

1

The Lives of C. G. Jung

Ideas spring from a source that is not contained within one man's personal life. We do not create them; they create us.

(Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, 1933)

This opening chapter gives a biographical sketch of Jung's own history. I pay particular attention to moments of crisis in which the cultural, the theoretical and the personal intersect in ways important for Jungian theory. By concentrating upon the significant events in Jung's life and career, it is possible to suggest how personal events and preoccupations become implicated in the theoretical. Such an approach forms a necessary prelude to the exploration of Jung's ideas in chapter 2. The fundamental importance of the personal, I would suggest, is a particular characteristic of Jung's work. It offers real and hitherto neglected opportunities for feminism.

The chapter also aims to illustrate the important role of women in Jung's life and work. As well as serving to situate his own theories of gender, such attention also introduces the first women Jungian theorists. The work of some of these women will be considered in chapter 3.

Why start with a biography?

This book is designed to present the work of C. G. Jung to new readers. I will then provide a feminist context for his profound and influential psychological ideas. To this end, Jung and his theories are introduced, followed by a guide to existing Jungian thinking on gender. The final two chapters represent new research on Jung in the light of feminist theory and postmodern feminism.

A life story is a helpful way of approaching any body of ideas for the first time. For Jung and feminism, biographical investigation provides even greater opportunities. Jung left his own autobiography, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, and subsequent biographies have necessarily been in a dialogue with this intriguing work. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* reads as a legend of Jung's psychological growth. It illustrates his important ideas and shows that his intellectual career and interior history are indissolubly fused. Two key moments for both are the enthusiastic collaboration and the subsequent acrimonious break-up with Sigmund Freud,¹ followed by Jung's mental breakdown after this trauma.

Apart from Jung's parents, the autobiography records no other significant personal relationship, despite the very full emotional life we know from other sources. Indeed, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* needs to be treated with caution if ascribed to the authorship of Jung. Published after his death, it was heavily edited by Aniela Jaffé,² and a chapter on Jung's important female colleague, Toni Wolff, was removed at the insistence of his family.

What no innocent reader of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* would realize is the different directions Jung's work took at different stages in his life. This includes his tendency continually to revise his key publications, and the importance of his relationships with a number of women, many of whom were also writing about his psychology. Consequently, I am calling this chapter 'The Lives of C. G. Jung' to indicate not only the complexity of his history, but also the opportunity for feminist attention to it. After exploring a number of issues personal to Jung, the last section of this chapter, 'Biography and feminism', will use the historical knowledge to examine the gender politics at the genesis of Jungian theory.

Becoming Freudian

The child of myth

Jung dictated the early chapters on his childhood in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. In a very obvious sense there is no other possible witness to his psychological development at that time. However, the autobiography tends to fuse what may be childhood recollections of dreams and fantasies (suspiciously detailed) with later interpretations. For example, he records his first significant experience as a powerful dream aged 3 or 4, which involves his descending into an underground cavern and seeing a trunk of flesh on a throne. He hears

his mother's voice naming the strange object as 'the man-eater'.³ This dream was to haunt him all his life, he says, and he gives us his later interpretation of it as a ritual phallus.

It was also an early instance of his view of his mother as an uncanny presence. She possessed a conventional, everyday personality, behind which a ghostly, secondary, 'No. 2' identity had its being. Jung's mother, Emilie Preiswerk, was born into a family that regularly practised Spiritualism. She was the daughter of the second wife of a man who held weekly seances with his dead first wife. Her remarkable medium parent instructed young Emilie to stand behind his chair to discourage ghosts.⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, Jung recalls that his mother spent a period in a mental hospital in his early childhood, which left him with a lifelong distrust of the linking of 'women' and 'love'.⁵

Jung's father, Paul, was a clergyman, seen by his son as ineffectual and as having lost any real contact with his faith. Biographers such as Ronald Hayman in his recent impressive study⁶ have pointed out that Jung's career and psychology enact a lifelong struggle to combine the uncanny experiences of his mother (also suffered by her son) with the theological framework of his father. Jung's work was driven by the need to come to terms with religion, if not the conventional Christianity of his time. It was this very point that precipitated his later quarrel with Freud.

As a small child, Jung recorded regarding 'Lord Jesus' as sinister, since he seemed to have a lot to do with funerals and his father's growing unhappiness. Oppressed by the home atmosphere, Jung carved a human figure, a manikin, from a ruler and made him a bed in a pencil case together with a special stone. Hiding this cache in a forbidden part of the house brought the child a sense of relief.

Later, as a schoolboy, he became consumed by the sense of a terrible sin approaching him. He struggled for several days against the sense that he was being forced to commit an unforgivable act. At last he embarked on some individual theology and decided that, since God created Adam and Eve as they were, He must have intended them to sin. So he allowed the sinful thought into his mind: visualizing the cathedral, he saw God let fall a huge turd, which smashed it.⁷

This story, like the phallus dream, is given prominence in the autobiography. In describing it as a wrestling with God, Jung presented it as Jung's first experience of the divine as irrational. At the time, it allowed him to pity his discontented father, who was said to be suffering from the lack of personal contact with his religion. For Jung's later ideas, not only does this dream anticipate Jung's startling interventions into Christian theology; it also conforms to the basic

structure underpinning all his later thinking. It is a demonstration of the *superior* power of the 'other' to which the ego *should* submit.

