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### **Erich Fromm and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann Their Years in Germany**

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I am indebted to Ed Brooks, Norman Elrod, Heinz Faulstich, Gerhart Fichtner, Michael Schmidt-Degenhard and Ann-Louise Silver

It is a great honour for me to speak here in Washington about a psychoanalyst who lived and worked 44 years in Germany. I will deal also deeper with two of the four colleagues Frieda Fromm-Reichmann devoted her principal work „Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy“, Kurt Goldstein and Georg Groddeck, and I will mention further colleagues who worked together with her, Hans Prinzhorn, Karl Landauer, Heinrich Meng and Sigmund Heinrich Fuchs, better known under his later English name Foulkes.

For the paper presented, I owe a lot of credit to Ann-Louise Silver whom I met in Stockholm at the International Congress for the Psychotherapy of Schizophrenia in August 1991. There, we developed the idea to compile the biography of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, and doing this work, I could learn a lot about psychiatry and psychoanalysis in Germany before 1933.

Frieda Fromm-Reichmann never wrote an autobiography, she even left orders to have all documents in her house burnt. In 1956, one year before she died, she gave a recorded interview to Dr. Irwin Kastle and Edna Cailie Scott where she spoke about her years in Germany. Parts of it are published in Ann-Louise Silver's „Psychoanalysis and Psychosis“ (1989).

#### **1. Life history until the First World War**

Frieda Reichmann was born on 23 October 1889 in Karlsruhe, the oldest of three daughters. The parents were middle-class Jews, „solidly rooted in middle class respectability (Hoff, 1982, p 115). Her father (1859-1924) worked in a bank; her mother (1867-1952) was a trained teacher and worked at home.

Karlsruhe had been for nearly a century the capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden, one of the more liberal German states. There, the 1848 revolution found many adherents. Even the Grand Duke himself supported it at the beginning. The revolutionaries became so powerful in 1849 that the Prussian army intervened and defeated the revolutionary army in the field. The Prussians remained in Baden until 1852. Afterwards, many people left the country, due to poverty and to political disappointment, most of them for the United States. In most of the towns (Mannheim, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Freiburg, Konstanz), there were quite a few Jews, not only in private enterprise, but also (in contrast to Prussia) in the Civil Service and banking.

The younger sisters, Grete and Anna, fled after 1933 to Palestine and lived in Israel. Anna lived to be more than 80 years old (Hoff 1982, p 119). „These two sisters of mine had to suffer terribly because I worked out to the dot exactly the

way mother had dreamt it should be until I began to outshine her. That was not in the program.“ (Tape, p 2).

The family moved to Königsberg in East Prussia in 1890 when Frieda was one year old. Her father had found there a better position and once in Königsberg the Reichmanns belonged to the more influential orthodox Jewish families.

Founded in 1242 by the German Order, Königsberg became an important German town for trade with the Baltic countries and Russia. In 1525, it became the capital of the Protestant state of Prussia, and in 1544 the university was founded. Famous philosophers like Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804) and Johann Georg Hamann (1730 - 1788) lived there. After the union of Brandenburg - Prussia in the 18th century it was the most eastern larger town in Germany. Having suffered during the First World War, it was destroyed and nearly all the German inhabitants expelled between 1945 and 1947.

Very late in her life Fromm-Reichmann (1989, p 471) remembered how her father had loved his wife very much. She recalled how her mother did everything she could to make the marriage harmonious. And she succeeded! When she said „Move“ to a mountain, the mountain moved.

Both Fromm-Reichmann's mother and father suffered from deafness which developed in late adulthood, and Frieda was also to suffer from it later on. In her mother's case, it started after the youngest girl's birth. In 1956, Frieda (1989, p 470) recounted what she heard her parents say at that time. Her mother was unhappy that she could not have any more children, although she had very much wanted six further children and a boy. By the time Frieda was 16 years old, her mother was almost completely deaf.

Fromm-Reichmann's aunt on her mother's side was HELENE SIMON, who published a book about the socialist Robert Owen (1905, second edition 1925) and a collection of Owen's papers (1919). Robert Owen lived from 1771 to 1858. He grew up in conditions of poverty. But he became a self-made man, founding a cotton factory. Needless to say he became quite rich. But rich or not he established a cooperative for his workers in New Lanark in England. Local agricultural production oriented towards healthy food was promoted. The children received free education combined with manual training. Workers were granted free housing and worked not more than 10 hours a day. Sunday was a day off for everyone. According to Helene Simon his knowledge of economics was excellent, his knowledge of psychology quite bad (1919, p 13). Towards the end of his life, he even fought for sexual liberation. From the age of two years on, children should be educated in work schools - education with production! More and more, Owen became critical towards the church, which promoted individualism too much and did not care about ethics at the work place. Because of this he encountered more and more difficulties, and he eventually emigrated to the United States in 1825. He bought a colony there founded by the Suabian pietist Rapp, which was operated under strict Christian principles. But also here he found no bed of roses. The inhabitants of the colony were forbidden to consume alcohol or drugs, but they had a famous distillery. Owen also bought a place called New Harmony in 1825. It was supposed to be run according to communist principles, but losses caused by fraud and corruption cropped up quite soon after the takeover costing Owen \$200,000, 80% of his fortune. Owen returned to England in 1829 and spent the rest of his life there. His main concern remained the cooperative movement. He founded a consumers' and producers' cooperative in London. From 1836 to 1844, Owen wrote his principal work „The New Moral World“. The term Socialists appeared here for the first time in history.

Helene Simon considered Owen's Socialism humanistic, although it was not party-bound. It was a personal allegiance to a good idea. Her niece Frieda took a similar stance in the psychoanalytic movement.

Getting back to Königsberg, it should be said that girls there could not obtain a regular school matriculation. Frieda's mother was a member of the Association for Women's Education and Women's University Studies. She founded a private

high school where girls could earn their „Form One“ in four years. Frieda completed the course. „I was everything mother wanted. „ (Tape p 2) In 1956 she recalled (tape, p 2) that she had always been the smallest child, be it in competition with the boys or in competition between Jews and non-Jews. Following her family training, Frieda obeyed the Jewish laws strictly up to 1926.

