

The Dream: Its Function and Motive

*I believe it to be true
that dreams are the true interpreters of our inclinations ,
but there is art required
to sort and understand them.*

MONTAIGNE

HITHERTO we have dwelt on those mental processes which are found in both the normal and abnormal spheres, the processes that may be readily explained on a normal basis. We shall now enter upon the subject of dreams, which, though they are observed in every normal person, present nevertheless a departure from normal conscious processes. The dream has always been a subject of great interest and from time immemorial has received considerable speculation. We find allusion to it in all the earliest writings, to say nothing of the literature of modern times in which it receives an ever-increasing amount of attention.

It is noteworthy what a variety of ideas one meets in the literature on the subject. Some of them, I am glad to say, show some signs of logic; the recent literature is particularly useful and instructive in that definite problems have been investigated. Most of the material, however, is woefully deficient of any clear or definite conception of the nature or meaning of the dream. You may all know that the ancients attributed it to some altogether external force; it was either a demon or God himself that was responsible for it. The scriptures tell us that "What God is about to do, He showeth unto Pharaoh." To the Greeks there were good and evil deities that presided over it. These views have come down to us traditionally, and we may say that the present popular belief in dreams differs in no respect from that of the classical Greeks and the ancient Egyptians.¹ It is also noteworthy that the laity still continues to believe in their importance. In Europe it is quite common for people gambling on lotteries to have a little dream book which gives both interpretations and corresponding numbers. They play the numbers corresponding to the dream, and if they win, it is the dream to which they attribute their success. I understand that the same practice also prevails here among many of our population.

External and Internal Stimuli and Dreams

Everybody dreams, and those who think they do not may be easily convinced of the contrary by a very simple experiment. Make up your mind on retiring that if you have a dream you will recall it, and you will undoubtedly be convinced the next morning that you are no exception to the rule. I have known many people who, at first, insisted that they do not dream but who soon had to admit that they were mistaken.

There are those who believe that dreams are caused by a disturbance of the stomach. How grossly untrue this conception is may readily be seen from a careful study and observation of one's dreams. The condition of the stomach has nothing to do with the psychic determinant of the dream, though it is true that the dream may be

¹ Those interested are referred to *The World of Dreams*, edited by Ralph L. Woods, Random House, New York, 1947.

more easily recalled if the sleep is disturbed. For it is then that the dreamer is thrown into a state in commonly designated as the dreamy or crepuscular state, which is most conducive to the remembering of the dream. This fact accounts for the popular misconception: people generally have observed that they dream when their sleep is disturbed and have, therefore, associated the origin of the phenomenon with the condition of the stomach

There is no doubt, however, that internal and external stimuli give rise to dreams. Attend, for instance, to your alarm clock and you will usually find on awaking that you have dreamed. But these stimuli do not determine the psychic content of the dream, they merely serve as dream inciters. It is a well-known fact, borne out by the experiments of many investigators in this field, that the same stimulus may incite different dreams at different times and in different individuals. Thus, with an alarm clock acting as a stimulus, one person may see himself going to church on an early Sunday morning and hear the church bells ringing, while another person may see a wagon full of tin cans and an automobile colliding with it. What is highly significant to note here is that a short stimulus may produce a dream which will often require a half-hour to describe.

There was an interesting discussion a number of years ago in the *Revue Philosophique* in Paris over a dream that the dreamer described as follows: It was during the French Revolution; he saw himself present at a session of the National Convention; many royal personages were brought before it, tried, and condemned to die. He could see how they were being led away on the cabriolets, placed on the guillotine, and beheaded. Suddenly he himself was arrested, having been accused of some crime. He appeared before the Convention, defended himself, remembering the speech that he made, how he argued with the public prosecutor, and how finally he was sentenced to death. He was hurried off on the tumbrel, then taken from the prison to the guillotine. His head was placed on the block, he felt the blade strike the back of his neck, and presently he awoke to find that a board of the bed had fallen and struck him on the back of the neck.

The question that naturally arises here is: "How is it that so short a stimulus produced so long a dream? How long did the dream take, how was it possible to crowd all that material which required so much time to write down into a space of apparently a few seconds?" The board struck him, he awoke, and remembered the dream. Many explanations were presented, but with the exception of Professor Freud, who has succeeded in unraveling the secret of the dream generally, none of the writers really explained the mechanism. Analysis reveals that the dreamer was a Frenchman. As a boy he read about the French Revolution, and, like all boys, lived right through this stirring and romantic period. I have already drawn your attention, I think, in another connection, to the psychic mechanism of identification, by virtue of which we read ourselves into a situation of marked affective content or live through the life of an individual whom we love or admire. In reading, we usually select the hero or heroine upon whom we fix this marked interest; sometimes, too, I am bold enough to say, we may even identify ourselves with the villain. We feel deeply with whatever individual we identify ourselves with; we are with him in his moments of profound sorrow and joy, we live his life, as it were. It is nothing unusual to see one weep in the theater at some serious turn of fortune in the story of a "favorite" character. This mode of projecting ourselves into the lives of others, this profound and powerful sense of sympathy with their deeper experiences is quite unconscious and continues throughout life.

A little boy reading about Indians may identify himself with the brave and virtuous Indian, or with the scout. Many women have come under my notice whose whole course of life was determined by a certain book or series of books by a particular author; unconsciously and sometimes even consciously they governed their lives according to the characters depicted in the story, particularly according to some

special character that strongly appealed to them. Now the identification mechanism enables us to endow every scene, every situation that appeals to us, with a certain emotional warmth and tone. We may only seemingly forget a situation that had once profoundly stirred us, but it always remains in the unconscious; it has rooted itself in our inmost thoughts and feelings, it has become a part of us. Any conscious or unconscious association may bring it back to the mind with all its former vividness. That is what happened in the case of the dreamer. As a boy he read the story of the Revolution with breathless interest. The unfortunates who were guillotined particularly impressed him; he absorbed to the full the pathos, the horror, the terrible meaning of the situation. And now when the board fell on the back of his neck it recalled, by association, the whole situation, in all its vividness and with all its attending emotions. The thoughts and feelings associated with the execution were registered in the mind as he read them and were now brought to the surface by this external stimulus. The action was similar to what we find in the theater: the stage manager pushes the button and the 'scene shifter brings on the appropriate scene. The external stimulus, by an accidental association, served to bring into play a whole group of formerly accentuated ideas and emotions.

Internal stimuli act in the same way. If, for instance, you experience certain sensations in your stomach today that you had five years ago, the likelihood is that your dreams will have a resemblance in some way to those of the former period. When we bear this in mind, we do not have to resort to supernatural causes to account for the fact that some people can foretell by a certain dream that they are going to be sick. Long before one is conscious of his sickness, long before, for instance, the mucous membrane of the nose and throat becomes so swollen that it begins to run and ache, the congestion starts and arouses associations in the mind which recall some similar situation in the past. That is enough to cause the individual to dream of the sickness. One woman actually had the same type of dream every time before she got a cold in the head, as she called it. We observe this phenomenon under different forms in everyday life. Patients in speaking to me of certain ailments, let us say, periodic headaches, may often tell me how glad they are that they did not have the headache for the last three months. I am not at all pleased to hear this, for I know that the fact that they thought of it is already an indication that it is coming on, but that it has not as yet manifested itself to consciousness. To be sure I learn the next day that the headache has arrived.