Given the significance of these experiences, it was not surprising that the young Jung decided that, like his mother, he too was a split being with an everyday self and a No. 2 personality. He did not find it easy to adjust to life as a schoolboy and allowed an episode of bullying to develop into an illness that kept him at home for many months. It was only his overhearing of his father express money troubles and despair over his dreamy son that made Jung decide to get better.

When Jung was a small child, the hidden manikin had expressed his split self and granted him a sense of security; the adolescent realized that he had to prioritize his conventional No. 1 self and be effective in the world. However, the sense of being split recurred upon choosing what to read at the University. His daylight self preferred science, while the No. 2 side remained fascinated by comparative religion. Typically, the decision to read medicine is said to be influenced by dreams directing Jung to seek knowledge of nature.

Jung's sense of being a split self, of course, became a key ingredient of his psychology. It is interesting that, in later life, he did not dispute the diagnosis of his junior colleague, Michael Fordham, that he had been subject to schizophrenic episodes in childhood.⁸ The older Jung would not be disconcerted by this medical term because he believed that powerful psychological fantasies were not necessarily pathological. They need not be dismissed as merely signs of illness. Instead, overwhelming visions and dreams should be regarded as more like messages from a superior aspect of the human mind.

Before Jung made the decision to specialize in the despised branch of psychiatry, his divided self was again torn two ways. The death of his father resulted in financial hardship for the family. Just before this event, however, Jung and his mother embarked on a series of spiritualistic seances with his Preiswerk girl cousins. These would prove a key influence on his future work.

The spiritualist, the doctor and the married man

In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, Jung presents his attendance at seances as a continuum in a series of uncanny events focused upon his own household. Joining the regular seances is justified by his speculating upon possible connections between the young medium and these unexplained disturbances.⁹ Jung later wrote an account of the

seances as the core of his doctoral thesis and it now opens his *Collected Works* in Volume 1.¹⁰

In this document, Jung concludes that the ghostly voices emanating from the medium (disguised as Miss S. W.) are the product of a mental illness. He diagnoses hysteria in inducing dreamlike states of dissociation from reality. Footnotes link his suggestion that sexuality is at the root of the medium's storytelling or 'romances' to his recent reading of the work of Sigmund Freud on sexual repression and dreams.¹¹ However, later research has revealed how much the doctoral thesis conceals and distorts.¹² For example, it does not admit that Jung organized the seances himself, inducing the medium's trances by hypnosis. The medium, his cousin H el ene Preiswerk, was only 13½ when they began, not the 15½ of the thesis.

Therefore, when Preiswerk contacts 'grandfather', she is citing a mutual relation of herself and the fascinated medical student who was coordinating events. This tends to bear out later testimony by her family that she was in love with Jung and that the emotions were not wholly one-sided.¹³ The 'objective' investigator himself gave the medium a book about a clairvoyant, which in turn bears a significant resemblance to some of her later material.

Most interesting for Jung's future work, though, was the medium's contact with the creative and superior spirit, called Ivenes. This phantom claimed to be a Jewish woman who had lived many times and who had been intimately involved with Jung in previous incarnations. The fantastic stories generated through Ivenes are given gravity by the impressive nature of her personality entirely manifested through the body of H el ene.

The doctoral thesis anticipates Jung's later theories through the description of Ivenes. The flamboyant spirit is said to signify both something autonomous in H el ene's psyche and a possible future personality (see chapter 2 on archetypes and the self). Apart from the misrepresentation of Jung's active and controlling participation in the seances, what is never hinted in the thesis is his willingness to take Spiritualism seriously at this formative stage in his life.

In fact, wrestling with the phenomena produced by mediums became a core pattern in Jung's career. As F. X. Charet has shown, a spiritualist narrative forms an intimate thread within Jung's activities and his *Collected Works*.¹⁴ In terms of his intellectual development, Jung's early experiences with H el ene Preiswerk suggest a credence of Spiritualism as possible evidence of the supernatural. Then, although the doctoral thesis starts to assimilate the psychic 'evidence' to the theories of Freud, it also contains the germ of Jung's distinct theories by suggesting that spirits are psychic phenomena. This idea about

spirits indicates that parts of the unconscious mind work independently of the ego.

In late publications and not least in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, Jung seems to suggest that these autonomous parts of the mind could also be regarded as metaphysical. Spirits again seem to surface in his writing as supernatural beings in an ambiguous embrace of religion and life after death. Jung justifies this continuum between psychology and religion in his references to himself as following in the intellectual tradition of Immanuel Kant.

The philosopher Kant introduced a crucial distinction between phenomena and noumena: phenomena are those objects existing in time and space, while noumena can only be objects of belief – religious realities can only be noumena.¹⁵ Jung claimed that he took dream images to be phenomena and the power that forms them to be noumena. If noumena can only be deduced by reason and require faith, then autonomous creative parts of the mind can, by faith, be regarded as divine or the communication of spirits.

The problem with this position is that, first, many Kantians would dispute the designation of dream images to be phenomena or ‘empirical’ (as Jung frequently insists). Dreams, after all, are not objectively verifiable. Secondly, Jung frequently collapses his phenomena/noumena distinction when regarding the unconscious image as identical with the originary numinous mental power (see chapter 2 on archetypes and archetypal images). A further and feminist argument about Spiritualism in Jungian psychology will be considered in the last section of this chapter.

