augustine's endeavors to find truth.

One of the first puzzles we stumble upon, considering this love of truth, and this integrity, is why he clung to the belief in divination so long. He not only hung onto the belief for ten years or so, while his friends had given it up, but clung to it, to his own surprise. His best friends could not dissuade him. Looking back he feels that he was very obstinate about it. Even after a clear refutation has been provided this honest and keen-minded man, he finds himself returning to re-examine the question again, apparently unwilling to give up the argument. He reasons with himself that he wishes to be able adequately to answer every one on the subject who might question him. But as one watches the involved arguments he goes through and the delay in giving up the belief, and takes into account his own inability to understand how slow he was to do this, the supposition forces itself on one that there was an emotional but hidden reason for wishing to keep his belief.

Augustine places the discussion of his surrender of belief in divination in the midst of the larger question he is handling, as to the

(52) Confessions, p. 49
(53) Confessions, p. 65, 67, 68.
(54) Confessions, p. 69
(55) Confessions, p. 154
(56) Confessions, p. 156
source of evil, as if they were related. On giving up the belief, there
presses upon him the question, "whence is evil?"

"But when I rose proudly against Thee....(the thoughts) met
my sight on all sides by heaps and troops.....as if they
would say unto me, 'Whither goest thou, unworthy and defiled?'

It is evident from this passage that he was fighting off these thoughts
that accused him of being "unworthy and defiled", and sought to assert
his own innocence and irresponsibility in his own eyes. Does not this
provide us with an explanation as to why he so needed the belief in
astrology? If men's lives are ordered by the stars, then they are not
responsible. A man need not feel guilty. He can say to his pricking
conscience: "You are wrong, I could not help it." He hugged the belief
in divination to his bosom as a life preserver against being drowned in
the misery of feelings of unworthiness and defilement. It was only his
sense of honesty that forced him to abandon that false protector. Psycho-
analysts have repeatedly found that there is such a thing as a feeling of
guilt of which the possessor is not aware. He only feels sick, unhappy
and suffering. One female patient of mine, after attaining some
psychological insight, exclaimed: "I never knew what a wicked woman I was
until you showed me"; and again later said: "It is not sickness any more;
it is badness." Augustine's mental health, and his conversion, awaited
this giving up of a mental defense against recognizing a distressing fact
about himself.

During his stay in Carthage, his eighteenth, and nineteenth years,
he left the rather loose hold Christianity had upon him, and became a
Manichaean catechumen for about nine years. It was evidently not
satisfying to him. For although he enthusiastically won friends to it,
yet he continually argued with himself about it, sought out leaders with

(57) Confessions p. 157
(58) Confessions p. 158, 159
(59) Freud, "The Ego and the Id", p. 32 ff. Edward Glover, "Technique of
Psychoanalysis", p. 35, 36.
(60) McCabe, p. 72, 73.
troublesome questions concerning it, did not remain in it, and never attempted to become one of the "elect", although the type of individual who naturally would.

Two questions then arise: what drew him to it, and why was it unsatisfying to him? These are of course intellectual reasons. But as I believe that even an Augustine is more influenced by his emotions than by his reason alone, and as this concerns us more in this study, I would state what seem to me the deeper influences than intellectual arguments. He was led on the emotional side to adopt Manichaeism as another form of defense against his unconscious sense of guilt; as a means of breaking away from his mother's control; and as a guarantee of psychological security.

The Manichaean teaching involved a separation of matter (flesh) and spirit. The three fold "seal" towards an ascetic life, adopted by the "elect" or "perfecti", meant abstention from all defilement through evil speech or animal food, from all avoidable contact with the material world and from marriage and all sexual indulgence; furthermore, salvation consisted in part in the final separation of spirit from matter.

One method for handling a sense of guilt is to separate off from all contact with each other, spirit and flesh. Jones describes how men feel the necessity of separating the sacred from the flesh, women like the mother from those they would marry and with whom they would have sexual relations, choosing therefore for physical relations, women of a lower class and inferior stamp. The effort to keep spiritual love entirely walled-off from sexual love is clearly seen in religious history. Clutton-Brook characterizes Manichaeism as the direct expression of a fear, the fear of the flesh. If matter and spirit can be separated, they become manageable. Is it not a reasonable surmise then that Augustine

(62) Heely, Brunner and Bower "Outline of Theory and Technique of Psycho-analysis", quoting Jones, p. 105
(63) "The Spirit" edited by Streeter, p. 233
Augustine was attempting through this religion, among other things, to deal with his sense of guilt still unconscious, by separating that about which he felt guilty, his sexual life, and those things which he held most sacred? The gradual surrender of Manichaeism, would then, if my surmise is correct, mean for him an admission to himself of his most painful consciousness of guilt.

Heresy was the worst sin the son could fall into, in the eyes of the mother. She passed over his relations with his mistress, but was greatly troubled by his Manichaean leanings, weeping over it, dreaming of his conversion, interceding with him, praying for him, seeking the assistance of others, and even, at one time, refusing to eat at the same table with him because of it. By adopting it and holding to it, he could well have been expressing his effort to break away from his mother's domination.

The Manichaean doctrine was based on knowledge. Knowledge was salvation. To know with absolute surety would be security against doubts and fears. Every one hungers for certainty and security, to feel so. Anyone who is emotionally too dependent upon his mother, as Augustine's conflicting attitudes toward her would indicate he was, feels this need of security especially. To obtain it through Manichaeism might have been one of the reasons that led him to seek that religion.

It was clearly unsatisfying to him intellectually. But even more did it fail to satisfy his emotional needs. That need for inner unity drove him out of it. Manichaeism kept him in conflict with himself, divided him up under the control of disparate and conflicting desires. It kept him trying to separate off his sexual life from his ideals; it kept him trying to cover up his sense of guilt, disown it, and dis-sociate.

Augustine

it from himself; it kept him distressingly torn between rebellion against his mother's desires and his repudiated bondage to her and affection for her.

Before he leaves Africa he begins to drop Manichaeism, but it is not until his mother arrives in Milan, that he tells her he has left it. He does not know which way to turn. He still appears to have entertained a repugnance to the Christian Church, as well as intellectual difficulties about its faith. He speaks of being ashamed of it, and endeavoring not to listen to Ambrose's teaching, but only to his eloquence. This opposition to the Christian faith which he had taken in with his "mother's milk, devoutly drunk in, and deeply treasured," might be related to the underlying current of his emotional opposition to his pressure of his mother's influence.

He passes through a long intellectual debate over the nature of God. He has to change from conceiving of Him in physical terms of mass, to spiritual terms of activity. This is a shift in thinking, necessary to every mature conception of God, for all children picture Him in material form.

Throughout this struggle with his religious and philosophical views and beliefs, he is hindered from progress by a great fear of losing something seemingly indispensable, of being thwarted, deprived, injured, of discovering himself less than he hoped he was, of some terrible, vague consequence. It appears in different forms in many places in his mind. At the age of seventeen:

"I dared even......to desire, and to compass a business deserving death for its fruits." (71)

(67) Confessions, p. 92-101, 113 (68) Confessions p. 113
(69) Confessions p. 49 (70) Confessions p. 147
(71) Confessions p. 47
The timidity mentioned on previous pages of this paper, would of course
spring out of fear of the consequences of bolder action. His life-long
difficulty with the craving for praise and adulation, would be in part
due to the need for compensating for this underlying feeling of lack. With
Ambrose, I have shown that he lacked the courage and initiative to share
and attempt to work out his problems. Intellectually he was troubled by
the same hesitation.

"For I kept my heart from assenting to anything, fearing
to fall headlong." (73)

He compares his condition to a patient who has been deceived by false
hopes from one physician, and who fears to trust himself to another.
He is afraid to give up his relation with his mistress, and feels actual
horror at the thought of it, clearly more than a mere feeling of depriva-
tion of a sexual pleasure .

So we find him constantly postponing decisions. On pages 16 and 17
above I have shown how he put off the surrender of his faith in astrology.
He kept finding new arguments to debate over the subject, exactly like
a patient passing through a psychotherapeutic treatment, who comes to the
point of recognizing some unpalatable truth about himself, seems to accept
it, but immediately begins to discuss it from a new angle, obviously to
avoid that very recognition. Abandoning one defense as untenable, he
seeks refuge in another, against the necessity of losing the whole, trying
continually to delay the evil day of sacrifice of some illusion. Augustine
later, after hearing the story of the conversion of Victorinus, and being
"set on fire to imitate him" still delayed, and acted, as he put it,
like a sleeper who

"defers to shake off sleep........(saying) 'Anon, anon',
'presently', 'leave me but a little '!". (73)
Another time he sums up the years he has searched and how he still, after intellectual certainty had arrived, kept from any decision. And even in the garden, at the point of actual decision, he still cries out:

"How long, how long, tomorrow, and tomorrow? Why not now?"

Meanwhile his life outwardly, continues much as it has been, with his business over teaching, studying, seeking the favor and patronage of those able to give it, and recreation. He kept very busy, perhaps with the desire to avoid his distressing problems. But through it all there flowed like an underground river a passionate desire for something better that would not be denied, the sine qua non, according to William James, for a conversion experience.

In following Augustine's development up to the climax of the scene in the garden, when he surrenders his sexual affairs, we find one element is a gradual and painful emergency of a sense of guilt. After reaching Rome, within two or three years at least of his conversion, there is evidence that he was quite comfortable about his moral condition:

"For I still thought 'that it was not we that sin, but that I know not what other nature that sinned in us'; and it delighted my pride to be free from blame; and when I had done any evil...I loved to excuse it, and to accuse I know not what other thing." (83)

What"other things" did he blame as the source of evil? We catch a glimpse of them, through the debate with himself at the beginning of Book VII. Augustine understood the Manichaean religion to teach a dualism, wherein a "nation of darkness" is an "opposing mass" against God. This "nation of darkness" affects the soul of man and produces evil in it. This is the source of evil, something outside of man. Augustine now, in an emotional struggle, gives up this dualism, and comes to the

(79) Confessions p. 193 (80) Confessions p. 203
(85) Confessions p. 147; Also see Schaff, ibid, p. 30
conclusion that God is incorruptible, unchangeable, and uninjurable. This of course brought forward the question as to the "cause of evil". He now begins to see that "free will was the cause of our doing ill"; that is, that the source of evil lies in man himself. But something in him resists this idea strongly; he evidently greatly fears it.

"But I was not able clearly to discern it. So then endeavoring to draw my soul's vision out of that deep pit, I was again plunged therein, and endeavoring often, I was plunged back as often.... But this raised me a little ....... By these thoughts I was again sunk down and choked; yet not brought down to that hell of error ....... to think rather that Thou dost suffer ill, than that man doth it (88).

This fear is more frankly stated in another passage:

"I feared therefore to believe Him born in the flesh, lest I should be forced to believe Him defiled by the flesh." (89)

What this fear, this resistance is, that so emotionally complicates his intellectual problem of the source of sin, becomes plainer, when he discusses his surrender of the confidence in divination, all in this same connection. I have already spoken of this above (pages 16 and 17). The discarding of that superstition is immediately followed by an inward battle:

"I sought anxiously 'whence was evil?' What were the pangs of my teeming heart, what groans...... the whole tumult of my soul, .........I roared out from the groanings of my heart... ....I found no resting place, nor did they so receive me...... nor did they yet suffer me to turn back...... these inferior things were set above me, and pressed me down, and nowhere was there respite or space of breathing. They met my sight on all sides by heaps and troops, and in thought the images thereof presented themselves unsought, as I would return to Thee, as if they would say unto me, 'Whither goes thou, unworthy and defiled?" (90)

He was evidently afraid of discovering himself guilty in an extreme degree. He shrunk from it, and yet he could not give up that with which it was involved, the perfection of God, and deeper, without his being aware of it, his mother's beliefs. But as he works through the struggle, he comes to the painful realization that some change is required in himself:

(86) Confessions p. 149 (87) Confessions p. 149
(88) Confessions p. 149, 150 (89) Confessions p. 110
(90) Confessions p. 158, 159
"I heard this Thy voice....'nor shalt thou convert Me, like the food of thy flesh, into thee, but thou shalt be converted into me". (91)

And finally he is driven to admit to himself his grave guilt:

"but Thou, 0 Lord, while he was speaking, didst turn me round toward myself, taking me from behind my back where I had placed me, unwilling to observe myself; and setting me before my face, that I might see how foul I was, how crooked and defiled, bespotted and ulcerous. And I beheld and stood aghast; and whither to flee from myself I found not. And if I sought to turn mine eye from off myself, he went on with his relation, and Thou again didst set me over against myself, and thrustest me before my eyes, that I might find out mine iniquity, and hate it. I had known it, but made as though I saw it not, winked at it, and forgot it." (92)

The feeling of guiltiness becomes overwhelming, and he immediately begins to punish himself. In describing the feelings that follow this self-recognition, he uses such expressions as

"abhor myself", upbraid myself", "gnawed within", "said against myself", "scourges", "lashed", "secret penalties", "punishment of my own", "acquising myself". (93)

This overwhelming "conviction of sin" is not something new entering his life; it is an old feeling emerging into consciousness. He himself says "I had known it", and corroborates my contention that he had been fighting against recognizing it: "Made as though I saw it not, winked at it, and forgot it".

Of course the problem of his sexual life is at the center of his conversion. I have noted above (page 5) his fear that he was not as manly as sexually uninhibited, as the other young men with whom he consorted when in Carthage. There was clearly a fear of sexual license, and also of having that fear known, that is of admitting it fully to himself. The conclusion logically following such a fear was too damaging to his self-respect, namely, that he was too "womanish", as he expressed it himself. He soon takes a mistress, however, and remains faithful to her for fourteen years. It is only towards the end of that period,

that there appear any signs of questioning this relationship. Some time
during his stay in Milan it seems to occur to him that perhaps his mistress
is a hindrance (not a sin) to his intellectual search, and a partial cause
of his mental restlessness and unhappiness. For he raises the question
whether he shall give up his mistress and remain continent, or whether he
shall marry. It is as yet purely a question of policy. He weighs
the arguments. He feels he will be too miserable unless

"folded in female arms" (96)

He thinks he ought to be able to live continently, but feels he never
can. He argues for marriage, and his best friend argues against it.
(97)
Others urge him to marry, especially his mother. She had previously
been opposed to marriage for him, but now began to change her mind.
Unable to make up his own mind, he brought his problem to her, and asked
her to seek a revelation in prayer. He was much distressed, when she
found none.

"Yet the matter was pressed on, and a maiden
asked in marriage." (99)
(100)
Still marriage itself does not appeal to him. With his friends he
plans a bachelor community. This plan meets obstacles. He is very unhappy
at its failure. His concubine is torn from his side. He says that his
heart

"which clave unto her was torn and wounded
and bleeding" (8)

There is no other word of grief at her loss, but instead, he takes a new
concubine and says that his pain at the separation from the first one
passed. It seems reasonable to suppose that this woman with whom he had
lived for fourteen years meant little to him as a woman. His expressions
of grief at the loss of those whom he genuinely loved is very great, and
cover pages of his Confessions (see above, page 7, and Confessions p. 230

(95) Confessions p. 139 f. (96) Confessions p. 139
(97) Confessions p. 141 (98) Confessions p. 33
(99) Confessions p. 141 (100) Confessions p. 141
to 238 etc.). She was a sexual outlet, and little else. No true mating, but chiefly the relief to a local physical tension. He was still too wrapped up within himself, to actually love outside himself to any extent.

Up to somewhere along in his thirty-second year; that is, within at least a few months of the turning point in his conversion, his life with a mistress is still a problem of policy, rather than of morality. (101) He takes it as a problem to Simplicianus. This man tells him the story of the conversion of Victorinus, who made the necessary sacrifice. Fired with the desire to imitate Victorinus, here Augustine comes to see his relations with a mistress as the one great hindrance to an entire giving of himself to God (102).

Gradually his inward problems have come to center around this one conflict: between his craving for overt sexual expression, and his hunger to devote himself wholly to God. Why this should be so, and why the only solution for him was continence, needs explanation and will be considered in a later theoretical discussion. Meanwhile, it is to be noted that his relations with his mistress have a compulsive character: they involve distress and fear if he does not yield to them; he has to perform the action; he feels relief in performing it; and yet he recognizes that there is something all wrong with it. He speaks of this relationship in such terms as these:

"its deadly sweetness" (103)
"an insatiable appetite" (104)
"the birdlime of that pleasure" (103)
"I could never lead a single life" (103)
"He (Alypius) would fain know, he said what that should be, without which my life, to him so pleasing, would to me seem not life, but punishment" (103)
"it held me captive" (104)
"a slave to lust" (105)
"my chain" (103)
"dreading to be loosed" (103)
"custom not resisted became necessity" (106)

(103) Confessions p. 140 (104) Confessions p. 141
(105) Confessions p. 143. (106) Confessions p. 186
"put back his (Alypius') good persuasions, as it were the hand of one that would unchain me" (103)
"feared as much to be freed of all encumbrances, as we should fear to be encumbered with it" (107)
"to will 'was not in itself to be able'" (108)

There are many such expressions. No sooner is his mistress sent away against his wishes, than, unable to wait the planned two years till his fiancee should be ready to marry, he immediately takes another mistress, and his pains become less acute. He speaks of "horror" at giving up his mistress. Here are the elements of an obsession, a protection against a terrible fear.

I shall show later, that there is reason to suspect that his relations with his mistress were not the real source of his intense feelings of guiltiness. When, in his Confessions, he considers that his great sin, he is displacing his emotion from one focus of ideas to another, less painful one. That is, to explain the growing sense of wickedness, he fastens upon his relations with his mistress, surrenders these relations, and continues to blame them.

But this conviction of the necessity of sacrificing his mistress, involves a very great sacrifice on his part. His fear of giving up his overt sexual actions could not be fear of the deprivation of sexual pleasure, for he calls it a chain, and an encumbrance; nor could it be fear of deprivation of his mistress' companionship, as I have shown this meant little to him. I have shown that there are indications of a fear of being unmanly, "womanish", and that his sexual life was a protection against these. To give up these relations would be to give up the sign of manliness, to accept permanently the possibility of psychic emasculation. This is where the "horror" and the "fear" and the "mute shrinking" come in. And his voluntary acceptance of this pain and this loss was one of the large steps he took toward the release of that unified personality that developed in

(103) Confessions p. 140 (107) Confessions p. 187
(108) Confessions p. 196 (109) Confessions p. 201
subsequent years. The immense expenditure of psychic energy, the fierce struggle to swing the weight of the scales from one side to the other, is most vividly and remarkably described in his Confessions.

(110) Confessions p. 186-188; 192-198; 200-205. (111) Confessions p. 151

As his struggles went on, we can see a few signs of a growing awareness of the necessity of facing reality. These signs have already been mentioned: his surrender of his reliance on divination; his recognition of some of the impossible claims and aims of Manichaeism; and his increasing admission of his inner tendencies, his real self. Another sign is one of the changes in his conception of God: Instead of thinking of God in terms of mass, he begins to dimly see God as spiritual. The mould to form the conception of God in all children is the parent or parent substitute. A gigantic physical person is with many all thro life the unexamined unconscious frame within which they fit their view of God. Augustine is beginning to break this frame. He is now getting away from psychic bondage to his parents. The mental umbilical cord is being cut; weaning is occurring. Moreover, instead of accepting certain old beliefs about God, and trying to fit them in with what he observes, he now searches for the highest and best he can find, for what actually exists, and says to himself, as it were: "That must be an attribute of God". This is stated in another way, but more clearly in a passage repeated three times, as a new insight that had come to him:

"And then I saw Thy invisible things understood by the things which are made." (112)

This is the method of modern science. It is the road away from wish-fulfilling phantasy to the recognition of reality. Another statement, referring to the same period, indicates this change in him again.

"I perceived myself to be far off from Thee, in the region of unlikeness, as if I heard this Thy voice from on high: 'I am the food of grown men; grow, and thou shalt feed upon Me; nor shalt thou convert Me, like the food of thy flesh, into thee, but thou shalt be converted into Me'. " (113)

(110) Confessions p. 186-188; 192-198; 200-205. (111) Confessions p. 151
Augustine

The psychotic changes his conception of the external world, hearing voices and sounds and seeing sights where there are none, to suit his internal needs. The opposite attitude—the willingness to be changed one's self in according with the needs of life—is the way of mental health, and also of development. This refusal of mere satisfaction of wishes is expressed by Augustine again, in another Section:

"He is Thy best servant who looks not so much to hear that from Thee which himself willeth, as rather to will that which from Thee he heareth". (114)

We also discover, as he finds his way through his mental problems, signs of a growing capacity to love beyond himself. It is feeble at first.

"And yet did I not press on to enjoy my God; but was borne up to Thee by Thy beauty, and soon borne down from Thee by mine own weight....nor did I anyway doubt that there was One to whom I might cleave, but that I was not yet such as to cleave to Thee" (115).

But it is growing stronger. He came to discover how utterly desirable was a God who was

"undefilable and unalterable, and in no degree mutable" (116)

Later in the paper I wish to indicate more fully how this mature capacity to love grew enormously in him. But it should be noted here that in the field of social relations Augustine was very friendly. He was the center of a group both in Africa and in Italy. Friends gathered around him. He seems to have been popular, particularly, perhaps exclusively, among men. And later in life his contacts grew voluminously throughout the Christian world.

Another indication of the way his eyes were being opened to real conditions in life is his new-found willingness to sacrifice himself, or attitudes and desires that had always seemed indispensable parts of himself. He sacrificed a good deal of his dependence upon his mother, by fleeing Africa; by choosing continence instead of marriage to which she urged him;

(114) Confessions p. 271
(115) Confessions p. 168
(116) Confessions p. 149
by working through, at immeasurable personal cost, his own conception of Christian doctrines, rather than supinely accepting his mother's. He gave up many of his previous defenses against painful self-recognition; in surrendering divination and Manichaeism; in seeking confession and the breaking of his reserve, to Ambrose; in actually seeing himself more correctly, as shown by the quotation on page 24 above. He gave up his "hopes of honor and profit", first in the actual loss of the intensity of the desire, and second, in closing his school of rhetoric and retiring entirely from this activity. This had given him a feeling of security because he was successful in a public way; and it had compensated for feelings of unworthiness, to some extent. He of course surrendered his life with a mistress, the most difficult wrench, and with it, I surmise, his inward sense of masculinity. He sacrificed that sense of safety that resides in clinging to old ways, already tried, and which are a protection against the dangers of unknown changes.

At the turning point of all this conflict, we find the typical narrowing of consciousness, and increased suggestibility, that Coe pointed out a long time ago. Janet speaks of the retraction of the field of consciousness, and Jesus of the narrow gate and the straightened way that leads to life. He takes everything as if it had a personal reference to him; it "speaks directly to his condition" as Fox would say. Writing eleven years later, he quotes the conversation recorded in the story of Pontitianus, and quotes it as if it voiced what he was trying to get himself to express. He sees in it his own problem, and his own solution, and the hearing of it brings on the crisis. The voices of children, which he speaks of hearing while in the garden saying: "take up and read", whether actually heard or hallucinated, he receives as a personal command.

(117) Confessions p. 121 (118) Confessions p. 177
(121) Confessions p. 190 - 193.
Augustine and takes up his Bible to read. He opens at random and accepts the first passage his eye falls on as a direct message to him. This also he interprets as if it was written for his particular sin. The word "flesh", which Paul uses to cover a variety of activities, Augustine understands (122) as referring to his one sin of "concupiscence". It is evident that his mind is so absorbed with one inescapable problem, that nothing that is not relatable, correctly or incorrectly, to it, is of any consequence. This man of brilliant analytic powers, entirely uncritically accepts the suggestions that are offered at that supreme moment. Of course the way he understands the suggestions is wholly expressive of his immediate needs. But the point I wish to make is that the gradual gathering-up of various conflicts into one single stream of "either or", means a rush of emotion that topples over intellect, as it bursts through old barriers, like a great river, swollen with tributaries, breaking through a dam, the very narrowness of the aperture causing such a swiftness of current as to carry everything before it, and release new energy to be directed into useful channels.

(122) Confessions p. 203-204.
AFTER THE CRISIS.

According to William James there is a French view that the change in Augustine's life took some four years, before really turning in the new direction. This view considers that the scene in the garden, where he surrendered his relations with all mistresses and set out on a life of absolute continence, was only the first step in a series of changes before his conversion was really complete, and that the completion was marked by his acceptance, reluctantly, of ordination, at the age of 37. Coe considers that one of the integral elements in a genuine conversion is the period of reconstruction that follows the crisis, and that this, not the crisis, determines its permanency. Augustine's life up to the decision in the garden had been largely a public one. Some four years of retirement followed. Then came public life again till the end of his days. What more reasonable than to suppose that this interlude, so unlike his usual plan of life, was necessary as a period of re-adjustment to the new way he had undertaken, before he could take up life again? This supposition is strengthened by the fact that during this interlude he is bothered by a problem which actually belongs in a pre-conversion view of life. This is the fear of death. Two years after the garden scene we find him writing to his close friend, Nebridius, expressing his search "through complete withdrawal from the turmoil of transitory things", to, "develop that fearlessness in the face of death" which shall release the highest joy. The references to this problem seem to be limited to the few years after his garden experience. Years later we find that calm sense of security in discussing death, hell and eternal punishment that indicates entire freedom from fears of such things, and which is one of the hall marks of a thorough conversion. I assume, then,

(123) William James, "Varieties of Religious Experience", p. 171 Note 1.
that this was a period of growth in a new direction for him; a period of some uncertainty as to the outcome; the uncertainty becoming increasingly less; and the great lessening of that uncertainty being outwardly indicated by his final acceptance of ordination.

This was a period of new integration. We might sum up the changes that occurred, during this interval and later, as a result of the conversion experience, in the following way, although we thereby distort the true nature of the living growth, for the convenience of description. Attitudes, previously accepted as a matter of course or disguised from himself, now were recognized, accepted as problems to be dealt with, and treated as temptations to be repudiated. His sexual desires, his craving for praise, his hatred, and his enjoyment of suffering, are among these. Furthermore he experienced forgiveness; his sense of guilt comes in here. He found a new basis for security. His craving for adulation, and his dependence upon his mother come in here. Some of his tendencies he never recognized, or only in part, but sublimated instead; his cruel desires, his unusually strong love feelings toward those of his own sex, and some of his love of himself, come under this head. And finally, and most important, he found, or there had come to him, a new center about which to wrap his life, to which to devote himself wholly; his love of God comes in here.

I have tried to show that Augustine was quite comfortable about his relations with his mistresses up to within a short time of his decision to give them up. Then this short time came, he first became uncomfortable about these relations, and debated what to do about them, finding it excessively difficult to make up his mind. Further, if he could know what was best, he still felt himself unable to extricate himself from his "chained" condition. Immediately previous to his surrender, he was
overwhelmed by an apparently new sense of guilt about that relationship. The decision followed closely. After this, sexual relations became a feared and repudiated temptation. Now not merely does sexual life seem evil to him, but even sexual feelings. Although his praises for those women who take the vow of virginity, and his insistence on its superiority over the life of marriage, his effort to explain away the sexual indulgences of the patriarchs of the Old Testament, on the argument that they lived that way out of a sense of duty to increase the population; and his advice for complete continence in marriage, given with that reasonableness and moderation that characterized most of his asceticism are all more or less common views for the church of that day, yet we see in it personal experience, when we note the language in which he describes the dangers to purity from merely looking at the opposite sex and warns of "Eve in every woman", even in one's own mother. He is still evidently troubled himself, for he dreams of taking part in sexual acts:

"but in sleep, not only so as to give pleasure, but even to obtain assent, and what is very like reality" (134)

He is haunted by day by images of that life. He guards himself most scrupulously in action, making it a rule to visit no women in his pastoral calling, except widows and orphans in trouble, and then only in the presence of ecclesiastical witnesses.

All this needs an explanation that is not obvious. If we consider that there was a definite abnormality here, and that Augustine was in a neurotic sense obsessed with sexual relations with women, it is necessary for us to consider his relations with his mistresses and his thoughts about marriage as symptoms behind which the true reason for the difficulty lies concealed. If we are convinced that one cannot call this a neurotic symptom, but that it is merely a strong natural desire in

Augustine, a virile man, who has high ideals, we are unable to account for a number of things. A healthy man who has decided to live a continent life does not feel that it is wrong to be tempted, nor wrong to have sexual feelings. No matter how high his ideals, it is only the yielding to these desires and these feelings in action or in thought that is wrong. If he was not obsessed in thought about these things, why did he take such excessive precautions as described above? Furthermore his feelings of being sexually guilty do not arise while indulging in sexual relations but only when he surrenders them and such feelings continue long after he has desisted from such relations. And besides why did he ever feel so guilty about his sexual life, when his mother, a devout Christian, Bishop Ambrose, and others, did not consider that side of his life in any marked degree wrong? Then again why did he choose continence instead of marriage? He was not expecting at that time to enter the priesthood. He was not afraid of the sexual act itself, nor of living with a woman continuously. He seems to have deeply needed continence, absolute continence, not only in act, but also in thought and feeling, a sort of desexualized life, in order to allay the pricks of his conscience. It is not the occurrence of sexual desires that requires explanation, but Augustine's fear of the slightest trace of such desires remaining in him. If we suppose that he was troubled with unconscious sexual phantasies about his mother, our problem resolves itself, remembering that such phantasies are the symbolic expression of the longing for a renewal of the safety, comfort and simplicity of the original organic union with the mother before birth, without the death to development that such an actual moving backwards would imply. We can then understand why Augustine avoided marriage; for marriage would seem unconsciously to be giving reality to those phantasies. In this way too, would be explained why he chose continence, and continence in thought and feeling as well as action; because thereby he repudiated absolutely these phantasies. Also
we can see better why his sexual relations with his mistresses were of such a compulsive character. They formed a compromise between two incompatible desires, both of which, however, he must satisfy: one was to reach maturity and manhood and prove to himself that he had; i.e., was a man and a mature one, able to enter into marriage relations; the other was to avoid anything that seemed like a realization in life of those guilty phantasies; and a mistress, being very inferior to a mother, could not be likely to be confused with a mother. Then finally such a supposition gives us the clue to a part of his excessive sense of guilt. The concurrence in time of the emergence from unconscious mental life of his sense of guilt, and his blaming himself for his sexual relations, is quite natural, and on the other hand, the continuation of that over-developed sense of guilt after dropping those very sexual relations is quite easily appreciated.

