

TYPES OF MENTAL ILLNESS

A B e g i n n i n g C o u r s e

For Use in the Clinical
Training of Theological
Students.

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Part II.

SEQUELS AND COMMENTS

1 9 4 6

G R O U P V.
REACTIONS OF PANIC AND UPHEAVAL
C O M M E N T S

Group V bears a close relationship to Group IV. both these groups are marked by a clear awareness of danger and a readiness to accept responsibility for the mess they are in which contrasts sharply with the evasiveness, the concealment, the inability to face actualities which characterize the first three groups. Common also to Groups IV and V is marked religious concern and a relatively high recovery rate.

As contrasted with the depressive or stuporous reactions of Group IV, Group V shows extreme excitement and agitation. The patients in this group tend to talk freely. They give expression to a characteristic constellation of ideas - ideas of death, of re-birth, of world catastrophe, of grandiose self-importance, of previous incarnation and prophetic mission. These ideas are often found in group IV but they are less likely to be expressed.

Because of the significance of their experiences and the relative freedom with which they talk of them, patients in this group are of peculiar interest to the student of religion.

T H E B A C K - S L I D E R

The case of the Backslider exemplifies most dramatically a conversion experience of the classic type. This occurred in his eighteenth year. What happened in the years that followed is also of interest, but the conversion experience requires first consideration because of the light it throws upon the interrelationship between religious experience and mental disorder.

T h e C o n v e r s i o n E x p e r i e n c e

The Gravity of His Condition

It seems clear that in the period precoding his visit to the doctor Hans P. had been a candidate for a mental hospital. He had worked himself up into a state of mind typical of the onset of certain well-known forms of mental illness. It was likewise typical of that form of conversion which Starbuck has described as "the eruptive breaking up of evil habits and the turning of the vital energies into new and constructive channels, consequent upon a sense of sin." It is to be noted that a medical writer, at the time Starbuck's findings were published, called attention to the fact that the condition he described was characteristic of certain forms of mental alienation. Starbuck, however, like many other students of religion, did not see this observation as a lead to follow up but rather as a charge to be refuted. (Psychology of Religion, chapters 12 & 13).

The "Unspeakable Worry."

According to Hans P.'s account he suffered "unspeakable worry." This is a telling phrase. It would be hard to find a more accurate characterisation of his difficulty. According to Dr. Alexander (Psychoanalysis of the Total Personality, Lecture V), it is the presence of disowned cravings which can neither be controlled nor acknowledged for fear of condemnation which is the cause of most neurotic difficulty. This results from the fact that man is a social being. According to Mead, (Mind, Self and Society, pp. 144 - 272), the personality is the subjective aspect of the culture to which one belongs. It grows much like the body grows, thru the constant assimilation of new experiences, and this process of assimilation involves socialization. It requires the discovery of relationships between the new experience and the organized experience and the discovered relationship must be put into words and fitted into an organized frame-work taken over from the group. In fact, secrets seem normally to be forbidden. A happy experience wants to be shared. It tends to overflow. An unhappy experience tends to create a sort of vortex. When

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therefore in the course of development experiences are encountered and tendencies appear of which we are ashamed, trouble is likely to result. If these tendencies are highly charged and if we are afraid to acknowledge them, they are likely to behave much like ill-digested food. They remain unassimilated because they are not fitted into the organization of the social self. The Freudians use the term "complex" to designate such highly charged, unassimilated interests. They speak of them as being in the "unconscious." It should be recognized however that far from being unconscious they are simply clamoring for attention and give the sufferer no peace until they are in some way taken care of.

The sense of guilt or sin, which psychopathologists today are recognizing more and more clearly as the primary evil in non-organic types of mental illness (3) is then due to something that we are afraid to tell and is therefore "unspeakable." Its essence is not to be found in any more infraction of a code, but in a rupture of the interpersonal relationships as inwardly conceived. The sense of sin is thus the social condemnation which we pronounce upon ourselves on the basis of standards which we have accepted as our own. It carries with it the sense of isolation and estrangement from that which is supreme in our system of loyalties, that which for the religious man is symbolized by his idea of God and which explicitly or implicitly is operative in the lives of all men.

It follows therefore that the word "Maladjustment" which has been proposed as a substitute for the word "sin" does not convey the idea. It follows furthermore that the real difficulty is much better described by the singular than by the plural.

What is involved in mental illness is not a lot of potty or even serious infractions of law but a state of mind, a difficulty in the internalized social relationships, and hence in the organization of the personality.

The Cause of the Worry

It seems clear that this boy was worried about the management of the sex drive. Since psychiatrists are often criticized for giving too much attention to this factor, it may be well to clarify certain issues. This seems all the more appropriate in that there is to-day a swing in the other direction on the part of some psychiatrists. Dr. Karen Horney, for example holds that repressed sexuality. (The Neurotic Personality of our Time, p. 62 ff.) as a factor in neurotic conditions has pretty much disappeared with the passing of the Victorian era. In its place she sees repressed hostility arising out of our competitive culture. Most psychoanalysts would regard that statement as entirely too sweeping. They would however agree

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in giving increasing attention to the hostility motive. In my judgment this tendency is due partly to an over-reaction against some of the earlier Freudian formulations, partly also to an inadequate concept of conscience. In favor of the view that sex maladjustment is primary in most cases of mental illness and likewise in the sense of sin which precedes most dramatic conversion experiences are the following considerations:

1. The sex drive has to do with the perpetuation of the race, something for which the individual exists. Because of its biological significance maladjustments in this field are subjects about which the individual is likely to be extremely sensitive. (Rank, Modern Education, chapter 2)

It is to be noted that full-blown mental illness seldom occurs before the adolescent period. It is apparently associated with the dangers incidental to sexual maturation.