Having finished Form One in 1907, she stayed at home for a year as she was too young to start university studies. At home, she learned sewing, knitting and cooking. She played the piano quite well.

## 2. Neuropsychiatry in World War I

The brain-injured soldier and holistic treatment: Kurt Goldstein and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann

From 1909 to 1914, Frieda studied medicine in Königsberg and Berlin. At first she liked obstetrics very much (1989, p 473). Then, in the course of attending psychiatric lectures, she decided to go into psychiatry. In 1956, she described her first meeting with a manic-depressive patient: „And then I went to see him afterward, much to the surprise of everybody. Whoever would say something to a crazy man and do it? I can still see what the man looked like, with my inner eye.“ (1989, p 474). The story of Frieda's meeting this patient made the rounds. - The professor's wife was a friend of Frieda's mother, so that quite soon the mother knew about it.

During her seventh term, she studied in Munich and attended psychiatric lectures given by Kraepelin. In 1956, she described an occurrence at one lecture: „He presented an epileptic, and I still can tell you what he looked like. I left the class and thought, 'this I could do better.' I was outraged about the way he did this talk in the presence of the patient about his epileptic seizures, about the epileptic character.“ (1989, p 474). Already in those years, she regarded medicine as a humanistic endeavour, as a dialogue with the patient.

In 1914, Frieda graduated in medicine. She wrote her dissertation under Kurt Goldstein, the consultant of the psychiatric university hospital in Königsberg (director: E. Mayer) about pupillary changes in schizophrenics, an important topic even today (for example speeches given at the congress of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychiatrie und Neurologie in 1992). After a review of the literature she presented 149 Königsberg cases of her own, of whom 79 (53%) showed a disturbed pupillary reaction to light. Differentiating between the different forms of schizophrenia, 53.4% of the hebephrenics, 77.71% of the catatonics and 19.23% of the paranoids showed this changed reaction.

From 1914 to 1918, she worked as an assistant at this very psychiatric and neurological university hospital in Königsberg under Kurt Goldstein as her director. He kept this post although he was then already working in Frankfurt. She took on a great portion of Goldstein's own duties but also had the opportunity to write numerous publications together with him. Despite the tremendous work load - it was wartime in Germany! - she stuck to her Jewish rules: „As far as the clinic went, I said 'no' to office hours on Saturday. I was strictly orthodox then. So we had no office hours in a Prussian hospital. Everybody knew why. I ran the hospital for two years, but it wasn't me. You can go over the excellent records of two years and you will not find my name anywhere.“ (1989, p 477) Officially, as a Jewish woman, she could not manage the hospital, but in real life, she did it and was quite respected by the public.

The articles she published between 1914 and 1918, partly alone, partly with Goldstein, are excellent examples of solid scientific neurological research. They also reveal a devoted interest in working for the underprivileged, as shown in articles published in newspapers and journals for nurses about how to care for wounded soldiers. In a psychiatric article written together with Goldstein, she investigates the changes in the white blood cells of catatonics. Most scientific arti-

cles are neurological, mainly neurotraumatological. This was wartime, and there were many wounded soldiers! In one publication, she differentiates somatic from psychogenic paresis and states that most symptoms caused by gunshots are somatogenic as well as psychogenic. Fifteen years later, her master Groddeck was to reemphasize this principle! Another paper, on aphasia, stresses the training programs useful for patients suffering from this condition.

In 1920, Goldstein and Reichmann give a comprehensive summary of the practical and theoretical results of the experiences with persons with brain injuries. They repeat that training programs are quite important (p 437) and ask for a job specific work therapy (p 450). Freud, Storch, Pick and Goldstein are quoted as they, too, stress that psychological factors must be regarded as very important. „Psychology has to be the guide in establishing physiological theories.“ (p 462)

Who was KURT GOLDSTEIN? He was born in 1878 in Kattowitz / Oberschlesien, he studied medicine in Breslau and Heidelberg. He finished his dissertation in Breslau, on the „Zusammensetzung der Hirnstränge. Anatomische und kritische Übersicht“ (The composition of the brain cords - anatomical and critical overview) in 1903. In 1904, he worked for several months with Ludwig Eddinger at the neurological institute in Frankfurt. From 18.10.1904 until 23.9.1905, he worked under Alfred Hoche in the psychiatric university hospital in Freiburg / Breisgau. Hoche fought strongly against psychoanalysis and wrote, together with Binding, a booklet demanding euthanasia for people not worth to live. From 1905 to 1906, Goldstein worked with the famous Berlin neurologist Hermann Oppenheim. From 1906 to 1914, he worked in Königsberg, finished his habilitation in 1907 „Ueber das Realitätsurteil halluzinatorischer Wahrnehmungen“ (About the reality testing in hallucinations). Becoming an extraordinary professor in 1912, he went to Frankfurt in 1914, keeping his post in Königsberg. In 1922, he became director of the neurologic institute in Frankfurt which was a theoretical research institute. In 1917/18 he established the institute for the sequelae of brain injuries and the military hospital for brain injured patients with more than 100 beds. „The work in the military hospital for brain-injured patients has a distinctive character quite different from that of other military hospitals. Here it is not a matter of only medical, but also of psychological, pedagogical and occupational measures, and that naturally requires special equipment and a special organization.“ (Laier 1992, p 4) In 1926, he established a sanatorium for brain-injured patients where training and rehabilitation prevailed.

Being one of the leading neurologists in Central Europa, Goldstein established a close cooperation with the gestalt psychologist Adhémar Gelb. For Goldstein, psychologic questions had to guide the physiological experiments, not the other way round. Thus, he made psychology to a basic science of medicine. That holistic view put him in opposition to Karl Jaspers and his model of psychic strata - organic, schizoid, affective and neurotic. Jaspers saw normal psychology and formulated the different types of pathology, Goldstein investigated pathology to find laws about the healthy. Here, he resembled very much Sigmund Freud. As we know, modern academic psychiatry has followed all over the world Karl Jaspers who could be seen in the same line as Emil Kraepelin. Goldstein has always remained important in psychology and neurology. His consequences in psychiatric treatment would have been psychotherapeutic ones, and that was strange to most academic psychiatrists who, for a long time, were much more interested in nosology than in therapy.