For what he felt guilty about, in part, was not really the life with his mistress, but his phantasies, still troublesome - the Eve in every woman, even one's own mother; and so desisting from overt sexual expression was no cure. He continued to feel guilty. The irrational character of this sense of guilt and its continuation for some years, will be shown in a later section. Meanwhile we can see why it was that all his life he dreaded not that he would return to his pre-conversion practices so much as that he might at any moment think even the slightest sexual thought, or feel even the slightest sexual stirrings. Into this hypothesis fit two small puzzles. The figures of his mistresses faded before the dawning vision of "Continence", who appeared as a mother and who would embrace him, and whom he accepted. That is, he took a Platonic friendship with his mother as his ideal for relations with women. Later, as I have noted above, he warned young men against all women, because "Eve", that is the woman who would sexually seduce, was in all women, including one's own mother. Is it not possible that this warning sprang out of personal experience?

We note then that during this period of self-recognition, remarkable sacrifice and new integration, his sexual practices changed from being an accepted mode of life, to becoming a puzzle, to involving a great renunciation, and finally to ending in a most thoroughly refused temptation. Gradually even the power of this temptation seems to have grown less in his life. Certainly the length of the discussion of this matter in this paper, will give a very incorrect impression unless corrected by the fact that following his ordination, this problem decreased immensely in importance, and, taking a minor place in his life, was handled with comparative ease and balance.

His craving for attention and recognition, now becomes an admitted fact. Previous to his conversion, I have shown on page 6 above, there are indications that he disdained all praise. Subsequently he recognizes this as an indication of a longing for it too intense to admit, and sees that all through this period he was seeking the adulation of his fellowmen. Perhaps one of his motives for retirement from all public life, following the closing of his school, as well as the quiet way in which he closed that school, was fear of the power of this desire, which he now viewed as un-Christian. Perhaps also his effort to avoid ordination was due to the same fear. But he evidently overcame this fear sufficiently to enter public life again. In his letters he refers to what a sore trial this temptation still is, but his new-found honesty about it, opens the way for control of it. Perhaps the sense or support that praise gives was found in these years of his great work, through his voluminous publications that came to be widely read.

Antagonism or hatred is another instance. Previous to his conversion he expressed his antagonism to his mother rather indirectly, by such means as devotion to a heresy he knew greatly distressed her, and directly by fleeing from her and deceiving her. Perhaps, as I have pointed out, there may have been a great deal of repressed anger against his father. At any rate, following his conversion, this tendency to hatred comes out partly into the open as a repudiated temptation, a conscious problem to be dealt with as something recognized as wrong.

Similarly, while he formerly indulged in the enjoyment of grief and pain, apparently without recognizing its morbidness (see pages 6,7) he now came to see it so, as his very description of it in his Confessions indicates, and to refuse so to indulge himself any longer. It had become a temptation declined with difficulty.

In connection with his sense of guilt, we need to note a passage, in his Confessions on which we wish he might have enlarged:

"Nor did anything call me back from a yet deeper gulf of carnal pleasures, but the fear of death, and of Thy judgment to come; which amid all my changes, never departed from my breast." (142)

Probably his fear of death, subsequent to his decision in the garden similarly involved the fear of judgment. That is, his feelings of guilt continued. We find another indication, perhaps, in his somewhat unwarranted attack upon the Manichaeans after being baptized a Christian.

"For Augustine the one great abomination in Rome was the small but obscure group of Manichaeans" (144)

Somewhat later he wrote a treatise, "On the Morals of the Manichaeans". Of this McCabe says:

"But the poison is in the tail of the treatise, which consists of a petty attack on the Manichaean moral ideal and a batch of malodorous scandals....the most serious circumstance is that Augustine's stories will not bear examination....at length (five years afterwards) (he) was forced to admit that he had 'never seen anything wrong in the assemblies (140) Letters, p. 105, 13, Ep. XXXVIII, and others (141) Confessions p. 274-284. (142) Confessions p. 143 (143)Schaff. ibid, p. 110. (144) McCabe
Augustine, he was present at, and was not in a position to know what took place amongst the elect'" (145)

If he thus exaggerated the evils of Manichaeism, he must have been afraid of the influence of their teaching over him. This could be explained by his old desire to return to his old method of escape from a sense of guilt. But the Confessions themselves constitute a far stronger bit of evidence of the continuation of a marked sense of guilt. They were written for several reasons, but one that was most prominent if not first, was to make complete confession and do penance, by public acknowledgment of his sins. All through there is the sense not only of unworthiness but of great wickedness. Nor is this a mere record of past evilness. A fear of being considered guilty even yet, when writing, for long past deeds, breaks through the record. When he explains the closing of his school of rhetoric at the time of the regular vacation, rather than twenty days earlier when his Christian decision (146) was made, instead of merely stating the fact, and perhaps giving his reason for delay, he defends his course, then makes confession in case he is wrong, and finally asks if he has not already been forgiven. Evidently at the time of writing he still feels guilty about it.

I have already enlarged on the fact that eleven years after his conversion, he is clearly revealing that he is still sin-burdened, when he berates himself for his attitude as a boy in stealing pears.

The Confessions, then, would be partly, a kind of expiation through self-punishment in publishing for all to read the record of his sinful past.

Further evidence that his sense of guilt continued on for some years subsequent to his conversion, comes from a letter written seven (145) McCabe, p. 203, 204 (146) Confessions p. 208, 209.
Augustine

years after the Confessions. A young man, who had long been under his training, he somewhat hastily, because of an emergency, recommended for bishop (Antoninus) over the parish of Fusalja; and this young man turned out to be harsh, tyrannical and apparently dishonest, resulting in a conflict within his own parish. So distressed did Augustine become that he wrote to a friend:

"I must confess to your Holiness that in the danger that threatens both (people and bishop) I am wracked by such great fear and grief that I contemplate retiring from the responsibility of carrying on my Episcopal office and giving myself over to lamentations befitting my fault." (147)

Such contemplation of extra severe self-punishment for a fault of judgment in the conduct of his office, is out of proportion to the situation. The incident aroused more self-condemnation than it should have in its own right; it must have opened up an old, still unhealed spiritual wound.

Then thirty years after his conversion we find him writing to (148) John, Bishop of Jerusalem, arguing for the doctrine of original sin. It was an open question at the time, and strongly attacked by Pelagius. Augustine, the kindly, considerate, merciful, through so much of his life, took the extreme view of the doctrine, against the moderates, and arrived finally at the point of holding that unbaptized infants are condemned to eternal punishment. When one tacitly accepts a prevailing teaching, that is one thing. But when one fights for an extreme form of a belief that is not fully accepted, we have to suspect some personal need expressed in that belief in addition to its logic. This is entirely aside from its objective truth or not-truth; truth may be perceived through a personal need to begin with. May not the need in Augustine's case, have been to keep clearly in mind against strong temptations to do otherwise, the hard-won fruits of his spiritual

(147) Letters, to Celestine, p. 367, #47, Ep. CCIX.
(148) Letters, p. 309, #41, Ep. CLXIX.
struggle, namely to admit to himself and before God his own deep sense of guilt; so deep it could not be cured by even a supreme sacrifice of personal cravings; so deep that in searching for the sin that caused it he went back to the memory of boyhood, finally back further into the unknown first years of infancy, and even to our original inheritance?

It seems to me therefore that there is sufficient evidence to assert that Augustine was correct, insofar as he went, in tracing the source of his sense of guilt, back, in part at least, to his boyhood and earlier, although psychologically we would interpret it differently today from the way he did then. Most of the intensity of this conviction of sin was eliminated during the re-adjustment of his conversion experience; he lost his fear of judgment following death. He found forgiveness and reconciliation, in part at least, and finally, a calm sense of assurance.

Gradually there came to him over a period of years following his conversion, a deep sense of security. He had previously sought this in at least two ways: unconscious dependence on his mother, and public approval of his ability as rhetorician. These proved unsatisfactory. He now sought it largely unawares, in two new ways especially: his assurance of the love of God, and his dependence upon the mother-church. This new feeling of security is revealed in a number of ways. He writes about the sufferings of hell and eternal damnation with the dispassionate assurance of one who rests secure in the knowledge that he has forever escaped them. He struggles single-handed with his own congregation over the retention of pagan feasts in the Christian worship, in marked contrast with his timidity about publicly giving up his school of rhetoric, and with his hesitancy about accepting ordination.

(149) # White, Wm. A. "Mechanisms of Character Formation" p. 179
When the African church, so laboriously built up, is crumbling to pieces, and the enemy are at the gates of Hippo, he continues to write calmly on his books within the besieged walls.

Previous to middle age, I find little clear evidence of cruelty in Augustine's nature, except that perhaps his intense distaste for disorderly students who

"were not kept quiet under a restraint of more regular discipline (151), indicates an excessive leniency toward them, as a reaction-formation to impulses of cruelty, besides his careless treatment of his long faithful mistress in so unfeelingly dismissing her but keeping her son from her. But later in life, what it seems to me we must understand as a sublimated tendency to cruelty begins to show. Whereas early in his career as Bishop of Hippo he was moderate and enjoined leniency toward heretics, gradually he came to favor compulsion, and finally persecution of them (152). Still later, he enters

"the lists of amicable controversy with those tender-hearted Christians....these perversely compassionate persons" (153)

who believed in the possibility of some mercy to the unbaptized after death, and he discusses with cool indifference the question of details regarding the sufferings of sinners in hell. He was of course, not conscious of any cruel desires, for these were rationalized into his system of beliefs. Still another indication of this sadistic trend in his personality lies in his somewhat sentimental attitude, revealed on occasion. In his "Confessions" we find rather over-sweet, saccharine epithets used with regard to his mother, and with regard to God. Sentimentality is a reaction to repressed brutality.

His feelings for men friends, which he once spoke of as a kind of madness, find acceptable expression. He lived throughout the rest of his life in a monastic type of life with a group of the clergy, sharing goods in common, and avoiding women. And his attitude toward God became somewhat colored with the feelings of a woman for her beloved, as indicated in such passages as these two, many more like which could be cited:

"Thou true and highest sweetness.....Thyself, sweeter than all pleasure.....Thee, my brightness, and my riches, and my health (154)"
"Nor was I sated in those days with the wondrous sweetness of considering the depth of Thy counsels......" (155)

One cannot imagine such strong men of Christian purpose as Oliver Cromwell, or John R. Mott using language of this type. The devotion he had originally poured out on his mistress, he now turns wholly to God.

One more change in his life remains to be mentioned. Along with the varying conceptions of God which he held previous to the period of his baptism, there was

"the fear of death and of Thy judgment to come, which amid all changes, never departed from my breast." (156)

Whatever reliance we may place upon such single, otherwise unsupported statements, would lead us to feel that Augustine had a harsh picture of God in his mind, and that he feared Him, in these "unregenerate" days. Following his conversion, such works of his as his Confessions reveal an entirely different picture of God. God is deeply concerned, long-suffering, forgiving, and Augustine passionately loves Him. There has come about during his conversion a modification of the mental image in his own mind. A condemning morbid conscience, that is so involved with

Augustine
destruction as to compel him to conceal from himself his own tendencies because they seem to deserve that destruction, gives place to an ideal that tolerates his whole self and that releases life and enlarges its scope immensely.

Of course in all these changes in his life, there were often powerful external influences, such as that of Ambrose in this case, effecting his view of God. But this study covers only the internal changes.

It is now generally accepted, as it must often have been realized by students of human nature, in the past, that this morbid conscience, I speak of, is a product of early childhood, the kernel of which has not changed since that first most deeply effected impression. It is an impression that is only partially connected with reality, often distorted out of all relation to the character of his parents or others in authority over him. Elders seem like witches, wizards, giants or ogres to the small child at times, just as they also seem the opposite at other times. The perennial interest to boys of such stories as that of Jack the Giant Killer derives from this source. Of course the child as he grows usually leaves such distorted impressions behind, as his consciously growing knowledge corrects it. But sometimes this does not occur sufficiently, and an unhealthy fear is retained for years or life.

Supposing, as I have given reasons for supposing, that Augustine had an unhealthy emotional attachment to an image of his father in his mind, independent of that father's physical presence, his pre-conversion fear of the judgment of God would then probably be a product of early teaching regarding God, given body, or an emotional charge, or shall I say made alive, by such a morbid thought of his father as I have just sketched. This mental figure, if we may personify it, has a thwarting
Augustine

and hampering effect on an individual's life, obviously. It was necessary that Augustine should be able to outgrow this, by correcting it with a recognition of a portion of reality. In this way his conception of God would be based on something which was real and independent of himself rather than based on an old childish phantasy, only after this change could he fall in love with God, as he finally did, and expand in personality to achieve his place in Christian and secular history. That he did so correct his impression with reality I have indicated on pages 28 and 29 above.

Now he comes increasingly to devote himself wholly to God. The vision one gathers as one reads the Confessions is that of a man who has discovered an altar in his life, reared to an utterly adorable and desirable figure, with the man spiritually forever upon his knees worshipping before Him. His whole life is centered around this devotion. More and more the many currents of his personality are drawn into this main channel, and its waters spiritually refresh the whole of his life. (157) Almost hundreds of quotations could be made to show this.

But our evidence for a large measure of unification in his personality comes not from his own statements alone; it comes also from a view of his subsequent life. In a large majority of his letters we find him taking a balanced view of the current situation. The letter to Eodicia is an example. His strong convictions about absolute continence are here set aside as inferior to family harmony, and he reproves her for going ahead in matters of charity without her husband's acquiescence; for fellowship with him is superior to any particular good deeds. These letters are the expressions of a man who is suffering from few inhibitions; whose mind is free to ramble over a variety of themes, and to look at them from various angles. That sanity and

(158) Letters p. 501, #60, Ep. CCLXII.
Augustine 

moderation, possibly only to one well-poised, or as the psychiatrists describe it, well integrated, is the atmosphere of these epistles. All this is evidence of a centralized aim, inward, independent of outward circumstances, through which the man's desires are with unusual completeness, poured. His extraordinarily quick mind, his remarkable efficiency in carrying a very large burden of work, and his unobstructed flow of energy, add to the conviction. The contrast between the conflicts only too apparent in the Confessions, and the apparent absence of them in his letters, except as mentioned above, (the earliest preserved are written after his conversion) is very marked.
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study of Augustine's life there have come out evidences of serious infantile tensions. There are scattered slight indications of an unconscious hatred for his father, underneath his early emulation. There is a perfectly obvious dependence for security upon his mother, and his mother's approval behind his effort to break away from it. There is a deeply and heavily charged sense of guilt over sex and destructive wishes. There is much self-love, indicated in his love of praise and pride. There is an unhealthy enjoyment of his own sensations. There is an obvious preference for close male friendships to female ones. There is the projection of painful feelings, seen particularly in the problem of the source of evil.

These are all normal experiences for childhood. It is also natural to repeat them in a new form in adolescence. But what concerns me in this paper is that in adolescence, in the case of Augustine, these inner conflicts were buried, and only came out painfully and with more than usual intensity after adolescence had chronologically passed for him. He was twenty-nine when he ran away from his mother and tried to break his tendency to lean on her, his need for her. He was thirty when he began in a symbolic form to wrestle with his antagonism to his father, at least openly—he felt like blaspheming God. He was about the same age or older when he found it necessary to deal strenuously with the other difficulties cited above, and to re-organize his life anew, with reference to them. His sense of guilt for instance was much more serious than with the average adolescent, and broke into consciousness many years later.

There is in everyone, the ambivalent situation of longing to hold onto the past, and stretching forward to the future. In emotional
Augustine's development that inability to let the past go was stronger with him than with the average person, for his real adolescent struggles came some ten years later than with the average.

The so-called normal child has experienced in intra-uterine life an organic union that was most satisfying. In marriage there is again, ideally, a satisfying union. The same inner craving remains forever with us and becomes sublimated and symbolized in our mature search after union with a higher and a "more than ourselves" and there is no full satisfaction short of this. This might be called a natural progress.

In his psychological progress, it seems to me indicated with considerable clearness, that Augustine went on superficially attempting to cover this course, without having actually been able to make the necessary sacrifices of phantasy life. These signs of undue attachment to his mother, considerable strengthened by evident desire to possess him forever, were not outgrown but remained as it were, static. They acted like germs that are caught in ice, unable to reproduce, inactive, but still alive and able, when released, to create trouble.

Not only was the constellation that rotated about his mother repressed, but also the guilt that accumulated in connection with it. Augustine then went on, like the usual boy, to try to be a man in the fullest sense of the word. He sought to change the young boy's submission to authority into the mature man's willingness to abide by necessary authority, without fear of it, in such escapades as stealing pears. He tried to carve out a career for himself. He experimented in marriage and parenthood in a way. He tried to take his place in public life. He tried to think out his philosophy and religion.

But as we watch these changes, we see that all the time he is hampered more than the "run-of-the-mine". He cannot quite throw himself with free zest into school-boy pranks; he has to cover up his inability
Augustine to be "bad"—really independent—by dishonest boasting. His apparently successful sexual adjustment breaks down, proving that it was only a superficial one; he can not bring himself to marriage. In his vocation and social life he seems more successful. But even here we find something hindering his full continuous growth, as shown by his own insight arrived at, that his public life was largely built upon a foundation of longing for adulation, and his conviction that the whole thing must be discarded, and he must begin over again (closing his school, retiring, entering the church.) And while in his enthusiasms for Manichaeism, we seem to see a certain integration and self-realization, here also we note an inability to achieve a satisfying (to himself) understanding of life; he could not enter the inner circle, he had to refute their fundamental tenets, and he finally left it.

At the age of twenty-nine he sailed from Africa, ostensibly to find better opportunities for the kind of teaching he liked, in Rome or Milan. But considering the future course of his life, the deeper reason would seem to be a need to, and an effort to, break loose from his mother's apron strings, and so be able to give himself to his teaching as he could not otherwise.

This bold act perhaps opened up his hitherto hidden difficulties. At any rate, his religious struggles which were in part an expression of his emotional struggles, reflecting them, became more acute about this time. The old, unsolved tensions of childhood came to the surface. His sense of guilt seems to have been about the first:

"Guilt,......is an inevitable by-product of self-conscious living, not a symptom of which one may be cured. It arises from the fundamental dualism of life itself as expressed in the ambivalence of will, the human capacity of wanting and not wanting the same thing at the same moment, and the
Augustine.

bi-polarity of fear, on the one hand the fear of becoming a separate individual, on the other the fear of dying without having lived." (159)

We never grow evenly. Long ago Starbuck noticed that there are spurts of growth; there is an emotional upheaval in adolescence, and there is a physical disturbance. Both are signs of growth; they never come together; one aspect of the organism develops, then seems to rest, while energy is given to the development of the other. The result is that every once in a while we wake up to ourselves to discover that in some respect we have retained an old way of living beyond the age at which it was appropriate. We immediately feel guilty, that is, if we are sensitive to the spiritual call from ahead of us. Whenever we feel consciously, or more often unconsciously, that we have failed to "carry on" in that whole development that was intended for us, and the forces of which are bred into our spiritual bone, we have what we call a sense of guilt. One might almost call this a biological theory of guilt. What we designate as a sense of guilt arises out of the failure to develop according to the biological inherent nature of the organism. But it is certainly a spiritual view of guilt. Because it is the combination of looking backward longingly to the apparently happier, certainly simpler, past of the individual's life, and the pull toward the more complex, finely enmeshed and delicate possible future of the individual's life, that creates this inner tension, this division within the self that we call being guilty.

This perfectly natural tension may be increased by more than usual difficulties in the early social environment of the individual, adding to the "fear of becoming a separate individual" through the oppression of a harsh, morbid, conscience. Or it may be increased by raising, in the individual's mind, the spiritual height of the immediate goal of growth. The degree of hopefulness that individual feels is one of the (159) Taft, "Dynamics of Therapy", p. 103
Augustine's mother had much to do with the hopefulness, the glimmer of light, he could see in the gloom of his tangled situation. She embodied a solution for him, - a way out.

There are various ways of dealing with this sense of guilt. It can be considerably repressed, and indicate its presence only in neurotic symptoms or character peculiarities. We see Augustine, unwittingly, repressing his feeling of failure; also projecting it; and also rationalizing it. But his keen mind, insatiable hunger for unity, and honesty with self, prevented these escapes from fastening themselves permanently upon him. He had to admit finally that the source of evil was not in God, but was in the free will of man. Then he became conscious of its personal nature. He himself was a sinner. He felt that his almost irresistible temptation to blaspheme and oppose God (hate his father) and his sexual relations with his mistress (clinging to infantile and pre-pubertal sexual attitudes) were the sins of which he was guilty. He did all in his power to correct these; he repudiated opposition to God as wicked, and he gave up his mistress.

In doing this, he was reopening his childhood difficulties, which had been buried and carried along as an unseen but heavy burden. Psychologically he became a child again, and wrestled with his antagonism to his father and his attachment to his mother. Or rather in the concrete figures of his parents, he, in reality, was struggling with the age-old necessary childhood situations of dependence on a protecting care and submission to a greater power. These situations in life have to be continually changed by breaking the old shell, and emerging into a larger shell, which in turn must be broken again, that one's life may again expand. In his anxious puzzle over his conception of,
and relation to, God, and in his growing awareness of something wrong with his relations with his mistress, he is stripping off his pseudo-development of successful rhetorician and father, and dealing with his infantile problems. In the garden scene he passes through a rebirth experience, in symbolic form, entering a narrow, restricted, utterly dependent (suggestible) emotional environment and emerging from this into a new day.

He now leaves behind, in part at least, the infantile fear and hatred for his father, perhaps becoming somewhat conscious of it, and so he is free to feel differently about God. He has arrived at the point of distinguishing his mother from himself, as a separate individual; the self and the not-self are becoming clearer, as with all children. Therefore he sees her as some one with whom union is possible. Perhaps this is the explanation of the vision in the garden of "Continence" coming to him with arms out-stretched, as a mother. A re-union with his mother occurs. This grows as the days pass, and in Ostia there is a mystical marriage of souls with her.

Of course in moving along thus in his emotional development, he has had to surrender, with great pain, and anxiety, his former defences against some of his fear tendencies—namely, his relation with his mistress. Symbolically, in this sacrifice he is admitting that he is not mature, not ready for marriage; is a child, or boy, with more love for himself and his own sensations, or those of his own sex, than for those of the opposite sex. As this occurred, we have seen that he came to recognize some abnormalities in himself; his excessive need for praise and its support to self-respect, and the childish need to be the center of attention. I would thus explain his four years of retirement. They are an effort to handle in a new way these desires, especially his intense need to be the cynosure of men's eyes, which he
Augustine undoubtedly feels is wicked, as indeed he later expresses in words as so. He can accept a public position at the end of that period of retirement only because this inner need has become more manageable, and can be subordinated now by the chance for usefulness in his new way of life.

I think we can say that Augustine has arrived at that point of development where the son begins to see his mother as a woman, and seeks her love, accepting the rivalry of the father. Psychologically he ceases growth to any great extent at that point. He is married to his mother (the church) and continues throughout his life to fight all rivals (heresies). He becomes markedly orthodox.

He has succeeded, however, in finding a new basis for living and real unification of personality is now possible. He has accepted himself. Consciously he has come to recognize hitherto unconscious tendencies; his sinfulness, his need for support in praise, his abnormalities in male friendships and in regard to his mother; his enjoyment of grief and suffering, his antagonism to God. He now sees these as temptations. A conscious dissociation is healthy. Slowly, in the activity of his new work in the Christian Church, he finds ways to handle these also. He makes confession and expiation in some measure for his sin, in his "Confessions", besides evolving the extreme form of the doctrine of original sin. He becomes the center of attention in the theological world. He loves the church, and forms a monastery for the clergy. He brings suffering upon himself in his religious controversies, and works off his antagonisms to all rivals in controversial writings against all heresies, of however slight importance,

(160) Confessions (157, 170, etc.) McCabe, p. 232, 384,385. Article on Augustine by Benjamin A. Garfield in Hastings's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. DeSanctis's "Religious Conversions", p. 48, where he quotes from Augustine's "Against Manichaeeism," Ep. V.: "I would not lend faith even to the Gospel, if Thou, O Catholic Church didst not commend it of me." Schaff, p. 120.
or containing whatever of truth they may.

At the same time he is developing a capacity to love beyond himself that takes in multitudes of people and the church as a whole. And yet he never is able to go on to larger loyalties, in the sense of accepting some truths from heresies and differences and so leading the church itself to grow. Instead he spends his efforts, tremendous as they are, in forming a mould for the Christian life that may be able to resist all attempts to break it, a system that shall be fixed forever.
Chapter IV.

THE CONVERSION

OF

ST. FRANCIS

OF

ASSISI.

1. Early life, p. 1
2. Elements of conflict, p. 2
3. Attempted solutions, p. 12
4. The re-organization of life, p. 20
5. Creativity, p. 31
6. Theoretical considerations, p. 35
EARLY LIFE

Francesco Bernardone's father was a substantial citizen of the Guild of Cloth Merchants in the city of Assisi. He was a successful businessman, with considerable wealth, and with merchantile dealings extending to France, to which he himself made journeys. He was a great admirer of the French, and it is said that he changed the name of his son, which the mother had given him in the father's absence, to Francesco, because of his admiration for the French. He was a hard, industrious, greedy man, whose world was limited to business and social standing.

Francesco's mother was of possible noble origin, and exquisite, virtuous, reserved, affectionate woman, apt to slip away and dream. Francesco was early sent to a priests' school. Through his mother he seems to have got some acquaintance with French; perhaps also occasional acquaintances with young men of the noble class. He later aided his father in his business, though apparently without being of any marked assistance to him. However, he began to show signs of satisfying his father in his other ambitions. For he easily won a kind of social leadership among the young men, and even of those of the nobility. The social order of the day kept all such people as his family to their own simple level, and no prosperity could connote that escape from drudgery by which in modern times the lad might have seemed to be a fine gentleman, or at least something above a mere cloth merchant's son. Yet Francesco young, rich and proud, may well have thought that he might easily become an ennobled plebian, and break through the barrier of social caste. Here we begin to see the source of one of his struggles: A mother perhaps of the noble class, an ambitious and rich father, a brilliant son, with over against these, the class lines of the day.

We should now note some of the elements out of which conflict arose, signs of immaturity. Francis went to war when he was about twenty years old, and with some companions was captured. It is said that in the gloom of the prison, with hopes dashed, he remarked: "You will see that one day I shall be adored by the whole world." Here is marked vanity, self-love, with phantastic compensation for the sense of failure and futility. He wishes to be the center of attention and secure in the affection of others. In contrast with this, we find a mature attitude revealed in the incident of the disgraced member of this prison group. This member had been ostracized by the others, but Francis, without either pity or disdain, treated him as he treated all the others in the same comradely manner of a person who is genuinely interested in people.

Apparently soon after this, on returning home, he suffered a grave illness, and during his weakness, convalescing, he became quite depressed. Everything seemed in vain. "He began to grow small in his own eyes". One of the characteristics of people suffering from depressions is their absorption in themselves, their unconscious self-love. They also feel so worthless because they are continually comparing themselves with their exaggerated but unconscious phantasies of their own importance and value, out of all proportion to their apparent social opportunities.

On recovery from this episode, he threw himself with renewed energy into his former revels. He was now trying to give free rein to that intense desire to be the center of his world's adoration and attention. A new opportunity to go to war arose with the preparation of the expedition to Apulia under Walter III. Francis enrolled.

(9) Sabatier, p. 13
(10) de Sanctis, p. 70
(11) de Sanctis, p. 71
St. Francis

The night before his departure for Spoleto on this expedition he had a
dream. He seemed to be in an armory, where the great walls were hung with
weapons of all kinds, all of them either in the shape of the cross, as the
Crusaders's swords were made, or with the emblem of the cross upon
them. He took this dream as a sign that he was to be a warrior, and a
leader of soldiers. Backed by his father's money and ambition, the
son caparisoned his and his followers in such magnificence as had
seldom been seen in the town of Assisi. As his steed pranced through
the gates of the city in resplendent array, he was heard to remark: "I
shall come back a great prince" Here again we see both in phantasy and
activity the expression of the desire to draw the attention of all upon
himself as a most remarkable individual.