2. The fact that the sex drive is surrounded with tabus and inhibitions and that at least in our culture it is something about which one does not talk freely, means that maladjustments in this field are likely to be kept to oneself. This at once heightens the emotional charge and increases the sense of shame and isolation. Sex maladjustment is therefore peculiarly liable to produce that sense of guilt which is the cause of mental illness. The sex drive is peculiarly liable to remain for the adolescent something at once fascinating and terrifying and something about which he is afraid to talk.

3. Sex love, as Hocking points out (Human Nature and Its Remaking, chapter 42) bears a close relationship to religion. It is not that religion is rooted in sex, as has sometimes been claimed, but that sex love at its best approaches religion. It wants somewhat the same thing that religion wants - union with the idealized other-than-self and it can never be satisfied with the more finite love object. Because it is thus associated with the highest of values it is also subject to great anxiety.

4. Repressed hostility may under certain conditions cause mental illness. A daughter sacrifices herself to her mother. She thinks of herself as a devoted daughter and she has for her mother a genuine love. But the mother has been demanding, sometimes trying and the daughter feels a resentment which is not in keeping with her idea of herself. She may even find herself wishing that the mother were out of the way. Then the mother does die. She may then blame herself and become excessively depressed. Aside from such a situation I cannot see hostility as a primary factor in mental illness. It is rather a reaction to the sense of personal failure and hence a secondary factor. The boy who is uncomfortably aware of the fact that he is not making the grade toward manhood is

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likely to be surly and bitter toward anything that reminds him of his failings. He is likely also to project his inner discomfort upon other persons. Hostility thus figures prominently in paranoias of the persecutory variety. It figures also in many delinquent types. In the reactions of anxiety I fail to see it except in the form of severe self-judgment demanding punishment.

Worry Not Necessarily an Evil

The view is frequently expressed among medical men that in problems of the type with which this boy was struggling the real evil is the worry. Treatment is therefore directed toward getting rid of the worry by doing away with the good-evil antithesis. An extreme form of this view may be seen in a new treatment for serious agitations and depressions. Portions of the frontal lobes of the brain are removed. Worry is thus eliminated. The neuro-psychiatrist is thus seeking to remove the sense of guilt just like he would a vermiform appendix.

But this boy had reason to worry and worry served a useful purpose. It drove him to make a visit to his doctor. Not to worry in the face of a really serious maladjustment is the really ominous reaction. The real evil is the short-circuiting of the sex drive and the failure to attain the next level of development. In this case the unspeakable worry represented a desperate attempt at reconstruction and it met with some measure of success. It was therefore not an evil but a manifestation of nature's power to heal analogous to fever or inflammation in the body. Starbuck's study (op. cit., chaps. 12 & 13) has shown that this case was typical of certain conversion experiences. These cases also are characterized by a marked sense of sin and by the eruptive breaking up of evil habits. My own studies have shown the close relationship of such experiences to acute schizophrenic conditions. (Exploration of Inner World, chapters 1, 2 and 5). The conclusion follows that the old theological doctrine regarding the conviction of sin as the first step in the process of salvation is not without support.

Mr. Moody's Gospel

It is to be noted that this young man went to Mr. Moody's meetings all set for something to happen. He had done his part. He had mustered up his courage and had gone to see the doctor. To him he had spoken of his "unspeakable worry." The cure was therefore already in process. But the doctor, after listening sympathetically refers him to religion. It needs now

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only the right suggestion, and that Mr. Moody gives. He talks about God being a Father and about his being ready to forgive us for the past, if only our purpose is good: He thus "speaks to the sufferer's condition." Perhaps some other suggestion might have served equally well, but we may recognize in these words the essence of all good psycho-therapy and the essence also of the gospel of Jesus and of Paul.

In the task of internalizing the group values and attitudes, which is essential in all education, there are two chief instruments, fear and force on the one hand and love and admiration on the other. In most cases there is a mixture of the two. Our sufferer loved his mother. Apparently he did not fear her. He may have loved his father. We can guess that he admired him. It is clear that he feared him and that his moral attitudes were governed chiefly by fear. His was a morality of the "Thou shalt nots." It was astatic rather than a functional morality.

Now the essence of the message of Jesus and Paul's discovery regarding the Law and the Spirit was that the Universe is governed not by force and fear but by a Love that looks upon the heart and is ready to forgive even unto the uttermost. In the eyes of love the important thing about any individual is not what he now is but what he is in process of becoming. Even the most faulty person is good and worthy of honor in so far as he is doing the best he can with what he has to work with - in so far as he is moving to become better. The insight that God is a Father and that he is ready to forgive the past if only our purpose is good therefore set the sufferer free to strive for the attainment of his true objectives.

Good psychotherapy depends precisely upon this principle. It must see the patient with the eyes of love and understanding. This does not mean that a psychotherapist may not pass judgments. The "non-evaluating attitude" upon which some of my psychoanalytic friends insist is neither possible nor desirable. All psychoanalysts are careful to take on only such cases as they think they can help. That surely involves evaluation. It may even involve condemnation. The good psychotherapist must be an accurate judge of character. He must be quick to see the possibilities of usefulness amid the wreckage of apparent failure and the promise of beauty in what seems commonplace and unlovely. He must be equally quick to see thru the shams and self-deceptions which are sheltering forbidden desires and are therefore blocking growth. His task is to reinforce or to kindle the patient's faith in himself and to help him to deal honestly with his frailties so that he may make a better job of his life. The good psychotherapist must then make accurate judgments, but he must do so as a trusted friend, seeing always thru the eyes of the patient.