Goldstein called his own approach organismic and described it in the 1959 edition of the American Handbook of Psychiatry (Chapter 65, p 1333 - 1347). From a biological foundation which he called inborn character or intrinsic courage (p 1337) he formulated the single drive towards self-realization. Goldstein saw an evolution from the concrete thinking of the infant to the abstract thinking of the healthy adult. This abstract thinking is the prerequisite for choice and is reduced in schizophrenia. Neurotics are able to think in the abstract way, in psychother-

apy they have to be confronted with the value question. From his strongly holistic view, Goldstein advocates psychotherapy for all diseases as transference is important in all treatments (p 1339). The aim consists always in a communion with others. Also the schizophrenic patient can realize this in the therapeutic relationship. Goldstein quotes Sullivan, Klaesi, Fromm-Reichmann and Rosen. He supports the psychotherapy of schizophrenics in the sitting position, and he agrees with Fromm-Reichmann that the form of the communication and the interpersonal relationship are more important than the direct contents reported by the patient. - As well as Georg Groddeck, Kurt Goldstein is a monist, whereas Freud remained a dualist.

Goldstein promoted the psychoanalytic movement without ever becoming a member of the Psychoanalytic Society. He carried on a broad correspondence, e.g. with Ludwig Binswanger etc. From 1930 to 1933, he was director of the neurological department in Berlin-Moabit. He fled first to Amsterdam, where he wrote „Der Aufbau des Organismus“ (The Organism), his principal work. From 1935 until his death in 1965, he lived and taught in New York. He never lost his contact to European colleagues - in marked contrast to Frieda Fromm-Reichmann.

Going back to Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, it does not seem that she conducted any psychoanalytic treatments during her time in Königsberg. She recounted how she read Sigmund Freud already then. She learned from him that transference phenomena are quite important in the patient-doctor relationship. At the same time, the famous psychoanalyst Karl Abraham was a military doctor in Allenstein / East Prussia and treated soldiers psychoanalytically (Laier 1989, p 10/11; Cremerius 1982, p xxvi). Frieda does not mention him. She seems to have heard of him neither in East Prussia nor in Frankfurt, where he gave the first psychoanalytic lecture at the annual assembly of the German Psychiatric Association on 27 April 1907. He spoke on the significance of sexual youth traumata for the symptomatology of dementia praecox (Abraham 1982, p 397).

Later, Frieda gave some hints that her humanistic attitude led her to a clinical approach which developed quite naturally into a genuine psychoanalytic attitude: „I personally remember only too well the time when I dealt psychotherapeutically with mental patients, before I was acquainted with Freud's teachings. I realized with distress that something went on in the patient's relations with me, and in my relations with them, which interfered with the psychotherapeutic process.“ (1960, p 63) And in 1956, she stated: „When I was an intern at the psychiatric hospital of the medical school of the University of Königsberg, nobody knew yet what psychotherapy was. But I knew it could be done. What I did was sit with the psychotics. Day and night, and night and day, and listen to them and just say a few kind things so that they went on. I got furious when they were mistreated. For instance, one day when we made rounds, first the big boss and then all the associates. There was a man who didn't take off his cap as the great professor came in. One of the attendants or the head nurse asked him, 'Why don't you take off your cap?' And he said, 'But I can't. These birds which I have there underneath my cap will fly.' And everybody laughed no end. I was so mad I could have killed them, because I knew it meant something...“ (Fromm-Reichmann 1989, p 475)

### **3. Frankfurt on the Main 1918 - 1920**

In 1918, Frieda followed Goldstein to Frankfurt to work in his Institute for brain-injured patients. For three to four years, she took over the care of the child of a woman friend who was a morphine addict. The child was 10 to 14 years old.

### **4. Dresden 1920 - 1923**

After years of intensive work in neurology and psychiatry, Frieda wanted to learn

psychotherapy. She took a job in J.H. Schultz's „Weißer Hirsch“ (white deer) sanatorium near Dresden. Goldstein had recommended her to Schultz. Both Goldstein and Schultz were active members of the „Allgemeine Ärztliche Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie“

In 1957, Frieda described JOHANNES H. SCHULTZ as „the only man at that time who really seriously did psychotherapy as such in Germany“ (1989, p 478). Born in 1884 in Göttingen, he studied medicine from 1902 to 1909 there and in Breslau (Bonhoeffer). In 1905, he spent several vacation weeks with Karl Jaspers (1964, p 51). He started his medical career in Frankfurt at Ehrlich's institute (1964, p 59), where he began to work with hypnosis. Some years in Breslau and Chemnitz followed. In 1913, he entered Otto Binswanger's clinic in Jena (1964, p 67). There, he worked with Ernst Speer, who also performed hypnosis and who later became director of a small psychotherapeutic sanatorium for psychotic patients in Lindau, where he started after the Second World War the „Psychotherapiewochen“ (1964, p 69). At his exam for District Medical Officer in 1914 Karl Bonhoeffer posed the question „Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse in der Psychiatrie“ (1964, p 71). His habilitation was delayed due to the First World War when he was a military doctor in East Prussia. In Allenstein he met Karl Abraham. In 1919, Schultz finished his habilitation in psychotherapy in Jena. In 1920, he accepted the offer to become superintendent of Lahmann's sanatorium in Dresden. Indeed, up to then, Schultz might be called one of the very few, perhaps the only university teacher in Germany who did most of his scientific work in psychotherapy. He remained ambivalent towards psychoanalysis. He spoke about his three-year professional attempt at self-analysis (1964, p 19). He took over Lahmann's sanatorium in 1920.