There is another incident told of his youth, which is revealing. He was in charge of his father's counter, and was displaying some goods to
a purchaser, when a beggar importuned him, contrary to the business
etiquette of the day requiring a third party to keep out of the dealings
in a bargain. Francis seems to have finished the deal with the purchaser;
meanwhile the beggar disappeared. Francis, precipitately, as he usually
did, left the shop, apparently unprotected, chased down the side streets
after the beggar, found him, and loaded the astonished man with some gifts.
Here we see the other side of his nature like that revealed by his treatment
of the ostracized fellow-prisoner.

While the quotations given above, may have been half jokingly
made by Francis, they still would reveal, as humor does, underlying desires. Evidently this young man was strongly troubled by immature narcissistic
tendencies, which could not help but come into conflict with the more
mature genuine interest in people revealed in his attitude toward the
ostracized prisoner, and less clearly toward the rude beggar. Of course,

(12) de Sanctis, p. 71
(13) Chesterton, p. 86
(14) Chesterton, p. 62
he was hardly out of adolescence, but the magnificence with which he
docked himself out would bear out the inference from his remarks,—
namely that this adolescent tendency, a resurrection of an infantile
tendency, was unusually strongly marked in him, and therefore created a
serious difficulty.

Possibly there was a streak of cruelty in his nature. At
first glance the very suggestion of this in connection with so utterly
kind a character seems ludicrous. And yet it is that utter kindness
which makes one suspect such a possibility. Chesterton says:

"All are a reed that politeness flowed from him from the first,
like one of the public fountains in such a sunny Italian
marketplace." (15)

This seems to have been an outstanding characteristic with him. He ad-
dressed the birds politely; he addressed the hot iron with which his
eyeballs were to be seared courteously; and above all he addressed all
people high and low courteously. Courtesy is an effort to avoid inflicting
unnecessary pain; an effort even to heal possible psychic pain by kindness
and respect. It is as if St. Francis had had to wrestle with cruel desires
and in conquering them had developed an excessive reaction-formation, an
unusually effective antidote to that social poison. True gentleness
does not spring from weakness; it springs from that strength that resists
doing what it might well do---be cruel. His cheerfulness in prison, when
a prisoner of war, on which biographers remark, may then, in part, have
spring from the release from the necessity of the cruelty of killing,
something that he hated himself for wanting. In this same prison of
Perugia, when others treated the one isolated man cruelly, Francis set
aside cruelty in his own relations to such a marked extent as to have
the story of his behavior survive the centuries. The expedition to
Apulia, on which he set out with such magnificence, was a complete failure
for him. The first night out something happened, that sent him home

(15) Chesterton, p. 57
St. Francis immediately, crest-fallen. Chesterton suggests that he was called a coward on his return. Salatorelli says that he was ill, but that what really troubled him was a sudden new accession of distrust of his whole aim. Knowing his later difficulties and his tendency to mental conflict, we might well surmise that it was some mental struggle that forced him to return. That there was some conflict over the matter in his mind is corroborated by the story that "in the darkness of this second and far more desolating interruption he seems to have had another dream in which a voice said to him, 'You have mistaken the meaning of the vision. Return to your town.'" Biographers agree that another depression followed this experience. This something which forced him to a return and which no one else would understand was something that would lead others to suppose he had run away in fear. No one, however, could accuse Francis of actual cowardice. Is it not at least possible then that what happened, was a revulsion in his exquisitely sensitive and kindly nature, against the whole business of killing men? An unconscious cruelty; which might have combined with other more recognizable motives to lead him to war, may then have been present. Moreover we find that throughout the rest of his life, he was excessively cruel to himself. His asceticism was not of the kind that seems to derive a perverted pleasure from the mere inflicting of suffering upon oneself; it was always subsidiary to his main purpose—the imitation of Christ. But nevertheless it was there, clearly seen from the day he stripped himself to a hair shirt, and walked out of the presence of the bishop and his father onto the winter snows all but naked rejoicing, to the moment of his death, when wasted and in pain he insisted that he be laid nude upon the cold hard earth to die. We in fact sought all his life to be crucified, and was bitterly disappointed at not experiencing it. So deeply did he seek it, that the

(16) Chesterton, p. 61
(17) Salvatorelli, p. 62
(18) Sabatier, p. 61 ff
(19) Chesterton, p. 168
tradition of receiving the stigmata on Mount Alverno is quite possible, remembering what has been done in recent times by physicians through suggestion. There is a difference between seeking to avoid crucifixion, but finally accepting it as the only alternative to flight or compromise, as Jesus did, and the deliberate courting of it as St. Francis did. He misinterpreted Jesus' life, and in an effort to imitate him completely, did what Jesus did not do. There must have been an unconscious bias to lead to this situation. This may have been partly the cruelty which he so assiduously avoided ever showing to others that he turned it in on himself, and rationalized the need of being cruel to himself as an effort to perfectly follow the crucified Christ. If this suggestion has truth in it, another sources of internal conflict is revealed.

That there is a severe conflict over his father's influence upon him is self-evident. One of his ambitions was to be a French poet. His father was enthusiastic about things French, so that here in his leaning to France he and his son would see eye to eye; but we can hardly imagine the hard-headed business man entusiing about his son becoming a poet. Clearly the poetic element would fall in favor with the mother, whose character was in such sharp contrast with that of the father. Here there would be conflict between father and son. Francis' ambition to be a military leader may have been favored by his father; at least his father supplied him with the finances to pursue this aim. But in the conduct of his business, there must have been friction, perhaps struggle between father and son. The son seemed to have had little, if any, sense of the value of money, throwing it about in benevolence and extravagance, in a way that astonished his mother. In the management of the business, what must his father have thought and felt? That the ways of the father and son were totally different, in the matter of conducting the family business,

(20) Chesterton, p. 44,45.
(21) Chesterton, P, 55
is brought out clearly in the incident that led to the final break between them. He had taken a sporadic interest in rebuilding the partly ruined church of San Damiano. Meanwhile he had been sent by his father with a load of goods to be sold in a neighboring town. He consummated the sale, and then turned all the money, including that from the sale of his own horse with that from the sale of his father's bales of cloth, into the rebuilding of this church. His father considered it a case of theft, and came after him with some neighbors. Francis hid in the church, and could not be found. He remained there a month. He began then to see the new way of life for him. Despising his fear of his father, he came out of hiding, and walked home. All the city seemed to know what had happened. As he went through the city, a howling deriding crowd gathered and followed him, calling him a fool. His father imprisoned him. Francis refused a legal trial. Part of the time he seems to have been imprisoned in his father's own cellar. Here his mother appealed to him to make up the quarrel with his father, but he refused. Finally the matter was brought before the bishop, who commended the young man's interest in the church, but reproved him for his method. Francis listened in silence, then took off his clothes, revealing a hair shirt, which alone he kept, laid down the clothes at his father's feet, put the money for the bales of cloth on top, and said:

"Up to this time I have called Pietro Bernardone father, but now I am the servant of God. Not only the money but everything that can be called his, I will restore to my father, even the very clothes he has given me."

He sought the blessing of the bishop and went out to the woods, homeless, cold, penniless, yet singing, in French. He never returned home again. Looking back we can see that Francis must have been struggling for years against his father's inward unseen domination, without being aware of the nature of the struggle to any clear extent, and trying to escape it in his

(22) Chesterton, p. 80 Sabatier, p. 61 ff.
St. Francis

ambitions to be a poet, in his going away from his home on military expeditions, in his revelries and rather wild life. Yet all the time he was dominated by his father's conception of how to be somebody great in the world. He was in bondage to his identification of himself with his father, something that was contrary both to his independence and his fundamental development. In the incident recorded above he broke free both from his father's outward control over him, and from this inward identification with him. No wonder he felt like a free man, and sang, though outwardly destitute. From now on the aim of his life changed wholly. Instead of trying to be a leader, and dominate and out-do others, he found his true joy in being a servant, asking for no one to follow him, working out purposes from his inmost life that truly represented himself. We can understand then, Chesterton's statement that all his life he had a great liking for people who had been put hopelessly in the wrong. For up to this change in his life, he had been hopelessly in the wrong, himself, as he now saw, as well as having been put hopelessly in the wrong by those who did not understand.

Thus we can see gradually growing in Francis' life, certain severe conflicts. First we should include a few incidents that throw light upon them, as yet un-mentioned. After his return from the disastrous expedition to Spoleto, and during the depression that followed, while living in a cave, he does not seem to have felt completely hopeless. Sabatier feels that he did not dwell so much on the past and its failures, as seek for light on the future. In a spirit of adventure during this period, he several times exchanged clothes with a beggar and asked for alms. These instances are impulsive, and episodic, but reveal trends in his character, related to the earlier ones of chasing the beggar who interrupted the bargain, befriending the outcaste prisoner, and rebuilding

(23) Chesterton, p. 56
(24) Sabatier, p. 22,23.
(25) Salvatorrelli, p. 66,67
St. Francis

a ruined church. Sometime, during the depressions just mentioned, he was in a church, when he heard the priest read the words of Christ: "Follow me," and felt convinced that Christ had spoken those words to him directly, and meant renunciation by them. Shortly after that while riding along a road outside Assisi, he saw a leper coming toward him.

"And he knew instantly that his courage was challenged, not as the world challenges, but as one would challenge who knew the secrets of the heart of a man. What he saw advancing was not the banners and spears of Perugia from which it never occurred to him to shrink.....Francis Bernardone saw his fear coming up the road towards him; the fear that comes from within and not without; though it stood white and horrible in the sunlight. For once in the long rush of his life his soul must have stood still. Then he sprang from his horse, knowing nothing between stillness and swiftness, and rushed on the leper and threw his arms round him.....to this man he gave what money he could and mounted and rode on." (26)

Years later, St. Francis himself writes of some episode like this:

"For when I was in sin, it seemed to me very bitter to see lepers, and the Lord Himself led me amongst them and I showed mercy to them. And when I left them, that which had seemed to me bitter was changed for me into sweetness of body and soul, and afterwards I remained a little and I left the world." (27)

In this statement Francis seems to have combined both the single incident quoted from Chesterton and also the time when after the complete break with his father, he began to live among the lepers and minister to their needs. He found with them a humility, gratitude and affection that was both refreshingly genuine and wholly new in his experience. During this period he continued to build San Damiano in earnest, this time by begging for bricks and doing the carting and building himself, with his own hands. He did not hesitate, though it was clearly a great sacrifice to his pride, to beg from the very noblemen whom he had previously sought to lead and out-shine, knowing that only by such courageous persistence could the new Francis grow. Soon a message came to him to preach repentance and forgiveness---two spiritual experiences which had recently culminated in him. Soon also two companions joined in his voluntary poverty, and then the

(26) Chesterton, p. 56,57.
(27) From "Testament of the Holy Father St. Francis". in the "Writings of St. Francis", p. 61
St. Francis movement began to grow. He was now about twenty seven years old. When he had eleven companions he set out to win the approval of the Pope at Rome, and obtained his verbal blessing. From then on till his death at the age of forty five, his following grew till it numbered some five thousand, of whom he was the adored, almost worshipped, and literally obeyed, elder brother.

The points at which underlying severe emotional conflict appear at the surface are clear: In the incident where he completed a bargain and rebuffed a beggar; in prison at Perugia, where class distinctions and loyalties and personal ambition alternated with treating a disgraced prisoner as a respected human fellow; the overweening ambition indicated in the manner of enlistment in the war against Apulia, the splendor of his leave-taking of Assisi, and his boast of returning a prince, with his actual return in some sort of disgrace, and certainly depression; in his contradictory interpretations of the dream preceding this adventure—his own, that it was a call to arms, the voice that he had mistaken it and was to return home; in the occurrence of "voices", directing him to rebuild San Damiano, and later to follow Christ,—indications to the student of abnormal psychology of the repression of disliked or feared ideas; in his struggle with the weight of the authority of parents, most of all with his father; in his struggle over the sight of the Peper on the road outside Assisi; in his depressions, themselves, and finally, looking at his life from a distant perspective, in his "about-face" in his plan of life from trying to become a French poet, or military ruler and member of the nobility, or perhaps feeling that he ought to become a merchant, to being an outcaste and despised (at first) leader of an entirely new order with the three-fold vow of poverty, chastity and obedience. It is clear that these inward divisions of personality ran to the very roots of his life.
As near as we can guess at this distance, there was at least one minor conflict—between cruelty and kindness; and two major conflicts, one between his love of himself, with love of display of that self, and ambitions for the raising of that self to social heights, and, on the other hand, his interest in people, and love for them; and second, between his identification of himself, quite unconsciously, with his father and in general with his father's standards and aim for him, and the ideals that had more to do with his mother and his early priestly training. What more than these there may have been, there are such meagre hints to indicate that it is not worth our while to dwell upon them.
In struggling with these contradictory trends in his nature, we can catch occasional views of some of the "ways out", which Francis, more or less unwittingly, attempted to take. With the merchant and unfortunate beggar, he seems to have yielded first to one tendency, and then the contradictory one. He repulsed the beggar, apparently, and tended to business; then he quite neglected the business and gave all he could to the beggar. Repression was evidently another method of handling his problems. All that side of his life that was most deeply influenced by his mother's nature, with which his early training under priests was undoubtedly in his own phantasies linked (judging by his later life) was buried deep, and probably both feared and despised, as weak, womanish, and altogether too restricted for his dashing, active, adventurous nature. He then alternated between giving free rein to those desires which seem in his own mind related to his father's ambitions for him—social prestige and military glory, or perhaps fame as a poet, and utter despair, retirement, surrender, in the face of their apparent unattainability; between a markedly extroverted and a markedly introverted attitude. This procedure, seems close to that personality development which tends to alternate between a flight into reality (from internal or psychic reality into external reality) and complete discouragement, which psychiatrists describe as the cyclothemic personality. Some consider that the excited phase of this disorder is really an uninhibited expression of one trend, and the other is self-punishment for the same. In Francis' case these are clear. In the first instance, he was giving free expression to his passionate love of self, and its advancement. In the second instance, something in him was ruination this advancement, sending him into retirement, bringing him back in semi-disgrace from a military expedition, making

(28) Chesterton, p. 77
(29) Noyes, Arthur P., "Modern Clinical Psychiatry", Chap. VII
(30) Alexander, p. 144 etc.
him feel depressed, sinful, a failure, leading him even to be called a
thief (after using his father's money for rebuilding San Damiano) and
be considered a fool (for so doing). Francis was clearly very sensitive
to the opinions of others, to their admiration. This sensitiveness suffered
the most crushing blows. But what we see is that the blows came not from
external circumstances, but from internal forces, driving him in spite of
himself, to manipulate external circumstances in such ways as to bring
defeat and apparent disgrace upon himself.

Another evidence of repression, as a method of dealing with his
internal problems, is the occurrence of auditory hallucinations. We have
a record of four at least at this period—the voice telling him he had
mislabeled the meaning of his dream experienced the night before leaving for
Spoleto; the voice telling him to rebuild San Damiano; the voice
telling him to follow Christ, meaning thereby renunciation, which was
followed by the embracing of the leper; and the voice telling him to preach
repentance and forgiveness. It is of course possible that these were not
true hallucinations, but were flashes of intuitive thought that came with
enlightening and compelling force to him. In either case they represent
buried sides of his nature, thought that had previously been unbearable,
but which in the form in which they now became conscious had to be
accepted, since they appeared to be the voice of Jesus. Two things are
worth noting; they represented all that development in his life which was
to gain full expression in his final career as against his early manner
of life; and obedience to them or acceptance of them involved socially
valuable actions for the church and society of his day. It is sometimes
forgotten that whereas auditory hallucinations are evidence of an abnormal
condition of mind, their social harm or benefit must be judged separately;
it is not their presence that necessarily renders an individual socially
unacceptable, but what they say to him and how he reacts to them. In

(31) Chesterton, p. 77
St. Francis

In Francis' case, it is obvious that both what they said and his fulfilment of their directions, were, in the light of history, valuable to society in that day.

It is just possible, that during these depressive periods, Francis tended at times to solve his problems by projection, by blaming others for his misfortunes, rather than accepting responsibility for allowing his own life to be changed. He might easily have blamed his mother for her dreamy futility, his father for his complete failure to understand his son, his nobleman friends for refusing fully to accept him as an equal, the social restrictions and caste distinctions of the day, or the general obtuseness of people in failing to recognize his remarkable value as a possible prince and figure to be adored by the whole world. We might infer that he was tempted to fall into this bitter mood by his insight revealed into such a tendency in his Admonition Number 10.

"There are many who if they commit wrong often blame their enemy or their neighbor. But this is not right, for each one has his enemy in his power—to wit, the body by which he sins." (32)

Another passage, also written by St. Francis, would strengthen this supposition. It is the "Office of the Passion"; all through this long passage, there predominates the insistent sense of being deserted, despised of men, of having enemies all about. This is an extremely common mechanism of the mind, resorted to quite unconsciously by the healthiest persons at times, so that people who never show such a trend in the general course of their life, may at periods of stress fall back into this comforting and guilt-disguising tendency for temporary relief.

Revealed in the same passages is a sense of isolation. There can be no doubt that during his depressions, particularly following the shame-producing return from the military expedition to Spoleto, Francis was utterly lonely. As day after day, week after week, he sat in the cave, he must have gone through the blackest hours of his life. The isolation

(32) "Writings of St. Francis" p. 12 "Admonitions", No. 10
(33) "Writings of St. Francis" p. 154 ff. "Office of the Passion" Part II
Section VI
St. Francis was of course totally different from that of Robinson Crusoe on his island, or that even of a stranger in a great city. It was due to internal rather than external causes. For this reason it is more dangerous mentally. It is a withdrawal from the world. It can become quite pathological, and reach the point of absorption in one's inner life, through continuous experiencing of phantasies which are preferable to disappointing real life, until their enjoyment fills a need that cannot be satisfied in any other way. Such psychic isolation must be considered from two viewpoints. As an all but irresistible impulse to immolate one's self mentally, driven by fear, as in this case, of being hurt by contacts with an apparently unfriendly world, it involves the serious danger of becoming a set attitude toward life. From this point of view it is dangerous and evil. From another point of view it is necessary and in fact an effort to attain something desirable. All symptoms need to be so regarded. There is purpose in the workings of the mind. The mental illness of patients in a mental hospital is an effort at self-cure. The obvious self-punishment, the flaying of self, in which depressed patients are immersed, in an effort to deal with a sense of guilt by paying for it in suffering, by squaring accounts. The grandiose ideas of a paralytic are unconscious efforts to balance, and so neutralize, the probably largely unconscious sense of disaster to the personality and disgrace socially, involved in the insidious destruction of brain tissue. The fugue of the hysterie is an unwitting effort to wall off the otherwise unbearable experience and so prevent it from tearing the personality into pieces. At least some semblance of unity is maintained. So with this isolation caused by internal forces, there is purpose. It is an effort, made, unawares of its significance, to attain independence of life, in the case of a person who, without realizing it fully, is altogether too heavily

(34) Hinkle, p. 411
influenced by, too sensitive to, too dependent upon, certain other personalities. The whole individual requires freedom from outside influences to heal his wounds, to break his psychic ties and supports, and to form a new synthesis that opens the door to freedom to grow in the direction of his predominating capacities.

Another psychological effort, put forth by Francis, without fully understanding what he was doing, is seen in his boasting that some day the whole world would adore him and again that he would come back a prince. These are very different from the quite firm purpose of a man who may confide to a friend or two his apparently extravagant ambition, which he immediately sets out with systematic plans to carry into effect. Francis shouted his second boast; he made only impulsive and sporadic efforts to realize his statements in actuality. They expressed rather a sort of frantic compensation for an unbearable feeling of being insignificant, not wanted, powerless (really before deeper forces in his own depths) against social and family barriers. He was trying to balance the unequal scales, that his life might not topple over. The fact that he came to be loved by multitudes and became a Spiritual prince among men, has nothing to do with his original boast; for he was not thinking in any such terms at the time he spoke these words. They did represent fundamental cravings that did become fulfilled, and so were prophetic in a sense, but in a totally different fashion from that in which he was trying desperately to fulfill them. In their original form they were totally unsuccessful efforts at self-healing.

Another way we can see St. Francis attempting to deal with his difficulties, is by self-punishment. He of course did not realize this at all. To say that he "attempted to deal" with his difficulties thus, seems incorrect. I mean it in the sense that a process, experienced probably many years before, was resorted to again, in meeting with a difficult
St. Francis
situation, and practically automatically carried out. All he was
conscious of, was its effects. I have already referred to this above.
It was his mysterious return from Spoleto (on which because of our ignorance
of its exact nature we cannot base much argument), and his depressions
which constituted self-punishment. One side of his nature - a sort
of unconscious conscience - brought suffering upon him, (of which alone
he was conscious) from exhibiting attitudes which he does not appear to
have realized were condemned by that same hidden side of himself. I
realize that in Francis' case, this statement rests on a good deal of
onjecture. We cannot prove by any analysis, or even lay bare, any such
processes actually occurring in his mind; we cannot prove that his boasting,
his possible tendency to cruelty, his love of self, his impossible ambitions,
were condemned by anything in himself; we cannot prove that in his de-
pression he was bringing suffering upon himself. But there were sufficient
elements in the situation to warrant forming this hypothesis. His mother
was a retiring individual who would probably disapprove of such display
and arrogance as he indicated; his father was sufficiently harsh a man
to have sought to squash in a child of his such "freshness" as Francis'
boastings would suggest had existed earlier; his training under priests
would have involved disapproval of display and ostentation and grandiose
ideas, and cruelty; his conscience might well then have condemned him for
giving expression to these or wishing to do so. Furthermore, the rest of
his life, was given to conscious and deliberate suppression of them, in-
dicating thorough disapproval. And finally numerous examples of individuals
today, are known, in whose lives such a psychological process takes places.
A patient of mine illustrated this quite vividly; each period during her
analysis, when guilt for unconscious tendencies was becoming conscious,
was characterized by external misfortune; and when this apparent misfortune
was examined, it was found that she, at these periods, developed slight
symptoms, so annoying to her employers and to her associates, as to lead
to her discharge and to teasing and various other forms of social retaliation.
The symptoms were slight enough for her to consider herself innocent, and
take the incidents as misfortunes, when the world seemed to turn against
her, and torture her. Actually she brought them on herself. She was
punishing herself. All she was conscious of was depression. It does
not seem unreasonable then to suppose that St. Francis may have been
involved in such a mental mechanism. The childhood experience of the
connection between giving way to forbidden or disapproved-of tendencies
and punishment or suffering, was resuscitated in late adolescence, and
experienced again, this time wholly internally. The punishing, forbidding,
or disapproving individual, once externally present, had been taken into
his own mental framework (introjected) and become a part of his self-
regulation.

Weiss explains this retention of self-punishment as due more than
to the connection between punishment and forbidden desires in childhood.
It is due, he says, to the unconscious phantasy, wherein the loved parent,
loved in a childish fashion, is made to be present by re-experiencing the
punishment of that parent and so to satisfy those inward unrecognized
cravings whose satisfaction is associated with that parent's presence.
If punishment is suffered for doing what is forbidden, then the parent who
(35) punishes must be present, near. We have clear evidence of a struggle
between Francis and his parents, most of all with his father. His father
evidently gave him a large amount of license, in trying to fulfill his
early ambitions, and in a financial, social and military way. The struggle
at first was then principally an internal one, between his independence
and the unrecognized influence of his father, (at least unrecognized at
that time). That there was such a tendency strongly in him, would have
to be inferred from the sharpness and completeness of the break between
(35) Weiss, International Journal of Psycho-analysis, October 1932
himself and his father. I am not overlooking the inability of the father to understand the son, nor his harsh attitude, for it was precisely these that in childhood may well have contributed most to producing in Francis that submissiveness to his influence and dependence upon his judgment against which he later had so fiercely to fight.
In the re-organization of his personality which we call conversion, the change was brought about through the influence of outward forces in conjunction with inward ones. In stable or very slowly changing periods of a national culture or such an urban culture as existed at Assisi in Italy, there are strongly bulwarked social barriers in the form of old institutions still in their prime of usefulness, which support, guide and frame people's lives. Prevalent unquestioned beliefs provide stout balustrades by which average people climb to mature character development sufficient to remain sane and sound throughout life, as far as social contact requires. Probably this exerts quite an influence upon those individuals who are unstable. They are more apt to be carried along in the main stream, with out mental mishap by the steadiness of the prevailing current, than in ages when a culture is breaking up. In such periods there are probably fewer serious mental illnesses, but also fewer original developments through individual initiative. On the other hand in more fluid periods of a cultural development, there is an increase of emotional instability, through the influence of the excitement of the time, the greater demands upon one's own enterprise in self-direction, and the loosening of social levees. In periods of crisis this is particularly marked. Simkhovitch describes the critical period of Jewish History, in which Jesus appeared.

"The tension bordered on hysteria; as is indicated in the eschatological literature of the time, and by the prevalence of nervous maladies among the people in the days of Christ's ministry. This great nervous strain was part of the crisis. It is precisely such a crisis that leads the many to the border of hysteria or to nervous anomalies of one kind or another, and that leads the few to the most extraordinary social, intellectual and moral achievements." (36)

The world into which St. Francis appeared was something of this sort, in being a period of great change; but it was different in being a period

(36) Simkhovitch, Chap. IV. p. 30
of progress, instead of eclipse. It was near the end of the so-called dark ages, of what Chesterton calls a long penance. It was a period of a certain amount of orderly reform, a period of the opening of horizons. There was, therefore, a crumbling of the ideational barriers, allowing Francis some freedom to create something new in social spirit and structure. At the same time it was a period demanding more of his initiative and enterprise. These silent influences, seen only in retrospect, put their soft-handed pressure upon Francis, and intensified his struggle with himself.

There was external insistence to follow a beaten track, more need for him to depend upon something creative within him.

Besides these vague but powerful external influences, there were the inward forces of instinctive needs; of urge to completeness, involving independence and integration or unity; of mobile passion, to use the phrase of William James, or libido. No man could pass through such a complete reversal of his life, unless driven by extraordinary emotion. No inhibition, no conventional barrier could hold St. Francis. None but the sincerest and most passionate could sacrifice to the extent this man did. There are types of people who maintain a semblance of unity of personality by not attempting to do so, but by holding different interests in separate compartments of their personalities, as it were, and experiencing little difficulty even though those interests may in some respects be inconsistent or contradictory. A new view of life may enter the periphery but remain lodged there in a mental compartment. There are some personalities who cannot endure such a condition. Sooner or later, the inconsistencies are seen, and then the individual is compelled to do something about them. There are no interior stable barriers. The tides of their emotions rise over any compartment walls and sweep them away. A sense of honesty to something within necessitates seeking a single aim.

(37) Chesterton, Chap. II
(38) James, p. 261ff.
a single standard, a single value, to which everything in their lives
must conform. They have the single eye. A new view of life, if it
enters, begins at the center and works out in every direction. Not a
semblance, but a genuine unity and consistency of life is theirs. Such a
person, pre-eminently, was St. Francis.

Francis' life was incomplete, previous to his conversion. There
were elements in his personality, such as kindness to the least and lowest,
a passion for fellowship, a need to devote himself to something beyond
himself, - all elements in a religious hunger - that were not receiving
anywhere near adequate expression, previous to the break with his father.
The urge to completeness thus drove him on.

"Every organism is impelled to move toward its own completeness.....
the urge to completeness is the most compelling motive of life...
Hunger, material or spiritual, is the feeling of incompleteness...
In physiology we call this completeness 'health', in morality
'perfection', in religion 'holiness', in psychology we shall
call it 'self-realization'.". (39)

This completeness is not possible in isolated development, but
can occur only through a seemingly strange correlation of independence
and fellowship. Neither are instances of a single achievement. They are
rather continuous processes, that, in reaching toward completeness, must
continually operate. Each attainment of fellowship brings with it its
own barrier to a still wider one, and independence from this barrier must
then be achieved, in order to enter that wider and deeper fellowship. To
this series there seems to be no end, if growth is to continue. And this
is why repentance, or re-thinking of one's attitudes and change of them,
sacrificing what is from the new viewpoint seen to be sin, or asocial
conduct, or a barrier to development, and forgiveness, which is at bottom
reconciliation, have always been recognized in religion as essential
experiences. How did St. Francis experience these?

(39) Hadfield, p. 61
That St. Francis repented is clear enough in its rough outlines, though we cannot obtain details to any extent. The "voices" indicate a re-thinking of his life, the end-results of which alone he was aware of, for obedience to them took his life into new channels, where a thorough re-organization of character could occur. They undoubtedly followed a period of "kicking against the pricks", for they represent convictions against which he consciously struggled, as unbearably disagreeable, but convictions which he could not prevent growing. Nor could he refuse to obey these voices, when they came to him with the authority of the figure of Jesus Christ, about whom he had been taught with care as a boy under the priests, in a day when the Christian Church held largely unquestioned authority over the Western world.