Jung completed his doctoral thesis while working as an assistant doctor at the Burghölzli Lunatic Asylum in Zurich. He was employed by a particularly enlightened psychiatrist, Eugen Bleuler, who pioneered the idea that the fantasies of schizophrenia were not useless babble. Bleuler encouraged his doctors to listen attentively to the visions of the mentally ill. It was Bleuler who introduced Jung to Freud’s work by getting him to review Freud’s most important early publication, *On Dreams*, for general discussion. Also it was Bleuler who asked Jung and another colleague to study word association.¹⁶ This involved testing patients’ reactions to stimulus words. Results seemed to point to the existence of repressed unconscious complexes, often to do with sexuality. Jung was working parallel to Freud here, although by now aware of his psychoanalytic theories of sexual repression.

In 1903 Jung married a wealthy young woman, Emma Rauschenbach, and they took up residence at the Burghölzli Lunatic Asylum. Their first child, Agathe, was born the following year. Before the

birth, Jung started treating a new patient, a disturbed, intelligent young Jewish woman called Sabina Spielrein.

Freudian relations

Although Jung read Freud's *On Dreams* in 1900, it took several years for him to become engrossed by the ideas. His fascinating and quite startling correspondence with the older man began in 1906, when Jung sent Freud a copy of his work on word association.¹⁷ Jung's text appears to confirm the core psychoanalytic idea of an unconscious dominated by sexual repression.

The emotional Freud–Jung alliance dominated the history of the psychoanalytic movement, until relations were finally severed early in 1913. If you read the published correspondence today, it is impossible to distinguish issues of passionate friendship, professional rivalry and theoretical conflict in their relationship. Freud was explicitly looking for a son and heir for the psychoanalytic movement. Jung seemed both to be seeking a father figure for his psychic security and yet also to be interested in power for himself. Ultimately he was unable to take up the mantle of another if it meant restrictions on his theoretical interests.

Both men reveal deep emotional investments in core ideas. These were the supreme importance of sexuality and Oedipal theory for Freud (see chapter 2). For Jung there was the need to account for religion and myth in ways that will not define it as *wholly* secondary and derived from infantile sexuality. Even early in the collaboration, Jung recorded reservations about Freud's exclusive notions of sexual repression and infantile desires.¹⁸

A fundamental divergence in the works of Jung and Freud remains deeply implicit in their distinct psychologies today. Jung is a theorist of the image; Freud of the word. For Jung, the unconscious image was primary; it was reality. The application of 'theory' to the unconscious image risked corrupting its purpose and function. Images are the way the unconscious thinks and speaks.

For Freud, thinking was a matter of words alone: the image was a *product* of a primary process of sexual repression. Given this fundamental dichotomy, it was possible to understand why Jung insisted on treating religious fantasies as important objects of study in themselves. Freud regarded such activity as, in the first place, an error, and, secondarily, as a betrayal of his work. In the end, Jung's theoretical deviance came to seem like a betrayal of Freud himself. Jung's publication of a study of mythical imagery and religious fantasies

precipitated the final break-up.¹⁹ In regarding the images as primary, Jung redefined Freud's concept of the libido as neutral energy, not exclusively sexuality. Chapter 2 will look further at the theoretical differences in the legacy of both Jung and Freud.

Although relations with Freud dominate Jung's psychological work at this time, his sexual life was beginning a more sustained pattern. Outside his marriage, Jung would find work and romance existing in a continuum. Sabina Spielrein was the first in the later Jungian pattern of a female patient, analysed by Jung, who then either stayed in Zurich as a fellow analyst or became a theorist and promoter of his work elsewhere. For Spielrein and the later Toni Wolff, the transition from patient to colleague was complicated and deepened by a romantic relationship. I am not suggesting that this is the case with other former women patients who became Jungian analysts and writers.

Toni Wolff remained Jung's partner and collaborator in his writing for over thirty years. By contrast, Sabina Spielrein, deeply in love with Jung at the time he was involved with Freud, moved away from Jung's influence to work in Freud's circle in Vienna. Originally analysed by Jung in the Burghölzli Lunatic Asylum, she entered analysis with Freud in 1912, just as the male collaboration was collapsing with distrust and acrimony. At the Vienna circle, Spielrein read her key psychoanalytic paper entitled 'Destruction as a Cause of Coming into Being'.²⁰

John Kerr, using the newly available evidence of Spielrein's papers, has documented the extraordinary story of the theoretical and erotic interactions between Spielrein, Jung and Freud.²¹ Her work actually anticipated much of Freud's later work on the death drive, but offered an alternative view of the interrelation of sexuality and destruction. Neither Jung nor Freud seemed to take Spielrein's theorizing seriously. She married unhappily and was later killed by the Nazis in Russia.

As Kerr shows, personal relations overlapped what were supposed to be professional alliances. Spielrein and Emma Jung both wrote to Freud about Jung. Jung and Spielrein also shared an extensive fantasy life centring on the myth of the Germanic hero, Siegfried. In this medical-erotic chaos, Spielrein, perilously, was both patient, lover and fellow theorist of the unconscious. Such a dissolution of boundaries prefigured Jung's own breakdown after the final break with Freud.

Freud and Freudian analysis continued to preoccupy Jung for the rest of his life. Both are frequently mentioned in his writings. For example, Jung first wrote the key essay 'The Psychology of the

Unconscious' in 1916, but revised it in 1918, 1926 and 1943.²² It was only after Freud's death in 1939 that Jung was able to reintegrate aspects of Freudian theory to concede that the Oedipus complex was important for some patients. He acknowledges that a 'personal unconscious' of sexual repression is relevant in addition to his 'collective unconscious' (see chapter 2 for an explanation of these terms).