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It follows therefore that psychotherapy is dependent upon the interpersonal relationship between the physician and the patient. Wherever the patient trusts the physician and the physician is able to think with the patient sympathetically and intelligently, there results are likely to follow. Technique is of a secondary importance. One physician stress dream interpretation, another free association, another may rely on moral re-education, another may even hand out advice or make use of hypnosis. What needs to be recognized is that evil to be dealt with in the sense of inner disharmony due to the presence of an "unspeakable worry" and that in some form or other there must be confession and forgiveness. The unsocialized and hence unassimilated interest must be resolved and the sufferer must be able to feel himself restored to the fellowship of the best.

The Mystical Experience

Experiences like that of our convert are commonly induced under fairly definite conditions. The Hindu mystic employs certain recognized techniques in order to induce the trance condition which he values. He concentrates his attention on some bright object. He repeats over and over again the magic syllable "Om". He thinks of certain ideas. In short he narrows his attention. (Coe: Psychology of Religion, chaps. 10, 11, 12 & 16) The result is a deliberately induced auto-hypnosis. Narrowing of attention seems result is a deliberately induced auto-hypnosis. Narrowing of attention seems to have been an important factor in the experiences of the great Hebrew prophets. They became absorbed in the problem of the fate of their people and of why J. had forsaken them. Narrowing of attention is likewise a factor in the onset of acute schizophrenia. Clearly it was characteristic of our patient's condition at the time of his conversion experience. He had spent nights in prayer and weeping and had worked himself up into a state in which he could think of nothing else but the one problem.

Such narrowing of attention means a loss of perspective which may go to the point of abnormality. It may also mean an intensification of the mental processes, a condition which makes for creativity. This is particularly likely to be true when as in the case of our convert and of the Hebrew prophets the situation is genuine and highly charged emotionally. Strong feeling and concentrated attention are not conducive to sound judgment but they bring new ideas and insights. In the case of our convert it brought one of those experiences to which we give the name of "mystical." He has been downcast and despairing. Now the birds were singing and the earth was full of joy. He felt himself one with God.

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Such an experience for the man who has it is something tremendous. It may upset the foundations upon which his personality organization is built. This is what happens in certain acute forms of mental illness. Such experiences commonly begin with a supposed manifestation of the superhuman. The patient hears God talking to him or discovers that evil spirits are on his trail. If with Mead we look upon the personality as an internalization of the social order of which we are a part, we can perhaps understand the terrific impact of the experience of coming face to face with a different and superior social order. Destructive effects are particularly likely to occur when the experience is a solitary one and the dominant mood is fear. Under such conditions the patient may feel himself cut loose from his moorings. He will then not know what to believe. He will be sure of only one thing, that things are not what they seem. In everything he will see hidden meanings. In the case of our convert however there was social support. He had taken his problem to a doctor. The doctor had sent him to Mr. Moody's meetings. The experience thus came to him under group influence and conformed to a recognized pattern. The effect was therefore not destructive, but meant rather a new outlook on life and a new access of power. He was therefore happy for many years after that and he was more successful in his work.

We may therefore look upon this experience as having creative value. This does not mean that he brought new insights or ideas into the stream of tradition. That is seldom clearly the case in experiences which take place within a social matrix. It is rather the man like Jeremiah or Ezekiel or George Fox, who wanders in the case of mental patients of the acute schizophrenic type the new intrusions are so prominent that there is a temporary or permanent break with the cultural patterns of their time and race. Our young convert did have new insights but those insights had to do chiefly with his own role in the drama of life. He saw himself now as one who had in him divine possibilities and the beliefs and traditions in which he had been reared took on new meaning because they were now associated with his role in life. They thus received emotional validation. For this reason radically mystical cults tend, as a rule, to be conservative in their theology.

What Salvation Is

One of the values of experiences of the dramatic type lies in the fact that they lift into the field of clear awareness problems which otherwise escape attention and throw new light upon them. The case we have considered has thus served

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to clarify the nature and significance of the sense of guilt. We have seen that it is essentially a rupture in the interpersonal relationships, as inwardly conceived, due to the presence of tendencies which can neither be controlled nor acknowledged for fear of condemnation, tendencies which are therefore "unspeakable." We have seen furthermore that all the procedures of psychotherapy have to do with relief from the resulting sense of isolation. Psychotherapy thus resolves itself into a matter of confession and forgiveness, which together will re-educate. Man is therefore a social being and the idea of God is the symbol of that fellowship of the best, apart from which he cannot live and of which his standards of value are merely a function.

Salvation or cure is then not just a matter of the connection of faulty habits or of the resolution of conflicts but of restoration to this fellowship. The significance of the conversion experience, as seen in this case, is to be found in the fact that whatever the human instrumentality, there is the sense of being forgiven directly by God. It thus points beyond the finite therapist to that which is conceived of as universal and abiding. More than that it involves that sense of fellowship which is the essence of all religion and suggests the consideration that religion itself is a matter of those interpersonal relationships from which beliefs and values are derived. To be saved means therefore to be one with the best in our social experience and a participant in the struggle for the objectives which determine the organized values.

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L A T E R Y e a r s

The disorder which brought Hans P. to the hospital twenty five years later does not negate the value of his original conversion experience. It does however serve to emphasize the principle that character is not determined by a single crisis experience, no matter how important or dramatic it may be. In this case our patient was untrue to the role which he had accepted for himself. The fact that he continues his church relations does not mean that he now becomes a conscious hypocrite. What it does mean is that he was still keeping up the struggle, but that he was torn with inner conflict. Once more he was clinging to a way of life which he could not acknowledge to those whose good opinion was necessary to him. He was thus a divided self.

At the age of twenty six he gets married. We notice that he marries a woman of whom he stood in awe. This seems to be characteristic. Apparently he admired his stern father rather than his gentle and loving mother. We notice also that his first hetero-sexual relations were with a woman much older than himself, a physician who must have been for him a representative of authority. In any case the wife was the dominant person in their home. Clearly he wanted some one stronger than himself upon whom he could depend. At the same time he resented her, more and more undoubtedly, with the passing of the years.