In his autobiography, Schultz describes Frieda as a „convinced and devoted Zionist“. „She did her work in a thorough, hard-working and scrupulous way and made her patients happy by her warm-hearted amiability. She, too, came from the more spiritually orientated research world and needed experience in the colourful atmosphere of the sanatorium. Once, for example, she treated a 40-year-old divorced woman with unclear but heavily lamented symptoms. Already after a very few days of psychotherapy, she could report to me an astonishing improvement which remained constant for six weeks until shortly before the patient's departure. At that time, the symptoms became quite strong and acute again. The patient had not told the doctor, in whom she had obviously seen a philistine puritan due to her disciplined attitude that shortly after herself, her boyfriend had also entered the sanatorium. The older team members in the sanatorium personnel had known this already.“ (p 93)

In 1956, Frieda described the scepticism as well as the fascination she felt toward J.H. Schultz. On the one hand, he looked „so antisemitic“ (Tape, p 7). On the other hand, she teased him back when he teased her by saying the child living with her could only be her own. In the sanatorium, she insisted on kosher food for herself and for the other Jews. She also donated a big part of the tips given her by „wealthy fools“ to poor people, to the blue and white Zionists whom she treated free of charge in her spare time. She worked enormously, during daytime for the wealthy, in the evenings for the poor.

In those years, she also got to know Erich Fromm, who knew her school friend Golde Ginsburg. Still in Dresden, she started her psychoanalytic training in 1923, first with Wittenberg (Karin Ditrach) in Munich, later with Hanns Sachs in Berlin.

Together with Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, the famous psychiatrist HANS PRINZHORN (1886 - 1933) worked at the Weißer Hirsch in Dresden. He graduated first and took a doctorate in art history, took instruction as a singer, but became well-known in his final profession as a psychiatrist. 1918, he started his career in the university hospital in Heidelberg under Wilmanns. According to Geinitz (1986, p 173) he attended psychoanalytic courses there at the psychiatric university hospital.

On the 47th „Wanderversammlung der südwestdeutschen Neurologen und Irrenärzte“ in Baden-Baden on 27 May 1922 (published in the Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie 1923) he claimed that psychoanalysis has a decisive mission in society in general as well as in psychiatry. He directly attacked Hoche, who had damned psychoanalysis in 1910. He himself stated: „Since I have been working practically with psychoanalytical points of view for some years, have been constantly in touch with psychoanalysts and their patients, and personally spent a half-year in Vienna and Zurich in studies at the sources. („da ich seit einigen Jahren unter psychoanalytischen Gesichtspunkten praktisch arbeite, ständig mit Analytikern und ihren Patienten in Verbindung stehe und eigens ein halbes Jahr in Wien und Zürich Studien an der Quelle getrieben habe“ (p 1)). Psychoanalysis meets the psychiatric emergency by looking for reasons. It helps to develop a holistic approach to the patient. Among those psychiatrists working psychoanalytically he mentions Bleuler and Jung, who have meanwhile separated from Freud, as well as Binswanger and Schilder.

In 1922, he published his famous collection of pictures painted by mentally ill people, mostly from the psychiatric university hospital in Heidelberg - 75% by schizophrenic patients - (Prinzhorn 1922, p 53), and called it a contribution to psychology and psychopathology of form („Gestaltung“). Wilmanns had already begun to collect pictures, but Prinzhorn enlarged this collection up to 5,000 pictures from mental hospitals in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and Holland. In his theoretical remarks, he stressed the concept of schizophrenia developed by Eugen Bleuler, putting the affective and autistic disturbances in the foreground (1922, p 54 - 56). In 1922 / 23 he analyzed some patients together with C.G.Jung (Geinitz 1986, p 173). He left Heidelberg in 1922 for the Weisser Hirsch in Dresden, where he met MARY WIGMAN, lived together with her (Wolfgang Geinitz, oral information, 2.6.1993) and where he worked together with Frieda Fromm-Reichmann.

Then he started a private psychotherapeutic practice in Frankfurt. In 1925, he presided over the sessions at the University in Frankfurt where the members of the South West German Psychoanalytic Group presented their papers and brought psychoanalysis to public attention in the university.

Later on, he became a strong adherent of the characterologic school of Ludwig Klages. Never being a member of a psychoanalytic society, he edited in 1928 „Effects of Psychoanalysis in Science and Life“ („Auswirkungen der Psychoanalyse in Wissenschaft und Leben“), in which the authors, among them Prinzhorn himself and Victor von Weizsäcker, try to state the effects and advantages of psychoanalysis, but attack the rationalism of the discipline from the holistic characterologic point of view. In any case, Dresden might have been very important for Frieda Fromm-Reichmann. Psychotherapy under Schultz, dancing and dancing therapy under Wigman, perhaps Prinzhorn, the idea to perform all this for the best of psychotic patients; was Erich perhaps, too, more engaged in Dresden than we know up to now?

In 1921, Schultz and Frieda published „On quick healing and peace-neuroses“ („Ueber Schnellheilung und Friedensneurosen“), Frieda's first psychotherapeutic publication. There had been quite a few publications about war neuroses. Even German academic psychiatry had acknowledged that psychoanalysis could help these patients, but since the war had ended, the influence of psychoanalysis on German psychiatry had diminished. Schultz's and Frieda's paper stressed that psychotherapy could also help neurotics in peacetime.

Also in 1923, her paper „On the sociology of neuroses“ („Zur Soziologie der Neurosen“) was published in the „Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie“, which was the journal of German academic psychiatry in those days. As a lecture, it was given at the annual assembly of the German Psychiatric Association. Was it her farewell to the German psychiatrists? Was it her final message that psychiatry has to convert into a science encompassing psychoanalysis? Mentioning sociological, psychiatric (including Kraepelin) and psychoanalytic au-

thors, she describes the psychopathological structure of neurosis as „spezifisch wirklichkeitsfremdes - zuerst asoziales, später antisoziales - Gefüge“ (p 62) (specific structure which is unrealistic, first asocial, later antisocial), and refers also to Eugen Bleuler's autistic thinking, which does not seek truth, but wish fulfillment. In contrast to Bleuler, she sees this as not restricted to psychotic states, but existing in every neurosis. The consequences drawn by Reichmann are quite Adlerian: The neurotic feels disadvantaged, excluded, and since this is quite frustrating, he overcompensates his passive isolation by achieving a kind of active isolation leading to a god-man-complex, a term used by Ernest Jones (p 63). Neuroses are seen in a teleological, almost moralistic perspective. Valuable forces are removed from society or put into the wrong place. Reichmann mentions the productive forces wasted by a hysterical fit and the intellectual capacities exhausted in constructing a complicated paranoid system. Neuroses can infect other people, as the neurotic often finds it attractive to construct an autistic inner world. As an example, she mentions homosexuality. Reichmann criticizes the high esteem for that perversion by Magnus Hirschfeld et al. and by the youth clubs in those days which led men open to bisexuality to start to practise homosexuality, which is „unnecessary and not at all indifferent.“ (p 67) Today, the whole article with its tendency to stress social utility sounds very conservative. Socially revolutionary attitudes are not visible at all. It remains open if her teachers Goldstein and Schultz inspired her. Reichmann herself announces at the end of the article that further publications will follow. That was not to happen, for reasons which remain unclear.