But it took more than inward thwartings and outward obstacles to continuing in the life ambitions he had held, and more than voices to lead him into finding new ones; the really decisive factor to settling his future was what he did about those "voices". Everything depended upon his interpretation of what those indefinite voices meant. The fact that he interpreted them in most practical ways, and in ways quite opposite to his former life, such as embracing a leper, and begging from former noble companions for the rebuilding of a ruined church, indicated a willingness to estimate and judge his life from a new angle, and accept that new judgment to the point of resolutely acting upon it, which is true repentance. The most definite moment of turning seems to have been the conquest of his (40) repugnance for and fear of and bitterness toward the leper, but of course what is most important was the whole long process, blossoming in an acceptance of all risks involved in a new way of life. For St. Francis was nothing if not original.

One decisive factor in St. Francis' healthful conversion, was his ability to accept defeat completely, and face its consequences. His (40) Cuthbert, p. 25. See also Babatier, p. 26, and Salvatorelli, p. 69. (41) "Writings of St. Francis" Introduction p. XIV. See also Chesterton p. 88
high, exaggerated estimate of himself, as a prince, and one whom the whole world would love, and probably as a famous and magnificent military hero, had received innumerable hurts. The noblemen and their sons had perhaps tolerated him as one whom they enjoyed, but who could never be their equal. The townspeople had perhaps called him a coward on his return from Spoleto, and certainly had derided him as a fool, after his use of his father's money to rebuild San Damiano. His father had called him a thief and treated him as a common criminal. The priest of San Damiano and the bishop had apparently treated him with that humorous tolerance that indicates contempt and is more painful than hatred. All these judgments upon himself, exercising among to his sensitive spirit and ambitious pride, he had finally, through the dark days in the cave and in custody, come to accept as true. He was a fool for having aspired to the ambitions of the past few years; he would be a fool, God's fool.

The point is that instead of merely enduring humiliation, he went out of his way, from this time one, to meet it. He would take it, seize it, hug it to his bosom, make it his own. It should become life to him, instead of death. He came to consider himself:

"a mean and failed man, your little servant". (42)
"kissing your feet and with the charity of which I am capable". (43)
"a useless man and unworthy creature of the Lord God". (44)
"your little and contemptible servant". (45)

He embraced the leper, the social outcast and went to live with lepers. He put on the rags of a beggar. He accepted only the blackest bread, the stalest crust. He even begged from those whom had formerly aspired to lead and to compel to honor him as their prince. He stripped himself of his clothes, of his position, of his heritage.

It is necessary to emphasize that this was not done in bitterness nor in self-abasement for its own sake. When he walked out of the church.

(12) Writings of St. Francis, Part II Letter II Letter "To All the Friars" p. 111  (43) The same, p. 112  (44) The same, p. 117  (45) The same, p. 117 Letter IV "To All Rulers of People, p. 125
onto the snow in his hair shirt, he was singing joyfully. And this continued all his life. Such an attitude is not possible, unless there is a purpose behind the suffering, for which the suffering is undertaken and in the light of which it receives meaning. This purpose was the imitation of Christ. It is possible to "transmute suffering into joy by the alchemy of purpose." (46)

We can hardly over-estimate the immensity of the sacrifice here made, the complete reversal of life that occurred. It ran much deeper than the conscious surrender of personal ambitions. Poverty is much commoner than wealth or even comfort and security. Misery and suffering are far more prevalent than the young, lusty and comfortable have any conception of. Lowly positions and average ability are the general rule for men. Except for a few sporadic thrusts into these realms of reality, Francis had been evading them, and striving with all his vigorous and extraordinary energy to climb out of contact with them, to a secure place of personal exemption from them. Now he found a moral courage, higher than his physical courage, to grasp these nettles of life, to face these realities, to deal with them at first hand, continuously and seriously. (47)

This sacrifice involved more than a conscious surrender of his relation as son and heir to his father. He surrendered also an identification with his father, perhaps the desire to step into his father's shoes and replace him or out-do him; more likely the desire to be what his father wished him to be. The kernel of his ambition up to his conversion was his father's ambition for him. This dependence upon his father was now thrown off, and for the first time he began to live his own life, with his own purpose. No wonder he felt free and happy.

He freed himself also somewhat from his dependence upon his mother, as indicated by his refusal to accede to her entreaty that he

(46) Streeter, p. 127
(47) Jacks, p. 40
reconcile himself with his father, when accused of being a thief; and by his leaving his home forever, shortly after. On the other hand, there is evidence that his mother's influence now became prominent, and came into its own. The gentleness, courtesy and kindness, which seem to have been characteristic of his mother and which he had shown in various ways occasionally before, now became the very laws of his daily living. The impracticalness of his dreams—from the temporary and worldly point of view—which in this respect seems to have been like those of his mother, became more pronounced by far than before. But perhaps the clearest evidence of an underlying identification with his mother, which now became prominent, is seen in certain passages in his own writings.

"Let those who wish to live religiously in a hermitage, be three brothers or four at most. Let two of them be mothers and have two sons, or at least, one. Let the two former lead the life of Martha and the other two the life of Mary Magdalene... But the sons must sometimes in turn assume the office of mothers, for a time...."

"and they are the spouses, brothers and mothers, of our Lord Jesus Christ. We are spouses when by the Holy Ghost the faithful soul is united to Jesus Christ... We are his mothers when we hear Him in our heart and in our body through our love and a clean conscience, and we bring Him forth by Holy work which ought to shine.""

"I say to thee: Yes, my son, and as a mother........"

In these passages, he is describing himself (and those who live like him) as a mother and a wife. He even uses the figures of sexual union, fertilization and parturition, as referring to himself and his companions.

The particular symbols that men use reveal not only the truth which they wish to convey, and which of prime importance, but also secondarily tendencies within themselves of which they are unaware. That Francis should have chosen these particular symbols, would surely seem to indicate that they expressed that particular emotional relationship and position in life, which he felt himself to hold. It is not a great jump then to conjecture

(48) "Writings of St. Francis", Part I, Sect VII, p. 89 "On Living Religiously in Hermitage."
(49) The Same Part II, Sect. I, p. 104 Letter "To All the Faithful."
(50) The Same Part II, Sect. VI, p. 132. Letter, "To Brother Leo"
that when a man talks of himself as a wife and mother, the source of these feelings lies in an early identification of himself with his own mother. This supposition would be strengthened where we have, as in this case, evidence of severe conflict with the father, and complete repudiation of him.

There is another element in these sacrifices of St. Francis, which fits in with all the ascetic suffering he continued to seek the rest of his life. In connection with his depreifications, I referred to the tendency to self-punishment, in order to allay a sense of guilt. It is quite possible that this operated not only during the conversion period but also throughout the remainder of his days. For all his life he drew suffering upon himself, whether he rolled in the snow, starved himself, lived with lepers, or dwelt in filth. He sought it out, he hungered for it.

The length of Francis' struggle with the relations with his father, and its intensity as witnessed by the sharpness of the break, incited a very strong unconscious attachment to the father. As only the anger against his father's distorting psychological pressure became conscious, that alone was dealt with in breaking with him. The previous and underlying attachment was still there, unknown to him. By continually bringing suffering upon himself he was, wholly without knowing it, keeping near him the psychic presence of that father figure, satisfying that unbroken attachment. Here is where the thought of himself as a wife and mother would seem to fit in. Of course, following the outward break with his father, the attachment was transferred to Christ. His attitude toward Christ was then the outgrowth of his unconscious early attitude toward his father; or we might say the latter formed the frame for the former. He saw his relationship to the independent reality of Christ in terms of an inner relationship he did not know existed toward his own father.

That a feeling of guilt existed is unquestionable. In his
depressions, particularly the one following his unhappy attempt to join in the campaign against Apulia, he felt keenly that something was all wrong with his life; doubt about the rightness of all that he had been attempting to do in his life, and even something of shame seems to have entered in, if we may judge from the words of Cælano,

"he began to grow small in his own eyes."

There are also his own self-depreciatory words which indicate a sense of unworthiness and sinfulness. In addition, his self-punishments indicate it. These also would indicate a sense of guilt. We have seen that Francis' dealt with this feeling of guilt, at first by paying for it in pain, in terms of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But this was not a releasing solution; it was a binding one, keeping him in melancholy. Another solution gradually dawned upon him, pushing its way up from the deeper layers of the mind and providing him with a way out of his dilemma. This solution involved four things at least, all of which meant a facing of internal as well as external reality. He had to recognize the impossibility of attaining his military and social ambitions and definitely surrender them; he had to awake to the irreconcilable differences between his father's attitude toward life and his own, and choose irrevocably to follow his own; he had to hear the call, and discover the joy, of a cause beyond himself and worth his whole passionate endeavor; and he had to subsume all his various tendencies under this one high purpose.

The intra-psychic conflicts were thus resolved, the breaches healed, by making clean-cut decisions for one side or the other of the conflicting forces, when he came to recognize them, rising to a higher plain of living, where the tension could be relieved by pouring the conflicting energies into a new channel. A reconciliation with himself, within himself, occurred in this way. Out of this new inner unity came
the new friendships with the lowly, those in the wrong, the sick and
suffering. These contacts, once occasional and often forgotten, be­
came enduring and satisfying. In this sense a reconciliation took
place with society. And so great was the sense of harmony that developed,
that he came to feel a mystical union with birds and animals, sun, moon,
and stars, fire and water. What is this but the experience of forgiven­ness,
at-one-ment, reconciliation? He thus discovered in his own person, the
truth behind the doctrine of the atonement, a truth verified by present­
day psychotherapy—namely, that the healing of the personality does
not come from punishment inflicted by society or by the self, but comes
from a reconciliation between warring elements that begin within the
personality and extend outward.

If God is not an individual separate from human beings, but
a spirit inherent in some mysterious way in the whole universe, to be
known by experience, then the description I have given is a description
of the work of God in Francis' life, and Francis' recognition of it, and
acceptance of it.

In passing I would call attention to the narrowing of attention
that occurred in Francis' life in the process of conversion. He gave up
all his friends, all his activities, even his family, and retired into
his own thought. He even retired into a cave for the major portion of
his transmutation, a dark, enclosed space, symbolic of the womb. Such a
comparison would seem absurd if it was not that I have seen similar ones
repeatedly among neurotic and psychotic sufferers. Their spontaneous
productions utilize as symbols for the womb such varied enclosed spaces
as bathtubs, small rooms, beds, lockers, basements, tunnels, closets, arm­
chairs, dark corners in the heights of Gothic types of churches. They
utilize these symbols, or actually seek these situations because that is
the way they feel emotionally, back at the beginning of life, with
everything essential to their inmost selves yet to be learned. St. Francis must have felt that way. All his life up to that point felt to ruin about him. It was not, any more. He must start at the beginning again. In fact when he emerged from that cave, he did begin a new life. And, like a child's it was a gradual unfolding, taking years, a groping about, and a waiting for more light.
The imitation of Christ appears to have been the conscious central dominating purpose of his life. Probably more important for what he accomplished was another development. This was his passionate desire for fellowship. It was a capacity for a sense of common union that crossed any barriers, that believed always the best, and discounted always the worst. This was the basis of his missionary tours, which followed each other rapidly, even when he was weak and unfit to travel. This hunger for fellowship found expression in his feeling that the birds listened to him, and that their songs were their response to him. Probably it led to his being really deceived by Ugolini, the Bishop of Ostia, who was the official ecclesiastical protector of the order, but who moved steadily toward changing the character of it away from Francis' original ideal. It is revealed toward his Brothers Minor in such incidents as this:

"Worn out as much by emotion as by fatigue, he one day found himself obliged to give up finishing the journey on foot. Mounted upon an ass, he was going on his way, followed by Brother Leonard of Assisi, when a passing glance showed him what was passing in his companion's mind. "My relatives," the friar was thinking, "would have been far enough from associating with Bernardone, and yet here am I, obliged to follow his son on foot." We may judge of his astonishment when he heard Francis saying, as he hastily dismounted from his beast: 'Here, take my place; it is most unseemly that thou shouldst follow me on foot, who art of a noble and powerful lineage.' The unhappy Leonard, much confused, threw himself at Francis' feet, begging for pardon." (52)

It is seen again in his relations with lepers:

"One day, Brother John, whose simplicity we have already seen, and who had been especially put in charge of a certain leper, took him for a walk to Portiuncula, as if he had not been the victim of a contagious malady. Reproaches were not spared him; the leper heard them and could not hide his sadness and distress; it seemed to him like being a second time banished from the world. Francis was quick to remark all this and to feel sharp remorse for it; the thought of having saddened one of God's patients was unendurable; he not only begged his pardon, but he caused food to be served, and sitting down beside him he shared his repast, eating from the same porringer." (53)

(51) Sabatier, p. 243 (52) Sabatier, p. 240
(53) Sabatier, p. 144
Such actions might be multiplied indefinitely, indicating, as he once expressed it himself, that any barrier to fellowship was a prison to him. This capacity for fellowship is one of the surest marks of maturity.

One strange occurrence in Francis' life requires attention. His brotherhood had been growing rapidly for years, on the basis of extreme simplicity in living, and complete direction by himself. In 1221 he was persuaded to give over the direction to another, and to accept closer supervision by the Church in the person of Ugolini, Bishop of Ostia. The result of this was gradually, but immediately, to change the character of the order, the most marked difference being the corporate acquisition of property, and the institution of rules of detailed external conduct. The rule of 1210 was simplicity itself, and laid down the spirit in which the Brothers Minor were to live. Francis was never against the ownership of property. It was expected of the Third Order. But it was the hold on the individual which the ownership of property acquired that he was fighting. Only the Brothers Minor were to be without property, as teachers of the average individual, who had to go on with the world's work, of the value of freedom from the thralldom of property. With the changes that came here, Francis himself suffered a depression, even coming to doubt his mission and his whole life work.

Francis was here at another situation psychologically similar to that he experienced with his own father. It was a problem of submission or independence in the presence of authority. With his father he had refused to submit, where his ideals were concerned, and had broken entirely free. With the church's authority it was far more difficult. Many besides himself were involved. The church was the church of Christ. One of the rules of his life, now, was humility. This time he submitted. The choice between the following of Christ as he saw it inwardly and the obedience to his grasping father was most difficult. But the choice

(54) Sabatier, p. 266
(55) Sabatier, p. 274
between the following of Christ as he saw it inwardly, a ter great troubles and suffering had come to others through that course, and the following of Christ, according to the experienced wisdom of the Church was a different matter. His independence and courage somehow were shaken. The size of the movement seems to have gotten beyond what he could manage, especially in his personal, intimate, freedom-giving manner.

He surrendered the direction of his movement, although how completely he did not realize until later. He seems to have been tempted to surrender himself, in abject obedience.

"One day he was sitting with his companions, when he began to groan and say: 'There is hardly a monk upon earth who perfectly obeys his superior.' His companions, much astonished, said: 'Explain to us, father, what is perfect and supreme obedience.' Then, comparing him who obeys to a corpse, he replied: 'Take a dead body, and put it where you will, it will make no resistance; when it is in one place it will not object; when you take it away from there it will not murmur; put it in a pulpit, it will not look up but down; wrap it in purple, it will only be doubly pale.'"(56)

He was depressed and discouraged at this time. Passive obedience, and thoughts of punishment and death, occur in depressions. But this strong tendency he resisted, as he had before with his father. Though his movement began to change its character, he himself remained the same independent, free to follow his principles, in devotion to Christ and his fellow-men.

In both crises he really followed the same course: he surrendered all his possessions, to retain his personal freedom;—in the first case his material possessions, his very clothes, his inheritance he laid at the feet of his father; in the second case, his spiritual possessions, his sons and daughters of the Order, he laid at the feet of the Holy Father.

It is possible that when Francis came back from his mission to the orient, he saw that his Order had developed beyond his capacity control it. Either he must strive to hold it true to his aims, and yet certainly see it falling gradually away, and so lose it; or he must

(56) Sabatier, p. 261, quoted from Celano.
surrender his aims in order to keep control of it; or he must do as
he did—surrender the control of his Order and he himself retain his
aims. Consciously it seemed the part of wisdom to surrender the direction
of his rapidly growing movement to more competent hands, and hope that
it would be thereby saved, he himself meanwhile following his original
course without deviation. The problem of obedience as against independence
had arisen again.
What we see in St. Francis, in the pre-conversion period, is an almost desperate attempt to win the admiration of people, to achieve fame, to be loved above all others, in short to be the center of attention. There is here a tremendous self-importance, that reaches almost ludicrous heights. And later, his carelessness about money, and his boasting brought ridicule, so that the day came when a great rabble followed him jeering, as he went to his father's house in disgrace. People enjoy the downfall of a boaster. Francis must have been known as such. And he seems to have expected that the power of money would carry him to the heights of his ambitions. He used it recklessly and lavishly. And his later fear of property, would indicate what high value it had, early in his life, and how it was linked up with this extravagant goal of his.

We find him also striving to prove himself manly. He seeks to lead the nobles' sons, in gaity, revelry and escapades. He goes to wars, and dreams of rooms with walls hung with weapons. This longing for manliness is not obvious, but rather seems reasonably to be inferred from the contrast of his early warlike life, and his later gently, courteous, utterly kind life. I am not contrasting strength with weakness in the man, or courage with cowardice; but the more aggressive qualities with the more submissive ones, the former characterizing his early life, the latter his later life.

In fact, we should realize that in all this pre-conversion period he is throwing himself violently (for no other word hardly describes the vehemence of his efforts) into an endeavor to copy his father, all that his father wished for him, and, deeper, all that a father stands for in a son's life, in consorting with nobles and warriors. Not that he necessarily consciously did so. He had taken into his father's aims, and enlarged on them and shaped them somewhat according to his own thought.
St. Francis

But the general direction was still clearly to be recognized as that of his father.

His father had married a woman of possible noble origin; he had once been a warrior and had fought for Assisi; he was successful and rich; and yet being in a distinctly lower social class, must have harbored a wish to break into that upper class, perhaps through his brilliant son. The particular way in which Francis seemed to be trying to break into that upper social strata, through leadership in revelry and fighting may have been Francis' own idea, but the ambition took the direction his father had at heart. And so the son was imitating his father at heart, and openly imitating the noble and the warrior.

There was a double reason why Francis should seek to follow in the trail his father's longing had laid out. Every boy does. And besides, in contrast with the rather retiring, clinging, gentle mother, the father was a hard-hearted business man. A child finds more security in strictness than in indulgence. St. Francis was seeking strength, as all people do, but at present in the particular form in which, as a child and a boy, he had seemed to see it.

But there is still another view of all this to be sketched. He is seeking to stand out from the crowd, to raise himself above others as a mountain peak. Perhaps he is here trying to break away from his life-long tendency to imitate, by seeming to be different, rather than actually so. Without, of course, necessarily consciously thinking in these terms, the inherent need of every individual to be a separate distinctive person, is expressing itself unfortunately in terms of quantity rather than quality, in terms of outward appearance, rather than in inward reality. If he can be a outstanding figure, he will seem to be different, although actually only an outstanding copy.

Chesterton brings out very beautifully the rushing quality (57) Chesterton, p. 44,45. Salvatorelli, p. 40
of St. Francis' character. No one ever ran so eagerly toward what he wanted; no one ever was so heedless of possible blunders; no one ever was so impetuous in his decisions. Undoubtedly the man was racing toward a goal, even though it appears that he was not sure of his goal, at one minute wishing to be a poet, at another a nobleman, at another a soldier.

But the absence of patience and thought, along with the thwarting we shall note in a minute, would lead us to suspect that he is also trying to escape from something. His evident hurry and reckless abandon look very much like that of a person who is afraid of an inner voice, he cannot bear to heed. The reversal of direction in St. Francis' life that came with his conversion and began with listening to an inner voice that called for an extremely painful course of life upholds this supposition.

I would suggest that the secret lies mainly in Francis' craving for fellowship. After his conversion it is clear that he cannot bear that any barrier should come between him and another. Many an incident from those with lepers, to Brother Leonard, to that with Ugolini over the control of his Order, testifies to this, as well as such general occasions as his many missionary tours. The first experience of fellowship for every individual is that with one's mother, organically at first, and then emotionally, before any other experiences of union with another individual count for much. But this experience is more than a single incident in the individual's life. It is the concrete expression of all that need for warmth and love, for security and contentment that are universal cravings in the human breast, and which are pictured in mythology, folk lore, religion, and common thinking in a myriad different ways. This relation with the mother figure that is so strong all through childhood should naturally be the seed from which all later experiences of fellowship can healthily grow. Therefore it seems reasonable that if for any one of many reasons the child should become afraid of the pull of this early warm affection, he will have difficulty in all later friendships,
forming them, in so far as he does, in spite of that early fear. That is, if deep down in his heart, unconsciously he is continually denying out of too great fear of its strength, the value of that early fellowship, there will be a flaw in later attempted fellowships. Until therefore, he can come to admit to himself his need for and longing for that first close union, and find that it is not destructive of individuality, he will be hampered in all later friendships. There is a lurking fear of being too close to any one.

Now, if we may use our imagination a bit, we can conjecture that a practical materialistic sort of man such as we know Pietro Bernardo e to have been, would have little use for the poetic tendencies in his wife who liked to get alone and dream. But the son had these very characteristics strongly in him, as all his later life brings out in such bold relief. We might then make a guess that the father ridiculed, or at least in some subtle way or another, showed his disgust with such characteristics, whenever he saw them cropping out in his son. If this actually happened, the boy, ambitious to be a man like his successful and world-travelled father, would become afraid of such feelings in himself. That is, he would be fleeing from them. Not his actual mother so much, as what his mother stood for in his life, including that early training at the hands of priests, would be what he ran away from during the following years. And this fear of the hold that the hunger for union with another had upon him would drive him to seek a kind of splendid isolation, as he appears to aim at when he rides out of the gates of Assisi on his way to Spoleto, in such magnificence as had not been seen for some time, and exclaiming: "You will see, I shall come back a prince."

Here, however, is a most interesting point. That inner need which he seemed to fear, kept breaking through his mode of life. He would do as his father did, finishing a bargain with a merchant, but
immediately chase through the by-lanes of the city after the beggar when he had repulsed. He would consort with warriors and noblemen's sons in prison after the first campaign, but would be friendly with the prisoner whom all others shunned.

But we see that in his late adolescence, this headlong haste is repeatedly thwarted. Perhaps the opposing forces have already been subtly revealing themselves, unknown to him, in such forms as these: flinging his father's money about in a way that astonished his mother; and carelessness in the way he managed his father's business, when responsible for any part of it. But the thwarting from within begins to show effectively when he returns bitterly disappointed from the Spoleto.

From this, after a time he rallied, and flung himself once more into his old way of life. But again depression overtook him. A definite psychological regression takes place. He retires into a cave. He lives with only one devoted, but not understanding companion and soon loses him also. He is beginning to see himself as he is: vain, boastful, lonely. Perhaps he sees the impossibility of achieving what he had sought, the impassability of class distinctions. At any rate he sees his own utter dissatisfaction with that way of living. His life for the time becomes narrowed down to sitting in that cave day after day wondering what he shall do. He becomes very suggestible. In a church service he hears the priest read the words of Christ: "Follow me", and he interpretes them as meaning that he, Francis, shall renounce all.

He begins to feel his way toward a new life, blindly, gropingly, along the lines he had occasionally experienced. He changes clothes with a beggar several times and stands at the corner in disguise begging. Then one day, his fear comes toward him on the road, in the shape of a leper. It is that fear of fellowship with any and all, especially those who are down-trodden, who are put hopelessly in the wrong; really a fear
of too close union. For after all the mass of mankind are poor and suffering, and Francis has always fled from these conditions. It is one of the turning points in his life.

Francis' mother's characteristics made her appear the least and the lowest in the household in some respects, the one who appeared least effective in worldly ways. Francis now went more among these lepers. He began to rebuild the ruin church of San Damiano. He was becoming a laborer with his hands.

But he still held partially to his old life. His father let him handle some of the business. But his desire to rebuild a ruined church, as commanded by one of his "voices", led to the arrest by his father. Here was the moment for full renunciation to occur, and Francis did not shrink. If we may interpret the symbols of the dream he had immediately prior to setting out in military glory for Spoleto, where he saw the walls of his enlarged home hung with armor and weapons all marked with the cross, glory, cruelty, pride were to be continually crucified. But it was a positive life he entered. He sought poverty, misery, humiliation, simplicity, submission, - all with the end of imitating the Christ. And through it all burned the hunger for the closest companionship with all men.

Francis thus started from scratch. We might almost truthfully say that, when he walked out of that church, all but naked, he was beginning life over again, as when he came from his mother's womb. He had accepted that feared union. Having put out "feelers" and found in experiences with beggars and lepers that, though it means terrific sacrifice, it does not destroy him, but instead brings him a new kind of genuine and free-flowing satisfaction, he now fully surrendered to this desire. He tore away all barriers, even his clothes, symbolically therein removing everything that might separate him from those whom he was now seeking in
St. Francis

fellowship. But almost everything has to be learned anew, from physical
labor and care of his ordinary needs, to relations with the world of men
about him. Like a child, he listens to a voice that he considers other
than his own and does what it directs him. When told to crucify his
ambitions he does so. When told to rebuild the church, he does so.
When told to renounce all, he does so. When told to preach repentance
and forgiveness, he does so. And he does not do these things unless the
inner voice, which he interprets as that of Christ, informs him first.

The unconscious may contain not only repressed but also
unexpressed material, which may be good, corrective, healing or developmental.
No longer something laid upon him by external influences, such as his
father's desires, or the pressure of his companions, but the deeper forces
of life are now finding expression through him. He is doing something
creative.

Francis, in one sense, is not a new man. The same powerful
tendencies that showed all through his early life, are still present.
but their form, and relative importance are being changed.

He still needs to be the center of attention, although he con-
siously repudiates it. He gains it, however, by utter simplicity of
garb, which is really as striking as his over-dress was before,
and through his leadership in a new way of living. But now instead
of pointing men to himself, he points men deliberately away from himself
to Christ. He still seeks cruelty, but now upon himself, instead of upon
others. He still has an almost exaggerated belief in something in him,
but now it is his movement, daring to seek the Pope's blessing when there
are only twelve of them in the brotherhood, and believing that two of them
may convert the Mohammedan world and end the Crusades.

(58) Nicol, p. 179
(59) Fenelon, No. XXX. p. 77
St. Francis

His interest in the poor and the outcaste, as well as in the favored, becomes a key note in his life, accepting persecution, pain, poverty and the possibility of disease rather than be separated from any one. His early religious training, buried apparently all through the previous years, now blossoms into its own. His politeness, his kindness, his consideration take in every act of his life. He has learned the mature art of forgetting himself and caring for others habitually, without impairing the originality of his individuality.

I have tried to show that when Francis reached chronological maturity, near the end of his adolescence, he was following a certain course of life. During the next few years this proved totally disappointing to him, principally because he was a divided personality to a marked degree. He was driven then to sacrifice those ways in which he had hitherto sought to satisfy his inner needs. He experienced this as giving up the inner desires themselves. These desires were fundamentally childish desires—to be the center of attention, to be loved, to obediently follow his father's wishes, to escape from his mother's influence. In sacrificing not only the way in which he had sought their fulfilment, but also, as he felt, the desires themselves, he was returning emotionally to his childhood. There was a period of marked narrowing of thought, of psychological rebirth. For a time he acted like a child. He was very suggestible, hearing "voices" and following them. He had no idea how to get along or what to do in a world of grown-up men. He felt it necessary to obey just what was told him (inwardly), and to do nothing unless so told. He had to learn how to live all over again. It was a slow growth, taking some years. The willingness to unlearn his life, in certain emotional respects, and begin again, was actually emotionally uncertain respects to become a child again and be reborn.

(60) Chesterton, p. 97, 102
Chapter V

THE CONVERSION

OF

MARTIN LUTHER

3. Gradual solution of the conflicts, p. 36.
4. The Illumination, p. 46.
5. Theoretical considerations, p. 62.
EARLY LIFE

In this study of Luther's change of life, naturally I do not attempt to present a comprehensive explanation of all that occurred. Rather, I endeavor to throw certain lights, here and there, upon his conversion experience, as suggestively worth study.

There is some controversy over the degree of harshness with which Martin Luther's parents treated him, during his childhood. Some say that he exaggerated in describing it, but the weight of evidence seems to be on the side of the statement that he was quite severely treated.

For the psychological study of his emotional experiences in his "illumination", which I will call his conversion, his own conception in his mature years of the attitude of his parents toward him, is the matter of importance, rather than what that attitude actually was in childhood. In trying to understand his conversion experience, we are not interested in what happened in childhood, but in what ideas and emotional attitudes were his during the conversion experience. These partly reflect his childhood, in that they may be in nucleus much the same as he had in his childhood, but we are interested in what happened within him in childhood, only so far as these experiences were still a part of his active inner life in his adult years. We cannot know what happened in his mind in childhood; we can only infer, by what we find in adulthood that, being out of touch with present reality, is evidently a vestigial remainder from childhood. Therefore, what Luther thought of his home is of great importance, just as he pictured it.