At the age of thirty five he made an attempt at readjustment. He gave up his job as carpenter and went into "social service." We may guess that the purpose of this move was not so much social and economic advancement as an attempt to resolve the inner disharmony. In any case he gave up going to church and apparently sought to salve his conscience by the method of "good works." But his conscience was not deceived. When America entered the war and he found himself on the spot because of his German antecedents, his lack of inner security caused him to do some peculiar things which resulted in his losing his job with the Board of Charities. He went back to his carpentering and five years later he made the attempt at suicide which brought him to the hospital.

We may note that back of this disturbance there are now a number of factors. There was some homo-sexual component. How strong this was is not clear, but there was undoubtedly enough to cause a considerable sense of guilt and inferiority. We notice also that in spite of the fact that he and his wife both wanted children, they were childless. Probably he held his early difficulties responsible for this. There is also another factor suggested by his ideas regarding the sinfulness of life insurance.

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His explanation was, "If there is a Higher Power, that Power needs to be able to get at us. If then we take our life insurance, how is He going to get at us?" The significance of this idea is at once apparent when we remember who it is that benefits from life insurance. Obviously it is the wife. Therefore it is the wife who needs to be punished and we may infer that there is in him a good bit of repressed hostility toward her.

Just what led to the attempt at suicide is not clear. It may however be regarded as an attempt to punish himself and to square accounts. In any case when he came to the hospital we see in his conduct the same pattern which was manifested in his visit to the doctor in his eighteenth year. He was remarkably frank in discussing his real difficulties. In this the conditions were favorable for successful treatment. However the situation was now far less favorable than when he was younger. He was able to go back home and resume work. So far as it was possible to follow him, there was no further hospitalization, but a really satisfactory adjustment is hardly to be expected.

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THE MOUNTAIN CLIMBER

The case of Bernard Curtin raises questions regarding the hereditary factors in mental illness and the influence of revivalistic types of religion.

The fact that Bernard's mother had been for seven years an inmate of a mental hospital with a classification of "dementia praecox, hebephrenic type" had undoubtedly much to do with his disturbance. What may be questioned is just what was transmitted in the genes and what was due to environmental influences.

Environmental influences would certainly play a large part. Dr. Menninger has suggested (Human Mind, chapter 1) that our present-day ideas of the inheritance of mental disease are analogous to the ancient ideas of demon possession. They are explanations in terms of a quantity X. They thus explain nothing and become themselves a causative factor which is responsible for much unnecessary difficulty and suffering. So in the case of Bernard Curtin, he knew that his mother was insane and his father knew it. Both of them, in accordance with the current views, believed that this involved some special liability to mental disease on Bernard's part. The fears thus generated would have had not a little to do with this disturbance. On the part of Bernard it would induce anxiety; on the part of his father it induced an over-protective, dominating attitude which did little to alleviate the danger.

Moreover the mother had been peculiar for some years before she was finally committed and the older brother is said to have been peculiar. It is possible, too, that the father's somewhat over-bearing attitude may have been a factor in the mother's difficulties as well as Bernard's. Here then were powerful influences in Bernard's life which must have made for trouble.

No one will question the importance of heredity. What must be questioned is the view that anything in the shape of a particular mental disease can be transmitted. We notice that Bernard was in many respects well endowed. He was tall, attractive, physically strong. He had an unusually good mind. There may however have been some predisposing factors. He may have had more than his share of unacceptable instinctual cravings to contend with. There was a suggestion of homosexuality. Certainly there was difficulty in the sexual sphere which was undoubtedly aggravated by the knowledge of his mother's illness.

According to our findings the Buchman group might have done Bernard a real service in bringing his difficulties out into the open and inducing in him the will to do something about them.

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It must be recognized however that they did not do their duty. There was no adequate follow-up. They stirred him up emotionally to a high pitch and then left him floundering. The pastor also may be criticized for not taking advantage of his opportunity at the time Bernard came to him with the offer to do religious work. He recognized that his condition was not normal. He did not apparently recognize that he needed something more than occupational therapy, that intensive psychotherapy at this time might have enabled him to avoid the serious disturbance which developed six months later. This principle applies to most of the church's evangelistic work. It has assumed that its task was done when the individual was aroused. It has moreover given treatment without diagnosis. It has made far too little attempt to grapple with the personal problems of individuals. At the same time there has been an attempt to do something about the problem of the sick soul on the part of our more conservative religious bodies. All too often this has been lacking in our more liberal churches, which give neither treatment nor diagnosis but are likely to turn sufferers like Bernard over to the doctor's as a problem which does not concern them.

Even as it was Bernard made a good recovery. He came cleanly out of his disturbance and the disturbance itself may be regarded not as an evil but as a manifestation of nature's power to heal analogous to fever or inflammation in the body. It would thus differ from the case of Hans P. chiefly in the fact that the disturbance was more severe, that it went beyond the accepted social patterns and that Bernard thus did not have the steadying influence of the group to support him. The emotional disturbance thus became more severe.

We may notice that in common with Hans P. there is a sense of mystical identification. Hans P. is somewhat guarded in his utterances. He is unable to account for it, but he knows he was a new and better man for this experience. Bernard is anything but guarded. He is so sure of himself that he seeks to displace the minister at the regular Sunday morning worship service in the college church. He is even more important than Luther and Plato and Jesus. His ideas are thus extremely bizarre. To understand them we must recognize that he is grappling desperately with what for him are the most important issues of life, particularly with the question of his own role in life. We see in him the same set of ideas which we are to see even more strikingly in other patients in this group.