A disease does not manifest itself suddenly; long before the person consciously knows that he is sick, he experiences, though vaguely, some feeling of depression or uneasiness that carries with it a sense of foreboding to those who are ignorant of the psychological significance of the condition. That undoubtedly accounts for the fact that among both primitive and modern people the sneeze was always greeted with some formula that signified the wish to avert evil. Undoubtedly primitive man learned empirically that whenever he began to sneeze some disease would follow, because a great many serious diseases begin with coryza. One has a right to believe that primitive man had less chance to overcome pneumonia and other infectious or contagious diseases than his modern brother, and as sneezing was invariably followed by disease which often ended fatally, primitive man naturally tried to stop it through incantations such as "God bless you!" or its equivalent in other languages. I feel that this really explains the sneezing ceremonial in a much simpler way and is nearer to the truth than the explanation offered by Dr. Wallace in his interesting dissertation, *The Romance and the Tragedy of Sneezing*.¹

In physical as well as in mental life a certain stimulus is required before a certain reaction is produced. I am sure that those of you who have studied academic psychology will recall the old Weber-Fechner law of the relation of stimulus to intensity of sensation -- the intensity of the one being approximately proportional to

¹ *Scientific Monthly*, Vol 9, No.6, 1919.

the intensity of the other. One of the experiments that we perform in the examination of patients, particularly when we wish to determine their degree of attention, is to expose pictures to them very rapidly, the exposure lasting only a few seconds. We then ask them to tell us what they observed. A great many will declare at first that they saw nothing, but upon urging them to tell you what comes to their mind, they invariably will mention something that has a more or less fundamental resemblance to the picture. I show a person a Japanese scene, and he declares at first that he saw nothing. I urge him to reflect, and he soon replies, "Well, I think of China." you see that he noted the resemblance, although he has not consciously seen the picture. In order to be heard, I do not have to speak to you in a room, for instance, as loudly as I would have to in the subway. But if I whisper to you in a room, you may not hear me even though the stimulus is present and the sound is there. In other words, one may say that before you see, you have already seen; before you hear, you have already heard, but the stimulus may not always be sufficiently strong to make you feel conscious of the sensation.

Incidentally, I may say that if you remember this important law in psychology you will be able to understand many of the occurrences to which people generally attribute so much importance. You are often asked to explain, for example, how it is that when you talk of Mr. Brown he is sure to appear. The fact is that you either saw or heard Mr. Brown before you talked about him. Let us remember that our senses tell us much more than we generally suppose, and though we have little use for them in ordinary peaceful times, they still operate, and render us knowledge long before we are really conscious of it. You may be on the avenue speaking to your friend, when somebody passes who has aroused certain associations in your mind. You begin to talk about him, although you have not consciously seen him, and suddenly, to your great surprise, he stands there before you in his own flesh and blood. "Talk of the devil, and he is sure to appear." But he has been there in your field of vision long before you actually saw him.

But I may be reminded: "I talked about a man while staying in the house and to be sure he came in." Usually we can hear the person approaching, and I still have to find the person who knows somebody well but cannot recognize the latter's footsteps. At home we can always tell who is coming, whether mother, father, or some other intimate person. We may also explain on this basis such occurrences as find expression in the following characteristic remark: "How do you account for my receiving a letter from a woman whom I have not heard from for a long time, and, strange enough, I talked about her only yesterday?" When you investigate you find that there is a similar mechanism involved, that the situation presents nothing at all mysterious or "psychic." You have established a certain connection in your mind between that person and yourself. At about that period you think suddenly of that individual by virtue of a psychic process to which I have already drawn your attention under the term of "post-hypnotic suggestion"; that is to say, at the expiration of a certain time, a certain impression received in the past will recur, and revive an old association. In other words our senses, which are so active in animals, especially in the Mammalia, our nearest relatives, are still active, and although we have become accustomed to look for protection from without, they continually receive and impart to us information from the inner and outer worlds. It is because we have learned to neglect them consciously that we are sometimes mystified by the sensations they convey to us.

The Dream the Guardian of Sleep

The underlying nature and meaning of the dream were not known until Professor Freud propounded his theories.¹ All sorts of interpretations were presented but there was no general, fundamental conception. In analyzing his patients Freud found that they all dreamed, and the question presented itself, "Are dreams definite psychic mechanisms or do they represent sheer nonsense, having no relation to the individual's psychic life?" The answer involved a fundamental conception; everything both in physical and mental life has a reason; as in the physical, so in the psychic sphere, there is nothing that has not some functional significance. We have tears, not merely to weep, but to keep the eyes constantly moist to wash them; otherwise they would be coated with dust that would make it impossible for us to see. We have sweat glands in order to equalize the temperature of the body, and saliva to assist in deglutition and digestion generally. In the same way every psychic function has its *raison d'etre*. The question then was, "Why do we dream?" He thoroughly investigated the literature on the subject but it was not there that the answer was to be found. It was only as he delved deeper and deeper into the neurotic symptoms and saw their profound intimate connection with the dream, that he was approaching a solution of the problem. He began to see that the dream is a perfect psychic mechanism, that it is not at all arbitrary, but that it has a definite relation to the individual's psychic life. The deeper he probed the dream, the more did its wisdom and underlying sense of order grow upon him, until finally, he formulated the thesis that "*a dream is the hidden fulfillment of a repressed wish.*" In other words, a dream is a wish that the individual could not realize in the waking state.

Now before dilating on this conclusion let me go back to the function of the dream. During the day we all think of a host of things; I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that hundreds and hundreds of thoughts run through the mind; they glide by and we are not even conscious of them. But there are always some problems coming up that absorb us: It is well known that if any question should continue to engage our attention to a marked degree, it would be impossible for us to fall asleep. We are all aware that any strong or poignant emotion, whether it be one of pleasure or pain, may keep one awake. An individual who is elated does not wish to sleep, and, for that matter, cannot sleep, because his senses are too alive and stimulated. To sleep it is necessary to exclude all sensations from all senses. We go to bed so that we may relax; the lights are turned out in order to exclude all sensory stimulations. Experiment has demonstrated that sleep is usually induced when sensations are thus excluded. When sensory impressions are shut out from animals sleep usually follows. Thus, when there is any problem engrossing the mind, the tendency is not to fall asleep. Now what are the things that would keep us awake? They are usually those that we have not been able to attain, or those we have not been able to solve. One works out a problem, thinking to himself: "If I can put that through, I will be fortunate: my future will be assured. If I cannot execute it, I do not know what I am to do: I will lose my position and will not be able to take care of my family." He goes to bed and dwells on the problem. He would probably continue with it throughout the whole night were it not for his wish to sleep. What actually happens then is that the mind takes the problem and weaves it into a dream. The dream then realizes the wish and thus makes sleep possible. We must not forget that the word "dream" means to deceive, that is to say, the mind, which is the central station of all our activities, strives to deceive us into feeling that whatever keeps us from sleeping no longer exists.

In everyday life we know that once a question is solved, there is no further need for preoccupation with it. It is merely a matter of how to solve an existing problem. A child goes to sleep, crying; it wants a doll. The mother quickly appeases it by granting the wish. So far so good; but this same child, grown older, wants some-

¹ "The Interpretation of Dreams," in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, translated by A. A. Brill The Modern Library, New York. 1938.

thing that the mother cannot so easily secure. It has to go without it, but as it wishes to sleep, the problem is solved in a different way. Nature assures our rest by seemingly granting us our wishes. The child now dreams that it has obtained what it was refused in reality. This does not always take place, that is, not every wish can be realized in dreams, but the mind makes a strong effort to do so. If the wish cannot be realized, the sleeper is awakened in a nightmare. This is, comparatively speaking, a rare occurrence. Likewise, if you should go to bed tonight after eating a very salty supper, you will undoubtedly desire water at night, but instead of waking up, particularly if the room is cold, you will dream that you are slaking your thirst with some refreshing water, or if you are more fortunately constituted, with some stronger and more inviting beverage. This is a very common "convenience" dream. If you retire hungry, you will invariably dream that you are eating. I spoke to Professor Macmillan who went with Peary to the North Pole and he told me what great pleasure they had experienced in their dreams. The reason is quite clear. These men who had known the delicacies of New York restaurants were compelled to live on pemmican and a simple Arctic Zone diet. They dreamed of the things they were anxious to have. They smoked fine cigars and drank highballs in their sleep. Children invariably show that they dream of those things that they cannot have in the waking state. Children's dreams and the so-called convenience dreams of adults are thus open wishes. When the dreams, however, are not of this type, the situation is quite different, and it is here that we encounter serious difficulties in understanding them.