(1) MacKinnon, p. 23.
(2) Cf. Bohmer: "The lonesome young man who still associated with the word father the idea of unbending severity and strictness which life in the parental home had taught him, etc." p. 102
"My father once whipped me so severely that I fled from him and it was difficult for him to win me back to himself. My parents were so strict that they made me cowardly. My mother beat me until the blood flowed, for the sake of a single nut. And by this strict discipline they finally forced me into the monastery, tho they meant heartily well by it."(3)

Only in the light of the fear, bred in the mind of the boy by such conceptions of his parents, can we understand the exclamation of Luther in later years to John von Staupitz: "Dr. Staupitz, you wish to kill me!", when Dr. Staupitz was trying to persuade him to become preacher, to undertake, to him, a heavy and anxious responsibility. This was tantamount in Luther's mind to requiring of him difficult conduct in life, that is inflicting upon him severe discipline. Whether this statement was made humorously or not, we know that Luther took the responsibility urged upon him with great trepidation; he thought of it, one might say truly, as a dangerous calling, involving danger to his self-esteem. The exclamation, although exaggerated out of all proportion to reality, indicated his inner fear.

This same fear is reflected still later in his life in his conviction that it was the aim of the devil to do away with him, and the statement that the devil gave him evil thoughts when he happened to have a knife in his hand. I have had a patient of mine admit that it seemed at times in my work with her that I was going to kill her, although she of course knew it to be absurd. With this strange fear came the memory of her mother, angered by the little girl's exasperating behaviour (the patient), lifting the broom with which she was cleaning, and pushing it into the face of her daughter, driving that daughter into a room and shutting the door on her as punishment with the irritated exclamation: 'I could wring your neck, I could kill you.'

(3) "Conversations" p. 1
(4) "Own Writings", p. 67. Also "Conversations", p. 3
(5) "Own Writings", p. 76, 77.
Luther 3.

With regard to his school teachers, he says:

"I was once whipped fifteen times before noon, for no fault of mine." (6)

In referring to schools, he seems to have in mind his own experience when he speaks of the "blustering, storming and violent methods of the schoolmasters, who showed neither insight nor skill in their treatment of their pupils......under this brutal regime school life was a martyrdom. In another passage, which also refers to his experience in the Mansfield school, he says that he and fellow-pupils were the victims of the perpetual threats and cruelty of their teachers who kept their nerves on the rack." He gathered the impression that his teachers took positive delight in tormenting their scholars.

Luther seldom was cautious and careful in his statements. He said impulsively what he thought and felt at the moment. This was particularly true in regard to his talk collected in the"Table Talk" when he unburdened himself to his friends. It is not only modern psychologists that recognize that the off-hand unplanned statements of a person come nearer indicating the true state of his mind, but it is also Jesus, who said that men would have to answer in judgment for every idle word. So that, although these statements are comparatively few in number, and we cannot check them by interviewing Luther himself, we have a basis here for a conjecture about an impression in his mind that influenced him much. And when this impression about those in authority over him, fits in both with his depressed, pre-conversion exaggerated conceptions of God which were inexplicable both in the light of the total teaching of the church of his time and to his contemporaries

(6) "Conversations," p. 3. (7) Mackinnon, p. 10,11
(8) Bährer, p. 42,43 (9) Matthew 12:36
Luther

in the monastery as well, and also with those of his more far-fetched statements about the church and its hierarchy, as will be shown later in this paper, I think we have a right to assume that previous to his illumination there was in Luther's attitude toward life a predisposition that had its roots in his childhood. This predisposition was a conception of authority which colored his views of the actual world about him far more than he had any idea of, and distorted his perception of reality.

Common sense and a knowledge of children's minds, both would postulate as a result of such an impression of the nature of authority, an intense desire to rebel against it. This, like all rebellion, is an effort to gain freedom from the domination, or supposed domination, of all disliked control. It is a healthy and necessary surging upward of individuality. That there was an intense impulse to throw over such authority, in Luther, may safely be inferred from the following facts. Negatively it may be seen in this very independent person, in maturity, in his rather supine, even strenuous acquiescence with authority, in entering Law school, in his vow to become a monk, in his attitude to the church's teaching as he interpreted it in the monastery, in his marriage largely at his father's wish in middle age when many considered it unwise, and in his inability almost up to the time of his excommunication to realize how his growing convictions would bring him into conflict with his own church and inevitably separate him from it.

Luther does not seem to have chosen the career of jurist, but to have entered upon the study for it at his father's request. This request was part of the father's plan for material advancement.

(10) MacKinnon, p. 28, 29
of his brilliant son. But a letter of Luther's to Trebonianus, two
years later, indicates that he was not as keen as his father on
merely material advancement. The further fact that Luther suffered
his first recorded depression during his few weeks of study of
law would indicate that he was not happy in that study. An
average young man of twenty two will choose his own career, although
this may not have been customary in Luther's time. At least Luther
felt he did not have to comply with his father's wishes, for in
September of the same year, he disregarded them and changed the
whole course of his life by entering the monastery. Without stressing
the point too much, the evidence points to the conclusion that the
later flaming independent was rather docilely following his father's
desire in matriculating in the law course.

Luther's self-torturing struggles to make himself absolutely
obedient to the furthest implication of the church's teaching on
meriting acceptance with God are familiar enough not to need de-
scription. Here we see the effort at perfect obedience at its
height. And even after he had markedly begun to change his point
of view, and had come to consider increasingly that

"the daily hours and readings of the breviary to be'ass's
work', indeed mere sound, drawl, murmur and bleating at
the walls, which made one feel dull in the head."(12)

he still felt it necessary sometimes on week-ends to shut himself
in his cell for three days at a time without food and drink in
order to make up at one sitting what he had missed in the previous
busy days during the public conflict. Indeed his very vow, made
rashly against the wishes of his family, friends and himself, he
considered a great act of obedience to God. It was not the glad
obedience of one who willingly follows a new road, but the compelled

(11) *Conversations*, p. 8
(12) *Bohmer*, p. 72
(13) *Bohmer*, p. 60
Luther

obedience of one who feels he must pay for guilt, as corroborated by his making it when overwhelmed by the fear of the judgment of God.

In regard to his hasty, and partially secret marriage, he stated at least three times in letters to his friends, that it was entered upon at his father's request. His failure to confide in such close friends as Melancthon, in regard to this plan, his own self-despising for doing it after he had done it, the general judgment that it was an unfortunate moment for the Reformation to consummate the marriage, all indicate that his was an impulsive emotional act. His objectives in marrying, namely to satisfy his father, to sanctify marriage, and to anger his enemies, were all accomplished. Two of these were prompted by rebellion against the position of the church; the other by obedience to his father's wish.

Furthermore, all through his early period of lecturing, and his later period of conflict with the church before excommunication, he seems to have considered himself an obedient son of the church, although his recognition of the gulf between the position at which he had arrived and the actively operating position of the church of course grew clear toward the end. What concerns us is that feeling of "blindness" whither his convictions would lead him. He evidently greatly wished to consider himself an obedient son of the church, and so for long shut his eyes to the increasingly patent fact that he had long since actually ceased to be obedient to the church as it was.

Then we remind ourselves of his independence of others,

(14) MacKinnon, p. 31,32,36,37. Conversations, p. 7
(16) Bohmer, p. 84,85
Luther

the reliance upon his own judgment and knowledge and conscience, which so marked his whole public career, this uncritical compliance with the beliefs and wishes of others is seen to be in glaring contrast. Moreover the tendency to obedience is the dominant characteristic up to the time of the conflict with the church, while the independent attitude characterizes his public life. As one decreases the other increases. While one is in the saddle, obedience, the other appears only sporadically and impulsively, as in his vow; and when the other takes the seat, independence, the first comes to show itself only on impulse, as in his time and method of marriage.

It becomes clear then that this habit of submitting himself to authority is in reality a reaction to an underlying desire for rebellion, of which he was not conscious. It is a method of attempting to handle the rebel within. He strove to be absolutely obedient, to merit approval, that he might throttle that feared insurgent within. It is an accepted dictum now that the main lines of an individual's development, are laid down in the first half dozen years of his life, while educators from the time of Loyola have recognized this. Such an outstanding characteristic as Luther's struggle against external authority then must be considered as having been formed in those early years of his life. That is he was all through these pre-monastic years unconsciously rebellious against his parents and their plans for him, but in his fear of the violence of that inner rebellion, seeking over-determinedly to keep himself in line with their commands, or wishes that appeared to him as commands.

In the light of this postulate, the inexplicableness of his vow largely disappears. This vow to enter the monastery has been a source of much investigation and controversy. The question (17) Jones, p. 45. Glover, p. 18,41 (18) Jones, p. 90
Luther has been what religious interest did Luther have previously, and those who hold the accepted view that there is little evidence of any considerable previous religious interest find it difficult to explain how he came to make such a radical decision. In the light of what I have already indicated and will further indicate, this mystery begins to clear up. This vow to dedicate himself to the religious life was the focus of conflicting emotions. It was like a neurotic symptom. He was fearfully conscious of the danger of judgment; of a sense of guilt. But, like neurotic disorders, that about which he felt guilty does not appear to have come to his mind at the time of the incident with any degree of clearness. His various references to it, are silent on this aspect. He was simply overwhelmed with fear. Like a child who is so overwhelmed with incoming stimuli that he cannot express himself, but reacts only by trying to assimilate the experience, Luther was unable to run for cover in the lightning storm, but instead made an unpremeditated and undesired vow.

In his introduction to the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Luther describes the sinner's condition in words that sound almost like a report on his experience in the lightning storm.

"But man's weakness and misery is so great, that in the terrors of conscience and danger of death we behold nothing else but our works, our worthiness and the law; which when it showeth unto us our sin, by and by our evil life past cometh to remembrance. Then the poor sinner, with great anguish, of spirit, groaneth and thus thinketh with himself: "Alas, how desperately have I lived! Would to God I might live longer; then would I amend my life!" Thus man's reason cannot restrain itself from the sight and beholding of this active or working righteousness, that is to say, his own righteousness." (22)

(19) MacGinnon, p. 34
(20) Hinckle, p. 276
(21) MacGinnon, p. 31,32 and "Own Writings" p. 21
(22) p. XXXIV
Luther

We might guess from our meagre records, the course of events to have been something like this. Luther had been near death, in personal illness, and in the plague epidemic of 1505, but no record of the fear of judgment having come to him at those times remains. Silence would indicate absence, in this man who is so free in discussing his past personal experiences. But in the spring of 1506, in the university he became depressed. That is he became acutely conscious of guilt, unworthiness, worthlessness. His mind, unknown to himself except in the form of depression, was in part wrestling with the problem of breaking loose from his father's rule and obtaining personal psychological freedom; on the one hand was the necessity of absolute obedience to him, and on the other hand of hatred for him, with consequent guilt. He was moving toward a solution, though he did not know it. This solution, which we today would be likely to call a rather neurotic solution, and which certainly did not actually solve his problem, but only intensified it, came in the form of the vow. Like all neurotic symptoms, it was a compromise between conflicting tendencies and expressed the various tendencies in conflict.

From his own words, we know that he deeply repented of his vow, after the moment of fear had passed, and would have given much to have been able conscientiously to avoid carrying it out. Obviously it meant a great sacrifice to a young man, with no particular religious leanings, and with a quite sociable temperament. To fulfil his vow, therefore, involved genuine self-punishment. This view is in accord with the marked feelings of wickedness present in the thunderstorm, and presumably present in his earlier depression. He felt the need of severe punishment. He therefore punished himself in turning to the monastery in order
Luther
to avoid the greater punishment he feared at the hands of God; he sought thus to appease an angry God.

It might be mentioned, that hospitals for mental diseases are familiar with persons who have shown no previous particular religious interest, becoming intensely pre-occupied with religious fear, when depressed.

His father's attitude toward this decision to become a monk is familiar. He was intensely angry, "almost went mad", and "would on no account give his consent"; he felt his hopes were dashed; he was afraid that Martin was the victim of an illusion, that the vow was the work of the devil; he refused to see his son, and two years later implied that the vow was an act of direct disobedience to himself; and he rejoiced when his son left the monastery.

Since Luther kept his vow secret from his father, until after its consummation, it is clear that he understood only too well this would indeed be the attitude of his father, even before that father had a chance to show it.

I should state here, that in my opinion, Luther, in his depressions, and such acts associated with it as his vow, was exhibiting abnormal behavior. This was recognized in his own day; for no one, not even his associates and wisest confessors, such as John van Staupitz could understand Luther's depressions. Historians' difficulty in explaining that vow indicates an appreciation of something unnatural about it. Psychiatrists consider that such irrational acts as the vow are invariable preceded by unconscious mental causes.

It appears reasonable then to assume such unconscious mental causes behind his vow. We do not know what these causes

(23) MacKinnon, p. 36,37,48,49. Conversations, p. 7 Own Writings, p. 21
(24) Own Writings, p. 4,5
were, except in part. But we can form hypotheses on the basis of what his previous mental conflicts were, and on the results that came from the act itself. One clear result was the displeasure of his father, and the destruction of his hopes. We may then assume, till a better explanation is found, that this vow, apparently arrived at without premeditation, was in reality, previously planned in the depths of his mind, without his being aware of it of course, both as an angry blow at his father's oppressive authority over him and as a great act of rebellion, a desperate effort to free himself from it.

That Luther vaguely senses something of the sort is implied in his preface to De Votis Monasticus, written in the form of a letter to his father, November 21, 1521. He says:

"I did not turn monk voluntarily. Terrified by a sudden apparition, surrounded by death, and conceiving myself summoned by Heaven, I made an inconsidered and forced vow. When I told you this you answered, 'God send it be not a vision of the devil's raising!' These words, as if God had spoken by your lips, sank deeply into me; but I shut my heart as much as I could, against you and your words. In like manner, when I subsequently objected to your words to me, you returned me an answer which struck me as no other speech has struck me, and which has remained gaven on my heart. You said to me, 'Have you not also heard that you should obey your parents?' But I was obdurate in my determined intent, and harkened to what you said as being only of man. Still at the bottom of my soul I could never despise those words." (25)

Again in September, he writes:

"He thinks God spake by his lips." (25)

There are three tendencies in Luther, indicated in this passage, to which I would call attention. God and his own father, as so often happens, are somewhat identified in his mind. He twice mentions feeling that God's words and his father's words are the same. Some of his attitude toward God may then be understood in the light

(25) Own Writings, p. 21
of his attitude toward his father. Then also he is conscious of not only disobeying his father, but further of trying to shut out from his mind that very aspect of disobedience in the making of the vow. "I shut my heart as much as I could, against you and your words." That this was not the comparatively simple problem of bringing himself to follow his own judgment against the adverse judgment of one whom he deeply respected, is shown by his doubt as to which was God's leading, his vow, or his father's words. His effort to shut out his father's words and wish becomes all the more significant because it shows more than ever that it is something not amenable to reason, but which is so painful he avoids facing it, as much as he can. This view is corroborated by the third point I would make, namely that the whole tone of the passage is defensive. Fifteen years after the event, he is trying to justify his decision, to his father, and the public who will read the book. He repeatedly emphasises the involuntary and forced nature of the making of the vow. He wishes to disclaim responsibility. He seeks longingly to persuade his father that he did not mean something involved in that vow, namely acting contrary to his father's desire. On the principle of Shakespeare's insight that "the lady doth protest too much" we rightly understand the very intention she denies as actually hers, we must assume that Luther, unconsciously, made the vow, in part, in order to get away from following his father's hopes for himself. He felt guilty of disobedience without really appreciating its extent. He could not acknowledge his own rebellious attitude, but sought, in this confused passage, to cover it up.

In fact he came to think of the fulfilment of the vow as "a great act of obedience to God". He had been "summoned by

(26) Mackinnon, p. 35, from "Werke", XLIV, 782
heaven". The nearer the hidden antagonism to his father came to expression, previous to the thunderstorm, the greater the need of conscious obedience. The vow was this conscious act of obedience. This is clear enough not to need further statement.

Just as psychiatrists consider that symptoms of mental abnormality are in some sense efforts of the organism at self-cure or at least self-protection, so this vow was Luther's effort to resolve his conflicting emotions. When the doors of the monastery closed behind him, these difficulties in development we have been considering were transferred from the person of his father as their focus, to the conception of God. As mental tensions can be worked out only on a plain higher than that of the opposing tendencies, Luther without clear insight into himself could only find a practical solution to his inner contradictions, by making this transference of emotions. His father was what he was and Luther could not change him; but Luther could change his conception of God.

The vow, however, was more than an act of rebellion to get free. It effectually destroyed his father's wishes for him. Those plans were irrevocably torn to shreds. Psychologically those plans were the father's projection of himself. He determined to realize in his son what he had never realized in himself. To ruin a man's cherished ambitions is to ruin a precious part of himself. In destroying those plans, Luther had made a direct and murderous attack upon a part of his father's mental life, and killed it.

In this very indirect fashion we run upon a hilt of one of Luther's most deeply buried (in his early life) tendencies, ---aggression.

(27) Noyes, p. 78
The supposition that there was a really terrific hatred for his father, or rather for a composite and confused image unconsciously harbored of his two parents, a figure of authority, gains credence as we examine the evidence. There was in the first place a sense of psychic helplessness in Luther's early life and career. Something of this appears in his submission to his father's wishes with regard to the life-plan of jurist. It appears distinctly in the thunderstorm, when cast down by lightning. For instead of the instinctive self-preservative reaction to physical danger, of strenuous attempts at physical escape, we find him helplessly submitting to an exceedingly undesired course of action in a "great act of obedience", against his will. It shows again in his servile, even object submission to the over-harsh conception he had of the monastic requirements. He is conscious of it himself in regard to his depressions, before which he is powerless. It makes him hopeless when he becomes over-anxious about the personal application of the doctrine of predestination. His confessors cannot understand his inability to cope with his fears regarding his salvations. A submissive type of person, suffering from depressions, refrains from the least sign of aggression against people, or attitude symbolic of it, because he is afraid of the power of his own anger; he dares not argue———witness Luther's silence and remorse when his father at Luther's ordination rebuked him for forgetting the biblical injunction to obedience to one's parents,——dares not oppose, because fundamentally he is afraid that such action will either release passions that he cannot control, or will seem to have done so, will lead him to commit some humiliating, (to his self-respect) or even horrible, action. His submission, even much of

(29) Own Writings, p. 4,5.
his kindness, is a cloak, a defense, against his own feared and repressed hatred, however he may rationalize it in the form of principles. One of my patients who had suffered repeatedly from depressions, remarked that until her treatment had progressed some distance, she never knew she had such a thin, as a temper. She had always been noted for her utter good-nature and pliant willingness. She first discovered this temper, in relation to people about her, where she felt it was justified; but later she came to discover that she felt the same hatred for me, where it was quite unreasonable. There then came to her, previously unrecallable memories of bitter anger against her parents in childhood, and later acts that could be correctly explained only on the basis of the existence of such directly inexpressible aggressive desires. With this discovery, she no longer felt such compulsive need to please. People less mentally ill, but of the same type of temperament, will discover this unexpected temper in the coming of children and the need of disciplining them. They will be mild with their children, to the point of allowing the children to control them, and be impertinent to them, until some time when irritated by the children for some trivial reason, they will lose their tempers violently, and be over-harsh and utterly unreasonable in punishment. If in the moment of passion, they allow their wishes to become conscious in the form of phantasies, they find themselves feeling strong impulses to injure their children. In an effort to understand themselves, they may even recognize a feeling of being thwarted when, before punishment is inflicted, the child conforms to the reprimand, so that the parent no longer has any excuse to discipline him, thereby revealing the presence of a
reservoir of hatred seeking an excuse to be released.

We may note Melanie Klein's contention:

"My only contention is that it is the destructive instincts which give rise to that danger which he (Freud) calls 'Psychological helplessness in the face of instinctual danger.'" (30)

I have found in more than one patient the fear of his own anger lying behind his psychic helplessness. I feel therefore that these evidences, given above, of psychological helplessness on the part of Luther, in the first part of his life, are evidences of a repressed rage.

Luther's irrational, or largely irrational fears, seem capable of explanation on the same grounds. Although as here we are on rather thin ice, I would not do more than suggest the following as one possible way of looking at these.

He expresses considerable fear in preaching, beginning with his first attempt. When Staupitz endeavored to persuade him to become preacher in the local church, he exclaimed:

"I should not live three months" (31)

and after ascending the pulpit recollected:

"Oh! how I trembled when I ascended the pulpit for the first time! But I was forced to preach, and to the brothers first of all."(31)

There was of course a feeling of inferiority here, for he adds

"I do not like Philip (Melanchthon) to be present at my lectures or sermons; but I place the cross before me and say, 'Philip, Jonas, Fomer, and the rest, have nothing to do with the matter!' And then I endeavor to fancy that no one has sat in the pulpit abler than myself."(32)

But may not this lack of confidence be engendered in part at least by his guilt over his repressed hatred, and by the resulting

(30) "Psycho-analysis of Children." p. 183
(31) "Own Writings", p. 67
(32) "Own Writings", p. 67
psychic helplessness? At any rate let us note his further words:

"My style, rude and unskilled, vomits forth a deluge, a chaos of words, boisterous and impetuous, as a wrestler contending with a thousand successive monsters." (32)

This was written in a letter to J. Brentius in 1522. Again in a letter to Spalatin, in 1520, we find him stating:

"I cannot deny that I was more violent than I need have been, but they knew it and should not have provoked the dog. You can judge for yourself how difficult it is to moderate one's fire, and restrain one's pen. And hence I always hated appearing in public." (32)

In these passages we find a recognition of a reservoir of anger that need only be tapped to let loose a flood, and which pours forth in a deluge out of proportion to the inciting cause; and also a feeling of being attacked by a host of adversaries, "a thousand successive monsters". This feeling and the recognition of it, came long after the initial fears of preaching and lecturing. It may well have been the fear of this boiling torrent of anger, the "violent" "dog" that led him to tremble on first preaching, for trembling is as much the symptom of anger as of fear. That is, one may tremble in anger, and yet, being conscious only of the trembling, interpret it as fear. The woman mentioned above, who never knew she had a temper until going through a therapeutic experience, after describing how incensed she now became at little things in her husband, added that now she knew that formerly she was really unwittingly angry at the same things, but was conscious only of trembling, helplessness, and feelings of nausea.

He speaks, years after his monastic experience, of the intense discomfort he experienced, during those early years, of religious anguish on looking on the Cross. Perhaps we can

(33) American Journal of Psychology, No. XLI, p. 375
understand this partly if we consider a passage in the Table Talk:

"And when I began to say mass according to the rule, I was so frightened that I would have fled had I not been admonished by the prior. When I came to the words: "Thee, most merciful Father", the thought that I had to speak to God without a mediator made me want to flee like Judas before the world." (34)

Henry Preserved Smith, says that a similar experience occurred some years later, on June 7, 1515, when he was walking in a procession carrying the host through the streets of Eisleben. His statement that he felt like a Judas on these occasions gives us the clue. Judas betrayed and caused the death of Christ (God). Perhaps the words "It is not I", which Luther was heard crying out, as he rolled on the floor as one possessed, in his cell, and also said to have been heard from him during mass, were a denial that he was the betrayer, for the words in the Gospel, at the Last Supper, in reference to the betrayal are: "Is it I?" At any rate, when we remember Luther's confession of hating God and being tempted to blaspheme, his previous fear of the Cross and turning pale at the mention of Christ's name might reasonably have been due to unconscious murderous anger against the images of Christ and God, which as figures of authority and judgment were so heavily colored by the image he carried in his mind of his own parents, his father in particular.

Luther acts in the monastery, as if he was angry with himself, and hated himself. He inflicted suffering upon himself, in the form of penances, till his associates and confessors had to expostulate with him for their severity. He himself much later speaks of this self-torture. Some psychiatrists now are con-

(34) Conversations, p. 8
(35) American Journal of Psychology, No. XXIV, p. 375
(36) Matthew 26:22
vinced that such destructive tendencies, directed against the self, 
are originally, and still at bottom, hatreds and homicidal wishes 
directed against some in authority in the environment. The child 
feels overwhelming rage against the, to him, bitterly disappointing 
parent; but in fear of the real or imagined consequences of ex-
pressing such rage, learns to repress it; and it only appears later 
in life in the form of a depression, wherein the adult feels the 
same rage against his own utterly disappointing self. When one 
listens to deeply depressed individuals, cursing themselves for 
their folly and any little past mistake, one can see the truth of 
this. And on looking back, something of it becomes apparent to the 
individual himself; for he realizes that he was in reality at that 
time of depression so thoroughly divided a personality as to be 
like two individuals, one intensely angry at the other who has 
failed him, and longing with fierce intensity to torture that other 
and to grind him under his feet. The outcome is often enough suicide. 
Apparently Luther was tempted to this. For we not only find him 
(39) wishing himself dead but also stating that, due to the devil 
"who would walk with him in the dormitory of the cloister." 

"If I happened to have a knife in my hand, evil thoughts would enter my mind."(39) 
That it was suicidal thoughts that came to him seems likely from 
his assertion that "Satan's whole thought, it is true, is to make 
(40) away with me." Such a view, namely that such suicidal thoughts 
were in reality murderous thoughts repressed, fits with what I 
have called attention to above, regarding his irrational fear of 
murdering Christ (God). If we accept this interpretation of his 
(39) Own Writings, p. 76 
(40) Own Writings, p. 76
depressive thoughts, we have another corroboration of the existence of deeply buried aggressive desires that troubled him.

Of course after Luther had been drawn into the public conflict, he came increasingly to admit the violence of his own animosities, and any number of references to these might be cited. But what I have been seeking to show is that we must presuppose the existence of this same virulent anger, unexpressed directly in early life, but nevertheless present and making trouble.

Such an hypothesis, solves a number of problems in Luther's life. I have indicated how it may be a part explanation of Luther's attitude toward the career of jurist; his sudden and strange vow; his relations with his father after entering the monastery; his depressions in the monastery. J. C. Flugel tells us that hatred for the parent of the same sex, if the parent is domineering as we know Hans Luther was, may be so intensified as to constitute one of the dominant traits of character of a person's life. Certainly antagonism against all alien authority, and even hatred for it, was a dominant trait in Luther's character. He could never have carried through the early leadership of that tremendous rebellion of the Reformation if he had not had this inner driving force. Again and again he might have ceased at some point, when the church offered a compromise, delayed ecclesiastical prosecution, or excommunication. But one gets the impression that at first at least it was Luther who pressed the conflict forward; that, although quite unconscious of this and supposing all through that it was entirely the Church who was doing the attacking, actually he was taking the offensive.


(42) Flugel, p. 18
beginning with his early lectures when he criticised many of the practices and personalities of the church, and continuing through those critical situations where Luther could have adopted a more conciliatory attitude with a view to a long educative program of reform but refused papal advances and appealed to a higher tribunal thereby forcing the issue to remain open to the very end in a final complete separation. Some inner urge, however much under the control of his reason much of the time in later life, would subtly force his action toward the final unforeseen destruction of the relationship in excommunication. And might not this inner drive have been the blind rebellion against and hatred for authority which I have been describing, and which he actually fastened upon (43) the Pope and the Roman Church in general?

We can thus, also, understand Luther's hatred for God. There seems to be no adequate reason why a comparatively young man, without serious ill-fortune in life to embitter him, should feel so intensely against God. For it was not a mild antagonism against the current conceptions of God. It was a personal animosity, virulent and intense, driving him to terrifying temptations to blasphemy and to self-tortures to root this animosity out, and to, if I am correct in my surmise above, murderous impulses regarding the person of God. Such an attitude requires a deeper explanation than mistaken notions about God, troubling a sensitive person. John van Staupitz was also sensitive, and grew up in the same religious atmosphere. But he could not understand Luther's distress. One of Luther's confessors correctly recognized the trouble:

(43) Own Writings, p. 52,59. Bohmer, p. 202
beginning with his early lectures when he criticised many of the practices and personalities of the church, and continuing through those critical situations where Luther could have adopted a more conciliatory attitude with a view to a long educative program of reform but refused papal advances and appealed to a higher tribunal thereby forcing the issue to remain open to the very end in a final complete separation. Some inner urge, however much under the control of his reason much of the time in later life, would subtly force his action toward the final unforeseen destruction of the relationship in excommunication. And might not this inner drive have been the blind rebellion against and hatred for authority which I have been describing, and which he actually fastened upon the Pope and the Roman Church in general? (43)

We can thus, also, understand Luther's hatred for God. There seems to be no adequate reason why a comparatively young man, without serious ill-fortune in life to embitter him, should feel so intensely against God. For it was not a mild antagonism against the current conceptions of God. It was a personal animosity, virulent and intense, driving him to terrifying temptations to blasphemy and to self-tortures to root this animosity out, and to, if I am correct in my surmise above, murderous impulses regarding the person of God. Such an attitude requires a deeper explanation than mistaken notions about God, troubling a sensitive person. John van Staupitz was also sensitive, and grew up in the same religious atmosphere. But he could not understand Luther's distress. One of Luther's confessors correctly recognized the trouble:

(43) Own Writings, p. 52, 59. Bohmer, p. 202
"My confessor once said to me, he relates, "You are a fool; God is not angry with you, but you with him." (45)

This supposition that his angry feelings toward God draw their energy from displaced feelings for his father gains credence as we note the anthropomorphic conception of God, Luther falls into at times.