Although the disturbed condition cleared up in about three months and Bernard seemed none the worse for it, his attitude was that it was something to be forgotten. He was unwilling to talk about it and his father insisted on taking him before there had been any chance for psychotherapy. It is therefore not to be wondered at that there was another disturbance some three years later. Again he made a good recovery after a few weeks. This time

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he got along fairly for about fifteen years. During this period he married a woman $5\frac{1}{2}$ years older than himself and built up a moderately successful advertizing business. In 1948 he was hospitalized at the Norwich State Hospital, suffering from another acute schizophrenic episode. He was released after four months to return to his wife and to his advertizing business.

THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER

At the age of sixteen George N. had developed a brief but severe mental illness following an operation for mastoiditis. When this disturbance developed, the wife not unnaturally was inclined to explain it in terms of possible mastoiditis. She was, in fact, very urgent in her view and when he actually developed mastoiditis and died she blamed the doctors bitterly. It must of course be recognized that mastoid difficulty is likely to affect the brain, but no evidence of such trouble was found during the early stages of this disturbance. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that a disturbance of this type is an extremely severe ordeal in which any weak places in the organism are likely to be affected. George N. was thus subject to mastoiditis and under the strain of the psychosis the organic disturbance was localized there. The mastoiditis was thus the cause of death but not of the psychosis.

In any attempt to help George N. in finding the solution of his problems at the time he was trying to decide between his fiancée and his calling, it would be of great importance to have a clear understanding of the significance of his decision to go out as a foreign missionary. It seems clear from the record that this decision had been an attempt to reorganize an unsatisfactory life on the basis of a higher loyalty. There had been in his case the need of doing something drastic and dramatic and he had turned to one of the few openings which the Protestant churches provide for those who wish to take their religion in earnest.

The Catholic church has its monasteries and its convents, for persons of this type. The liberal Protestant churches offer little beside enlisting for missionary work. George N.'s life had been reorganized around the role which he had thus accepted. The question is therefore what it would do to him to abandon this role and the higher loyalty it represented at the behest of his fiancée.

The difficulty with the course he actually followed lay in the fact that he acted before he had clarified the issues. The important step was taken impulsively and he thereby tied himself up irrevocably to a conflict situation. More than that it was a step which placed his wife in control of his life.

There was of course only one thing open to him after this step had actually been taken. He had made his bed and he would have to lie in it. He could not carry out his plan to become a foreign missionary against his wife's objection. And she did object. And not only that, she apparently took delight in shocking him in other ways. What actually happened was a desperate attempt to extricate himself from an impossible situation. The

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disturbance may be looked upon as a problem solving experience, which would actually have solved his problem if he had recovered. It is to be noted that his decision was to be true to his God and go to the foreign field. But if he had recovered, it may be pointed out that the Board of Missions would have had something to say about it, and that there would have been little likelihood of his being accepted. Thus having cleared his conscience he would have been able to make other plans without any damage to his moral self-respect.

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A DEVOTED HUSBAND

The case of Oscar O. is a fine example of an acute disturbance of the more constructive type. It began suddenly severe, cleared up quickly and far from leaving an ill-effects, it may be regarded as a problem solving experience.

The Socialist Speaker's Question

According to his account the first disturbance began with a question asked by a socialist speaker. This speaker asked if there were not many men besides Jesus who would be willing to give their lives for others. That night he kept thinking about what the socialist speaker had said, and the question came to him, "Would you be willing to give your life for your wife and family?" It came to him that he must be put to the test. We must of course be careful not to draw too many inferences from the immediate occasion of a disturbance. We know that especially in the acute disorders we have to do with an accumulation of inner stresses and that the upsetting experience may be the merest touch. Nonetheless we may assume that the upsetting factor must have some relationship to the central problem. We notice therefore that the question with which the disturbance began had to do with his relationship to his wife and family. Examining his story from this standpoint, the picture seems fairly clear. Here was a reasonably steady, self reliant person who after serving his apprenticeship as a mechanic goes to sea. There are in this period some irregularities. At some ports he goes with his comrades to houses of prostitution, but these indulgences do not seem to have gone beyond the bounds of respectability as judged by his group. After several years of wandering he marries a young woman from his native town in Sweden whom he meets in this country, an attractive person with considerable force of character. With his marriage his entire manner of life changed. He becomes now a devoted husband and father. His evenings are spent at home, or at least in company with his wife and daughters. Aside from his labor union he belongs to no organizations. It is therefore clear that his wife had become supreme in his system of loyalties. His entire life was built around her, and his love for her was for him the equivalent of a religion. There is in this nothing unusual. Sex love, as Professor Hocking points out, (Human Nature and Its Re-making, Chap. 42) is closely associated with religion; not that religion can be explained in terms of sex, but that sex love at its best approaches religion. Both seek somewhat the same thing-union with the idealized other-than-self. But it is also true that sex love seeks something beyond the finite love object and that it cannot be satisfied with the merely finite. It seems fair to assume that this law was operative in the case of this mechanic. It was not for him sufficient to have re-organized his life around his love for his wife. He had undoubtedly, after the manner of lovers, sworn his readiness to give up everything for her sake; and his picture of himself was that of a devoted husband and father. But the

actualities were some times a bit trying. As a rugged, self-reliant male, he found it not always easy to submit to her domination, and he was probably uncomfortably aware of attitudes within himself which were at variance with the undying devotion which he professed. The problem of his ultimate loyalty was thus pressing heavily upon him. We may therefore hazard the guess that the source of strain in this case was not so much the sense of guilt as the need of achieving a higher level of adjustment, the level represented by the psychoanalytic doctrine of autonomy and the Christian doctrine of the sovereignty of God.

At first thought these two doctrines may seem opposed one to the other. Reflection, however, suggests that they are really contributory to each other. Modern psychiatric experience tends to support the old Christian doctrine and to throw new light upon it. But ancient religious insight sees deeper. It recognizes the principle of autonomy. At the same time it recognizes that no individual can be self-sufficient and finds the solution in the idea of the sovereignty of God. By this is meant that true autonomy is achieved through finding one's role as a child of God and taking one's place in the larger universe. One's loyalty must thus be transferred from the finite to the infinite. Such dependence upon God is entirely consonant with self-reliance in that it makes the individual independent of the trials and vicissitudes of his temporal existence, by providing a sense of fellowship which is deepened and strengthened through suffering and danger.