To appreciate how the dream acts as *the guardian of sleep*, consider with me the following case of a businessman who has been with his firm for a number of years, whose ability was recognized, but for whom there is manifestly no real place in the proposed reorganization of the business. In order to remain in the new organization he must show that he can be a factor in it, that there is a special department that he can manage; otherwise he realizes that he will have to lose his position. He evolves a scheme which he is to present the next morning before the board of trustees. He goes to bed, constantly thinking of the matter: he sees himself before the board, he anticipates the arguments of his two opponents, he wonders what best reply to make. The clock strikes, one, two, and three, and he is still awake. Finally, exhausted, he falls asleep and has the following dream: *He is swimming in New York Bay on a board which he is able to manipulate just as if it were an excellent motorboat. The steamers are going and coming, but he is by no means disconcerted: every time a big boat approaches, he very deftly steers out of its course, or rides over the waves with ease and pleasure. He is enjoying the swim immensely.* He awoke with a feeling of satisfaction.

When he came to me the next day, he wondered what sort of wish his dream could represent. I reminded him at once that the dream is not always an open wish but a hidden realization of a repressed wish. The interpretation is simple enough. He was to appear the next day, as I said, before the board of trustees to lay before it his plans for the reorganization of the business; he knew that unless he could convince them to accept his scheme, he would lose his position. He knew, furthermore, that some members of the board were antagonistic to him and would raise objections regardless of whatever plans he proposed; on the other hand, he was aware that most of the members were favorably disposed toward him. It was some time before he fell asleep, because his mind was constantly dwelling on the whole situation. He would have remained awake throughout the night, but as he was tired and wished to sleep, the disturbing problem had to be solved in some way. This could be effected only by weaving his emotionally accentuated ideas into a dream which represented his wish as accomplished. When I asked him what his dream recalled he told me he used to engage, as a boy, in swimming races on *boards* on the Ohio River, in which he was highly proficient. And so you see, because he was thinking of how to control the board, a situation in the past presented itself to him in which he actually managed boards skillfully and won. The mechanism of *double-entendre*, double meaning of a word, reproduced in his mind a scene from boyhood in which he had perfect control

of a board. It was a different board, to be sure, but that made little difference in the unconscious; the important thing was that he was able to guide it through all obstacles. The dream not only enabled him to sleep but the pain of tomorrow's uncertainty was replaced by pleasant feelings of his remote past. Thus the dream was the producer as well as the guardian of sleep.

From the above dream we may see the first difficulty in dream analysis, viz., that the language of the dream is visual: we see images, we express ideas in symbols. Whereas in the waking state "to see" is used in the literal as well as the more or less figurative sense of "to understand," in the sleeping state we use it entirely in its literal significance. We do not think in the dream in any logical sense, we merely see a succession of images, which have been stored in the mind in the past. It would have been otherwise impossible for the dreamer who dreamed about the French Revolution to condense, as he did, so much thought in a few seconds; what the dream really did was to revive pictures in his mind that he actually gleaned from history books or that his own imagination may have created, while he was immersed in his reading. Abstract ideas in dreams can only be represented graphically. In this respect the dreamer acts like the child or the artist. I have asked many people how they would represent, for instance, the abstract idea of charity on canvas or in marble, and I have never found two individuals who gave me exactly the same description. It is noteworthy that they always describe the first thing that comes to their mind. One person may see a haggard, decrepit woman, in a shawl, holding out her hand, and a well-dressed lady giving her coins; another may see a little girl, ragged and frozen, begging alms, and a man pausing to help her. And so the pictures vary with each individual. But the significant thing that analysis reveals is that all these people invariably reproduce something that they had formerly experienced. When I asked, for instance, the person who gave me the first representation above to tell me what it suggested to him, he recalled a trip in Italy where he actually witnessed many such scenes in which an American woman would pause to give alms to some Italian beggar. Everybody has his own memory images for abstract ideas, which, although unconscious, have their peculiar, special meaning to him, and are represented in dreams in their original form.

Thus one of my patients associated in his dream a certain woman whom he knew with grief, because he thought of her as a "funeral bird" in the waking state. Likewise one may utilize in the dream any situation representing in his mind some idea or emotion, as a symbol for a certain feeling --a certain *Stimmung*. That is why it is wrong to attempt to interpret a dream without a knowledge of what the particular image represents in the particular person's mind. There are, to be sure, some dreams that evince ethnic symbols to which definite meanings may be ascribed, but one has to be extremely careful even with those; they may have an altogether different significance in different individuals. In other words, the meaning of the dream cannot usually be known unless the dreamer is well known to the analyst.

The following dream is a fine example of how abstract thoughts are visualized concretely in dreams. Miss S. dreamed that she "*passed a very tall building from which smoke came out. Then some flames burst forth. I could feel the awful heat.*"

Analysis: Miss S. is not very fortunate in love. She is well-educated, intelligent, and good-looking, but a little too reserved to suit the average young man. She had many admirers, but for some reason or other the eligible man either failed to appear or made little progress toward matrimony. The day before the dream she visited a friend, who jokingly teased her about T., one of her admirers. She heard that he was a "steady caller," as she put it, and wanted to know when the engagement would be announced, and so on. Miss S. was embarrassed, and protested that there was no truth in the rumor, that it was nothing but idle gossip. Secretly, conversation ended with the significant remark from her friend, "Where there's smoke there must be fire." The dream fulfills her wish. The very tall building is herself --she is quite tall. She sees the smoke, then the flames, and can feel the awful heat. The saying,

where there is smoke there is fire, is simply visualized by the dream, and as the dreamer is the chief actor of the dream, she is the tall building. A building or house, as is well known, is an old symbol for the body. We often speak of the body as the house we live in. Fire and heat are symbols of love.

An interesting little example of this identification of love with fire is found in one of Maupassant's short stories, "Always Lock the Door," which many of you perhaps have read. An old bachelor relates how his first real adventure in love miscarried by his failure to lock the door. He invited his fair friend to his private room one day, but to his great distress found that he had no fire because the chimney smoked. "The very evening before," he goes on to tell us, "I had spoken to my landlord, a retired shopkeeper, about it, and he had promised that he would send for the chimney sweep in a day or two to put it in order. As soon as she came in I said, 'There is no fire because my chimney smokes.' She did not even appear to hear me but stammered, 'That does not matter, I have. . .'"

Apart from the fact that the language of the dream is visual, another difficulty in dream analysis is that when the dream wishes to represent something hidden, it resorts to the same mechanisms that we use in the waking state when we wish to express something indirectly; that is to say, it has recourse to the double-entendre, distortions, and similar mechanisms. I need not give you examples; all you have to do is to think of the theater, of the different witticisms you hear and read; you will then realize that in a sense nobody expresses himself truthfully. Writers frequently resort to all sorts of detours, euphemisms, and symbolism when they wish to express something which would sound either blunt or objectionable to polite society. Thus we find that the words thigh and staff are often used in the Bible to express that part which represents the male. No one is ashamed of taking nourishment, if he is hungry, or of quenching thirst, if he is thirsty, and that is why convenience dreams are quite open. But it is quite different with the other necessities of nature and with the functions appertaining to sex. Most people are trained to conceal all manifestations of the sex instinct, and, as a result, all expression in this sphere is indirect and distorted even in the waking state. It is instructive to note, for instance, some of the indirect expressions, such as the "curse" or the "old woman" that women use in referring to menstruation, a physiological function of which no one indeed need be ashamed. It is not at all surprising, then, that this secret language in which we speak about sex functions should so often baffle us.

A woman, for example, related to me the following dream: "*I was sleeping with a very disagreeable old lady and was quite disgusted.*" She wished to know how such a dream could represent a wish. When I asked her for associations, she replied that nothing came to her mind; there was no one with whom she could identify this "old lady." Then I inquired what she had done the day previous to the dream, for we must remember to seek the determinant of the dream in that immediate past; the determinant is invariably an occurrence of the day previous to the dream. Some stimulus or impression through any one of the senses strikes, as it were, something similar in the mind with which the latter is engrossed, something that has emotional tone; and it is this that gives rise to the dream. I learned presently that the woman had been to a party the night before, at which one of the men proposed to take her horseback riding on Sunday. She went on to tell me that she feared that she could not accept the invitation; I inquired what reason she had for having to decline it and she informed me, after a little resistance, that she was afraid she might menstruate on that day.