Becoming Jungian

A theoretical madness

In later years, Jung liked to claim that all his most important insights stemmed from his unconscious fantasies in the years 1913–18 during his illness after the break with Freud. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* presents these events as a heroic 'confrontation with the unconscious' suffered on behalf of humanity.²³ Certainly, at this point, his former patient Toni Wolff became necessary to him. Emma Jung did not meekly accept the presence of Toni, by now in the role of lover as well as the medium-cum-analyst for Jung's fantasies. There was talk of divorce, but eventually Toni Wolff became the established mistress and important collaborator.

Feeling himself losing control in 1913, Jung was plagued by visions of blood in the prelude to the First World War. He typically explained these later as collective premonitions. The need to find mental images to embody his raging emotions was paramount – a desperation signalled by keeping a loaded revolver by his bed. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* tells that on 12 December 1913 he allowed himself to plummet down to the unconscious.²⁴

There he had a vision of a cave with a dwarf and a glowing crystal. Upon removing the crystal, he saw an underground river with a blond male corpse, a scarab, a red new sun and a flow of blood. Later, he dreamt of meeting a brown-skinned man who told him they were to kill the hero, Siegfried. Next came the fantasy figures of Elijah accompanied by a young girl, Salome. These creatures of his inner world, he later believed, taught him the autonomy of the unconscious.

From Elijah there evolved a more mythical figure, Philemon, a pagan with kingfisher wings. There was then a further male being whom Jung named Ka. A number of studies have noticed what Jung appeared not to, that, in Elijah and Salome, he had versions of the two important people he had just lost, Freud and Sabina Spielrein.²⁵ For Jung it was more important to see these figures from the unconscious as independent of his personal history (of emotional

failure, perhaps). This conception crucially influenced his theoretical development.

At one point, a female voice intruded into his mind to inform him that he was engaged in art, not science. Once Jung learned to negotiate with this figure, she became the prototype of his seminal concept of the feminine, the anima (see more on this in chapter 2).

The spiritualist narrative in Jung's personal life reached a climax in 1916 when he became convinced that his house was crammed with spirits.²⁶ Even his children seemed to be sensing the presence of ghosts and on a Sunday afternoon the doorbell rang wildly of its own accord. Jung could alleviate the oppressive sense of haunting only by taking up a pen in the typically medium activity of 'spirit'-directed writing. What he produced was eventually published as *Seven Sermons to the Dead*.²⁷

Although Jung adopted a medium's role in writing the text, the usual positions of master and pupil were reversed. Instead of dead spirits communicating their lore to the living, the authoritative Jung figure (in mythical guise as Basilides of Alexandria) is himself the *teacher* of the unhappy dead. These exhausted spirits have begged for his help in desperation because 'We have come back from Jerusalem where we found not what we sought'.²⁸

Seven Sermons for the Dead is a crucial document because it anticipates Jung's later core theories of archetype and individuation. It bears out Jung's assertion that his breakdown was ultimately a creative illness. This piece of writing enabled him to focus his intuitions about the psyche and, significantly, he was able to break with the legacy of Freud. Throughout this time, Toni Wolff supported Jung as he underwent his own medium-like initiation. She was a woman frequently said to resemble a medium by her contemporaries. In her career, Wolff had the reputation of being a stunningly successful analyst in helping patients to get in touch with their unconscious fantasies.

The Jungian

In 1919 Jung produced the definitive term 'archetypes' for what he regarded as creative and numinous aspects of the unconscious.²⁹ From this period Jung recovered his mental equilibrium. He began to disseminate his ideas by travel and by expanding his activities at home. In the early 1920s he gave seminars in England and consolidated his reputation in America by cultivating contacts made earlier when working with Freud.

A key influence on later work was his growing fascination with alchemy. Jung's researches into the obscure writings and fantastic symbols of alchemy were stimulated by being sent a Chinese alchemical work, *The Secret of the Golden Flower* by Richard Wilhelm, in 1928.³⁰ Jung wrote a commentary upon it and later was to produce several volumes of his *Collected Works* devoted to the parallels he discerned between alchemy and his psychology. Jung's theory was now named 'Analytical Psychology' to distinguish it from the Freudian 'Psychoanalysis'.

Jung also bought land at Bollingen outside the city in order to build his own retreat, known as the Bollingen Tower. Here he invited a few favoured souls, but rarely his family. Toni Wolff spent a lot of time with him there. This very material structuring of his personal life was enhanced by travel. On visits to Africa and the Americas, he was particularly struck by the psychology of 'primitives'.

On the one hand, Jung recorded his realization of the cruelty of white colonization and his sense that other cultures may possess far better psychological attitudes than the Western nations. On the other hand, his free use of the term 'primitive' for African and Native American peoples demonstrated a classic colonial mentality in assuming that these cultures are merely far 'behind' in the Western narrative of 'progress'. Such an attitude to other cultures and ethnicities was about to get him into a lot of trouble.

Jung and the Nazis

From 1933 until 1940 Jung was President of the International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy and editor of its influential journal, *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie*. This organization was based in Germany and heavily dominated by German membership. Consequently, it was subject to Nazi interference after their assumption of political power in 1933. That Jung was aware of the issues was clear from the fact that his Presidency inaugurated a reorganization of the Society.³¹

National sections were reformed to allow a category of individual membership so that Jews, by then universally banned, could remain members. The dominant section of the Society remained the German. It was supposed to have its own edition of the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie*, yet this did not materialize. Instead, the German-produced *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* came out with Jung's name as editor. It contained the recommendation of the German section leader, Matthias Goring, of *Mein Kampf*.