"Better it were that God should be angry with us, than that we be angry with God, for he can soon be at an union with us again, because he is merciful; but when we are angry with him, then the case is not to be helped."(46)

"God could be exceedingly rich in temporal wealth....If he but came to the pope, emperor, a king, a prince, a bishop, a rich merchant, a citizen, a farmer, and say: 'Unless you give me a hundred thousand crowns, you shall die on the spot....."(47)

"No one can estimate the great charge God is at only in maintaining birds and such creatures.....I'm persuaded that it costs him yearly more to maintain only the sparrows than the revenue of the French king amounts to."(48)

"We must now and then wake up our Lord God with such words......Moses also took God in hand, where he said......"(49)

"Truly if God were to give an account to every one of his works and acts, he would be a poor simple God."(50)

"God could be rich readily enough, if he were more provident and denied us the use of his creatures; let him, for ever so short a whole, keep back the sun......"(51)

There is probably humour running all through these passages; they remind us of the naive remarks of children about God which are amusing to grown people in their delightfully human mould; and it is indisputable that children's usual conceptions of God are framed by their human elders.

Incidentally there might be added here that this conception of an early, continuous and deep antagonism to his father existing in Luther's mind, helps us to understand his rather curious reference to his father's death.

(45) American Journal of Psychology, No. XXIV, p. 375
(46) Table Talk, p. 38, Sect. LXXXV (47) The same, p. 39, Sect.LXXXIV
(48) The same, p.40, Sect.LXXXIX (49) The same, p. 153, Sect.CCCXX
(50) The same, p. 30, Sect. LXVI. (51) The same, p. 33, Sect.LXX
"It is my pious duty', he says in a letter to Melanchthon, informing him of his father's death, 'to mourn him of whom it was the will of the Father of Mercy that I should be born.'(52)

This does not sound like genuine grief. It is a "duty" to mourn his father. He seems unwilling. And the elaborateness and inevitableness of the statement at the end sounds as if it was a disagreeable but necessary part of the will of the Father that he should have had such a parentage.

Perhaps the fear of the individual for his unconsciously harbored hatred, which leads him to repress it, develop reaction formations against it, and disguise its slightest expression, is due to the "all-or-none" character of such instinctive tendencies, (53) as described by Rivers. The person correctly senses that any lifting of the lid means the full expression of them, "going the limit", without the modifying effect of reasoned judgment and common sense.

The conclusions drawn thus far in this paper, it should be said, are recognized as only a part of Luther's psychological situation, as he bid good-bye to his fellow-students and entered the doors of the Erfurt Monastery. But they are the clearest and most deeply influential part of his mental condition, at this period.

(52) Own Writings, p. 3.
(53) Rivers, p. 45,48.
MONASTIC EXPERIENCE

We now turn to his experiences in the life dedicated to religion.

The great institution of monastic life must have meant many different things to different men, in Luther's time. To him, one thing it did mean, though perhaps he never thought of it in this fashion, was a new security and freedom from responsibility. Life no longer involved the difficult and often dangerous appearing necessity of balancing arguments and making problematical decisions. It was all arranged for him. His future, and his daily routine were both entirely taken care of.

"Under this complicated regulation of the outward and inward life of the novice there was no room for individuality, for free self-development." (54)

In considering the personal histories of those who suffer a mental breakdown, it is not uncommon to find an enlistment in the military forces preceeding the hospitalization, or occasionally the entering of a monastery. Such types of environmental situations are, from one aspect, simpler, and more like what every one experiences in childhood; there is the greater degree of personal helplessness in the face of more complete authority; there is the freedom from personal responsibility; there is the surrender of choices to a supposedly more omniscient authority; there are the more artificial consequences (punishments) following personal derilictions. Persons suffering from inner conflicts often choose these careers, partly as an effort at self-cure through the simplifying of one's responsibilities, as indeed hospitalization is itself such a planned beneficial simplification, but also partly as a flight from difficulties that are crowding them, ---whatever reasons they may give

(54) MacKinnon, p. 40
themselves consciously. It is to be noted that Luther did not choose this life out of ambition, or out of a glad dedication of self to God. He chose it in fear, felt forced to; it was a flight from a dreaded possibility, from which there was no other escape he could see. For a man like Luther, whose life is chiefly noted for his refusal to be dictated to or directed by any one contrary to his own conscience, to live the monastic life, whose essence is being dictated to, is a regression, whatever else it may be also. He is psychologically retreating to his childhood and voluntarily, though in fear, re-submitting himself to a harsh (to his mind) authority, such as he actually knew in his own home.

This regression began at the age of twenty three, a critical age for most people, when an inner rebirth of some sort, however unnoticeable, is likely to occur, in comparatively normal living.

The simpler life of the monastery gave Luther a new balance, and for two years he seems to have been comparatively free from depressions. But he could not remain so. The church placed a new responsibility upon him.

"Both (ordinary Christian life and monastic life) were based on the idea of striving, with the aid of grace available through the sacraments, to merit acceptance with God."(55)

Just what the church taught him as to the necessity of personal merit versus the given Grace of God, and the possibility and means of achieving either or both, has been much under discussion. Without assuming to know with any authority what the church actually laid before the monk at that time, I would suggest from the discussions I have read, that the personal bias of Luther himself

(55) MacKinnon, p. 91
(56) Bohmer, p. 70; MacKinnon, p. 115,117.
had more to do with his understanding of that varied teaching than is usually considered. Luther tended to incorporate into his thinking and interpret in the way he did, such portions of the teachings offered him, as fitted the experiences he had already had, as is true of all men. He saw the church's picture of God through the distorting lenses of his exaggerated conception of the relationships of his childhood.

The lull in the acuteness of the conflicts seems to have come to an end with his ordination to the priesthood. He declares later in life, -- I do not know with what correctness of memory, -- that at this time he never thought anything else but that he was quite acceptable before God. But on conducting his first mass, we find a fear connected with God obtruding itself. We then find him beginning to suffer from depressions again.

"The strange feature of this case was that, in spite of wise and friendly counsel, followed by intervals of relaxed tension and even seasons of self-satisfaction and exaltation, these fits of depression persistently recurred. This was the thing that seems to have perplexed his confessor and his teachers, who at times frankly avowed that they could not understand this chronic sinister experience. Worse still, Luther himself did not know what was wrong with him...... Even Staupitz, who took a special interest in him, and to whom he gratefully acknowledges his obligations, was at times at a loss what to make of it." (58) (See Note 1.)

(57) Bohmer, p. 65. Own Writings, p. 4.
(58) MacKinnon, p. 124

Note 1. This alternation of depression, and exaltation or something approaching exaltation is clear all through Luther's life. When confined in the Wartburg, after the Diet of Worms, he suffers from dismay at what he has done, and questions the wisdom of his temerity and begins to demean himself. But he then, with an effort, "I am determined to", he says, swings to confidence again. The "fits of terror" to which he was subject all his remaining days, are so akin apparently to the earlier depressions that they must be classed with them. On the other hand in his more exalted periods, he shows the infectious humor, the free flow of ideas and expression, the boisterousness, the over-activity of mind and energy, the tremendous confidence, that commonly go with the cycloothemic personality. Compare Bohmer, p. 65. He would today from a diagnostic point of view, in the mind of a psychiatrist, be considered a manic-depressive, of the circular type. Of course the length and depth of the depressions decreased, and the periods of feelings of well-being increased markedly following his "Illumination" and practical success. Many successful people today are of this type, an outstanding one being Clifford Beers, author of "The Mind that Found Itself" and originator of the Mental Hygiene Movement.
With the new responsibilities of officiating, the previous balance of irresponsibility, was upset. It is to be noted that frequently, perhaps always, depression appears in Luther's life in response to a new task or difficulty.

"He said that these fits of sickness often came upon him when he had any great business to undertake." (59)

Depression involves a mild form of regression. It is characterized, as every one knows by feelings of inadequacy, inferiority, shrinking,—one can say truthfully by feelings of utter smallness and helplessness, the condition of a child. That is, one unconsciously longs to be small again, to return to childhood, those apparently "good old days", when one had no such difficult task to face such as in maturity; it is the coward in us, as Dr. Jacks describes it.

This unsatisfied desire to be a child again at the base of all neurotic symptoms, appears to the sufferer's consciousness only as a painful obstacle to the performance of that which he really wishes to do as a mature person. As indeed a tendency to such flight from trouble, namely by regression, is actually an obstacle to our more grown-up purposes.

To a child, to grow up means in one way to be like the parent of the same sex, normally. The boy frequently wants to be like his father, as he idealizes his father; the girl like her mother. Where the parent is unsatisfying to the child, it is still a matter of being like the ideal parent for whom the child longs. To the child this means being the parent, and we see the child frequently in play acting as he has already seen the parent act. In the unconscious phantasies, this process of be-

(59) Introduction to Table Talk, p. LXXXVIII
(60) Jacks, "Religious Perplexities", p. 32
Luther

coming the parent, takes the form of taking the parents place, which requires as a corollary, getting rid of the parent. As the way to get rid of the parent permanently is through death, growing up for the child may appear as involving the destruction of the parent. This phantasy fits in also with whatever of anger the child may have against the parent for real or fancied wrongs. Normally this destructive phantasy gives place to a sense of the real situation; the boy comes to conceive of growing up as becoming a man and a father himself without its necessitating any removal of his own father but only of removal of the father's control; he destroys that control. Further, such an unconscious phantasy exists in childhood, and in neurotics, later in life, along side of a conscious knowledge of the actual facts. If such a phantasy persists, it becomes obviously a hindrance to growth, because of the guilt involved in it. Dr. Taft says that in her twenty five years of psychotherapeutic work she has never seen a patient come near the end of a period of therapy, which to her is a process initiating growth, without having thoughts of death. She does not explain what she means; perhaps her thought is that they are thoughts of death of an old self in the sufferer. The old Adam; and indeed this is a necessity. But as so much of Dr. Taft's therapy is taken up with releasing the destructive impulses of the sick individual, and letting them come to reasonable expression against her own person, and as the ending of the therapeutic experience consists in throwing over the physician, it seems reasonable to suppose she means that the person thought of as dying is the one toward whom the destructive wishes are directed. This person is obviously the (61) Taft, p. 246, Note 32.
parent, as one reads in the book to which I refer. Every psychoanalyst will corroborate in more direct and plain form this finding of this non-analyst.

In the patients I have worked with, where there has been a prolonged and fairly deep study of their previously unconscious phantasies connected with their development, there has always been either the thought of the death of the parent who seems to stand in the way, or a result similar to death. In two cases it became quite clear that it was the disappearance of the sense of guilt due to this phantasy, through finding out that it was only a phantasy (in the unconscious phantasies are taken as reality, as accomplished, and this is only corrected by their becoming conscious), that removed the last large obstacle to the person's feeling he could go ahead in life.

Jung holds that regression occurs when an individual (62) shrinks from the responsibility of a task in life. Luther had arrived at the responsibility of being priest and officiating at the mass, in which he must address God directly. Some such unconscious phantasy as I have suggested above would seem to begin to trouble him; for he falls back in fear at the thought, has to be sharply admonished by the prior to go ahead, and thinks of himself as a Judas if we may trust this report. Depression then appears again, and more severely than before. And one of the marks of this depression is an inexplicably and severe (on the basis of conscious and external conduct) sense of guilt, (see page 26 above) because of which he unmercifully flays himself through some years.

"For almost fifteen years I wore myself out in self-sacrifice, tormenting myself with fastings, vigils, and prayers and other very burdensome tasks, with the idea of attaining to righteousness by my works." (63)

It is unnecessary to cite the many other passages that might be quoted to emphasize this picture of furious self-punishment. He had now become a child again, psychologically, reliving his early experiences, by inflicting once more this time upon himself, that harsh treatment he conceived of himself formerly revolving from his father. The individual seems to be willing to endure the suffering and handicaps of childhood in a symbolic form in order to re-instate, again symbolically and therefore unrecognizable, that emotional situation for which he hungered, because of its pleasing values as once experienced---absence of painful responsibility, and of the risks and sacrifices involved in growing up. It is the old story of Peter Pan who never wanted to grow up.

It may be viewed in another way. The person continues to punish himself, in the form of various self-inflicted sufferings, in order to retain the infantile attitudes. The payment in self-imposed suffering, as it were, balancing the account, so that no further suffering in the form of sacrificing the childish attitudes is required, and the individual can continue unconsciously to cling to and to enjoy them. Of course the whole reasoning and cause for change of attitude is unknown by the sufferer, he himself being conscious only of his painful and hampering symptoms. In fact Luther's later theological teaching includes it as a necessary step that one shall pass through this regression of feeling small like a child, humbled, helpless, weak, needing complete care.

(63) Mackinnon, p. 93
(64) Alexander, p. 97
(65) Sermons, No. VIII. p. 115
It may be that the reason the problem of predestination was taken by him so literally and as making his case so hopeless in the face of his contemporaries ability to meet this doctrine, was because of this feeling of utter helplessness. That is, feeling small and weak, he rationalized it as the result of the overwhelming absoluteness of the arbitrary decisions of God, akin, by the way, to what he had experienced as a child with his elders; whereas actually he felt thus small and weak because unconsciously he craved the re-instatement of that period of life when he was small and helpless, in place of the present, which presented seemingly unsurmountable obstacles,—namely, the apparent necessity of a Judas' act toward God, or in unconscious thinking, the permanent and irrevocable displacement of his father, by the latter's death.

Actually the "passing away" of the emotional control or domination of one's father over one is a necessary step in one's development toward psychological maturity.

During this period following his ordination, he was for a long time afraid of the wrath of God, and of His judgment, and often hopeless in the thought of eternal damnation. He was over-whelmed at times with the sense of guilt.

The older viewpoint was that for the first time he realized that he was a great sinner. I would modify this somewhat. His attitude was not that of a man who feels tempted to pride, anger and self-love, and with regret for past failures, struggles in every way to substitute other qualities in their place, humility, self-control and love for God; it was rather the attitude of a man who feels he has already committed almost
Luther unpardonable sins and must expiate heavily for him. He cruelly tortured himself, both physically so that his confessors re-monstrated with him, and mentally in his self-abuse. In addition it is to be noted that he felt guilty, like a Judas, before he was particularly conscious of the sins of pride, anger, and self-love. We now would take the viewpoint therefore, that what troubles him at this period of his life, is the breaking into consciousness of a previously unconscious sense of guilt.

For what does he feel guilty? His own explanation does not satisfy us as adequate. I have already indicated one source, his violently aggressive feelings towards the figures of authority which however he could not face, but presumably repressed. This same intense animosity is directed now in this period toward the figure of God. In fact it becomes very plain and open in this period. He is greatly tempted to blasphemy. Some of his ideas of God's attitude are also evidently projections of his own feelings. Looking back on his own experience in the cloister, in 1513, he says it was

"so infernal that no tongue can tell or pen write them, nor any one who has not experienced them believe them... Then God appears horribly angry, and so does all creation."(67)

This is not the statement of a theological conception. For the whole of the world seems filled with anger to him. The truth is that the whole of his internal world is filled with anger, and that is all he can see anywhere. He reads into external reality what is of course not there. He so reads it because he is feeling this acutely himself. He is like the catatonic patient who believes the whole world is coming to an end and is going to break up, be-

(66) Freud, pp. 32, 70, 71
(67) American Journal of Psychology, XXIV, p. 373
cause his own inner world is breaking up. Again in 1531 he says:

"At Erfurt one time I said to Dr. Staupitz, 'My dear Doctor, our Lord treats people too abominable! Who can serve him when he strikes people down right and left?'" (68)

His secret wish to strike down I have previously mentioned in his thought of himself as another Judas. That these thoughts of God were projections was recognized by one of his confessors.

There is perhaps another reason for this sense of guilt not yet mentioned in this paper. He was greatly troubled by sexual desires, during his monastic experience. He is less open in speaking of these than of his other temptations. Smith tells us that

"The Eclogues, first published in Mantua in 1498, enjoyed immense and immediate popularity, and were frequently reprinted, among other places at Erfurt, in 1501, just as Luther was matriculating. That is, it (sexual desire) is described as the most alluring but wickedst thing in the world, a passion inspired by no god but Satan.... Luther, whose mind was evidently much pre-occupied with this side of life, read and repeated the lines over so often that forty years later he was able to quote them word for word." (69)

"It is easier," he once exclaimed, 'to bear chains and prison than desire;......it happened to me, thought I was not much harrassed, that the more I buffeted myself the more I burned,' The monks, he tells us elsewhere, were tempted by pollutions almost every night.....in one place he calls celibacy a terible torture and in another a 'sort of secret homicide'. So exclusive was his pre-occupation with this temptation that he says before his break with the church he thought there was no sin but lust." (70)

Bohmer says that Luther considered sex unholy, unclean, and a sin. And yet

"He remembered the obscene jokes made by his pedagogues so plainly that nearly fifty years later he was able to repeat them to his students." (72)

In these passages there seems to lie a hint of something excessive in his concern over sex, an abnormal condemnation of it.

(68) Conversations, p. 13 (69) American Journal, cit. p.368
(70) The same, p. 371; also Own Writings, p. 59.
(71) Bohmer, p. 299 (72) American Journal,p. 363
During his monastic experience, he dealt with this overwhelming sense of his wickedness and hopeless condition in one way mainly at first, which did not solve the problem. This was through self-punishment. Later he learned gradually to deal with then in three ways that did slowly decrease the intensity of that problem to proportions that enabled him to side track it,—through self-recognitions, through increasing discovery of his own powers and place in life, and through re-formation of his conception of God.

The self-punishment is obvious. There is the quotation on page 30 above. There are quotations from his sermons and commentaries we might give, which are clearly given from personal experience. There are many passages of quite unnecessary self-depreciation. One who is absorbed in his subject does not talk about himself, unless it be necessary to mention his qualifications or lack of them, and then it is limited to statements of fact. But Luther goes out of his way to speak of his great unworthiness. He is mentally castigating himself. His treatment of himself in his cell without food or drink, going through all the minute formula of required exercises, when his head became dizzy with the repetitions, and he got himself into such a state he could not read, or was found in a kind of stupor on the floor; his daily confessions for a time, and the time he hardly slept for seven weeks in his fever of performing all that was prescribed. If he detected the least sin, he would labour to expiate it by the strictest self-denial.

"Immediately I resorted to a thousand methods to appease the reproaches of my heart."(75)

One gets the strong impression that Luther literally searched for

(73) Commentary on Galatians, Introduction, p.XXXIV
possible sinful attitudes in order to find reasonable excuses for punishing himself. The sins which he sought to overcome, were failure to observe the minutiae of priestly observance, pride, anger, and self-love. But such self-inflicted torture is not designed to lift one above the reach of temptation. Rather it is as Alexander says:

"Compulsion has its counterpart in many a religious ceremonial; which is a salve for conscience. As such its punitive or painful or 'sacrificial' element is essential." (76)

(76) Alexander, p. 66. Note 7
Luther never went through a cataclysmic change in his life that completely differentiated the first part of his life from the latter part. Rather there was a slow working out of his tensions to a sufficient extent, never to be wholly free from their return, but rather to keep them in a subordinate place, so that his real ability and true character could be expressed. Bohmer (77) says it covered eight years, apparently taking the period from the admission to the monastery to the illumination in the Tower, which he considers occurred in 1513. But even this is rather arbitrary, for there was a period of consolidation of his new view that followed, and took some more years before he came to be anything like the man he later was. In 1513 he was still a good monk. Luther says himself that his self-castigations continued for fifteen years, presumably he meant till about 1520 or 1521. The change from an anxious person to a confident person might as well be marked by his physical change from an emaciated, hollow-eyed individual to a fleshy robust person in 1521. It was only at this time that we can see he had really "found himself". It depends on one's viewpoint. After all psychological development cannot be measured in terms of time.

It is possible to some extent to trace the changes that occurred in him, although lacking material from his own pen in the earlier years renders all such descriptions doubly tentative.

The two pre-requisites of a conversion experience were present in Luther, a capacity for honesty with one's self, and a passionate enough desire to find one's way through.

(77) Bohmer, p. 110  (78) Bohmer, p. 84
(79) Mackinnon, p. 93  (80) Bohmer, p. 68
(81) Bohmer, p. 45-45
We note that as Luther went through with the monastic routine regarding the prayers, he came to admit to himself and later to others, that it was "ass's work". He came to admit also that he was not just depressed, not just angry with himself, but that he was angry with God, and literally hated and blasphemed God, a most painful admission to a conscientious person. Other instances of his honesty show later in life—his use of his own judgment in theological and ecclesiastical matters, and bits of insight at which he kept arriving which we shall notice shortly. Bohmer says that this unflinching honesty about himself was what raised him above average contemporaries.

He had one of those rare qualities, but necessary for a complete man, "an energy which can force a way through to a new level of achievement". He had this creative force, which Dr. Jacks speaks of as faith, and which he claims is the very essence of man as man. We have to infer it from his own later conviction of the central truth of the Gospel, that God, Christ, and Gospel, "allureth", repeated in many forms in his sermons or in his conversations. Only the man who reaches out with great desire can feel a passionate response. One who lacks that hunger or throttles it in himself, will never discover it in his environment. But it is there. And it is not mere projection on Luther's part, for he founds his belief on the Crucifixion, a definite fact.

We have to infer the presence of this passion also from the fact that frightening conceptions changed with him into desirable ones; the Cross, from making him sick, came to be the support of his faith.
in the mercifulness and compassion of God. From drawing back in fright at the thought of addressing God in the Mass without a mediator, he came to glory in the privilege of the common man to do so. From fearing God himself, he came to love Him. From fright at necessity of independence in life so great that he fled to the psychological prison house of the monastery to be protected and guided, he changed to an independence in personal judgment that made him the central pivot around which the great movement of the Reformation revolved. No man crosses such bridges without an intense desire to get to the other side.

We see this passionate hunger in the rigor of his self-discipline in the monastery, which, although a self-punishment was also beneath this, is a battering at the closed door of his difficulties for a way out. We see it in the daily confessions, and the three general confessions he undertook. We see it also in the immense industry indicated by the study and reading he did, partly in preparation for his teaching, but probably largely in an effort to find light on his problem of personal salvation. We can sense this longing in words of his like these:

"If I thoroughly appreciated these first words of the Lord's prayer, 'Our Father who art in heaven', and really believed that God...was my father, etc." (89)

"Therefore I say, a man must be, as it were, bruised and broken by the Gospel; he must be humbled from the bottom of his heart; he must feel himself weak and frail, and wholly unable to do anything of himself. He must fall prostrate before God, and cry, Help me, O Omnipotent God, Merciful Father, I am not able to help myself! Help, O Lord, Christ, mine own help is nothing!" (90)

But we see it most directly in another passage, and all the evidence supports his own words:

(87) Bohmer, p. 100  
(88) Bohmer, p. 111  
(89) Table Talk, p. 6, XI  
(90) Sermons VII, p. 115
"It was only, however, as he further tells us... after he had spent days and nights (evidently over a lengthy period) in intense meditation on the passage in Romans 1, that 'by the mercy of God' this sudden insight came to him... this illumination... he calls 'his spiritual rebirth', his entrance into paradise though the open gateway of this new insight.'... Thus I raged and my conscience was agitated by furious storms. I beat inopportune at that passage in Paul, thirsting with a most ardent desire to know what the Apostle meant'. (90A)

The psycho-analysis of an individual tends to reduce the intensity of the emotional charges in the conflict, and thus, in part, enables the person to handle them. But this reduction of the tension may destroy the possibility of creative activity. The nearer one gets to complete adjustment with life as it is around one, the further one gets from the chance to produce anything new.

High tension, such as in Luther's life, is really required to force a way through to a higher level of achievement. The spark can jump the gap only when the voltage is sufficiently great. In present-day psychotherapy, it is the comparatively normal people who are not satisfied to be normal, but are dissatisfied with the "senselessness and emptiness of their lives", who feel driven to discovering something creative in themselves.

I wish now to trace, as far as I can, the experience of conversion which Luther underwent in the monastery. On his ordination, in 1507, to the priesthood, he uncritically accepted the church's doctrine and practice. He felt that the life of a monk was a very beautiful thing. For several years after that he still moves in the beaten path in his study and teaching. Personally he feels that he is quite acceptable, no sinner, but innocent.

If we may hazard a guess, Luther's rather original interpretation of the attitude of the lawyer who asked Jesus how to inherit eternal life, he was referring to his own experience when he understood the lawyer as one "who, notwithstanding, thought that he had done all things." 

Furthermore, he seemed to have the firm conviction that a man could do all things, could indeed by his own efforts, merit salvation. This Occamist teaching on the freedom of the will had absorbed in the University and re-absorbed in the study for the priesthood. In all his furious endeavors to merit God's grace, and in his later reaction against it, we see plainly that this conviction was the unexamined presupposition of all his early struggles. And of course he had all the teaching of the church of his day, from which he tended, as I have pointed out, to seize upon certain views, and overlook others, because of the pre-existing mold in his mind.

At the first mass he conducted, a few weeks after his ordination, we see, whatever may have occurred before, the first signs of trouble. He is frightened at the thought of addressing God directly. The sense of the wrath of God, perhaps dormant since his vow in the thunderstorm once more upsets him, and the doctrine of predestination, which he takes very literally, becomes a great stumbling block. His reaction to these oppressive thoughts was to become over-conscientious. He confessed all sorts of small and imaginary sins; "trifles and trumpery" Staupitz called them in telling him he must get away from them and see the serious faults. He also began to hate "the very thought of such a God.

(97) Selected Sermons, p. 58 (98) Macmillan, p. 74; Bohner, p. 73
(99) American Journal, p. 375 (100) American Journal, p. 375
McGiffert, p. 51; Bohner, p. 45, 71, 82
and chafed at the phrase 'justitia Dei' in wrathful rebellion; it threw him into paroxysms of bitter indignation; 'thus I raged and my conscience was agitated by furious storms.'

But along with this growing anxiety and depression there kept filtering in certain light on his path. He took a step forward with the help of Biel, when he came to recognize the fact that non-s sacramental penances were more important than sacramental ones, i.e. he came to feel that a change of attitude on the part of man was necessary to bring about a change of attitude on the part of God and could do so. He already showed independence in laying out his own path of extreme asceticism, beyond anything that the monastic order required. He began to doubt the freedom of the will to attain perfection, as indicated in his ninety nine theses to the students; and to recognize that he himself was rebellious against God. His conception of God was undergoing a change as he studied Bernard of Clairvaux, and saw that it was possible for forgiveness to be the supreme blessing, that God did not charge sin to the account of man though the sinner might not yet have overcome his sin, that it was not man's merit but the cross of Christ which brings the compassion of God. Staupitz also pointed to the Cross as containing the true meaning of predestination. He began to search for personal assurance, on the advice of a monk, although Staupitz himself considered it impious even to pray for this. It was also dawning upon him that his pride was one of his obstacles, for he began to wrestle with it. (September, 1512)

(104) Bohmer, p. 99  (105) Beard, p. 163-4  (106) Beard, p. 161; Bohmer, p. 82, 100.
(107) Bohmer, p. 102  (108) Letters, p. 4  (4) Bohmer, p. 91
The gestation of these new ideas continued, but only at the cost of recognizing hindrances and the surrender of them. The idea of surrendering dependence upon his own works in favor of God's love fermented in his mind. Staupitz reminded him that the love of God has the means of righteousness, not the end. He was being drawn toward a view of "a gracious" and "appeasing" God.

His pride was more and more found to be an obstacle and was being broken. The monastic rule only proved to him increasingly his own failure. The harder he tried to take the divine favor by storm, the greater became his despair. That his personal will was the old Adam, and must be given up, must perish he began to see as he much later pictured it in his sermons.

Painfully he was beginning to take himself as he was. Staupitz had been reminding him that he must get used to thinking of himself as a sinner, and cease torturing himself to wrest the love of God. This view of himself was a great step forward from his sense of innocence, and the feeling that God was his enemy without a cause. He came to see how weak, and wretched he was, and to admit it, which is a different thing from declaiming and complaining that one is so,---a sign that one does not admit it. Was not Luther picturing the experience he went through himself, when in his sermon he says that:

"a man, must be, as it were, bruised and broken....he must be humbled from the bottom of his heart; he must feel himself weak and frail, and wholly unable to do anything of himself. He must fall prostrate before God and cry,......mine own help is nothing?"

He was coming to recognize the need of such a complete surrender of himself.

As in all such profound changes, there is this long preliminary period of slow, halting, reluctant, painful discovery of something all wrong with his inner attitudes and conceptions, and vague signs of something different, intermittently glimpsed and again lost sight of in the darkness of being overwhelmed once more by the old.