How the Disturbance Began

Oscar's own explanation of the onset was that he had an idea so big that it just carried him away. What that idea was is fairly clear. He thought that God was talking to him and that he was really a very different person from what he had supposed. This was true of the onset of both the disturbed periods. It is true of other cases of acute disturbance also.

The conditions leading up to this idea are, however, far from clear in either of the two periods. We know that he had not been addicted to church-going and that normally he had never shown any interest in religion. Our findings indicate however, that it is not necessary to find an explanation of such experiences in terms of previous indoctrination, but that ideas concerning the superhuman tend to appear spontaneously whenever an individual becomes absorbed in a problem which vitally affects his personal destiny. Under intense concentration and strong emotion the mental processes are quickened. Ideas darting into the mind then become so vivid, so different from ideas previously held that they are interpreted as coming from an outside source and are attributed to God or to the devil in accordance with the value judgments involved. Such ideas are what many patients

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refer to as "voices." It is to be noted that Oscar O. refers to the "voice" which spoke to him, but that when questioned directly he was careful to say that he did not hear it with his ears. It was just something which "came to him."

Such manifestations of the superhuman always produce a profound emotional effect, and, as in this case, they may so upset the accepted norms of judgment and reasoning that mental disorder results. This is most likely to be true of experiences which take place in isolation, especially where the sense of condemnation and fear is present. This case was that of an isolated experience and it involved ideas of death and world change. The emotional impact of mystical experience is best explained in accordance with Moad's concept of the social basis of the personality. (Mind, Self and Society, pp. - 272 - See excerpts in Collected PAPERS and brief comments in remarks on the case of the Backslider.) If we recognize that the personality is the internalization within the individual of the social organization it follows that a radical shift of social reference to a social order conceived of a superhuman and superior will throw the entire organization into confusion,

Another important factor is the change in the concept of the self. Oscar O. thus became aware that he was more important than he had ever dreamed. It had taken two thousand years to produce a man like him. He had appeared in many forms. Sometimes he had been born rich. Sometimes he had been born poor. Obviously, like many another acutely disturbed patient he had identified himself with Christ. A question of what one is appears characteristically in the acute psychoses. This may be explained by the fact that the concept of the self is to be regarded as the nucleus of the personality. Just as the growth of the personality is dependent upon the discovery of relationships between successive new experiences and some accepted role, so a fundamental change in the idea of the self will compel a thoroughgoing reorganization of the personality. It is furthermore to be pointed out that his man's identification of himself with Christ, fantastic though it seems at first thought, is probably related to Paul's doctrine of the "indwelling Christ" and to Jesus' teaching regarding the fatherhood of God. The enlarged concept of the self is one of the eternally valid insights of religion. So also is the recognition of the individual's insignificance. It is characteristic of religion that it extends the horizon in both directions. It rejoices both in the microscope and in the telescope, and it acclaims the discovery of our physicists that even the most commonplace person contains within himself a veritable galaxy of solar systems. Oscar O.'s idea of himself is thus not without an element of truth but to have such an idea born in upon him with any sense of reality could hardly fail to be upsetting.

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Following the recovery from the first disturbance the wife was told by the doctors that his disturbance was due to reading the Bible. He therefore on his return home put the Bible in the attic. The question at once arises as to the significance of this action. What did the Bible mean to him? What foundation is there for the common view that religion is a cause of mental illness?

The answer is that the Bible was for this man a symbol of the problem with which he had been trying to grapple. When therefore he put it in the attic, it meant that he was shelving his problem. But problems are not solved by shelving them and important personal problems have to be solved. We are not surprised therefore to notice that the second disturbance began with a command to go and get the Bible. He had, as he puts it another instalment to pay.

By the same token it is important to recognize that religion is not a cause of mental illness. It is an attempt at orientation and adjustment in the face of the great realities of life and religious concern, as in the present case, appears spontaneously in men who normally are not religious at all, whenever the great issues of life come to the fore and demand attention.

The attempt to take his own life may be regarded in this case, as also in other cases of this general type, as an attempt to solve a conflict situation through one great act of renunciation and self-sacrifice. His own explanation was that there is a small prize and a large prize. He was praying for the large prize. The act was then symbolic of an attempt at complete unification. I do not interpret his reference to his wife and daughters as evidence of hostility toward them but rather of the deep purpose of proving his loyalty to them and getting rid of the hostile feelings which he may have felt.

Our patient had the idea that he was going to have to preach, but a voice said to him, "You was going eight the way you was. I don't need you to preach. I have other men I can send to do that." The orders from above are not always so sensible among our acutely disturbed patients. The prophetic call is common among them. But no matter how misguided it may be in particular cases, it stands for a principle of fundamental importance. It seems to be of the very essence of religion that it must express itself socially. Religion has to do with the on-going process of the perpetuation and improvement of the race and with the establishing and making effective of loyalties that are universal. The prophetic call stands thus for the principle that the new insights and the new vision which come through the crisis experiences of life must be made effective in the work-a-day world long after the emotional glow has passed. Emotion and insight must be tran-

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slated in to personal and social structure. Institutionalization is thus part of the process by which moral achievements are passed along from one generation to another, and the prophetic impulse bears witness to that fact.