Jung refused unequivocally to condemn the Nazis until the outbreak of the Second World War, when his psychology became proscribed in Germany. The nearest he came to criticizing the Nazis in the 1930s was his 1936 essay 'Wotan', when he suggests that the pagan god of storm and frenzy explains events in Germany more than politics or history.³²

Describing Hitler and the Germans as 'possessed', Jung argues that they are possessed by Wotan as an archetype. He refused wholly to condemn this condition, because archetypes are numinous powers for good or evil: the Nazi phenomena, now (in 1936) so ominous, could still have a positive potential. Such an attitude demonstrates Jung's fundamental weakness in regarding himself as above politics. It illustrates the dangers of assuming that his psychology can adequately account for all extremes of history, culture or power. This episode illustrates the danger of what I call Jung's tendency to 'grand theory' in chapter 2.

Moreover, it was in the controversial and horrifying arena of anti-Semitism that Jung's association with the Nazis particularly demonstrates a moral flaw. Jung's articles in *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* include the suggestions that Aryans possess 'higher potential' than Jews,³³ that Jews are like women in being 'physically weaker',³⁴ and, worst of all, that their culture requires a civilized nation to act as a 'host'.³⁵ Elsewhere in 1934 Jung wrote: 'To accept the conclusions of a Jewish psychology as generally valid is quite an unforgivable mistake . . .'.³⁶

My conclusions about these unpleasant aspects of Jung's work and career are that there is evidence of culpable anti-Semitism and a morally flawed participation in Nazi culture. I do not believe that Jung was 'a Nazi', a term that indicates unambiguous support for their policies. I take the view of the eminent Jungian theorist Andrew Samuels, who has written extensively on this aspect of Jung and who concludes that, although Jungian psychology has reparations to make, it should then be able to move on. What is important is to remain mortally aware of sensitive issues of psychology, race and culture.

To justify such a stand it is necessary to look further at Jung's remarks on Jews and 'Jewish psychology'. As Samuels has pointed out, in adopting as key distinctions 'Jewish' and 'Aryan', Jung was engaging in a mindset that includes that of Sigmund Freud.³⁷ In addition, Jung's lifelong struggle against the influence of Freud was, tragically, behind a good part of his offensive comments on Jews. One aspect of Jung's lapse into anti-Semitism was his fatal decision to play out the struggle for power with Freud under the heading

'Jewish psychology'. Jung played on the ambiguity of the phrase to indicate both the idea of the different psychological make-up of Jews and the psychological theory that was made by a Jew, Freudian Psychoanalysis.

In retrospect it becomes clear that Jung was willing to engage with the cruelly pervasive anti-Semitism of the 1930s in order to gain the upper hand for *his* theory. This does not mean that there is any evidence of his sanctioning actual oppression. Indeed, he created the individual category of membership of the General Medical Society, specifically to aid Jews. However, a refusal to speak out against Nazi oppression, coupled with his disastrous excursions into 'Jewish Psychology', did lead him into anti-Semitic territory.

What about the other dimension of 'Jewish Psychology'? Did Jung believe in psychological differences based upon race? If so, how could he justify this? In fact, despite the core theory of a collective unconscious common to all peoples, Jung had developed a notion of psychic 'layers', corresponding to racial or national groups.³⁸ Below these layers is the overwhelming potential of unconscious archetypes. What forms these ethnic deposits in the mind is a bond between a people and their ancestral land.

Jung told a curious story of travelling amongst white Americans and believing that the people around him were taking on the characteristics of Native Americans because of their growing affinity with their landscape.³⁹ This was a suggestively non-racial racial belief, for any race can adopt the psyche of another homeland after sufficient generations. As a variety of nationalism, it affords no justification of aggression or expansion.

Unfortunately, such a concept fatally distinguishes Jews from non-Jews, for in the 1930s Jews remained the famously wandering people, bereft of a homeland. In conjunction with the tale of the ethnic transition of white Americans, Jung described Jews as lacking the rooted quality gained from a 'chthonic' connection to ancestral soil.⁴⁰ The racial-layers hypothesis was never integrated into Jung's total picture of the psyche. The idea was not taken up by Jungian analysts or included in the *Collected Works*. Therefore, the notion is not part of the Jungian analytic legacy.

Nevertheless, harping on Jewish difference in the 1930s, particularly in an organ published in Nazi Germany, cannot be regarded as innocently divided from the Jewish persecution of which Jung was well aware. In 1916, Jung sanctioned the founding of a Psychological Club in Zurich for his patients and fellow analysts (often very fluid categories). In 1944, the Club imposed a quota on Jewish members of 10 per cent with a 25 per cent guest membership. Likely to have been

initiated by Toni Wolff and Linda Fierz-David, this anti-Semitic move must have had Jung's sanction.⁴¹

Jung was not a Nazi. He did not support Nazi politics or persecution. He did, in my opinion, engage in anti-Semitism and was a voluntary participant in Nazi culture. Attacked at the time for his actions, he never later expressed unequivocal contrition.⁴² Consequently, the controversy has dogged his reputation to this day. A feminist revision of Jung needs this historical context. Historical perspectives on Jung's career enable his writings to be situated within the web of personal and cultural narratives of his time. Such a move can be a feminist act in challenging the notion of Jung's ideas as unambiguously authoritative *because* wholly detached from historical constructions of gender and ethnicity (see the last section of this chapter).