It occurred to me then to ask her how she designates this function. "Why, we call it the 'disagreeable old woman,'" I learned. Here you have the analysis of the dream. When the young man invited her to go riding on Sunday, she wished to accept but expecting to menstruate on that day she had to give an indefinite answer. She turned to her sister, who understood her, and said: "I am afraid that the old woman might come." But as she was very anxious to go, she dreamed that she had already

menstruated, that she had gone through with the disagreeable affair, that the "old lady" had already been with her. Upon superficial examination, then, it would have been nonsense to say that the dream represented a wish, but once one understands what is going on in the dreamer's mind, the deeper meaning becomes evident. I repeat, then, in order to analyze a dream it is absolutely necessary to know the dreamer well, not only as he is on parade, but also in those moments when he is most himself; you must know his intimate personality and his idiomatic expressions, as it were.

As an example of how dream analysis is made difficult by the "distortion" mechanisms, consider the following dream related to me by a patient. He dreamed he was translating Latin. *"I used the word 'whine' and the teacher said it should be 'when,' not 'whine.'*" Upon analysis it was found that the teacher in the dream represented myself, that the sessions with me reminded him of going to school again, of coming to me as to a teacher, and asking me questions. Associating further, he presently recalled that the week before he felt very much depressed; he came to me and complained bitterly. I told him not to "whine," that he would surely get well, but that it was only a question of time-i.e., "when." But why did he have to take up Latin? The first association that came to his mind apropos of that was that whenever he attended his Latin hour he was always nervous: he used an interlinear. I accordingly told him that he must be cheating with me, too, and he admitted that he was; he declared that there were certain things that he felt he could not reveal to me, that indeed it was rather foolish to think that one has to disclose everything to the physician. As you see, he was trying to use an interlinear again, but it did not work. I informed him that he would recover when he ceased whining; "when?" "When you begin to tell the truth; when you do not use an inter-linear, when you will be willing to become independent of outside help."

Another example of distortion as found in dreams may be seen in the following case. One of my patients related to me how he was present at the usual New Year's Eve dinner that his father-in-law is accustomed to give to the whole family. At the appropriate moment the head of the family rose and made a speech in which he commented on every member of the family in his wonted good-natured way. In summing up the results of the past year, the old gentleman observed: "When I look upon the assets and the liabilities of the year, everyone of you is on the asset side." At this the patient smiled and thought to himself: "What about your son, the black sheep of the family, who is causing you so much trouble?" This son was quite a serious problem to his father; he was a ne'er-do-well, because he was absolutely unable to tell the truth; he was a pathological liar of the first order. Following this incident the patient dreamed that he saw a balance sheet. Under the assets were the names of the various members of the family, under the liabilities there was just the name of the son. But instead of "liabilities" the word was spelt thus: lie-abilities." The distortion in this dream is exactly of the same character as that found in wit. When a New York critic, for instance, in reviewing a play, the first two acts of which he evidently considered very good, the third rather poor, re-marked: "The first two acts are capital, the third is labor," he was merely resorting to a technique which is by no means uncommon in dreams.

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The Dream: Its Function and Motive (*continued*)

FREUD POSITED the fundamental principle that the motive of the dream is the wish. The individual craves for something, but as he cannot attain it in reality, by virtue of its unattainable or disagreeable nature, he realizes it in the dream. When someone assures you that he does not dream it simply means that he does not remember his dreams because he is little interested in the problem of dreams. Moreover, as dream function ceases on awakening, the repression reasserts itself. To be sure, some dream more than others. Of the many writers who have investigated this subject, there was Professor de Sanctis of Rome, who held that criminals do not dream. You can readily see what the explanation would be in the light of our theories. A criminal does not, as a rule, suppress much; whenever he wants something, he immediately sets about at- taming it. When the average normal person sees something he wants, but that he knows is absolutely beyond his reach, he has learned not even to desire it consciously, in any real sense. The criminal does not, however, react in this manner. What has caught his fancy he immediately sets out to gain; by virtue of his weak-mindedness no fear of society and law stays him. Because he does not suppress, he inevitably has nothing to dream about. I have found from my own experience, however, that De Sanctis was not entirely right in his conclusions; that whereas most criminals I have questioned did not really dream as much as the average person, they all admitted, nevertheless, that they dream occasionally. After all, there is no human being who can attain all his wishes.

In order to understand why the dream should thus be motivated by the wish it is necessary to have some idea of the mental evolution of the child from the very beginning of life. The average child expresses no wishes, all its wants are gratified by its mother; it lies in the cradle, frolics when satisfied, cries when hungry or uncomfortable. The only object the child needs from the outer world is its mother, and we say that it is in an *anaclitic* relation to her.¹ It leans on her for everything, and she is so constituted that she is always ready to supply the child's needs. The child does not, however, consider its mother as an outside object. It conceives of her as a part of itself. Gradually, as it grows older, its demands multiply and become more marked; it is then that the situation becomes a problem. Observe a child who does not as yet know how to express itself in speech and you will find that it wants everything that it sees in its environment; it will pull you to the object of its fancy; it craves to grasp and hold it. The older it grows, the more imperious become its wants. When it has learned to talk, you can readily see how powerfully the wish predominates in life; the child demands all the time; nothing can satisfy it.

The child starts its life with what we call the *pleasure principle*; it craves for nothing but pleasure. It eats, sleeps, and plays. When it is satisfied, it finds pleasure in sucking its thumb; and the Germans very aptly call thumb-sucking *Wonnesaugen*, pleasure sucking. When it has once experienced a pleasure it will always seek to reproduce it. Specialists have accordingly advised mothers not to rock a child to sleep. For motion is the most elementary form of pleasure and manifests itself throughout our lives. It may interest you to know that it is at the basis of our love for dancing and many other enjoyments. In all popular amusement resorts that I have visited both here and on the continent 99 per cent of the pleasure is essentially based on this principle. We find here a reversion to an infantile mode of gratification. This may be based on the fact that the cosmos in which we live is in constant motion.

¹ Anaclitic; from the Greek *ana-klino*, "to lean on."

Gradually, however, society begins to curb the child; parents cannot give it everything, and it feels, for the first time, the force of repression. The older it grows, the more it has to cope with the *principle of reality*; education and all other cultural forces are based on the realization that the individual has to be prepared to face that stem fact. If it does not adjust itself to reality, it will flounder about and finally fail, despite everything we may do to help it. I saw a man many years ago whose parents were multi-millionaires; he was brought up in the most attractive environment. He was destined for the Army, sent to West Point, stayed there a year and a half, and was then expelled on demerits; he would not follow the rules of discipline, nor study. When he related to me some of his escapades I could not help but wonder how he ever succeeded in staying at the Academy as long as he did. But he explained to me that his father was very influential and had considerable weight with the authorities. Expelled from West Point, he matriculated in other schools, but could not get along in anyone of them. He was hail fellow well met with the students, for he had plenty of money to spend, but could not study. "Why should I? What's the use?" he would say to himself.

When his father died, he came into his own rights, and within two or three years he spent not only every cent he had, but all that his mother could give him. When the war broke out he enlisted. A great many of his old classmates were now colonels in the regular army; one of them who liked him needed a sergeant major and so took him into his regiment. He did quite well for a time, but was presently compelled to leave the post. He was sent to the guard-house, and it was there that he passed most of his time throughout the whole war. He would have made a good fighter, but he was absolutely unable to adapt himself to the demands of reality; he could not be disciplined. He could not bear to have "those idiots," as he called some of his superiors, tell him what to do. Eventually a major of the Medical Corps advised him to see me. He was ragged when he came to me. I learned that he was a dishwasher in one of the hotels in the city and had just been "fired." The man was quite normal intellectually; he was merely a spoiled child, emotionally untrained and wild. He was able to do as he wanted when he had money, but now, as he put it, he was "down and out."