During the fourteen years which elapsed between this man's release from the hospital and his death from carcinoma he passed through a period of stress when he returned voluntarily to the hospital. This occurred six years later in a period of enforced idleness. He was at this time adjudged "not insane" and he remained only a week. Aside from this period he worked steadily and there is reason to believe that a higher level of adjustment was achieved. We may assume that in spite of the advice we offered his wife would continue to run the household, but I have the feeling that his inner attitude was changed. He had made good on his "bet with God," and he was no longer inwardly dependant upon his wife. His psychosis had meant for him an important step in his development, the resolution of the transference relationship with his wife.

A NEGRO ATHLETIC STAR

The major factors in James Crandon's breakdown may be found in the social situation resulting from race prejudice and discrimination. Here was a man of very great promise in the base ball world. In his high school days he had been rated as superior to a man who had later become professional base ball'sman of the year. There is thus some justification for the dream in which he sees himself boxing playfully with Babe Ruth. But in the dream Babe Ruth walks away and in his place comes the manager of the Negro Tigers. This dream tells the story of what actually happened. Professional base ball was closed to Negroes. James C. would find this all the more keenly because in his school days he had been fairly idolized by school-mates of all races. School and college athletes commonly had difficult readjustments to make after their names are no longer in the headlines. In this case those difficulties appear in exaggerated form. His failure to pass his bar examinations adds greatly to the difficulty. He finds it very hard to accept the role of a simple postal clerk four years after his graduation from law school/

It is not improbable that his failure to take the bar examination at the time he should have taken it was an expression of his bitter discontent. He had done better than average work in his law studies and he knew the importance of taking the examination while the iron was still hot. The reason he gave was that he had promised to play ball with a Negro team in New York. But we notice that the financial returns from this New York engagement were very meager. In fact he had to work as a Red Cap at the Grand Central Station in order to support the base ball project. It seems therefore fair to assume that there was within him a strong protest reaction which expressed itself also in the loss of his throwing arm. This disability may well be regarded as an expression of a despairing sense of futility. The arm was saying, "What's the use?"

However, we must not fail to recognize that sex-maladjustment was in all probability also an important factor. He is said to have shown little interest in girls in spite of the fact that he was much sought after. He would accept invitations and be polite. That was about all. He never took the initiative, even when he became engaged. A dream which he reports suggests that the lack of interest was in Negro girls and that he was in fact very much interested in White girls. If this supposition is correct it will help to explain the disturbance. How would he be able to find expression for his interest in white girls? Obviously in fantasy. He would build aircastles and people them with fairy princesses. This however is always a dangerous way which might easily account for the fact that he heard people calling him names which indicated that he was not fit to be a member of society.

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It is to be noted that the disturbance began with ideas of reference and persecution. The stories of his fiancée's infidelity may have been true, but they must be discounted. It is doubtful whether he was much in love with her. The story of the basket-ball game which he failed to "throw" is also very dubious. What is clear is that James thought people were slandering him, plotting against him, trying to frame him, poison his food, etc. and that these ideas do not need to be explained by the immediate life situation.

The persecutory trends continue for about five months. He then goes to church with his sister and the sermon seems intended just for him. Thereupon he "gets religion". The initial malignant reaction pattern now assumes a more benign form. At least the ideas of persecution sink into the back-ground. It is true that five months later he becomes seriously disturbed, but, as we have already seen, acute disturbance is not necessarily an evil.

In this disturbance he develops the constellation of ideas which we find in the other cases in this group. The judgment Day is at hand. A great world change is impending. He himself has a very important role to play. It is something connected with genealogy, that is, with the bringing of children into the world. He discovers that his parents are really not his parents. Then comes the idea that he is the son of God. Mysterious things are going on. Everything that happened had some reference to him and he goes out walking to and from, allowing himself to be guided by the sun and the wind and the birds.

As in all such disturbances the outcome can best be determined by balancing up the strong and weak points in character and the constructive and destructive elements in the life situation. In this case some of the very assets are also liabilities. The fine record he has had as an athlete and his general popularity give him something to come back to, but they make it difficult for him to accept the role which are now open to him. He is moreover extremely proud and sensitive.

The latter trait proved a serious obstacle not long after my regular interviews with him began. I had established excellent contact with him. The fact that I had made a survey of the Negro section in Boston and knew a number of the more prominent leaders there, was a great help. Nevertheless he soon began to get suspicious. Something strange was going on in the hospital and it was his duty to fathom it. And before long it seemed that I was involved. With this development my influence was gone. Some resources still remained however. It was now close to the middle of May and already some students had come to work on the wards in connection with their training program. We

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decided therefore upon a plan of action. He was placed on a ward where two of the students were working, and these students were instructed to show themselves always friendly and interested in him, but never in any way to bring any pressure to bear upon him. For some time he kept getting more and more suspicious. Then after about seven weeks his attitude changed. He became friendly and responsive. By September it was possible to let him go home. He was at this time by no means out of the woods and within two months he had to be returned. After a brief stay in the hospital he was taken home and with the help of a devoted family he has made a real adjustment. More than thirty years have passed since his hospitalization and he is now a practicing lawyer and a leader among his people.

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A N O B J E C T O F C O N T E N T I O N

The case of Clayton Taylor is of peculiar interest because of the problems in family relationship which it exemplifies. We have here an unwanted child, the off-spring of a shot-gun marriage, whose father had been planning to marry another woman at the time it was discovered that the patient's mother was pregnant. This child is taken by the father's mother and kept until he is three years old. He had by this time developed into an unusually attractive child and the mother now begins to get interested in him. She takes him now herself, apparently over the protest of the grandmother. From this time on there is a constant friction between mother and grandmother. The situation is complicated by the fact that the mother is a Roman Catholic and the grandmother is a Protestant of the Seventh Day Adventist persuasion.

The ill-feeling between mother and grandmother reaches a climax shortly after Clayton graduates from high school. His record there had been a brilliant one. He stood second scholastically in a class of 200. He was president of the Honor Society, editor-in-chief of the social annual and a member of the basketball-team. The family was becoming quite proud of him. Just at this juncture he announces his conversion to the Seventh Day Adventist faith and decided to enter the little Seventh Day Adventist College in his grandmother's home town.