In „Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy“, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's tendency towards homosexuality will have changed: „Instead of asking the patient whether he considers his fear of women, perhaps his self-reflected engulfment or his unresolved overattachment to his mother, etc. responsible for his homosexuality, the psychiatrist should only ask the patient why he complains about it and why he wishes to get rid of it, if he does.“ (p 50)

## 5. Heidelberg 1924 - 1933

In spring 1924 Frieda moved to Heidelberg, where she opened her practice and psychoanalytic clinic at Mönchhofstraße 15 in the part of town called Neuenheim. It was the time of the great inflation, and economic conditions were quite harsh. Her great-uncle gave her \$10,000 to get started (Fromm-Reichmann 1989, p 475). The clinic was organized on strong Jewish principles and was called as a joke the „Thorapeutikum“. With the years, the sanatorium became too psychoanalytic for the orthodox Jews and too kosher for the professional colleagues like Kurt Goldstein. Every patient was supposed to be analyzed, and at the same time life was scheduled around the Jewish rituals; meals were quite important.

HEIDELBERG had been the capital and residence of the important state of Pfalz from the early Middle Ages until 1720. Already in 1386, Grand-Duke Ruprecht founded the university, the third one in German speaking countries after Prague (1348) and Vienna (1365). Many adherents of the official pope came to Heidelberg, as the university of Paris was lead by adherents of the anti-pope in these days. The grand-duke converted to Calvinism in the sixteenth century, the Pfalz thus becoming one of the leading protestant states. In 1618, the Bohemian aristocracy elected the Palatine duke as their king, throwing the imperial delegates out of the castle's windows. This „Prager Fenstersturz“ was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Heidelberg and the Pfalz were devastated. The world-famous library in the church was removed by Catholic troops and brought to the Vatican. To secure peace with France, the princess Lieselotte of the Palatine was married to a French prince. She became a famous writer in the seventeenth century. However, she could not prevent the French king, her brother-in-law Louis XIV from conquering Heidelberg to obtain the Palatine crown. He destroyed the city and castle in 1683 and 1689. In those years, many people emigrated to

city and castle in 1683 and 1689. In those years, many people emigrated to the United States. In 1720, the meanwhile Catholic duke was refused the right to have his family buried with catholic rites in the church. He promptly moved to Mannheim and built the new castle there. Mark Twain described Heidelberg in his „A Tramp abroad“ in 1880. The romantic age discovered Heidelberg, and the town was highly regarded, mainly by Americans. It did not receive a single bomb during the Second World War.

Frieda described her sanatorium in 1956: „We analyzed people for letting them work. I analyzed the housekeeper, and the cook, and you may imagine what happened if they were in a phase of resistance! It was a wild affair, and later we decided to cut it out.“ (Fromm-Reichmann 1989, p 480)

One of the leading members of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, LEO LÖWENTHAL, mentioned in his autobiography (1980, p 27) having visited the sanatorium with his then wife Golde Ginsburg: „The sanatorium was a kind of Jewish-psychoanalytic pension and hotel. There was a nearly cultic atmosphere. Everybody was analyzed by Fromm-Reichmann, also I myself. The sanatorium was led 'Jewish': it was cooked in the kosher way, all festivals were kept. The religious-Jewish atmosphere was mixed with the interest in psychoanalysis.“ (Löwenthal 1980, p 27) Löwenthal himself was analyzed by Frieda Fromm-Reichmann. Thus, according to Jay (1981, p 114), also Horkheimer got interested in psychoanalysis and went into analysis with Karl Landauer (Jay 1981, p 115).

Today, Ernst Simmel's sanatorium in Tegel and Georg Groddeck's Marienhöhe in Baden-Baden are better known in psychoanalytic circles. Nevertheless, Frieda was able to gain valuable experience there in psychoanalytic treatment of all kinds of patients, be it neurotic, psychosomatic or psychotic. Thus, she put up the second pillar on which she later built a unique career as a psychoanalyst and psychiatrist in the USA. During the years in Heidelberg, she published no papers on neurology or psychiatry, although her teacher Goldstein continued to work in these fields in nearby Frankfurt. In 1928, Frieda and Erich closed the sanatorium for financial reasons, but also „because our conscience and hearts were no longer in it.“ (Fromm-Reichmann 1989, p 481).

## **6. Zionism and sociology**

One of Frieda's analysands in Heidelberg was ERICH FROMM. They knew each other already from Dresden, Erich being the friend of Frieda's school friend Golde Ginsburg, later Leo Löwenthal's wife. Frieda and Erich fell in love and married on 16 June 1926 in Heidelberg. Frieda described it this way in 1956: „You see, I began to analyze Erich. And then we fell in love and we stopped. That much sense we had! Erich and I married when I was thirty-six, and we married in the middle of the sanatorium experience.“ (1989, p 480) According to his executor Rainer Funk (1992, p 135) Erich learned about psychoanalysis from Frieda although he did not give her full credit for that in his writings (Funk 1992, p 138). He continued his psychoanalytic training in Berlin after he and Frieda had consulted Karl Landauer in Frankfurt. In Berlin, he spoke on June 18, 1927 about „Cure of a case of pulmonary tuberculosis during psychoanalytic treatment“ („Heilung eines Falles von Lungentuberkulose während der psychoanalytischen Behandlung“), a topic quite similar to one by Georg Groddeck, and a topic which would later become a central one for Fromm himself and for his discussions with Groddeck. - Erich Fromm had famous Jewish rabbis as ancestors and grew up quite orthodox, as did Frieda. Together they ate non-kosher food for the first time in their lives in 1926 (Fromm-Reichmann 1989, p 480). Frieda later told (tape p 13) that she and Erich had run a small department for psychotic patients together in their sanatorium. Erich Fromm became quite ill. Tuberculosis forced him to go for a longish sanatorium stay in Davos in Switzerland, and already in 1931, Erich and Frieda sepa-

rated. „I learned lots from him along those lines, but not with action. But since I was a very active and very energetic female myself, that was all right. I got what I wanted: a very intelligent, very warm, very well-educated man who knew lots of things in another field from mine. Later on, he learned to do. When I visited him in Davos, he had learned it already: there, he did the cooking.“ (Fromm-Reichmann 1989, p 481) Both kept up contact until her death.