So it is absolutely impossible for the individual to get along in the world unless he adjusts himself to the principle of reality, which means nothing more nor less than the principle of inhibitions and repressions. Education, in the final analysis, is nothing but a means of equipping the individual with those experiences that have already been gathered by others, in order that he may thus be fitted to face and overcome the difficulties and obstacles of life, to cope with the problems of reality. The child's education, accordingly, begins at a very early period. Long before he actually enters school he has been receiving at home instruction of the most vital importance; he has been learning all the while to *repress* most of his primitive impulses. Mothers and fathers who have carefully observed the development of the child know but too well that the first word that it learns to speak is "no," it is not "Dada" or "Mama." It either moves its head to say "no," or actually says it. The reason is clear. There "is nothing that you wish the child to do that it wants to do; it always insists on doing things in its own way. Immediately corrective forces begin to operate and the individual who was destined by nature to be free and lead a lawless existence is curbed finally to the demands of actual life.

Centuries of civilization have left their mark upon us, and we must now live accordingly. No one, I dare say, would wish to live after the manner of our primitive ancestors. There is, therefore, a constant struggle; no one likes to submit to the repression that the inhibitory aspects of civilization demand; no one finds it easy to repress the primitive impulses. Thus it may be said in truth that the individual begins with "no" from his very infancy, and continues to declare it more and more vociferously until his death. His life, one might say; is one long struggle, one bitter revolt. In the light of this principle the ideal of absolute independence and happiness

takes on a rather somber aspect. For no matter what you may do for the individual, he cannot be in any final sense happy or independent, for what he really wants is something that goes back to his infantile life. In the very nature of things, then, we can never be satisfied; no individual can ever be absolutely contented with his environment; there is always room for improvement.

There is a story that runs through my mind which some of you may have heard. It is the story of a king whose only child, a little girl, became ill. He had the very best doctors attending her; the chief physician finally informed him that nothing could be done to save the child. The king waxed angry. "You mean to say that with all your knowledge and skill you cannot do anything for the child?" he demanded. "It suffers from a condition that is incurable," replied the physician. The king became furious and began to threaten. At last one of the doctors declared that there was but one thing that could cure the child, and that was for her to wear the shirt of one who was perfectly happy. The king was glad, for he thought that that was simple enough. Immediately he had the news heralded through the town. But it was impossible to find such a person. Meanwhile the child's condition was growing more serious and the king was in great distress. Immersed in dark thoughts, he took a walk to the outskirts of the city. Presently he met a young ragamuffin, a shepherd boy, whistling and very joyful. "You seem to be very happy," said the king. "Yes," answered the boy. "But do tell me, what makes you so happy?" inquired the king. "Why shouldn't I be? Everything is lovely. Jane loves me and I am going to marry her soon. I just feel fine." "Did you hear that the king is looking for someone who is perfectly happy?" the king continued. "Yes, I heard of it, but I haven't a shirt," was the shepherd's reply. You see, only a person who can be satisfied with having no shirt can really be happy, but are there such persons outside the realm of fancy?

Now the significant thing to note is that although society has actually succeeded in training the individual to forego and renounce and thus adjust himself to prevailing conditions, we nevertheless find, when we examine his intimate psychic recesses, that he really never foregoes his desires absolutely, that he has a way of realizing them. In his dreams, symptoms, and in the manifold unconscious activities of everyday life the individual is still able to realize his wishes more or less. .

Consider for a moment a child who is little acquainted with the, restraining force of reality and gratification in phantasy. I once observed a little girl of about four years of age who took a fancy to a little wagon that another child was playing with. She went directly up to her, got hold of the string, and wanted to take away the little cart, but at the owner's loud protests the nurse soon hurried up and compelled her to leave. The little girl's mother reprimanded her in these words, "You must not do that; that's not yours; that's the other little girl's wagon." The little girl cried so bitterly that her mother finally gave her some chalk to play with. Presently she drew some figure on the sidewalk and pointing to it cried: "Here's a little wagon." I can assure you there was hardly any resemblance to the real object, but there was enough likeness there to impress the child. In other words, the little girl actually realized or strove to realize her wish: she now had that toy that she wanted so badly.

A little girl continued to cry for candy until she finally fell asleep. She awoke the next morning crying, and when asked for the reason, said that someone took away her box of chocolate almonds; she insisted that she had them in bed. She was only a little more than two years old and was barely able to talk. Undoubtedly the child dreamed that she had a big box of chocolate almonds, thus actually realizing her wish, and unable to distinguish between dream and reality, cried on awaking.

As the child grows older, however, one may observe how the wish becomes more and more distorted in the dream. There are more and more complex mechanisms appearing which reveal that the child's nature is growing more and more comprehensive; so long as its mode of reaction was simple, the dreams were simple.

There is no difficulty in analyzing a child's dream before the age of five: it is later that the force of repression begins to manifest itself. It is noteworthy that the child also develops at this time a sense of humor. As we have already seen, humor and wit are nothing but modes of obtaining pleasure through a distortion of words and ideas, and as long as the child is young, it has no need for them. When a child bursts out in laughter, it does so because someone else laughs, it is not a spontaneous activity. Gradually children develop more ideas and suppress considerably more; laughter is then the result of complicated stimuli. In my walks with my little girl in the park I used to take her to a place where horses were usually watered. For about a year, every time I passed it, I would remark: "Here we bring the 'autos' to be watered," to which she answered nothing. One day I made the same remark, and she looked at me quizzically, smiled, and said: "Autos don't have to be watered." When she came home she told her mother of the funny thing I had said. It is significant that her dreams at this period began to assume a distorted aspect; she already showed all the marks of a complex mind; the associations were no longer simple.

The dream assumes, then, a more and more complex and distorted character as the child grows older. Thus a little boy is in the zoological garden, and seeing a tiger for the first time in his life, is very much attracted by the animal and remarks to his father, "Wouldn't it be nice if we had a tiger home?" The father tells him that such a thing would be altogether impossible in an apartment. The next morning the boy tells his father he dreamed that they had five little tigers in the bird cage. So you see, since, as it appeared to him, the difficulty lay merely in the size of the animal, he solved it in the dream by appreciably reducing it. When this boy was a year older he wanted a pony. He asked his grandfather to buy him one, and the old man said he would try to do so; but apparently he never meant it seriously, for when Christmas came, the boy had to go without one and his disappointment was keen. His father explained to him that the old man was only joking, for he could not afford the purchase. Then the little boy dreamed that he had a pony, and it was lame, and he did not want it. You see how he reconciled himself. So, as the child grows older, the dream becomes more and more complex, and, consequently, with it the wish expression.

The following dreams illustrate remarkably well the essential point I am trying to bring home to you, namely, that the dream, in the final analysis, is nothing but a concrete visualization of a hidden wish. The first of these was brought to me by a very active and intelligent woman, and runs as follows:

"I was in a train and had a baby wrapped up in a blanket, and a Negro nurse. The baby was sleeping at the foot of the bed. I was in bed. The nurse was sitting on a bench in front. There came people--a whole crowd of them--from a certain club, and I said I had to nurse the baby. I looked to see whether he was awake, because he had been so very quiet. I saw that the child had a man's face; he smiled at me and said, 'I can wait; I am not hungry!'"