"and this distinction (two kinds of righteousness) is easy to be uttered in words; but in use and experience it is very hard."(119)

But it is a terrible experience to realize, after confidence in one's own works or efforts, that one can do nothing of himself, as Luther evidently pictured in his unusual interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan, an interpretation so exactly like that of the situation of the lawyer referred to above who came inquiring of Jesus how to be assured of eternal life as to corroborate the supposition that these interpretations came out of personal experience. The man who went down to Jericho and was left injured, stripped and helpless, is all of us, said (120) Luther. The terrific pull of the accustomed way of looking at things, on which one has built his whole life, is vividly pictured as the aim of the devil to drive a man to desperation and to make bond-slave to himself. All the time he was searching, struggling to grasp the fact that there is a different conception of God, and of man, and of the relationship between God and man, and to see it---to do for himself, what later he said he teaches, namely to discover the existence of two kinds

(119) Introduction, the Argument, to the Commentary on Galatians, p. XXXVIII.
(120) Sermons, pp. 65-66.
(121) Introduction to the Commentary on Galatians, p. XXXVIII
of righteousness, their distinction, and place. He is experiencing forgiveness, slowly but surely, though he may not recognize it till later. He is accepting himself as he is, and in so doing becoming reconciled to himself. This inner unification is a new development. It is the activity of something deeper than the "ego". So also is the capacity to see oneself more correctly.

The coming of these insights, and this unification is "as Emmett has stated, a proof of the presence of God, and therefore of the continually forgiving attitude, of God.

Meanwhile there was increasing success, through hard labor, in the career he had chosen himself, against great opposition. He was called by Staupitz to teach in Wittenburg in 1508, apparently taught again in Erfurt, 1509 - 1511, was sent in 1511 on the mission to Rome, a great honor, and in 1512 was given the doctorate with its duties of taking Staupitz' own chair in Wittenburg, and becoming preacher. This same year he became sub-prior at Wittenburg, soon was in full charge of the teaching there, and quickly became immensely successful as a teacher. The students for once, were getting something new and fresh in the teaching. Meantime we find a growing independence in his view of the church. He came to feel that the breviary was "asses' work". Following apparently on Staupitz admonition that the penances of the church would never do, but the love of God alone, it seemed to Luther as if the methods of the church were useless. At one moment this idea came---and they were mere inventions. This seemed at first like a temptation of the devil; then like a truth.

He began to study Greek and Hebrew, to approach to Bible directly, in accordance with Staupitz' recommendation that the Bible was better than the scholastic theology. He came to feel that Paul was not really understood, and sought himself to discover this understanding. He came to have confidence in the correctness of his own opinions, and independence in the way he looked at contemporary events.

(128) Bohmer, p. 47; D'Aubigne, p. 153
(129) McGiffert, p. 46
Finally there came the illuminating discovery of the meaning of Romans 1:17. It was for him the crossing of the divide. At such critical times, as with neurotics going through an experience of therapeutic growth, so with him, an old and a new view come so close together, they seem to wrestle with each other. "In the hour of death, or in other agonies of conscience, these two sorts of righteousness do encounter more nearly together than thou wouldest wish or desire." (131)

He expresses the discovery at one time thus:

"When I saw that the law was one thing and the Gospel another, I broke through my difficulties." (132)

In some of his sermons he expresses the emotional side more than the intellectual, as in the quotations above.

"We must cease from our own purpose....But....our evil and corrupt nature is loth to leave its own will and purpose....For a man....must renounce his own will, until he be brought under, and his flesh subdued, that he may obey the spirit." (133)

"Therefore, I say, a man must be, as it were, bruised and broken by the Gospel: he must be humbled from the bottom of his heart; he must feel himself weak and frail, and wholly unable to do anything of himself. He must fall prostrate and cry." (134)

He had come to see that his pride, what he called his own will, had to be given up. What this actual illumination was Dr. Smith tells us:

"Analyzing the content of this experience, we find, it was not, 'the just shall live by faith', or any such words.....The natural opposite of 'work' is 'do nothing', and this was the whole essence of Luther's message. Pure passivity on the part of man is the only way to court the Grace of God. The strong man, who was never weary of the battle and of striving, was weary of defeat. He had been trying, trying, trying to work out his own salvation---for he had believed this possible ---by ridding himself of sin and lust, but all to no avail. He gave it up as a bad job, cried, 'Lord, damn or save!' and found peace.......The lectures on Romans are full of this idea." (135)

Luther's own words, in which he contrasts the old and the new view, are "active" and "passive" righteousness, or "working" and "receiving" righteousness, as he constantly states in his commentary on Galatians and in his sermons, as well as in his lectures on Romans. This dawning understanding he came to express as "faith", and saw as the Gospel in contrast with the law, and as the whole thing.

"On this I felt as if I was born again and seemed to be entering through the open portals of Paradise."(138)

He now saw that guilt is the greatest evil, and a secure conscience the greatest good, but especially that man cannot merit this last.

Although this illumination came to him at a definite time and place, there was required, as always, a succeeding period for it to work its way into his life, a period of new integration and development. His new vision drew him on, was "alluring", as he expressed it. He experienced a sense of forgiveness, and began to enjoy doing the will of God, in place of his former rebellion against God, if we may take his statements in sermons as the road of the Christian as reflecting personal experience.

He seemed to arrive at a distinction between two forms of conscience, his old and a new. For while he often later in life definitely acts on the basis of his conscience and is convinced that it is the only right thing to do, he repudiates the earlier promptings of what was conscience to him.

"How hard it is...to come to terms with one's own conscience when it has long been accustomed to a certain usage (like that of the Papists), which is

(136) Introduction to his Commentary on Galatians, p. XXXVI,XXXVII-(188);
(137) The same, p. XXVII. (138) Mackinmon, p. 154 (139) Bohmer, p. 85
nevertheless wrong and godless. Even with the plainest words from Holy Scripture I was scarcely able so to fortify my conscience as to venture to challenge the Pope." (143)

"For the devil is wont in affliction, and in the conflict of conscience, by the law to make us afraid, and to lay against us the guilt of sin....." (144)

He learned that there was something mistaken about his excessive effort at humility, a reaction to unconscious pride, and that the devil took advantage of it. Gradually then his old view, his old goal of meriting salvation, changed from being a desired end to a repudiated temptation. His old doubt about the assurance of forgiveness, which had been taught him as a right condition of humility, he decided was of the devil. To doubt the love of God, to fear his wrath, and to be angry with God, were recognized as temptations. To have pride in one's own works joined these as something to be repudiated, and from which three years or so after his discovery he still suffered. The fierceness of this struggle with old views, and therefore its strength may be guessed from his exaggerated assertions that a Christian must not know the law, must be ignorant or works, and of the whole active righteousness, and live as if there were no law. But to attempt this is to be "accused, exercised with temptations, oppressed with hea veness and sorrow", and "bruised". The periods, that lasted throughout his life, and in one of which he died, called his "fits of terror", are such times of attempting to repress fears and doubts and being instead overwhelmed by them.

His intense suffering was found to be no longer a purely personal peculiarity, which no one could understand, but the

(144) Introduction to the Commentary on Galatians, p. XXXVII
(145) Own Writings, p. 23 (146) Own Writings, p. 77 (147) Sermons p.53
(148) Letter to Spenlein, p. 5 (149) Introduction to the Commentary on Galatians, p. XXXVII.. (150) Introduction to the Commentary on Galatians, p. XXXVII (151) Introduction to the Table Talk, p. LXXXVIII (152) MacInnon, p. 124; American Journal Vol. XXIV, p. 375
common road along which every man seeking salvation must travel; the reading of Tauler and the Frankfurt Anonymous assisted him here. They brought him release from his last "scruples".

The acquiring of an inner assurance opened the road for becoming the reformer. Not that he deliberately set out to do so, but he felt driven to criticise this and that in the contemporary situation, although he felt himself a good monk still. Even the famous Ninety-Five Theses reveal a curious mixture of loyalty to the Pope and rebellion against him. He says he is ready to do murder on all who would not be obedient and subject to the Pope, even to his smallest word. And yet he speaks for the Pope, declaring his power and the limits of his power, and his intentions as if he had the Pope's ear, or even was the Pope himself; and he attacks the sale of indulgences in a way that strikes a blow at one of the deeply entrenched attitudes of the papacy. That he dimly realized that these theses contained the germ of a radical position seems to be suggested by the fact that he posted them without consulting Staupitz, Spalatin, or any friends, as if he was afraid of either being prevented from posting them by his friends, or having to take the bolder course of doing so in spite of them. Although it was couched in the mild form of an academic debate, it contained the seeds of revolt, and the date on which he posted it insured their wide attention. So that although we grant his sincerity in his surprise at the immense furor they provoked on their rapid and wide dissemination, we have to suspect that unconsciously they were designed for just this purpose. That powerful inner drive to throw off

(153) Bohmer, pp. 104-106.
(154) Bohmer, pp. 48-84
(155) Works of Martin Luther, Vol. 1, Preface 11, p. 10, "Dr. Martin Luther to the Christian Reader"; D'Aubigné, pp. 238-240
(156) D'Aubigné, p. 238.
all external authority, that carried him through the succeeding years, was beginning to assert itself, and the printing of these was actually a throwing down of the gauntlet, although he himself as he states, never dreamed of such a thing. All this indicates his inability to recognize fully the depth and intensity of his hidden impulse.

"In error and ignorance, 'as a horse whose eyes had been blinded, God led him onward and upward', until finally he had been so far matured and steadied internally that he was able, though again not 'knowingly and with foresight,' but without the least presentiment whither his course would lead him to challenge publicly the 'misguided seducers of the people' whom he had previously so sharply attacked in his lectures on Romans" (157)

He had begun in his lectures by increasingly using contemporary situations and examples to illustrate his points; then he had gone on to criticizing the church leaders; and finally the church's teaching and practice. He came to think quite unlike a monk; no longer engrossed in his own salvation, but absorbed in the external condition of Christian life. He was laying aside even the outward monastic requirements "to pray the hours and celebrate the mass"; at first under the pressure of work, a year later (1517, October) going for two or three weeks without reading the prayers of the breviary, and only making them up on week-ends. However great his conscious reluctance to do this, something stronger in himself was leading him to it, and not the external circumstances onto which he thrust the responsibility. He allowed the external pressure of duties to push into the background what was actually, although he did not see it so, becoming less important, to him.

As the public controversy went on, something of obstinacy or at least tenaciousness in him, enabled him, in spite of his own timidity, to refuse to concede important points where his spiritual

(159) Bohmer, p. 49  (160) Bohmer p. 52
(161) Bohmer, p. 60
experience and superior scholarship had convinced him of his own correct interpretation. The refusal of the opponent to be just or to face the logical reasoning and Biblical authority decided him each time to disregard that opponent and to appeal over his head. Again and again, unlike some other men of the time who might be convinced as he was, something in him drove him to go back of and over his opponent. He felt that these conflicts were forced upon him; in reality, he had much to do with forcing them himself.

We need here to distinguish between our conviction of the truth of his position, and what enabled him to carry that position before the highest church tribunal of his day. That driving force that had to overcome internal obstacles in Luther, and external obstacles in the church, was in part a tidal wave of need in Luther to overflow all landmarks, to climb on top of any one who sought to hold him down, to dominate his dominators. We find evidences of this domineering characteristic in his relations with Catherine von Bora, whom he tried to compel against her will to marry Pastor Glatz, and in Melanchthon's feeling that his relations with his master seemed to him like "down-right slavery". We find it also reflected in his late relations with other Protestant leaders whose work he could not recognize as of equal value with his own. The pride which so troubled him as his great sin, found expression occasionally, all through his life in such ideas of superiority, as being above all others. This domineering attitude, so greatly softened by his humour, charm, exhuberance, and humility, still was sufficiently deep to take effect upon his carriage. Bohmer speaks of:

(162) Bohmer, p. 244
(163) Bohmer, p. 245
"the erect bearing, bordering on stiffness—'so that he seemed rather to be bending backward than forward'—
the dark demoniac eyes, 'which sparkle and twinkle like a star, so that one cannot well bear their gaze', These falcon's eyes, lion's eyes, basilisk's eyes, which immediately drew the attention of every one, and this highly characteristic and imposing heroic presence......" (164)

This driving necessity to rise above all opposition had its seeds in his earliest experiences of being dominated. But in some sense it also had its roots in something deeper in the spirit of his time that worked through him, a need to break the grip of an increasingly oppressive social authority that was machining the individual into absurdities of conformity. He was trying to solve in his own person, the universal problem of the day, and in so doing, became an instrument for a particular solution of that universal problem.

The spearhead of this offensive for Luther was his "dogma".

"If we had not this article (justification) certain and clear, it were impossible we could criticise the pope's false doctrine of indulgences and other abominable errors .... (166)

This conviction, born out of bitter and redeeming experience, which he felt was the devil's central objective of attack, became for him a banner, his executive power, his sword, a sort of phallic symbol of potency that gave him courage and with which he demolished the position of the visible enemy.

The fear of death, which had long haunted the monk, grew less with the loss of the fear of judgment after death, and three years after his illumination we find him writing that he hopes to free from this also.

Let us go back and, if a dwarf may be so bold as to attempt to understand a giant, see a little bit more just what went on in Luther.

during this conversion experience. Happenings in the psyche, or in
the spiritual world, cannot be timed, or given in rigid chronological
order, both because we understand so little, and because time, as we
measure it, is a relative matter. What I here describe as happening
separately, are really occurring together.

In his vow in the thunderstorm, we see the first sign
of Luther's unconscious separation of the concepts of God and his
father. As far as the records indicate, he had up to then been rather
indifferent to the thought of God, and quite subservient to his father.
Now he begins to be markedly subservient to God, and indifferent to
his father. He disregards his father's wishes, and becomes suddenly,
apparently, overcome with anxiety to carry out the will of God as he
most unhappily conceived of it. We see this progressing in his
persistence through the year of trial in the monastery in disregarding,
with of course great reluctance, his father's plans for him,
and in his increasing conviction of the harshness of God. He is transferr ing his view of his father more and more to the figure of God
in his mind. In his illumination, another radical step appears;
he has now largely stripped from his conception of God those qualities
which he had also increasingly come to admit were characteristic of
his father. First he transfers his allegiance from his father to God,
conceiving of them as much the same in character; then he takes away
this familiar character from the thought of God, and continues his
allegiance to what is now a new concept. The separation is now as
complete as he ever makes it, in form, although it continues to
permeate his life more and more. This over-mechanical description
seems to approximate what occurred.

Going back a bit, in his anxiety over the judgment of
God, there forms deep in his mind a phantasy, the hope of the possi-
bility, we might well call it, of a "Gracious God", or "appeasing God", probably largely through the friendship of such men as Stau-
pitz. But undoubtedly it goes still further back into his childhood, when he must have compared his own parents with some other far more kindly parents and wished and dreamed of the latter. This existence of such an early longing is perhaps revealed in the fact that as a grown man he referred with reverence to Madame Cotta, from whom he learned to revere women, but, as far as I can find, took no such thought of his mother; and negatively in the quotation about his father, on the latter's death on page 24 above. A patient of mine whose most impressive recollection of her mother was of cruelty, used to, as a child, long for such a kind parent as one of her girl friend's had and phantasy herself in that family. And as a grown woman she used to try to conceive of her mother as an altogether loving mother in place of the opposite impression that actually controlled her, and which came much nearer the reality. The appearance of this "phantasy" in Luther, as it is to him at first, (169) is the beginning of his liberation. It enables him to recognize his own guilt, at first in the form of anger, and then in the form of pride. For as long as God is thought of only as a cruel and unjust judge, Luther's anger is justified; and that anger is merely the expression of his pride, his sense of wronged innocence. At first the greatest evil to him was the unjust judgment of God. Now the greatest evil came to be his own guilt in being angry with an appeasing God and in being proud in thinking himself acceptable.

He came thus to recognize his own dire need, a very great advance. Out of need come the new advances in life (170)

(169) Jung, "Modern Man in Search of a Soul", p. 280
(170) Jung, "Modern Man in Search of a Soul", p. 250
Luther

In dire need, one becomes willing to accept what one can get, in place of former demands for the impossible. He had previously himself assumed all responsibility, too much in fact, on the supposition that man, by his will, can do anything, and by sheer strain can become perfect. If only he could be sure of the mercy of God, he could give up this proud assumption, leave development of character where it belonged,— an unseen process, a kind of by-product not directly obtainable, the result of deeper forces than the personal will and foresight, in fact the grace of God— and give his attention more to external situations, where a man's work belongs, and for which he considers himself an instrument to be thought of only when it requires sharpening.

He thus consciously took a passive attitude toward God, and gave up the previously passive attitude toward the external reality of the world of men. This passive streak was strong in him, for all compensatory qualities tend to be over-developed when balancing some other exaggerated quality, like Luther's aggressiveness. In his early life he had been consciously passive toward his father, and, I claim, unconsciously aggressive. After his illumination he became passive toward God, in one sense. It is as if he said to himself up to the age of about twenty-two: "I will do nothing of which my father will disapprove or that will make him angry". After entering the monastery, he acted as if he was thinking within himself: "I will do nothing that will anger God". After his illumination he, as it were, kept thinking: "I will do nothing that seems like trying to control God and wrest salvation from him by perfect behavior, but accept my helplessness in the face of high demands. I will say: 'Save or damn, as you will'". The will of God thus became acceptable and

(171) Jung, ibid: p. 261
Luther

even pleasing.

With this transference of passivity to God, the way was open for him to express his aggressiveness, or at least initiative and enterprise toward the world. And with the symbolic but conscious acceptance of these two extremes, their exaggeration became lessened, and they came under conscious control. So that we find him frequently more moderate in his opposition to the Roman Church than many of his followers in such matters as the reform of the Mass.

This passive attitude seems to be related, as a tree is to the seed, to that of the small child who seeks to have others do everything for him. Luther took this immature way in the matter of his career up to the time of his vow. He fought against yielding to it, in the monastery in seeking to merit God's approval, by assuming the whole responsibility, allowing nothing to be given him or done for him, but accomplishing his salvation solely by his own efforts. He reverted to this attitude of passive acceptance in his illumination, when he came to the conclusion that the only way was to allow God to perform it all for him, even reasoning that Christ on the Cross was paying for Luther's sins, so that Luther need not pay. These extremes are seen alternating in early childhood, and in less open form in undeveloped adults. They are necessary attitudes in meeting life, but should by maturity come to be expressed in less exaggerated form, and interwoven with each other, so that they are often hardly distinguishable. Cooperation is the result. As Luther grew older they seem to have been moderated in him, although vestiges remained up to the end in such occasional utterances as his claims of unusual importance, or excessive humility.
Meanwhile the sense of approval was slowly filtering into his mind, laying a sub-soil of rich material. He was no longer a novice on whom the menial tasks were laid. He was a recognized scholar, a professor, a doctor, a preacher, a district vicar, a most popular teacher. He had friends who deeply believed in him. In his studies he was finding increasing evidence that God was what he longed to find Him. His early unconscious proud assumption of his own perfection, soon to be demonstrated by his works, -- the often in despair over it, -- by which he seemed to be expecting to control God, and compel him to grant salvation, could be admitted as false and wicked. "He came to himself", became accustomed to thinking of himself as a sinner, no longer rebelling against such a thought. The breach in himself was thus to a large extent healed; instead of a divided personality, a division of which he had been unconscious, he recognized himself as divided, and so became unified. A new self-respect comes with such acceptance of one's self. To one's surprise one finds one's self accepted as worthy of respect, as the prodigal son did, and as patients going through an experience of therapy find themselves accepted in the eyes of the physician.

In all this, he did not give up his ideals, nor his objective effort, but he lost his anxiety and his fear of loss. The strain disappeared largely from his life, as his physical well-being indicated (172). He is able now, in his new source of security, to take risks as any one must if he is to mature; in the words of Smith (page 46 above), he could cry: "Lord, damn or save", trusting to his mercy. He could risk psychic isolation, and become independent of the attitudes, approval and convictions of others, standing on his own feet. He could give up striving to be a copy, and be-

(172) Bohmer, p. 68.
Luther came an individual. His very dogma, the doctrine of justification,
was a risk, as all personally arrived at beliefs are, in contrast with
those laid upon us by wide social acceptance. It was open to doubt,
and continually throughout his life he was under the necessity of re-
affirming it to himself, against the suggestion of the "devil",
as we find him doing after the Diet of Worms, in the seclusion of the
Wartburg.

(173) Somewhat in this manner a reversal of complexes occurred
early in his "Babylonian captivity" in the monastery, his Psychic
world was made up of the oppressively terrifying thought of the un-
bending, cruel judgment of God demanding perfection without assis-
tance, and his own reaction to this of anger and pride. At the same
time there erupted from somewhere deep in him the longing for a
gracious conception of God. Following his illumination, his psychic
world was consciously more and more filled with the vision of the
mercy and love of God, and his own reaction to this of trust and
courage. And at the same time, there erupted at times from
somewhere deep in him, the old conception of an angry God who condemned
him,---his periods called "fits of terror". What had once been his
whole conscious out-look now became a temptation on occasion to be
repudiated; and on the other hand, what had once been an unbeliev-
able and occasional wild dream, now filled his field of thought, as a
steady certainty. Put in another way, he had at first been active
toward God in contemplation of the evil of his situation, and passive
largely toward the evils in the external situation of the life of
the church; he later became passive toward God in receiving spiritual
health and power, and active towards the evil situation of the church
as he saw it.

(173) Own writings, p. 77  (174) Pfister, p. 462
One further point should be made. Luther had a very realistic view of the devil. Of course belief in a physical devil was common for his day. But Smith calls Luther's feeling about the devil an obsession and says that his emotional pre-occupation with this figure was quite different from the mere acceptance of the current ideas of the day. Certain characteristics of Luther's devil should be noted. He is physical. He represents all Luther's old fears and religious point of view; depression, self-accusation, excessive humility, guilt, belief in the hatred and anger of God, fear of his own damnation, the righteousness of the law, confidence in one's own works. I have shown that this emotional constellation was a development, along the same general lines, of his emotional relationship with his father, in childhood. The devil indeed, seems to take on the traits of Luther's parent; he interrupts what one is doing, and drives one to bed; he is powerful and proud; he cannot stand obscenity nor derision; he makes one intensely angry, he hates Luther, and his aim is to do away with him; compare Luther's remark to Staupitz, when the latter urged him to become preacher, and my contention that behind Staupitz is the father-figure, in this instance, he seems to delight in tormenting Luther (compare Luther's thoughts about his teachers). Luther seems to vaguely sense that there is a similarity in his feeling toward God and the devil: "When I look for Christ, it seemed to me as if I saw the devil" and I have pointed out the great amount of evidence that his early impression of his father was the mould for the troublesome conception of an angry God.

We notice a very marked change in regard to this obsession. During the years of bitter struggle in the monastery,

Luther

Luther's mental world is filled with all that the devil represents, although he does not conceive of it in terms of the devil at this time. However, as the illumination grows brighter, this whole complex shrinks into the figure of the devil, and takes an increasingly subsidiary position, so that historians pass over his thoughts about the devil later in life, as merely the reflection of the superstitions of the day. Luther is now absorbed in other interests and beliefs. The devil at times is still very bothersome, but Luther gets over his fear of him, finds he can face him and defeat him as he considers going to Worms, and coming out from his seclusion in the Wartburg to return to Wittenburg; discovers he can get rid of him by mocking him, and ordinarily takes him lightly, even enjoying the devil's stormings.

Unconsciously, we sometimes hunger so wildly for a period in our childhood, that was free from something we are afraid to face now (witness Luther's statement that his fits of terror came when faced with special responsibility), that we reconstruct the whole early experience imaginatively, the undesirable with the desirable, and act and feel as if it were true. But the expression of this phantasy is so woven into our daily life, and so largely unconscious, that it appears only slightly and then disguised with most of us as peculiarities, such as the petulance of some people when stricken with physical illness, or the way others secretly quail when spoken to harshly. A patient I have mentioned already, as she became conscious of her life-long dependence upon her mother, whom she conceived of as cruel, and who by the way, had died eighteen years before, nevertheless, feared to give up that imaginary though painful relationship. She clung to it, because she had been used to it all (180) Own Writings, p. 59
her life. To accept kindness, in place of this, however desirable in itself, was difficult, and was shunned at first, because in comparison with the long-familiar cruelty it was strange and seemed hardly to be trusted as real, it did not seem to offer as much security.

So Luther, in periods of extra difficulty, had recurrences of "fits of terror" and temptations of the devil, —— that is, recurrences of the craving to resurrect the externally dead past and live in it again in phantasy, as an escape from the difficult present.

Note 1. That the obsession of the devil is linked with early childhood in another way is seen in Smith's statement that Luther used disgusting methods for putting the devil to flight; when argument did not avail, he found that "some words of untranslatable coarseness or some act or gesture which is simply unimaginable to persons with no first-hand knowledge of the Reformer's conversation" would succeed; and goes on to state that this is

"Neither more nor less than the child's ways of spiting its parents, and at the same time gratifying a primitive sex urge," (181)
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The previous study of Luther's conversion struggle and experience, implies or states the hypothesis, that he had certain difficulties in childhood that were marked. They affected him more than the average, because either he was congenitally sensitive in one or another way to them, or, (perhaps more correctly, and,) his early situation was conducive to them. He was the oldest child. He experienced the pain of giving up his exclusive position with his parents, and sharing with siblings, to a greater degree than the others that followed. Perhaps this difficulty, if it occurred, made it harder for him to accept reality in the form of the necessity to do things for himself. Every infant would appear to arrive in the world with some conception of life and himself, akin to what we might call omnipotence,—that he has the power with little effort on his part to attain his essential wishes, he cried and he gets what he wants. The surrender of this, and the learning to get things for himself is one of the longest and most difficult of lessons for the child to learn, as every observant parent will testify. In fact it is a life-long problem, deeply enmeshed in our normal and neurotic life, and appearing in such varied forms as the problem of a government dole, or of the answers to prayer by God.

These childhood struggles I postulate would increase over the average, his fear of loss, his fear to take risks, his timidity, in short, his sensitivity. It is this more-than-average sensitivity that opens the way both for mental difficulties and breakdowns, and also for prophetic leadership.

Luther would be thus more appalled by the strictness, domination and harshness of his home and school than most children. (182) Ferenczi "Contributions to Psycho-analysis", pp. 186 - 191
would, and be driven to do something heroic about it, if he was not to be crushed.

I would postulate also another form of tension with his parents. We have noticed Luther's burning search for the experience of the reality of an "appeasing" or "gracious" God. Again, it seems fair to suppose that this longing had its origin in childhood. The baby boy's first desire is for the love of its mother, conceived in infantile forms. As he actually does have his mother much to himself, with the large amount of care the human infant requires, the gradual discovery that the mother shares her attentions to him with his father, and later, even more with his brothers and sisters as they are born, is a painful experience. Normally a child finds other interests to compensate for the loss of this rather exclusive attention. But in any case for a time the father and later the siblings are rivals for affection. Martin must have felt particularly starved for affection; else he would not later have spoken so much of the harshness of his parents; he would not have searched so longingly for a gracious conception of God. His resentment, as a child, against sharing what little affection he must have got from his rather duty-bound and dious mother, would be all the greater. When on top of this, we find that his father was over-dominating, and at times fierce in his rule, we have a right to assume, with all the later evidence I have indicated, the slow development in this sensitive boy of an intense, but repressed, hatred for his father. Outwardly he respected the man, for the man was worthy of respect in other matters. Fear was there too, which showed principally in an effort to obey, and please that father.

It is in his struggle with his father, that we run onto
the inciting nucleus of his life conflict. The father's domination, rationalized as ambition for his son, increased the boy's difficulty, both by making him more angry with his father at times, and by making the need of obedience greater and more complicated. In the boy's mind there must have been a fear of having his personal development crushed by the necessity of conforming to every wish of his father, as he felt he had to; and this fear might appear concretely in the fear of being killed by a superior power, as we find him actually expressing it where it is quite irrational with Staupitz and the devil. To prevent this destruction of one's own individuality, there arose an over-intense rebellious attitude. But over-against this was the inability of a sensitive person to "run away to sea", as many boys have done. An easily pricked conscience developed, morbidly responsive to duty, obedience, and conformity. Hans Luther was a strong and able man. The son could not break free, and defy his wishes, without risk of punishment, and loss of esteem and companionship, memories of which we find him citing. The craving for freedom was held down till it became a powerful and even unconscious habit to do so. An effort to carefully follow the father's wishes became the conscious aim. True freedom, for which every young person strives, involves the "death" of the compulsion of persons without, in favor of an inner guide and rule. In phantasy it often happens that this is pictured as the death of the dominating person or parent. Near the end of the analysis of two of my patients, this was particularly clear, as I have already stated. They could not break free from my seeming control over them, and become independent of me, until they had accepted the phantasies of my, or the parent's death. To the child, and to the childish neurotic thinking, to act on one's own initiative and according to one's own judgment, is tantamount
Luther

to the absence of the parent; one can do as one pleases if the parent is not there to enforce parental will. To be free therefore to follow one's own inner convictions means permanently to get rid of the parent, which in childish language is death. With the average child, this is in moments of anger openly expressed, and thus robbed of harm, and outgrown. There there is an acutely sensitive conscience, this wish for the death of the throttling parent has to remain unexpressed and therefore, as one grows older, drops the child's simple interpretation of death, and acquires the grown person's horror of murder.

Furthermore, to the small son, growing up involves becoming like his father, and even taking his father's place. There is plenty of social justification for such a view. Out of this nucleus could have evolved Luther's half-humorous thoughts of becoming an "anti-pope", or of being "gods".