In „Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy“ Frieda Fromm-Reichmann gives credit to Erich's work. She calls „mature love“ an important aim in psychotherapy. She defines it „in accordance with E.Fromm and H.S.Sullivan, as the state of interpersonal relatedness in which one is as concerned with the growth, maturation, welfare, and happiness of the beloved person as one is with one's own.“ (p 34). „K.Goldstein's concept of „self-actualization“ and E.Fromm's concept of the „productive character“ cover what I have tried to establish here as the ideal goal of psychotherapy.“ (1960, p 34)

Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, as she now called herself, became a full member of the German Psychoanalytic Society in December 1926. At the meeting on 18 December 1926 she spoke about the Jewish food ritual; it is published in *Imago* in 1927. The Jewish rules concerning meat are connected with psychoanalytic conceptions of the father murder in primitive society. Frieda mentions two patients who break the ritual at the start of a love relationship. The parallel to Frieda's own biography is obvious!

In addition to her practice and clinic in Heidelberg, Frieda became quite active in a psychoanalytic group which constituted itself in Frankfurt, about 80 kilometers north of Heidelberg. From October to December 1925, members of the later Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute gave altogether six lectures at the University Teaching Hospital in Frankfurt. Frankfurt thus became one of the first places where psychoanalysis was acknowledged as a science with equal rights (Rothe 1987, p 30). This was mainly due to Kurt Goldstein and to Gustav von Bergmann, the director of the clinic for internal medicine, the lectures were chaired by Prinzhorn. Frieda gave a lecture on a kleptomaniac woman (Laier 1989, P 47). Prinzhorn summarized the lectures by saying that there was general agreement that psychoanalysis is in the center of medical interest and that great parts of its theory, such as the unconscious, repression, resistance and symbolism have a secure place in modern science (Landauer 1926, p 117).

Frieda also gave lectures on psychoanalysis at the psychiatric clinic of the University of Heidelberg under Professor Wilmanns, the father of Ruth Lidz. According to the university calendar, Hans W. Gruhle, one of the consultants, had already given a series about psychoanalysis - only for experienced, also with exercises, in the winter term 1927 / 28. In any event, this would have been one of the earliest instances of psychoanalytic teaching in the psychiatric department of a German university.

In October 1926, a Frankfurt psychoanalytic working group constituted itself and met once a month, after 1928 twice a month. In 1928 there were the following members: Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Erich Fromm, Clara Happel, Karl Landauer, Ewald Roellenbleck (director of the Darmstadt city library until 1933, he had done his psychoanalytic training with Therese Benedek in Leipzig; (Rothe 1991, p 17), Heinrich Meng and Franz Stein (nothing known else about his biography) (Rothe 1987, p 31).

On 16 February 1929 the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute of the South-West German psychoanalytic working group was officially opened. At the opening celebration, which was also attended by Anna Freud, Heinrich Meng thanked the Institute for Social Research for accommodating the psychoanalytic institute. Indeed, it was quite unusual that a psychoanalytic institute could work in university rooms. Meng stressed the applications of psychoanalysis to pedagogy. Karl Landauer spoke on psychoanalysis and medicine. He stressed the scientific character of the psychoanalytic method which keeps many variables constant. Accompanied by considerable public interest, Anna Freud spoke on psychoanalysis and

pedagogy (Peters 1984, p 182). Frieda Fromm-Reichmann spoke on the psychoanalytic instinct theory and Erich Fromm on psychoanalysis and sociology (*Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, III, p 261-263). Erich's topic was just the same as that of Frieda's 1923 article! In her Frankfurt lectures, Frieda stuck to instinct theory, and she spoke about it in the 1929 summer term at the Frankfurt Institute.

Whereas J.H. Schultz can be regarded as quite a conservative psychotherapist with quite a critical attitude also towards Freud, KARL LANDAUER, the leader of the Frankfurt Institute, can be seen as quite an important forerunner of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's later work and ideas. Born 1887 in a Jewish banking family in Munich, he started his psychiatric training in Munich under Emil Kraepelin in 1910. A registrar in the university hospital mentioned that Landauer's thought resembled Freud's. Psychoanalysis is said to have been discussed in a lively way in the Munich hospital. In 1912, Landauer started his psychoanalytic training in Vienna with Freud and became a member of the Vienna Association in 1913. At the Wednesday meetings, he often discussed questions of narcissism and psychoses. He worked in the psychiatric hospital under Wagner-Jauregg. During the first World War, he worked as a military doctor and met Heinrich Meng, who worked in a neighbouring unit. According to Rothe (1991, p 15), Landauer motivated Meng to start psychoanalytic training. In 1916, Landauer contracted a severe typhoid fever. He became a doctor at a military jail in Heilbronn. Later, he will criticize strongly the conditions there, mainly solitary confinement and the confinement in darkness. All his war experiences made him a pacifist. His orientation remained left-wing, although he never joined a political group or party.

In 1918, he continued his psychiatric training at the university hospital in Frankfurt (not under Kurt Goldstein, who lead a theoretical department, but under Sioli - information Joachim Rothe 23.7.1993). When he settled in private practice as a psychoanalyst in Frankfurt in 1923, he was a well trained psychiatrist and psychoanalyst who retained a keen interest in psychotic conditions all his life.