Now the dream appeared strange and comical to the dreamer. When she had related it to me, she laughed and observed, "Isn't that funny? I wonder what you can make out of it?" Knowing the patient well, it was no difficult matter to interpret the dream. She informed me that the previous evening she gave a dinner to a gentleman who was lecturing at this club of which we hear in the dream. It is an association which she founded about twenty years before for the advancement of child study, and its demands upon her time and attention were very great. Most of the duties devolved upon her, and she was therefore kept constantly busy. She heaved a sigh of relief when the dinner was over, and bewailed her lot to her husband, who remarked: "It's about time they got someone else to do the work. The association is now grown up and I should think there would be a great many others who could take your place." That was what she really wished. We now see how ingeniously the idea is represented: the baby in the dream is this association devoted to child study which she

has founded and which she now desires to be sufficiently grown up to take care of itself and relieve her of her many duties. She wonders whether the child was awake, "he was so quiet"; we see here her wish that the association would not tax so much of her time. And, further; when she looks at the child she finds that he is grown up; he says, "I can wait; I am not hungry." We see here the concrete visualization of what her husband said, "The association is grown up and could get along without you." The dream thus realizes her wish: the association is grown up and can get along without her constant attention; the baby can get along without her constant nursing and care. "I can wait; I am not hungry," he assures her.

Miss W., a college student of about twenty, related to me the following dream: "I saw *Apollo embracing Venus de Milo, and then Apollo stabbed her in the breast.*" The dreamer awoke in a state of anxiety almost like a nightmare. As we look at the dream, it does not seem to represent a wish, and, what is more, it does not contain the dreamer. Before proceeding any further, then, permit me at once to impress upon your mind that whenever you cannot find the dreamer, look for him under the guise of the dream's central or predominant character. That is the only way to get at the heart of the situation. If the dreamer is a man, he is usually concealed in the hero of the dream; if a woman, in the heroine. Remember also that it makes no difference whether he is represented by human beings or by animals. A man, for example, told me recently how he dreamed that two cats were engaged in a boxing match, how, strange to say, they were all the while exchanging bitter words, and how, finally, the smaller cat succeeded in "knocking out" the bigger opponent. When we resorted to continuous association, the dreamer recalled a scene he witnessed on the day before the dream, in the college gymnasium, in which two men were boxing; one was heavy and tall, the other was light and "quick as a cat." The latter, because of his agility, "knocked out" his adversary. If I were to describe to you the dream in full, you would readily see that the dreamer identified himself with the successful boxer; he takes, therefore, a situation in which he overcomes an individual whom he would like to "knock out" in reality, and because of the peculiarly intimate relation in his mind between the agility of the boxer and a cat, he transforms it entirely into a fight between two cats.

In this intimate relation existing between the dreamer and the central character in the dream there is a marked analogy to the relation that we find between the author and his work. In the final analysis we may say that a book invariably describes its author, directly or indirectly. He is always the central figure in the story, and if, like Bernard Shaw, he can talk under five or ten characters it merely shows that he is by just that much the more gifted and versatile author. The dominant ideas expressed are his ideas; they may be traced back ultimately to the one source--his own personality. That is why the hero generally overcomes all vicissitudes, is never vanquished. For unless the author is masochistic,¹ he does not wish to die or be conquered. In this connection I cannot help but relate to you a case about which a lawyer consulted me some years ago. The story received quite a bit of notoriety in New York. A young woman entered suit against her elderly wealthy husband for separation and alimony. She was said to be of a shady reputation and merely desired to get rid of him so that she could live with another man. The respondent's lawyer was anxious to know whether I could do anything to help him. Among the things he had with him was a typewritten manuscript which was written by the young woman; it was a story that she intended for publication. When I read it, I noted quite a number of significant things from which one was able to draw many conclusions. For one thing, I felt quite convinced that the authoress was carrying on an affair with the head waiter in some New York restaurant, for it was nothing short of such stuff from which she fashioned her hero. What was just as significant, the restaurant that she described tallied remarkably with several on Broadway. When I expressed my mind in the matter to the lawyer, I learned that it was just such a "character" that was suspected as the

¹ "Masochism is passive pleasure in pain.

paramour. Following this clue, detectives soon corroborated my conclusion completely.

According, then, to this rule as to the dreamer's place in the dream, I could at once see the character behind whose skin, so to say, Miss W. lay concealed. I knew that Venus must undoubtedly represent the dreamer. To my query as to what she knew of the ancient goddess she replied tersely: "Oh! I just love her!" She then continued to inform me that she had a picture of Venus both in her room at college and at home. I could now plainly see why she identified herself with her. Upon investigating further, I found that Miss W. would often argue quite warmly with her roommate at college when they both undressed on retiring as to which of the two resembled Venus more, and that the final decision was in the former's favor. We thus see how she actually identified herself with Venus.

By way of another digression, I may remark that I have always found it instructive to question people as to whom in history they consider the greatest personage, their ideal character. There is, of course, the underlying assumption here that the individual who represents this idea is the one with whom we consciously or unconsciously identify ourselves. In a little paper that I have written on the subject¹ I have pointed out that most of the persons whom I have questioned mentioned Napoleon as their ideal character; and though 60 per cent of them were Christians only two mentioned Jesus. More than 90 per cent of those whom I questioned took individuals like Napoleon as their ideal type; Lincoln took second place. But we must bear in mind that the latter was far from being a weakling, that, on the other hand, he was in more than one sense an unusually strong man. I have drawn some significant conclusions from the data thus collected and have designated the individual's particular answer as his "empathic index." The latter shows the character one identifies himself with, whom one tries to emulate unconsciously, you might say. There is no doubt that Napoleon represents the very acme of primitivity; and the secret of the profound fascination that he exerts over us lies undoubtedly in the fact that he is an embodiment of those very things that we unconsciously and even consciously admire. There are many other interesting considerations about the empathic index that we might dwell on, but for our purpose now I merely wish to point out that when a person states that he most admires this or that character, then it is that character after whom he desires to be modeled or whom he desires to emulate--like master like man, as it is said.

It is quite evident, then, that Miss W. wished to look like Venus. Now it is natural that if Venus is going to have an *affaire de coeur*, it cannot be with a common mortal of today, it has to be with Apollo. When I asked her to tell me something of Apollo, she said: "Well, I can tell you the story about him from mythology." I asked her to describe how he looked in the dream and she replied: "Just like that lieutenant I told you about." The latter was a young man with whom she had danced the night before. When she had described Apollo I found that she had at least a half-dozen men in that one character. In other words, this Apollo of hers was indeed a very modern gentleman; he was a *condensation*, a fusion of a great many individuals whom she knew. This is nothing unusual. Ask a man, for instance, to describe his ideal woman and he will draw on ever so many women to describe her; she must be as tall as Miss So-and-so, have hair like Miss Brown's, et cetera.

One man to whom I put the question had no less than the attributes of fifteen women in his conception of his ideal wife. Miss W. met the lieutenant with whom she associated Apollo at a war-camp sociable where the men who were presently to leave for overseas were entertained. Flushed and stimulated by the dance, she came home, feeling a sense of "pity" for this aviator who, in his full manhood and strength, was going forth to the war perhaps never to return; and indeed did he not express that very

¹ "The Empathic Index," *Medical Record*, February 1920.

sentiment to her himself? He had taken her home on the night of the dance and on parting asked her to kiss him good-by, but she had refused. Of course, later, on retiring to bed, she was sorry that she had denied him that request. We may thus see that the whole scene had a distinct erotic setting. Analysis reveals that the dream represented the realization of a wish which could just as well have been open. If the young woman had not been brought up in the manner that she was, she could have consciously thought to herself, "Yes, I am very pleased with the lieutenant, and how I do wish he were here to court me." But such was her moral training at home that she did not dare think of such a thing: she was trained to regard such a thought as immoral and ugly. And so in repressing this very thought she has this particular dream. I should add that she awoke markedly excited and with a feeling of palpitation of the heart. We may accordingly designate her dream as one of anxiety, and, like all dreams of this type, it denoted gross sex, physical sex. The young woman never consciously thought of that in the waking state, of course; all that she was aware of was the usual stimulation that any refined and modest girl would experience on a similar occasion. The question now presents itself: What does the dream represent? To answer this, we must turn our attention for a moment to a brief consideration of a highly interesting psychological mechanism often encountered in the unconscious mentation of dreams and myths. Whenever we wish to speak in the waking state about any delicate situation that refers to the lower part of the body, we displace it to the upper part of the body. A woman suffering from some digestive disturbance will usually declare, when questioned about her condition, that she merely has a cold. Instead of telling the truth, menstruating women very often veil their condition by some such general remark as that they are ill-disposed, or that they have a cold or throat trouble. In other words, they show a mechanism which is well known in symptoms and dreams, namely, the *displacement from below to above*.