The inability in adolescence to free himself, increased Luther's anger against that now-dramatized and involved father-figure in his mind, and set up a vicious circle. Thus was he inwardly chained, quite unknown to anyone, least of all to himself, when he entered law school, as a capable, popular university student.

But here began that blind groping about, with many mistakes, to find release from those chains. He might have merely shrunk back from the universal task of becoming an individual, with one's own way of sharing in the accomplishment of some worthy and useful end, and become permanently neurotic. Instead he made an unwitting and lame break for freedom. He vowed to take orders. This course involved a regression to a simpler, more childish way of living in one sense. But the outcome indicates that it was a going
backwards in order to come forwards; like one patient, who at forty five, on awakening to the underlying intense craving to hide away from life inside the warm protecting mother, soon spontaneously remarked that she "wanted to go in to come out", wished to return to the mother to be reborn. Luther psychologically re-instated in some measure the mental situation of childhood, thus putting himself in a position, if I may use such teleological language, to work out those unsolved childhood conflicts.

Monastic life is more like a home than the usual community life. Furthermore, as I have indicated above, depression, from which Luther now began to suffer, is a regression.

His inner difficulties thus emerged from repression, in spite of his fear of them, and demanded attention.

In my very limited experience, it seems that in psychotherapeutic analysis, the concrete, or physically dramatized, phantasy that is the nucleus of some complex, breaks into consciousness first, with pain, and against great resistance. The purely psychic derivatives, such as the character traits, which after all are more important from the point of view of one's social relations, come up into the field of view for correction or conscious control, later. So it would seem with Luther. If we may trust the record, the existence in his heart of murderous thoughts began to dawn upon him when he conducted his first mass.

The necessity for punishment immediately made itself manifest, as the primitive and childish association of guilt is always with punishment as an indispensable accompaniment. This, however, was self-inflicted punishment on the part of Luther.
As I have tried to show above, it is partly a re-instatement of childhood, the painful with the desired; and partly a way of satisfying the sense of guilt. But this purely logical, artificial, and infantile way of covering the guilt, could not satisfy such a passionately searching mind as Luther's. He began to be more conscious of that sense of guilt. He began to think of himself as a sinner; at first repudiating it, and being angry with God for condemning him, but slowly under Staupitz' admonition to accustom himself to think of himself as a sinner, becoming able to accept this guilt. Whenever a neurotic sufferer gains some insight into an obsessive thought or compulsive act, he feels guilty, with regard to what is back of that thought or act, and feels so for the first time.

All through these years was the constant fear of damnation at the hands of an angry and predestining God. Self-preservation was Luther's most vital need. The living experience may be described in the theological terms of damnation or salvation; or in the psychological terms of regression and fixation, or development and growth. Not that the two are identical or equivalent, but that there is a fundamental relationship between the two. Normal steady growth in the Christian life eliminates the need of a cataclysmic conversion experience. One is in some sense a substitute for the other. Taking the thought of Hadfield in his "Psychology and Morals", the individual normally passes through various critical periods in growth, from conception to death, such as puberty, the high points of adolescence, and the climacteric. At each critical point, some new function toward life should emerge; and with that some old attitude toward life must necessarily
be dropped. There is a death and a rebirth. Some people, in one way or another, never do experience the rebirth at one of these stages; they remain adolescents essentially all their lives, or reveal their disguised childish dependence at times of strain, or become openly childish in neurosis or psychosis, irrespective of outward obstacles. That this appears, deep within, as a kind of spiritual damnation is seen all too clearly in certain experiences. Psychotic patients will feel that the whole world is going to pieces, that the end of the world has come, that the day of judgment has arrived, and that unless they do something heroic to save the world, it will be lost in that judgment. This is themselves. To other patients come horrible phantasies of being dismembered, burned in boiling oil, condemned to live in a dark basement. To this forty-five year old woman oppressed with compulsions, of whom I have spoken before, the recognition of her longing to return to her mother's womb, which appeared at first as utterly desirable as escape, took on darker colors, until it appeared as kind of death to her, or again a hell, a hole into which she might fall and where she might forever suffer. There seems to be a recognition in these symbolic forms, of the serious danger of fearfully clinging to an outworn emotional and instinctual attitude. One does get carried out of the main forward current of life; one does get caught in an ever-circling eddy; one does get separated from the main body of mankind, isolated, as indeed mental patients so tragically are; one is, from the point of view of personal development, and of social relations, damned. And those who are partially aware of their situation feel that way.
Psychologically, what hinders their progress, is the fear of loss of something that seems like the self, really a part of the self, an outworn attitude, that must give place to some new one. The adolescent’s dependence upon older people, economically, and for his convictions, opinions and decisions, is one of the clearest examples. He has been used to this support all of his existence. It seems like a part of himself. He must surrender it. In Biblical language, he must be willing to lose this life of his, in order to find the larger life to be his.

From birth to death, there is a series of necessary losses, or sacrifices. These change from at first being predominantly physical and concrete, to becoming largely psychic and abstract, though real. To the little child it is the loss of the warm, surrounding, supporting always present love of the mother; how much it means to the child to give up the various childish forms in which he conceives of this love, how widely he interpretes them in psychic forms, can hardly be over-stated. It is of course not the physical form, the loss of which means so much; it is what that form means to the child in terms of love and security and independence, the seeming loss of which means so much.

In the early years of anxious struggle in the monastery to satisfy an angry God, what was it that Luther was crying so desperately to save? In theological language it was what appeared to him as his soul. In psychological language, it seems to me that it was his unconscious phantasy of his own near-perfect morality, and which was the very essence of his life to him.

Whenever there is an exaggerated consciousness of inferiority of unworthiness, the psychologist has to postulate an
equally intense, but unconscious, feeling of superiority. The unconscious compensates for the over-balanced consciousness.

In the manic-depressive circular type of insanity, mainly an exaggeration of the every-day variety of personality called cyclothermic, both a superiority and inferiority complex are present, although the individual is only conscious of one at any given time. Luther bears the marks distinctly of this type of personality. Moreover his feeling of pride as a very great sin, and his later half-joking sense of his unusual importance bear out the hypothesis that he had an unusual sense of superiority behind his grave feeling of unworthiness. If a man feels that his mistakes or weaknesses are considerable as hindrances to success, he will dislike them and strive to eliminate them, but not agonize over them. Even if a deeply religious person becomes aware of the vast difference between his sinful self and the holiness of God, however keenly he realizes this, he will not so roll in anguish as to hinder his spiritual development. Luther, in these early years, did, to the consternation of his confessors and friends. His eyes were fastened almost wholly upon his sins, and no one can leave behind what he conceives of as his sins, by dwelling exclusively upon them. The explanation of exaggerated self-depreciation, then, does not lie in an effort to outgrow one's faults. It lies in an inability to accept those faults. It is because a person is comparing his actual, morally undeveloped self with the unconscious phantasy of himself as almost perfect that he feels he is so impossible a sinner as to cry out: "Oh, my sins!

Luther

To accept himself as an ordinary, average sinful human being means to surrender that precious picture of himself as about perfect. Two such incompatible views of one's self, cannot live long together in a personality seeking unification. One or the other must be modified, surrendered in part at least. This is the difficulty with which he is confronted.

I would assume that Luther at first conceived of himself as quite satisfying, morally acceptable, that is practically perfect. He says that when ordained he supposed himself to be acceptable. With the conception of God that he had, this conscious expression reflected an unconscious idea of very close to moral perfection. Soon however the depression and the self-castigation began. He became both angry with God, and angry with himself for his own sinfulness. These are two ways of initially meeting a dawning painful recognition about one's self; in Luther's case that he had such a conception of his own perfection, which he later called his pride. The first sign of the acceptance of a bitter truth or bit of reality is the denial of it. One can no longer be indifferent or blind; one must at least deny. So Luther, as it were, denied the existence of such a concealed phantasy by affirming most vehemently and abjectly the opposite. But the very exaggeration, and unreality of his humility and expressions of sinfulness reveal to the discerning eye, its true source in the opposite. The later recognition of this, his pride as one of his greatest sins, does three things. It means the death of an old view of self that makes a rebirth possible, for his pride once admitted is immediately repudiated, It means the ending of

(184) Feuerachi, "Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis," p. 367
a psychic isolation that is unhealthy, and hampering.

"There appears to be a conscience in mankind which severely punishes the man who does not somehow and at some time, at whatever cost to his pride, cease to defend and assert himself, and instead confess himself fallible and human. Until he can do this, an impenetrable wall shuts him out from the living experience of feeling himself a man among men."(185)

This actually we can see happening in Luther, for from thinking of himself as alone in the world and peculiar in his despair over his sinfulness, we find him writing to George Spenlein, in 1516:

"Beware, my brother, at aiming at a purity which rebels against being classed with sinners."(186)

It also relieves him of the pressure of self-depreciation.

All through this period, Luther was consumed with a burning hunger; to find approval in the eyes of God. This need for approval is one of the common characteristics of the cyclothemic personality. It is a psychological kind of inability to accept emotional weaning. They crave that satisfying milk, sweet words or signs of praise, and approval. Their appetite for this is enormous. It is as if they had been emotionally starved. They depend upon a constant supply of it, and lacking enough become discouraged, down-hearted. It is a form of dependence. This need was one of the driving forces that pushed Luther on in his search for a different conception of God from that of an angry unreasonably condemning figure.

We see then that Luther was coming, during this period, to recognize himself anger against God, pride, and an intense need for approval. These were direct derivatives from childhood emotional experiences--his repressed anger against his father,

(185) Jung, "Modern Man in Search of a Soul", p. 39,40
(186) Letters of Martin Luther, p. 5
his infantile sense of omnipotence, and his inability to accept psychic weaning.

Emotionally then he has returned to his early childhood, through a symbolic structure, and is once more wrestling with the same problems with which he actually as a child attempted to deal. But he is now of course working them out in a new way.

Often, during this period in his monastic life, he felt himself in darkness. His life is circumscribed, narrow, pressed in. Psychologically, in a very real sense, he has become a child, his own childhood again, and is being reborn. With patients being analyzed, there is this cycle; the dawning recognition of the source of some difficulty in a childish vestigial remainder, evidenced by a denial of the existence of such a thing; a period of darkness, confusion, and uncertainty, with fear, and narrow absorption in the problem; an acceptance of the unpleasant truth about one's self with great psychic pain; and a slow sluffing-off of this childhood remainder, as the individual turns the energies previously bound up there to more mature uses.

Slowly now, Luther begins to substitute his own achievements for his previous unconscious demands upon others. It was the childhood experience of learning self-reliance and one's own capacities, in a new field. Every young man and young woman has to learn this; but with Luther it came later, nearly at the age of thirty years, and with more intensity of struggle, because preceded by a greater submissiveness and unconscious demand that he be wholly taken care of. In the average person in late adolescence this experience is a new edition of an old one, a rebirth. It is particularly clear in any person who has been held back by a neurotic develop-
ment. When he has been assisted to an insight, through "confession" and "explanation",

"the man of insight will draw his own moral conclusions. Convinced of his own deficiencies, he will use this knowledge as a means of protection; he will plunge into the struggle for existence and consume in progressive work and experience that force of longing which has caused him to cling obstinately to a child's paradise or at least to look back at it over his shoulder." (187)

In the early part of his monastic suffering, he is angry with God for the injustice of condemning a man to eternal damnation, no matter how hard that man might strive to deserve salvation of might actually deserve it. He might be predestined to hell by an arbitrary decision. Involved in this view there seems to be the supposition that God owes him salvation. In his furious attempts to merit salvation, there appears to lie hidden the unexamined assumption that he could force God to give him what he wanted. If he fulfilled the requirements, God would simply have to grant salvation. But the doctrine of predestination thwarted this expectation. It was this thwarting that augmented his anger against God.

This sort of reasoning is common to childhood. I would postulate it for Luther because he found he could not get peace till he gave up this idea in favor of admissions of inability to compel salvation and of helplessness, and because the same sense of unusual power in him appears all through his life.

Luther, in the tower of the Black Cloister, gives up his effort to control God and compel salvation by good works, through an unconscious phantasy of perfection. He accepts the risks of loss, and so faces reality. He comes to the point of (187) Jung, "Modern Man in Search of a Soul", p. 49
takin what he can get: "God, save or damn".

When the barriers against parts of himself, and because of them, against others, break down, the isolation melts away, and a reconciliation comes.

His old views, with their regressive kernels, he repudiates as evil temptations. Although in part he still resorts to repression, as indicated on page 48 above. This results in the form of the devil taking on an emotionally obsessive garment not common to the superstition of the day.

Luther now accepts development as he had not before. Initiative and enterprise become his; his "dogma" is the particular sign of this new masculine executive capacity. He accepts the fear of death and the death of the old self. He accepts his elation, socially, as a result of his convictions, the price of an individuation in his own growth.

Marked changes come about in certain old attitudes. From being terrified by the cross, it becomes his source of confidence. From being terrified by the figure of the devil, he learns to mock and ridicule it. From recognizing his sexual desires with great fear of sin, he changes to marriage, and being able to joke about such matters with his students. From being angry with God, and feeling it a great sin to be angry, he changes to love for God, and being angry instead with those who oppose him, until finally so much has a feeling of guilt about anger left him that he comes to feel that he does his best work when angry, and enjoys a good spell of it.

(188) Bohmer, p. 200; Own Writings, p. 68
So that at last he reaches that highly mature point of giving himself tremendously to the cause he has taken as his own, with almost entire indifference to personal consequences.

I have thus tried to show that Luther had a mass of unresolved tensions in his life; that his conversion consisted, viewed from the emotional aspect, in resuscitating these tensions that had been dealt with by burying them, and dealing with them over again; that, in disguised form, they must have been the same tensions that had existed in his infancy and childhood; that he had to therefore psychologically return to that infancy, and find a new way out of unbearable emotional strain; and that this pressure of old difficulties resulted in a creative effort, so that a new development occurred in him. He grew up over again. In a very real and actual sense he was reborn.
CONCLUSION.
CONCLUSION

In the last three chapters, those on St. Augustine, St. Francis, and Martin Luther, I have shown as far as I could: one, that in their spiritual struggles preceding the crisis of their conversions, they were troubled with emotional attitudes characteristic of their childhood either by us know, or legitimately inferred to be such; two, that they had to re-experience these in their naked intensity; that is, as they had experienced them once in childhood, but of course with the disguise of a maturer view and the symbolism of religion; three, that they had to pass through a period of constricted consciousness when all seemed dark and terrible; four, that they at this point were giving up these old attitudes toward life and themselves; and five, that as they emerged from this critical period, new attitudes began slowly to unfold and develop in them.

The process may be described as it was at the beginning of Chapter one, but in religious terminology instead. When the emotional change of conversion is marked, there is seen to be at least two factors making it possible: an intense longing for God, for a better life, or at least for escape from the hold of the evil within; and the guidance and influence of some religious companion (Ambrose, Monica, von Staupitz,) or religious historical figure (Paul, the mystics, Christ.) Under the sense of sin from within and new leadership from without, the individual gives up his superficial self-satisfaction.

In place then of the picture of himself as an ordinary sort of good man, he now sees himself as he actually is, a sinner. He does so by becoming aware of the surprising contrast between what he has been living all along and a new way that begins to dawn before him. He had thought of himself as acceptable, to his own moral judgment; he now
sees himself as wholly unacceptable, wrong and inferior. He re-experiences himself in an entirely new light. He had never seen himself thus before. Finding his attitudes, now seen in a true light, to be horribly inappropriate, he gives them up.

Of course he only gives them up in exchange for something preferable. He does not usually see this preferable way of living with any clearness in this type of conversion, considered in this paper. In fact the sacrifices have to be made with a considerable degree of uncertainty. While he may see about him people like whom he wishes to be, still what it all means for him personally, is vague. He has to feel his way into it, however much some of it may come upon him with a burst. Here and there something to guide comes. There is often more struggle away from sin, than toward the good. There is reluctance in giving up the Old Adam, and yet eagerness in reaching toward the life with and for God.

This is where the religious community comes in. For the separation of the religious community from the remainder of society is the prototype of his own separation from his past self. It is something universal. There it is not just the actual immediate religious community, but all that that community stands for as a concrete symbol, that is concerned in religious re-birth.

All through such a religious re-birth growth in the new life has been going on. But it is more marked and more rapid near that part of the experience where the deepest sacrifices of the old way are made.

I believe therefore that I have given evidence, vastly to be improved upon if any one so wishes, but worth considering, to indicate that the religious terms "regeneration" or "re-birth" are true and correct descriptions of something that actually happens within an individual when he experiences a religious conversion.
APPENDIX

To the view of religious conversion presented in the foregoing chapters, and the relationship assumed between the so-called "new psychology", and religious experience, I would like to add a corollary. The pastor ought to be able to learn techniques and the mechanisms of the mind, the deeper passions of men and the forms in which they reveal themselves, and the order of development of an individual. From this newer knowledge (much of it new only in the form in which it is presented rather than in its content) the minister who would assist in the healing of souls, should, I believe, be able to revive the experience of conversion. Only some, in order to find the more abundant life, need such a reversal as this type of conversion presented here exemplifies. But in liberal circles today, such seeking souls frequently go hungry and die of spiritual famine. The pastor who has had long and thorough training in the newer understanding of human nature and dealing with it, can do much to lead such people to the light. In the subsequent pages, I would suggest some of the ways in which he can be a spiritual guide for sick souls.

The first thought I would present is that the minister himself must be able to keep an emotional balance in difficult and disturbing situations in personal counselling. Sufferers will occasionally go through heavy emotional storms. These are a drain on the minister's sympathy that may upset him, if he is too soft-hearted. They may frighten him into uncertainty of action. Again the necessity the minister is under in this work, to point out to sufferers painful facts about themselves offers him a delightful opportunity to vent upon them in disguised ways, his own cruel tendencies, while he rationalizes to himself that they need this insight and he is doing it solely for their benefit. Not infrequently sufferers do all in their
power, sometimes deliberately, more often unwittingly, to break down
the minister's objective attitude, to force him to satisfy some of
their unhealthy cravings, or assist them to find such satisfaction.
All this, because they are sick and torn with childish longings. So
that the minister needs to know his own weak spots and be unafraid of
them.

He is also under the necessity of purifying his motives. In this
work, if he is alive to himself, he will be surprised at the motives
that he finds operating to keep him in it. He will keep on with a
difficult problem because he does not want to think of himself as a
failure. He will try to see a great many people because it gives
him the sensation of importance. However much such motives may help
him do useful work, and they will, they are not the motive that should
increasingly control his work.

Perhaps the greatest danger is that the minister will be tempted
to manage people's lives. It is easy to reason that they cannot seem to
manage themselves; someone must do it for them; someone must make
decisions to get them started on a different social road. Although I
know there is much difference of opinion here, my experience, such as
it is, convinces me that with certain possible exceptions, a minister
should avoid this. His business is to keep away from arranging
people's destinies for them, while he guides them to growth and inde­
pendence so that they can work out their own purposes for themselves.

One of his immediate aims then with people in difficulty will be
to assist them to a realistic objective view of their own experiences,
in the light of their own development. A young man had always been
cowed by his father. In maturity, in all conflicts, he found himself
helpless, paralysed. After considerable work with him, he came to the
point where for the first time he stood up to his father, in the form of a law suit against his father, which he lost. Later, constant friction with his sister, with whom he was living, developed. A series of other disappointing occurrences followed. One day, his temper stretched beyond control, gave way, and he threw a milk bottle at his sister and chased her out of the house with a poker. His greatest reaction was fear of his own rage, and of what he might do if he lost control again. What he needed was to be able to figure out a way to eliminate some of the friction with his sister—and he could do this himself; and to appreciate the fact that to be able to act under anger really was a most hopeful sign, a sign of growth in him. When the episode was studied in the light of his past development his fear of himself seemed to leave, and it suddenly dawned on him that after the burst of temper he had felt an inexplicable new confidence in himself.

With others, while comparatively little insight can be shared with them, just the fact that someone goes through their struggles with them, and seems to understand, has effect. The minister may feel he is doing little, or nothing, but the very willingness to share the sufferer's experience brings enough relief to him so that he can come through the strain without as much loss of self-respect or as much despair as he otherwise might. He is carried along, given time, until he works things out.

This brings me naturally to another thought. We have to, through experience, arrive at a measure of faith in individuals, which is neither out of touch with reality, nor limited by a scientific descriptive estimate. A woman, not a high school graduate, was once a trained nurse, but never had passed her state board examinations. She had been out of nursing for twelve years. She was middle aged, now. To encourage her in these days in her wish to go back into nursing and secure her R. N. would have been, it seemed to me, to leave the world of reality, and to
fall in with her fantasy system. On the other hand, when one summer she went through a really terrific emotional experience of recognizing a horrible truth about herself, she needed all the support of someone's faith in her ultimate recovery. *Here she seemed on various occasions about to take a psychotic escape from the all-but unbearable sight of herself. No doctor gave much hope. I lost most of what I had had. But because perha/fools rush in where angels fear to tread, I kept on assuring her in confident language that we could work our way out and she would succeed. She did. A year later she told me that during that period she had had no hope in herself, but hung on desperately to my assurances. She felt that my confidence alone brought her through. However much or little truth there was in that, because in gratitude I know she underestimated her own capacity for development, I feel sure that our legitimate faith in people brings in a new factor that itself makes the faith reasonable. Without that faith, the scientific estimate of hopelessness is perhaps correct; with that faith the environment is so changed that the scientific estimate is negated.

With some people all the minister should do is to lead the person to discover the real problem hidden behind the cloak of a superficial difficulty; provide the person with certain psychological tools to work with; and turn the person loose to work it out himself. I think of a middle aged woman whose physical examinations had convinced her that her excessive weariness—"as if I had been born tired", was really an emotional problem. The task before us seemed to me merely to help her find out what that emotional problem was, to begin to deal with it and so learn how to use the tools available, and then let her go out to solve it, in subsequent months by herself. Of course this is not a
satisfactory thing to do from the point of view of finishing a job. But in this case it seemed the wise course to pursue. We therefore made a study of her life till she came to see at first intellectually, and then emotionally, that the real problem was a struggle for independence from her family with whom she lived. The sense of forgiveness that came with bringing condemned thoughts out into the open, was the first step. Making the problem clear was the second. Helping her begin to apply to herself the psychological knowledge she had previously as a matter of fact possessed was the third step. And assisting her to see new possibilities in life for her ahead was the fourth step.

At times, however, I think a minister should do a more radical piece of work. A pastor, who is trained for it, should assist some people to re-organize their lives. A re-birth is possible. This involves a number of things, some of which might be mentioned here. They all seem to me to be in line with Jesus' methods, insight, or purpose.

He will have to remove the sufferer's blindness to his own defenses. That has been more or less compulsive becomes then a matter for choice.

"If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin." (1)

That is, with his knowledge of mental mechanisms, he can guide the sufferer to recognize what he is doing, and see and feel what is really driving him.

By leading the sufferer to unburden himself of painful memories the healing process of forgiveness can take place. The "neither do I condemn thee" attitude of the minister, provides the atmosphere for this to occur. Instead of condemning what the sufferer has done, or secretly wished, he knows that the sufferer has already condemned these

(1) John 15:22
in himself more than enough, and needs rather the sense of fellowship
in the midst of his self-condemnation that mediates the experience of
being forgiven.

Frequently we are hampered in our relations with people, by the
fact that without knowing it we identify them with someone in our past
with whom we have had strained relations. We take toward this contem-
porary person the attitude we took toward the earlier person; and we
read into the contemporary person's attitude toward us what the former
once showed toward us. This o'd picture, interposed between ourselves
and another, more or less seriously distorts our social relations.
Reality is lost sight of. A minister can and should aid a sufferer
to realize these falsifying phantasies, and so clear the vision of the
sufferer, in order that he may be freed to act with the other appropri-
ately, and more in accordance with his own ideals. This is leading the
blind to see.

Still another part of this deeper counselling possible for the
trained minister is, by getting past the sufferer's defenses, to lead
him to discover underneath his complaints, a burden of hatred that may
wear him down in trying to deal with it. Sometimes the excessive good-
nature, for which a person has a reputation, is in part a camouflage
for, and a defense against, a great deal of animosity harboured uncon-
sciously. The person is forced to be good-natured by his unrelenting
need not to let himself feel any anger for fear of the consequences to
his security if he be unable to control it. Such good-nature has little
relation frequently to the actual needs of a social relationship. The
only way to get rid of this disguised hostility to others is to lead
him to see, by feeling it, how much he actually does hate. I think it
is in this sense we must take those strange words in Luke:

"If any man cometh unto me, and hate not his father (we might say—does not become conscious of the hatred he does already feel for his own father), and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." (2)

It is only by awakening to the existence of such animosities, long-concealed, that one can get over them, and begin to enter into the really great and difficult achievement of love for someone else, in Christ's sense.

Again, a pastor through personal conferences should guide some sufferers to awaken to the fact that they are very much tied to the past. They are acting the same way they did as children, irrespective of what the situation actually calls for. The minister can lead them to discover that this tie to the past is the seat of much of their suffering and ill-fortune, and can bring that childish tie so sharply into contrast with the present necessities and a mature independent attitude, that the individual has to make a choice. This enables the sufferer to leave the dead to bury their dead, and to turn his eyes from looking backward, to looking ahead that he may plow a straighter furrow.

What is happening in this deeper work, is that the sufferer, whose development has been faulty, is getting back again parts of himself, that had been buried and left behind, as it were, in childhood. He grew up an apparently mutilated personality. By taking him back in his development, so that he re-experiences in all their original painfulness, the early emotional situations, where it had originally become necessary to repress a part of himself, that part is now freed from repression, and can begin to take its place in the whole growth of the individual. By becoming children again, or even being reborn, they can increase their capacities for entering in the experience and work of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Still another way in which the trained minister can be of service to a sufferer, is to help him sluff off a morbid conscience. Many people are not only inhibited, but on the other hand, driven to unwise actions, because of a rigid and childish conscience. The sufferer should arrive at the point where he no longer is guided by such a misleading inner goad, but rather by the ideals, aims, purposes that he either already has, or may acquire. Here the minister's own attitude throughout the conferences will have the greatest effect. If he is living according to purposes himself, and if he has experienced something that makes those purposes both worthy and alive, the sufferer will, through him, catch glimpses of some rule of life better than his former immature inner judge. The minister will and must find opportunities to point beyond himself so that the sufferer may find his own life aims that he can follow, after ceasing to go to the minister for assistance. Such opportunities provide occasions for speaking of the things of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The aim in all this work is not to produce well-adjusted personalities, could one do this. It should be, rather, to enable people to find the path of growth, and stay with them till they gather sufficient impetus traveling along this open road, to continue on without limit by themselves, whatever the future struggles may involve. It is growth we aim at, rather than freedom from conflict. Many a person feels throughout much of his life, that he is only just keeping his head above water. To discover that they can grow, and further that growth is a power within them—really the activity of God— that will carry them through anything, is one of the greatest experiences of life. They are able to endure many a handicap of some poor adjustment along the way, because they know it is temporary or a side issue. As they keep on
seeking, the way will open, and they cannot help out-growing weaknesses
and growing into capacities to carry out the purposes that have come
to them. They find

"the strength and the faith to grasp life's nettle." (3)

BIBLIOGRAPHY.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.


Beard, Charles A. "Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany". Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. 1889.

Bible, The.

Bohmer (Boehmer), Heinrich. "Luther in the Light of Recent Research". Translated by Carl F. Huth, Jr. The Christian Herald 1916.


Chesterton, G. K. "St. Francis of Assisi". Hodder and Stoughton.


de Sanctis, Sante. "Religious Conversion". London. 1927


Francis, Saint. "Writings of St. Francis." Translated by Father Pascal Robinson. The Dolphin Press. 1906

Freud, Sigmund. "The Ego and the Id." Hogarth Press. 1927


Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.


Bibliography.

- 3 -

Kempf, Edward J. "Psychopathology". Henry Kimpton 1921


Luther, Martin. "Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians". James Duncan. 1838.

Luther, Martin. "Conversations with Luther". Selections from recently published sources of the Table Talk. Translated and Edited by Preserved Smith and Herbert Percival Gallinger. Pilgrim Press. 1915.

Luther, Martin. "The Letters of Martin Luther". Selected and Translated by Margaret A. Currie. The Macmillan Co. 1908

Luther, Martin. "The Life of Luther Gathered from his Own Writings". By J. Michelet. Translated by G. H. Smith. Whitaker and Co. 1835.

Luther, Martin. "Selections of the Most Celebrated Sermons"; to which is prefixed a biographical history of his life. New York. 1830.

Luther, Martin. "Table Talk of Martin Luther". Translated by William Hazlitt. George Bell and Sons. 1890


McGiffert, Arthur Cushman. "Martin Luther, the Man and His Work". The Century Co. 1910


New International Encyclopedia.


Noyes, Arthur P. "Modern Clinical Psychiatry". W. B. Saunders Co. 1934.


Simkhovitch, Vladimir G. "Toward the Understanding of Jesus." The Macmillan Co. 1921.


Taft, Jessie. "The Dynamics of Therapy in a Controlled Relationship". The Macmillan Co. 1933.


White, William A. "Outlines of Psychiatry". Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co. 1924.