Together with his wife, Landauer organized the International Psychoanalytic Congress in Wiesbaden in 1932 (Rothe 1991, p 20).

In a late paper „On Loneliness“, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann will later take up Landauer's early theses about depression.

The Institute for Social Research was closed by the Nazis in 1933. Landauer and his family fled first to Sweden, then, still in the same year according to an invitation by van Ophuijsen, to the Netherlands where he continued his psychoanalytic work. At the Psychoanalytic Congress in Marienbad in 1936, he spoke about psychoanalytic affect theory, congratulating Freud on his 80th birthday. Also in 1937, he spoke in Budapest. Although Karl Menninger offered him a post in Topeka, Landauer stayed in Holland, was imprisoned in 1943 and died of hunger in 1945 in the concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen. His wife and children survived.

Landauer referred directly to the psychiatric affect theories of his time, namely to the important psychiatrist Kurt Schneider (1991, p 63). Whereas psychiatry restricts itself to a descriptive phenomenology, psychoanalysis tries a causal-dynamic view which shows its success in therapy. The affect as such is hereditary, but the trigger is founded in intersubjective interaction. He polemized against the kind of feeling, „Wesensschau“ (view of essence) many psychiatrists use and defend for their diagnosis and stressed that psychoanalysis with its concepts of the unconscious, transference and countertransference is more solidly scientific (p 86). He quoted Prinzhorn, Goldstein and Groddeck.

Already in 1914 Landauer described a catatonic patient who recovered after several hours of analytic work. Again, Landauer avoided direct interpretation. He just tried to get the patient to talk („passive Analyse“) and referred to Ferenczi and Bleuler. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann also obtained in Frankfurt also first-hand information on psychotherapy of psychotics! In 1924, he further described his

passive technique with depressive and schizophrenic patients - important topics for Frieda Fromm-Reichmann later on. The transference should be brought about as soon as possible, but the analysis itself should start quite slowly - Must one hear voices? What does it think in him? - Landauer formulated questions elaborated also by phenomenological psychiatrists like Kurt Schneider, but took that as the starting point of a deeper understanding of the patient, not as an aim in itself. He discussed Jung's and Bleuler's more direct and interpretative style of working with psychotics and criticized it for causing a too great psychotic regression (1991, p 148). Landauer regarded himself to be in general agreement with Ferenczi, although Ferenczi wanted an „active technique“. Wild analysis can cause regression and worsening of the symptoms (1991, p 171). If one interprets too actively, one experiences too little from the patient (1991, p 180).

In a case history presented in 1930 at the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute (1991, p 183 ff) Landauer extended his psychoanalytic findings to society and to the sick person's function for society. This work breathes the spirit of a left wing orientation - quite a contrast to Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's paper of 1923 (the spirit of J.H. Schultz).

Another paper given at the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute in the winter term 1929/30 showed Landauer's devotion to a proper understanding of outer and inner world, his interest in one-person as well as in two- and many-person psychology. From the very beginning, man lives in a symbiosis, not on his own, and this is internalized as primary narcissism as the baby „takes pleasure in instinctive activity from the beginning“ (1991, p 195), quite an interesting combination of drive, object relations and self psychology. In the psychoanalytic treatment of psychotic patients, one has to listen a lot, „just be there“ (1991, p 207), a term which recalls Ludwig Binswanger's „a loving being together“ and his „community of destiny“. Then the patient can develop his own world. Through the analysis, a synthesis of the patient with his inner and outer world can occur. The distinction between psychosynthesis and psychoanalysis is therefore wrong - a true psychoanalysis is psychosynthesis (p 208)!

Concerning Foulkes' biography, I refer to Erwin Lemche (1993, p 70 - 102): SIEGMUND HEINRICH FUCHS was born in 1898 in Karlsruhe. He studied medicine in Heidelberg (1919 - 1921), Munich (1921) and Frankfurt (1921 - 1923). In 1919, through reading a paper written by Sigmund Freud, he decided to become a psychoanalyst. After several months in the Charité in Berlin he worked in his father's wood business in Karlsruhe. In 1925 he started to work with Kurt Goldstein and Adhémar Gelb in Frankfurt. In 1957 he stated: „Further, there is a common background as regards Gestalt psychology. The present writer learned to appreciate the holist view of the human organism and all its consequences from his teacher K. Goldstein, and became convinced through his studies with Adhémar Gelb of the dictum that the whole is prior and more elementary than its parts...“ (Foulkes & Anthony 1957, p 21). In 1928 he went to the psychiatric hospital in Vienna (Wagner-Jauregg, Pözl). He underwent his training analysis with Helene Deutsch (1928 - 1930), supervision with Hermann Nunberg and Eduard Hitschmann. In 1931 he returned to Frankfurt and took over the polyclinic of the Frankfurt Institute. There he got to know Norbert Elias, Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse. Invited by Ernest Jones, he fled to England in 1933. In Exeter, he started to practise group psychotherapy, worked later in Northfield military hospital together with Tom Main, became a world famous group psychoanalyst and died in 1976. Foulkes took his network concept from Goldstein.

There were close connections with the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research under Karl Horkheimer, where Erich Fromm was an active member. From the winter term 1930/31 on, the Frankfurt Institute also offered lectures in Heidelberg, where Frieda took part.

The requirements Fromm-Reichmann claims for a good psychiatrist in „Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy“ (p 32) seem to follow Landauer's and the Frankfurt School's tradition:

„The need of an insecure psychiatrist to draw security from a virtuous adjustment to the conventionalities of his time and from a quest for approval from „the good and the great“ may turn out to be another agent interfering with his ability to listen in a therapeutically valid fashion (66,70). This type of dependence gives rise to the danger that the psychiatrist may consider the changeable man-made standards of the society in which he lives to be eternal values to which he and his patients must conform...“

## **7. Applications in treating organic illnesses - Georg Groddeck and his sanatorium -- Frieda Fromm-Reichmann as his muse**

„Their enthusiastic belief in the power of psychoanalysis to benefit patients no matter how sick, and their courage in flexible experimentation, indirectly inspired many of us over the ensuing years and decades.“ (Silver 1993, p 2)

For Frieda, the relationship with GEORG GRODDECK (1866-1934) became more and more important. „The friendship with Georg Groddeck went out more from Frieda Fromm-Reichmann.“ (Funk 1983, p 59) Georg Groddeck was a famous doctor and director of the Marienhöhe sanatorium in Baden-Baden from 1900 to 1934. Rooted in German romantic natural medicine, he at first criticized Freud, then developed his understanding of the „id“. Freud took the term from him and tried successfully to win him for the psychoanalytic movement. Whereas Freud always held to scientific ideals, Groddeck remained strongly opposed to them. He always thought that every patient has to be treated individually, that the patient's id has to be discovered beneath his symptoms and that he will then become healthy.