The wise old analyst and critic

By 1940 Jung was in his sixty-fifth year and war in Europe had broken out. After the Second World War he never again engaged in international psychological politics. Instead, his career was characterized by studies of Judaeo-Christian and alchemical writings. He produced what amounted to an analysis of God in the Bible in *Answer to Job*, and his last major work was his most considered book on alchemy: *Mysterium Conjunctionis*.⁴³ Marie-Louise Von Franz was a major collaborator on the latter and wrote the third volume. A major development in establishing the continuity of Jung's psychology was the opening of the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich in 1948. It was formed to train future analysts and to promote Jungian research.

Jung had not ceased to be an involuntary explorer of the unconscious when ill. In 1944 he was dangerously close to death after a fall and a heart attack. His visionary experiences of leaving the earth and being about to enter another dimension stimulated much later speculations on the meaning of death and the possibility of a further psychic existence.⁴⁴ Such interests were naturally compounded by the deaths of the two women who formed his most sustained and intimate relationships: Toni Wolff died rather suddenly of heart problems in 1953 and Emma Jung of cancer in 1955. The relationship with Toni had cooled since Jung's 1944 illness, yet Jung marked her passing by carving a stone for her at Bollingen. It reads 'Toni Wolff. Lotus. Nun. Mysterious'.

Far more obviously devastated by Emma's death, Jung asked a family friend, Ruth Bailey, to take care of him. This she did until his

death in 1961. During his last years, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* was conceived and completed. This work was originally planned to be the work of Jung's secretary, Aniela Jaffé, with Jung's cooperation, but Jung gradually became more engrossed in the task himself. Eventually, he wrote the account of his early years and supervised the text of the rest of the volume. However, it is worth remembering that considerable editing took place after Jung's death, including the removal of a chapter on Toni Wolff at the insistence of Jung's heirs.

Women in life and theory

Although the only prominent woman in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* is Jung's mother, Emilie Preiswerk Jung, later research suggests that five key women played an important role in Jung's life and the generation of his theory. They are, in chronological order, Jung's mother (who first suggested a secondary part of the self), his medium cousin Hélène Preiswerk (the first patient), Sabina Spielrein (the first patient in analysis), Emma Jung (his wife) and his long-time collaborator, Toni Wolff.⁴⁵

There was then a second circle of women analysts and writers who usually began as patients. Their books were often given Jung's stamp of approval by his providing a preface. These women, Jolande Jacobi, Barbara Hannah, Marie Louise Von Franz, Esther Harding and Linda Fierz-David, together with Emma Jung and Toni Wolff, were the first female Jungian theorists. Some of their works mark the start of traditional Jungian feminism. Chapter 3 will consider their influence, while this section of chapter 1 will establish these important women in relation to Jung's career.

Medium women

Emilie Preiswerk Jung, Hélène Preiswerk, Sabina Spielrein and Toni Wolff form a chain of medium-like women deeply embedded in Jung's emotional life, and then realized in his theory. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* testifies only to the role of Jung's mother in shaping his ideas. Despite Jung's revisions, the psychic impact of all these women can be discerned in the *Collected Works*. These women seem to have impressed on Jung the reality and validity of unconscious fantasy as something largely independent of the conscious ego. This was achieved through the revelation of their

own psyches (Sabina and Toni began as patients), but also and significantly, these four women inspired Jung's own capacity for unconscious fantasy.

What crucially distinguishes Jung from much of the psychiatric practice surrounding him (Freud included) was his refusal to regard spontaneous unconscious fantasies as definitively pathological. His unconscious was a meaningful, healing place. Schizophrenia was not necessarily a pejorative label to Jung and, indeed, there is no reason why a sufferer from a mental illness should not also be an important theorist of the mind. The medium women in Jung's theoretical world functioned as means to contact his own unconscious.

In particular, Toni Wolff became the 'medium' for Jung's unconscious fantasies after his break-up with Freud. Hélène Preiswerk was the prototype, succeeded by Sabina Spielrein, of a medium woman, engaging Jung's erotic interest and, in turn, stimulating his own unconscious fantasy. Jung's history suggests a significant sliding between Jung's desire *for* a female medium and his need to *become* his own medium in accessing and releasing the creative voices within *himself*. This biographical narrative became structured into his theory in the notion of the anima and the contrasexuality of the unconscious – see chapter 2.

The three medium women in Jung's romantic life outside his marriage met widely differing fates. Despite some attempts to disguise Hélène Preiswerk in Jung's doctoral thesis as 'Miss S. W.', she was recognized, and thereafter regarded as strange and unmarriageable in her home town. Eventually she was sent to learn dressmaking in Paris and died at the age of 35 from tuberculosis. Jung's claim in the doctorate that Preiswerk became mentally deficient seems wholly unjustified from the available evidence. Sabina Spielrein became a Freudian theorist and analyst, while Toni Wolff remained loyal to Jung and his creed for the rest of her life. Her important work on Jungian female psychology will be considered in chapter 3. Now to examine the careers of Jung's other female colleagues.