If we bear in mind now that the dream simply represented a situation below the waistline, we can readily see its concealed meaning: it was a gross sex wish, the stabbing denoting coitus, a situation which no woman of her type would ever have allowed herself to think of in the waking state. As we have said again and again, it does not matter whether one thinks of these things consciously. Nature demands expression of these powerful emotional and instinctive forces at a certain age in life, and whether we are consciously aware of them or not--particularly if we are not--they manifest themselves in just such ways. We find such an anxiety dream about being stabbed, all because to the average cultured, unmarried woman coitus and everything directly or indirectly associated with it are painted in horrible colors; women are made to feel that it entails very much pain, and particularly if it is illicit, that it represents an experience almost equivalent to death. Those were, then, the feelings that passed through the woman's unconscious mind and found concealed expression in the dream. Thus the dream is not at all so mysterious as we might at first have thought; its deeper meaning becomes clear to us, if we only understand the mechanisms which one has to look for in any unconscious mentation. We said that the dreamer awakened with anxiety and that we dealt with a dream akin to a nightmare. We do not call it precisely a nightmare because it did not contain the amount of anxiety that is usually found in a nightmare, but it was very much like one. Miss W. was awakened by the dream because, although she was asleep, the situation which the dream strove to realize for her organism was too crude for this inexperienced girl. In other words, the mind made an effort to stop this realization by waking the dreamer. Yet the dream did realize the coital wish of which Miss W. never thought when she fancied how pleasant it would have been to be kissed by the handsome lieutenant. The unconscious, or the Id-tendencies of which we shall speak later, recognizes no cultural inhibitions.

Consider with me now the following dream related to me by a patient:

"I was discussing some business deal with a prospective partner ; I listened in silence and then said: 'You can't put that over on me.' I said that because he put his foot on my knee. I got hold of him by the leg, threw him around and

right over my head; he fell on his head to the ground and broke his neck. He was dead. I then went out and found my mother because I was very much afraid; I feared that I would be arrested."

Here, of course, there is no difficulty in finding the chief actor; he certainly cannot be the dead man, he must be the dreamer himself. The man who related the dream to me was an officer who had recently returned from the war; he told me that he was seeking new business connections, for his old association was not of the kind that he desired, that he felt that now he was back, it was the opportune time to make a new and better start. With this in mind, he had discussed the matter with different people. The determinant of the dream was a conference, then, with a prospective partner on a new business venture. We find here the clue to the dream. When I questioned him about the action in the dream--throwing the man down and breaking his neck--he replied that he could only recall the following: "When I was at college on the football team I played end. The particular year that I have in mind the other team was much heavier than ours and they beat us very badly. The score was --well, I am ashamed to tell it to you even now--48 to 0." Mark how deeply he felt over the incident, though it was now many years since it had occurred. Then he continued to inform me that the next year they played the same team, and knowing the terrible defeat they suffered at its hands previously, they practiced a great deal and succeeded in beating the rival team. He related how, when the latter began to repeat its old tactics, he was all prepared for them, how he always succeeded in throwing over his opponent, and how he incapacitated one of the adversaries for the rest of the game. In other words, the second year he won; the first year he was badly beaten. I asked him about his mother in the dream and he went on to say that the game was so extremely rough that his mother, who came to see it, was at the very beginning of the game so disturbed and frightened that she had to leave the stand and sat apart crying, fearing that something serious would inevitably result from such a rough-and-tumble contest. As a matter of fact, only three of the original players went through with the game; as for himself, he became delirious and was in such a serious condition when finally brought out after the game that his mother actually had to take him in hand and nurse him back to life, as it were.

The question is, "Why should all these things be bound up with the dream?" As you see, there is a similar situation now: he was in business and considered it a failure; he wanted something new. He is about to go into a new line of work; and the same situation of suffering a defeat before and now taking up something new in which he was to be as successful as in the second football game (or, in other words, in which he was to win) presents itself. He succeeds so well that he "knocks" out his partner at once! "Putting something over on him," as he expressed it, is actually true, it is actually acted out in the dream: "The partner put his foot on my (the dreamer's) knee"; we have an actual picture of it in the dream. Here you see that the whole past associated with the football game is symbolic of the present situation; in other words, he was a failure the first time, a winner the second time. Now the idea in his mind is: "I would like to form a partnership in which I am successful"; and as it is an anticipation dream, he sees himself already winning, i.e., acting as he did in the football game in which he was not at all concerned whether he killed his opponent or not, provided he was successful.

The above dream clearly reveals the three temporal strata of every dream--first, the present (trying to get into a new business); second, the past (the present situation becomes associated with a similar situation in the past. We must remember that there are so many experiences that occur in one's life that there is no situation of today that will not revive some similar situation in the past); third, the remote past or infantile. There is no dream, however simple, that does not show these three strata. Your dream today touches, directly or indirectly, something of yesterday; it is absurd to think that we dream merely of some trifle that is only of importance to the immediate present. In the above dream we see how the particular present situation was expressed

symbolically by some situation of the past; and when we go further with the analysis, we find that the same tracks, as it were, existed in the person's childhood. At this earlier period he had an older brother who constantly dominated him, "put it over on him," and he was thus prepared, we might say, to meet similar situations later in life. That is why it is so important that you understand these mechanisms; for when, as parents, you find that a child is handicapped in this way, it will be your duty to take a special attitude toward the problem; you must not allow the older child to dominate the younger one. As teachers, you must always see to it that the child who is considerably younger than the average should not be placed in a class of older children, even if he is up to the mark intellectually. Children should mix with those of their own mental and physical stature, and that is usually possible only with those of the same age. The so-called smart child who is put with considerably older children is seriously harmed thereby; when he grows up he is forever harassed by a feeling of inferiority.

I have seen many people who have gone through school by the age of, let us say, fourteen or fifteen, when they should have finished at sixteen and seventeen; they were intellectually precocious, but emotionally they were always handicapped. They were called "Shorty" or "Kid" at school, and it was in such emotional states that they remained throughout life, all because they saw the school situation everywhere, whether it really existed or not; they followed the path of the acquired tendency. As I have reiterated so frequently, certain tracks are laid out from the very beginning and the individual always follows them. In brief, one might say that our present acts, if not exact reproductions of the past, are certainly analogous to it; they are, so to speak, symbolic of the past.

Dreams and Symptoms Analogous

In the beginning of this survey we pointed out that such imperfect analogies, such symbolic expressions as are found in dreams are found also in symptoms. It matters not how bizarre, how seemingly senseless the patient's symptom may be, it has a definite meaning in his life; it bears an intimate relation to his inner problems and conflicts; and it is only by understanding it that we can comprehend and evaluate his attitude toward the world.

Years ago Miss R., a young woman in her early twenties, was brought to me by her mother. The history of the case was that for months she had been very depressed; she ate very little and spent most of her time crying; she suffered from insomnia and thought of suicide. She had been seen by many physicians, some of whom designated her condition as nervousness, others as mental depression. I spoke to the parent before I saw the patient. She talked about the daughter's condition in the characteristic fashion of the grieved and devoted mother, and remarked sadly: "It's too bad, Doctor, such a fine girl! She always stayed at home, never went out with the boys, and was so well-behaved; and now she has been sick so long. When I turned to the girl and asked her why she was so depressed, she began to cry, and upon urging her to speak, she declared that she was unworthy, that she had committed all kinds of transgressions. Upon being pressed for further explanation, she replied that she had drowned some pups; whereupon the mother immediately interposed, "But, Doctor, that happened when she was a little bit of a girl, about twenty years ago, and I am sure she did not do it." However that may be, there was no need for the mother to attempt to exonerate her daughter, for the moment I learned that this incident went ever so many years back, I had all good reason to pause and wonder why a person should cry today over what had occurred twenty years ago, and what, up to a few months ago, had never been given the slightest thought. Moreover, such episodes are rarely impressive to the extent of being taken up again so many years later in life.