In his book „Psychische Bedingtheit und psychoanalytische Behandlung organischer Leiden“ (Psychic causality and psychoanalytic treatment of organic illnesses) Groddeck claimed - for the first time in world literature - to have tried psychoanalysis for the treatment of organic diseases (Herbert Will 1987, p 50). From 1920 on, he had been a full member of the International Psychoanalytic Society (Will 1987, p 58), although his speech starting with „I am a wild analyst“ on psychoanalytic treatment of organic diseases gave rise to widespread opposition. (VI. International Congress 1920 in Den Haag; The wild analyst) At the VIIIth International Psychoanalytic Congress in Berlin in 1922 Groddeck spoke about „The Flight into Philosophy“, explained the history of the term „id“ and stressed that psychoanalysis is useful in the treatment of organic diseases, which most psychoanalysts strictly denied. One of Groddeck's biographers, Herbert Will, writes: „Many of the attending psychoanalysts started to know and esteem Groddeck personally; amongst them Karen Horney. After the congress she started a correspondence and friendship which lasted until his death. It is likely that Heinrich Meng and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann too became acquainted with Groddeck in Berlin.“ (1987, p 68/69).

In 1931 Groddeck spoke in Heidelberg, on the invitation of Fromm-Reichmann, about English literature. He repeated this talk later in England (Will, p 95). For Groddeck, the contact with Fromm-Reichmann became even more important after Ferenczi's death in 1933. Being an Aryan, he did not suffer direct persecution by the Nazis. On the other hand, he became more and more megalomaniac. He wanted to influence Hitler by his penetrating glance so that Hitler would realize that his followers were oppressing the Jews. Still in December 1933 (!) he spoke in Heidelberg about „body and soul“. „He realized the realities of the world around him in a more and more self-willed way.“ (Will 1987, p 99) Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, who was already living in Strassbourg, became afraid that Groddeck might do himself a lot of harm. Together with Martha Honegger, she arranged an invitation to him by the Swiss Psychoanalytic Society. She went with him to Zürich, where Groddeck spoke on the significance of seeing, about the world of the eyes and about seeing without eyes. Groddeck developed cardiac

problems and Frieda brought him to Knonau, a sanatorium near Zürich belonging to the famous Swiss psychiatrist Jakob Klaesi and directed medically by the later famous psychoanalyst and psychiatrist Medard Boss. Groddeck died there on 11 June 1934. Grossman & Grossman (1965) report in their biography about Groddeck with the title „The wild analyst“ which refers mainly to Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's records about Groddeck that Frieda had spoken with him for the last time several days before his death.

## **8. Straßburg 1933 - 1934**

The Nazis being in power, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann left Heidelberg on 1 July 1933 and went to Strassbourg. There, she continued to see her patients. Being disappointed by the French psychoanalysis of those days, she left France and emigrated to Palestine.

Whereas Heidelberg and Baden were in general quite tolerant towards Jews, the coming to power of the Nazis proceeded there as quickly as in most other German lands. Already on 11 March 1933, the centrist government was replaced by the Nazis. On 16 May 1933 prominent social democrats were lead through Karlsruhe on open lorries, amongst them Ludwig Marum, a Jew and a former Badenian minister belonging to the social democratic party (Hug 1992, p 336/337). With a central law dated 7 April 1933 all the Jews working as civil servants had to leave the civil service without notice. All those Badenian Jews who had not already emigrated were deported to Gurs in Southern France on 22 and 23 October 1940; altogether there were 5,617 of them (Hug 1992, p 356). Most of them were later killed in concentration camps.

## **9. Final Conclusions**

In 1935, she went to the US. „There, Erich Fromm called Ernest Hadley in 1935 to see if there was work for Frieda in Washington. Hadley was analyzing Dexter Bullard Sr. and asked him if he needed summer help from a German-Jewish immigrant. Bullard at first said no, then changed his mind... Erich opened the door to Chestnut Lodge for Frieda.“ (Silver, fax 11.10.1992)

For a psychoanalyst of her generation, it remains striking that Frieda Fromm-Reichmann seems never to have contacted Sigmund Freud personally. Of the four men to whom she devotes her main work „Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy“, it was Goldstein with whom the contact was most important between 1914 and 1920. This contact continued until her death, although there are no letters in the Goldstein-Archives in New York (I thank Michael Laier for this information). Georg Groddeck was very important from 1922 until his death in 1934. It is quite striking that the guest book of Groddeck's Marienhöhe sanatorium never mentions her name. I know this thanks to Beate Schuh at the Georg Groddeck Gesellschaft in Frankfurt, where I was allowed to examine the original document.

When she came to the US in 1935, Frieda was a very qualified psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. The four important men in her life were quite different: Sigmund Freud, whom she seems never to have met personally, was a big inspiration for her theoretical work. Once she was accepted as a psychoanalyst, she followed and published his theories without criticism. Kurt Goldstein was her great neurological and psychiatric teacher who opened for her the doors to the scientific world, but also to J.H. Schultz and perhaps also to the USA.

By contrast, Erich Fromm, at first her analysand, impressed her by his genius. He became one of the strongest internal critics of Freud, whereas Frieda would never have directly criticized any of her idols. Once Erich was gone, Georg Groddeck became quite important: the wild analyst, the chaotic thinker par excellence.

The weaknesses as well as the strengths of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann might lie in the fact that she always tried to do both: to work hard, to be scientifically correct and to strive towards genius and uniqueness.

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