Women analysts and writers

Jolande Jacobi (1890–1973) Born in Budapest to wealthy parents of Jewish origin, but Catholic in religion, Jacobi married, had children and became prominent in Austrian cultural circles.⁴⁶ She arranged lectures including Jung in 1927 and then asked him to train her as an analyst. He rather unkindly insisted that she get a doctorate (other

students had not), so she studied at the University of Vienna. Forced to complete her degree in disguise because of Nazi persecution of Jews, Jacobi arrived in Zurich in 1938 and was allowed to join Jung's circle. During the Second World War she lost her husband and parents to the Nazis; her sons survived.

Jacobi was very much an extrovert (Jung's term) who grated on many of Jung's other colleagues and enjoyed an explosive relationship with the great man. Once, he threw her down a staircase. However, her introductory works on Jungian psychology were praised by him and it was Jacobi who drew up the original plan for the C. G. Jung Institute. When it finally opened in 1948, she was given a major role in liaising with visitors and establishing the reputation of the institution in the wider world.

Barbara Hannah (1891–1986) The English daughter of a bishop, Hannah studied art in Paris and was inspired to go to Jung in Zurich by reading his 1928 essay 'Woman in Europe'.⁴⁷ Described as quite aggressive in the early days, she became a convinced adherent. Hannah became an analyst and Jungian writer, eventually teaching at the C. G. Jung Institute. Her biography of Jung is not quite as hero-worshipping as might have been expected, but it does treat the source material uncritically. She records of herself that Jung suggested that she took up residence with Marie-Louise Von Franz. They subsequently lived together until Hannah's death.

Marie-Louise Von Franz (1915–) In recent times Von Franz has remained an authority at the C. G. Jung Institute as a measure of what the founder would or would not have wanted.⁴⁸ Such an attitude provides a key to the direction of her many published works, including her influential treatment of fairy tales and alchemy.

The daughter of an Austrian nobleman, Von Franz met Jung at 18, when she was taken on a visit with other young people to Bollingen. Much later she was to build her own tower at Bollingen with Jung's approval. After graduating with a doctorate in linguistics, Von Franz immediately became Jung's assistant. She was crucial to Jung's research on alchemy and a co-writer of *Mysterium Conjunctionis*. After the death of Emma Jung, Von Franz finished her book on the grail legend at Jung's request. Von Franz's work is characterized by her loyalty to Jung's writings and wishes.

Esther Harding Esther Harding's books on female psychology in relation to myth are the most creative and most influential for later

Jungian feminism of all the women surrounding Jung (see chapter 3).⁴⁹ *Woman's Mysteries*, in particular, inspired the later feminist rethinking of women's spirituality, especially in the USA, where Harding conducted most of her career with her Jungian companion, Dr Eleanor Bertine.⁵⁰

Born in rural England, Harding qualified as a doctor at the beginning of the twentieth century. She was one of a select group who attended Jung's first English seminar in Cornwall in 1920. Afterwards she followed him back to Zurich for three years' analysis and preparation to become an analyst. From then she was based in the USA, returning regularly to Zurich for contact and analysis with Jung. Together with Eleanor Bertine and Christine Mann, she founded the powerful New York C. G. Jung Institute.

For many years Harding dominated this institute as a formidable figure who was intimidating to many lecturers. Jung told her that she was like a priest of the mysteries and should strive for more humility. When she died at the age of 83, Harding left a million dollars to the New York Institute.

Linda Fierz-David (1891–1964) As a citizen of Basle, Linda Fierz-David was the first woman permitted to enter the university, where she studied German linguistics and later married Hanz Fierz.⁵¹ In the 1920s the Fierz family and the Jungs became friends. Jung travelled with the husband while analysing Linda on her unorthodox romantic situation: she was in love with both her husband and an Italian cousin.

Later, Fierz-David started work as an analyst and lectured on the Jungian interpretation of literature. As a result of Jung's suggesting that she work on some woodcuts, Fierz-David published a book on the search for the anima in 1938. She produced an even more significant work on the female psyche, *Women's Dionysian Initiation*, in 1955.⁵² Nicknamed 'Sieglinde' by Jung, Fierz-David sought to remedy Jung's inattention to the feminine perspective.

Biography and feminism: From mediums to animas

If biography provides one way to approach a body of theory, then feminism offers tools for its critical examination.⁵³ One of the issues in any assessment of Jung is the construction of gender within his work. Later chapters of this book will take up this challenge. However, a biographical study of Jung not only allows me to suggest the less acknowledged (by him) role of gender in his life, but also to

consider how his life experiences of the feminine become core structures within his theory.

Jung's involvement with the medium women Preiswerk, Spielrein and Wolff was not only evidence of his complex emotional life; they became for him the building blocks of his theories of the autonomy and creativity of the unconscious. In practice, Jung's relationships with medium-type women enabled him to get in touch with his own unconscious. If 'spirits' are redefined in psychology as unconscious fantasies, then the history of Spiritualism and Jungian psychology come together. Such a convergence occurs in Jung's first patient, medium H el ene Preiswerk, in Jung's shared fantasy life with Sabina Spielrein, and in the role of Toni Wolff, the medium midwife for Jung's most valuable creative fantasies. What a feminist critic can demonstrate here is the gender politics at work between Jung's encounter with the feminine as occult medium, redefined as patient, and his own later assumption of the 'medium' position for masculine subjectivity.

What I mean by this is that Jung was not only attracted to these medium women (and we must not forget his mother here); he wanted to *become* a medium. In truth, he did so, especially in the spiritualist writing of *Seven Sermons to the Dead*, which anticipated crucial aspects of his later psychology. Then, the theoretical formation of the concept of the anima is described in the autobiography as generated from a mediumistic contact with a feminine voice within his own mind. At this point in the building of a psychology, 'women', or, more precisely, 'the feminine', are displaced from medium to anima.