A patient like Miss R. may be variously diagnosed: she may be said to be merely nervous; or her condition may be described as manic-depressive psychosis, by which we mean that she suffered from a form of emotional disturbance which comes in certain cycles, periodically, as we said previously; sometimes the patient is manic, sometimes depressed. In this particular case there was no history of any previous attacks, nor was there any family history to justify a tendency to such attacks, as one usually finds in the real cases of manic-depressive psychoses. After observing her for a week I diagnosed her condition as a case of anxiety hysteria with some reactive depression.

When we attempt to help the patient, we must depend in large measure upon his co-operation and treat the symptom just as we treat a dream. Now the dream that one remembers we call the "manifest" dream; in analyzing it we are aiming to get at its "latent" content. The manifest dream may require perhaps just two lines to describe, but when we begin to take down the associations to it, or, in other words, to discover its "latent" content, we may have to write ten pages or even more. The same thing holds true of symptoms. You see a patient in the hospital hallucinating; she hears voices. Ask her who it is that is talking to her and she will inform you that it is "Mr. Brown." Upon investigation you will find that the latter had paid her attention and that she was in love with him; now she is hallucinating, thinking that he is speaking to her. You find the latent content in order to determine the nature and mechanism of the patient's symptom.

I saw Miss R for a week or two; she would always come with her mother and after each interview the parent would come into my consulting room in the characteristic, apprehensive manner of a mother and would repeat, in passing: "Isn't it terrible, Doctor, that such a misfortune should befall so nice a girl! She never went out with boys, she was always so well-behaved!" I began to feel that the mother was protesting too much, laying undue emphasis on her daughter's being such a "nice" girl. I had no doubt whatsoever that she actually believed what she said and, as for myself, I had no reason to question its veracity, but I was just struck by the emphasis. We say in our work that there is a definite relation between the "noöpsyche" and the "thymopsyche," between the mind and the emotions; they are directly proportional in relation. In other words, if I try to impress you with certain facts, I do not act like a person who would inform you that there is a fire in the building; if I did, the emotional element would be disproportionate to the idea involved. With this key of undue emphasis, then, I began to suspect that there must be something behind the mother's assurance. One could see that the mother in repeating those words to me was really assuring herself; that she undoubtedly reacted to an unconscious doubt about her daughter's proper behavior. So I began to work on this theory, following the paraphrased detective formula, "*cherchez l'homme*." I inquired into the patient's love life, but she was reluctant to speak about it. She simply assured me that she was leading the usual average life. To my question whether she had a love affair she showed an unusual emotional reaction: she burst into tears, and as I was unable to calm her the session had to be ended. The next time she came I began the analysis, and again she cried; but emotions are exhaustible, so presently her tears were spent and she began to talk.

In analyzing her symptoms, I asked myself: "What are the elements that enter into them?" Or, in other words, "Why does this woman cry today over an episode of twenty years ago?" Every emotion that a person experiences must have some reason for its existence, and if you cannot find that reason in the present, you may be quite sure that the affect is displaced to some situation to which it does not strictly belong but with which it has become connected by some direct or indirect association. Now whenever an affect has to be displaced, it simply means that it cannot remain with the original episode but must be transferred to some other situation. There was no reason

for the woman's crying over a trifling and insignificant episode that occurred far back in her childhood. One might dislike to witness pups being drowned, but there is no reason why one should continue to wail over it for months, after it was seemingly forgotten for about twenty years. I was urged, then to the conclusion that the episode relating to the pups was only a concealing memory, it was a memory which she brought to the surface and retained in consciousness simply because a similar episode occurred in the present which had to be concealed.

When we analyze the episode we find that it involves essentially the destruction of young life, pups, by water. That is its intrinsic significance. Now just as in the last dream we considered, the present situation showed a direct analogy to some situation in the past, a business proposition became identified by analogy with a football game, so we have to discover in the symptom some fundamental element that it may have in common with the early childhood reminiscence. The main element in the symptom that one should seek as an analogy would be some form of destruction of life, associated somehow with water, which must have occurred later in this young woman's life, because we are always deeply affected and stirred by some present not by some past circumstance. I told her, accordingly, that I suspected that she had some sexual trouble, that it had something to do with an abortion or some similar experience; whereupon she disclosed to me the whole state of affairs. She informed me that she had kept company with a young man who would regularly call at her home, that when, to her great dismay, she found herself pregnant and informed him about it, he upbraided and repulsed her, accusing her of having had sexual relations with some other man. She pleaded with him and he finally took her to a midwife, who performed an abortion. But that did not end here, Following this, she was compelled to treat herself with douches, and as she did not know how to take them they caused her considerable trouble and worry. Add to this the fact that the entire affair had to be concealed from her mother and you can readily imagine in what a pitiable plight the poor girl found herself.

When things were settled presently, from a medical viewpoint at any rate, she began to feel the mortification of the past, and it was about six or eight weeks following the painful experience that she had the nervous breakdown. In other words, she could no longer conceal the terrible misfortune that she had to go through; it demanded some outlet, some form of expression. But as she could not openly dwell on it, she unconsciously took some similar situation in the past and endowed it with an the intensity of her actual state of feeling. Shall I repeat again that whatever we experience, no matter whether it be at the age of two, three, or four, is always retained in the mind and recalled on the appropriate occasion? The present episode keeps on revolving in the mind until it falls into the special track that was laid out for it, as it were, from the very beginning, because of some intrinsic element of similarity it bears to the early experience. And when we remember how many and how diverse are the impressions we receive every day, we will not find it hard to see that nothing that happens today cannot find an analogy in something that has occurred in the past. Recall that impression about the drowning pups deep down in the unconscious; here is this powerful, conscious emotion which has to be suppressed because she cannot consciously dwell on it, and naturally, by analogy, it falls into the track of that early childhood experience. The same elements are there: the attributes of both experiences are analogous, that is, attribute for attribute.

I may perhaps make this a little clearer by an illustration from my own experience. One very frosty evening last year I was walking through the street with my dog when his attention was attracted by sounds coming from a paper bundle lying in the middle of the road. I heard a low, moaning sound coming from it and I was naturally interested to know what it could be. On coming up to it I found two little pups that some hardhearted person must have exposed with the hope, apparently, that they would freeze to death or be run over and killed. And here is the significant thing: that very night I had a dream, the latent content of which elicited a little episode that I

heard related when I was a boy of surely no more than eight years old. It was about some peasant who was hung because he exposed two of his own babies on a cold, wintry night, thus causing their death, simply to please his second wife, who hated them and would not let them in the house. It was the first time I had heard of an execution and it evidently made a profound impression upon me. But as far as I know, I had never thought of the episode since then. But you see the moment I saw those little pups exposed to the freezing weather, that early childhood experience was unconsciously revived together with all its attending emotions. That is the way the mind works: a present situation may evoke from the past some early impression by reason of the former's intrinsic element of contrast or analogy to the early experience. We may see, then, that in the case of Miss R. the concealing memory simply represented what happened later. It is interesting to mark that the latent content required about three or four weeks to reveal, whereas the manifest content was always on the surface.

The moment the young woman began to grope about unconsciously for a reason why she could cry about her condition in public, that episode from the remote past was revived because of its intrinsic resemblance to the present situation. It was immediately invested with all the affects, and, what is more, she herself did not have the least thought that it was really over the later episode that she was crying. She did not deliberately take up that early childhood memory and wail over it; it was all unconscious on her part. What she really, then, cried over was the immediate past, the terrible anguish and keen disappointment that she recently had to bear. She had, accordingly, typical symptoms of anxiety hysteria with a depression which seemed to resemble the manic-depressive type of psychosis but was reactive to her sad experience. Thus, then, we see that the dream and the symptom show the same mechanisms--both show a definite relation to the inner life of the person, both are incursions into consciousness from the unconscious, and that, in fine, it is necessary to get at what we call their "latent" contents to grasp their essential significance and meaning.