We are interested to notice that in this struggle for the boy's affections the grandmother won out. This may have been because of her greater devotion to him. The fact that she had him during the first impressionable years of his life may also have had something to do with it.

However that may be during the first semester in college Clayton was bombarded with letters from his parents demanding that he return home. Following the break-up of a love affair, he yielded to these demands. The psychosis followed very shortly. Apparently the surrender of his own career at his mother's behest had much to do with the psychosis. Not infrequently acute psychoses follow some dramatic attempt at self-sacrifices as we have seen in the case of Oscar and George N.

The ideation in this case follows the pattern common to disturbances of this type. The second coming is at hand. It is his task to prepare the way. He is thus a most important personage who ought to be giving orders instead of being told what to do. He shows also the characteristic perplexity, seeing hidden meanings in each trivial happening.

One of the interesting questions raised by this case has to do with the ideas of the second coming which Clayton held. This

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idea is of course one of the cardinal tenets of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The church's traditional teachings are thus in line with the psychotic ideation. It is however important to notice that the same essential idea is found in other patients in this group - in Bernard Curtin, in Oscar O. is James Crandon, in F. G., all of them persons who were without any such background. The idea thus seems to appear spontaneously in experiences of a certain type and instead of explaining the idea in terms of the tradition it seems more accurate to explain the traditional adventist teaching by the spontaneous recurrences of experiences of this type.

In Clayton's disturbance sex maladjustment was clearly a factor. This came out very clearly in the lengthy analysis by the Clinical Director. There was a lot of very crude erotic phantasy and a definite homosexual component. One of the interesting questions raised in the course of the analysis had to do with the frankness with which Clayton discussed those unacceptable desires. Dr. Hill would have felt better satisfied if there had been more resistance, more recognition of their unacceptable character. His attitude seemed to him to partakesomewhat of hebephrenic complacency. The purpose of analysis, he suggested was analogous to the lancing of a boil or abscess. Where however the abscess had broken open spontaneously, what was needed was to rebuild the damaged tissues. So in acute disturbances, in which the difficulty has come to a head and the poisonous matter has been released, what is needed is to re-build the patient's self respect and his confidence in himself.

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THE BEARDED PROPHET

The chief importance of this case lies in its clear exemplification of three major types of schizophrenia and of the nature and function of religion.

The major difficulty in this case is to be found in sexual maladjustment. Although a superb specimen physically there was marked uneasiness regarding his biological efficacy. In the months preceding the definite psychotic outbreak, he had become increasingly restless. He had been visiting fortune-tellers, he had invested worthless land down in Florida, he took an agency to sell food-products. He also invested in gland medication guaranteed to correct certain forms of glandular weakness and insufficiency. Clearly he had been feeling that something was wrong.

The climax comes when at the suggestion of a Negro fellow-workman, he goes to a Pentecostal meeting, responds to their altar call and shortly thereafter passes into an acute psychotic state.

It seems clear that the mission is not to be held responsible for this disturbance. He had already been grappling with the problem of his own personal destiny and he was tense, anxious, set for something to happen. The mission merely touched off the accumulated explosives.

In the disturbance which followed he gave expression to pretty much the entire constellation of ideas which are characteristic of the cases in this group. The end of all things is at hand. The Master is coming again. In fact he is the Christ of this present age. Especially prominent is his idea of being born again. Noticeable also is the poetical character of many of his utterances.

In this initial disturbance we have a classic instance of the type of disorder which is generally labeled "catatonic dementia praecox." From this disturbance he makes a beautiful recovery. Then comes a second brief disturbance marked by the resurgence of the same set of ideas. This is followed by another recovery in which he is ready to tell and even to laugh at the funny ideas he had. A third disturbance then develops. From this he does not recover but proceeds to build up a solid system of delusion. The acute catatonic disturbance has thus passed over in a paranoid formation. The third type was exemplified at the time of my experiment, when I succeeded temporarily in destroying his faith in himself. He then lost the friendly, pleasant expression, and took on a dark, ugly look and gave expression to ideas which were very vile in the extreme. At this time he would be classified "hebephrenic."

We have a clear exemplification of the function of the paranoid formation. It was preserving for him some degree of self-respect and personality integration. It was saving him from the utter destruction represented by the hebephrenic condition.

But this paranoid formation was essentially a system of beliefs regarding his role in life and regarding the constitution of the universe which was profoundly religious. Even though no one else believed in him it still had for him religious value and it is to be sharply distinguished from those other paranoid formations which are activated by hatred and hostility and marked by ideas of persecution and projection of blame. This man was friendly, gentle, cooperative. His religion was socially unsatisfactory. His universe was a tiny one, but its value is apparent in what happened when his faith was destroyed.

A closely related problem is the significance of his concept of himself. This has already been discussed in the case of Oscar O. It will however bear repeating that the concept of the self is the nucleus of the personality. The initial disturbance would thus be due to the explosive power of the enlarged concept of the self which comes with religious insight. His fatal error lay in the lack of reverence. He made his universe too small. But once having built his personality around this concept of his role it becomes very difficult to change it. To shave off the beard which was for him the symbol of his new role was equivalent to taking away his god.

The idea of rebirth which was so prominent in this case is not uncommon in this group of cases. It is also frequent in the depressive types. As Hoch has pointed out it is found in close association with the ideas of death which are characteristic of that type. It is moreover an accurate symbol for what our findings indicate to be the significance of the acute disturbances. They are quite literally attempts at re-organization of re-birth.

After the failure of the experiment there was no change in this man's condition. He resumed his former role and to the end of his days he remained quiet dignified and free from bitterness. He died at the age of about forty three of an acute infectious disease.