Of course, I am not arguing that Jung believed real historical women to be animas, who are feminine images in the psyche of a male. Yet, as chapter 2 will show, Jung seemed to model many of his pronouncements on women and femininity upon his notion of his own unconscious anima. 'She' first appeared in his 'medium' experiences of 'other' voices during his mental breakdown after the split with Freud. Here it was Toni Wolff who became so important in helping him realize his visions. Without actually regarding real women as fantasy animas, Jung assumes in his writings the medium position for masculine subjectivity and prefer to deal with the feminine in anima form.

I shall show how Jungian psychology contains a gender politics in a drive to displace the feminine into the position of 'other' (anima) to the masculine psyche. This drive can be traced to Jung's biographical involvement with medium women. His sexuality becomes theoretically complicit as it enables him to assume the medium position for himself and, from thence, for the masculine subject. An unanswerable

question is: was Jung attracted to medium women because he was desperately seeking ways to express his tumultuous fantasy life? Or, conversely, did that fantasy world result from ungovernable sexual urges? Which is more fundamental: sexuality or unconscious fantasies (as not reducible to sexuality)? Freud had one answer, Jung another (see chapter 2).

Feminist criticism can expand the transition from medium to anima in Jung's life and writing and situate it in a larger historical context of gender, the occult and medicine. The Jung and Preiswerk families' preoccupation with Spiritualism in the late nineteenth century can be seen as part of the enormous vogue for seances and mediums throughout Europe and America.⁵⁴ What particularly distinguishes the Spiritualism of the second half of that century is the preponderance of female mediums, many of whom made a lucrative career of public or well-paid private 'performances'.

In fact, the short-lived career of H el ene Preiswerk illustrates perfectly the trajectory of female mediumship by the end of the nineteenth century. Once regarded as 'evidence' from beyond the grave, the medium's spirit 'voices' were at first seriously regarded as supernatural. Then women mediums suffered redefinition as mentally ill with the hysteria that Jung ascribes to his young cousin in his doctorate. The female medium moved from public platform to analyst's couch. What might be perceived by the culture as dangerously unlicensed female 'speech' and 'irresponsible' (literally) automatic writing came firmly under medical (masculine) control.

Therefore we can see in the genesis of Jungian theory a gender politics that was both personal to this theorist in his intimate relationships and ambitions, and also part of a larger historical movement. From the point of view of the culture, the medium could be seen as a 'feminine' position. The feminine is first of all 'other' to social norms in the medium as occult. She, the medium, then becomes pathologized into a patient. And for Jung, in the writing of a male-authored theory, the unreliable woman was given the position of the 'other' again, in the role of the anima, the 'other' of masculine subjectivity.

A feminist approach to Jung's biography traces a gender politics both historical and individual in the structuring of his psychology. The following chapter will introduce the theory. As I have argued, it will not be possible wholly to separate out Jung's ideas from his personal experience, at least in part because *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* offers succeeding generations a life story assimilated into a metaphysical framework. It is important to consider very carefully what Jung meant by describing both his theory and his autobiography as his 'personal myth'.

Concluding summary

Jung's life story is not a smooth history of career and intellectual development. On the contrary, it is punctuated by overwhelming psychic experiences, a traumatic relationship with Sigmund Freud and a deeply controversial involvement with Nazi Germany. Biographical accounts of Jung do need to engage with the autobiographical *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. However this is a problematic work, in part because portions were removed after Jung's death. Also it is a legend of inner development and omits many outer, more political aspects of the life.

An analysis of gender politics within Jung's personal history suggests that crucial structures of gender within his writings need to be seen in both personal and cultural contexts (mediums become displaced into animas). It remains to be seen how far deeply personal formations of gender extend into the writings of his very influential psychology.

FURTHER READING

Anthony, Maggy, *The Valkyries: The Women around Jung* (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1990).

A sympathetic and short account of the women in Jung's life and theory by one who managed to interview some of them. It is readable and useful, but shows the need for proper biographies of these women.

Charet, F. X., *Spiritualism and the Foundations of C. G. Jung's Psychology* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993).

A very thorough and persuasive study of the role of Spiritualism in Jung's theory, especially in relation to his doctorate and autobiography.

Hannah, Barbara, *Jung: His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (London: Michael Joseph, 1977).

Despite the heroic tone, this biography by one who knew Jung well is a wealth of helpful material and illuminating anecdote.

Hayman, Ronald, *A Life of Jung* (London: Bloomsbury, 1999).

An excellent detailed biography uniting recent research with an ability to give an open-minded account of his intellectual development.

Homans, Peter, *Jung in Context: Modernity and the Making of a Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

Useful for a wider intellectual introduction to Jung in cultural context, it works well with Von Franz – see below.

Roberts, Michèle, *In the Red Kitchen* (London: Methuen, 1990).

This stunning feminist novel precisely addresses the transition from medium to psychiatric patient in the late nineteenth century. Roberts informed me that Jung's doctorate was part of her source material.

Samuels, Andrew, *The Political Psyche* (London: Routledge, 1993).

This contains indispensable reading on Jung and the Nazis.

Von Franz, Marie-Louise, *C. G. Jung: His Myth in our Time*, translated from the German by William H. Kennedy (New York: C. G. Jung Foundation for Analytical Psychology, 1975).

A partisan and highly readable argument for the importance of Jung's theories.