

cable foe of freemasonry and of liberalism, so that the political history of not a few countries is the chronicle of the struggle between them.

The significance of freemasonry for homosexuality is complex. By actively furthering the downfall of the Old Regime, freemasonry contributed to the massive reform of the penal codes of Europe, including the abolition of the crime of sodomy. And the clandestine nature of the freemasonic lodges, with their degrees of initiation, suggested to the participants in the erotic subculture of nineteenth-century Europe that they belonged to "love's freemasonry" as the unknown author of the *Leon to Annabella*, attributed to Lord Byron, expressed it. The great French literary critic Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) later spoke of a "freemasonry of pleasure" whose adepts recognize one another everywhere at a glance. Down to the beginning of the modern homosexual liberation movement, this was probably how most homosexuals defined themselves—not as members of a psychological or ethnic "minority." Not surprisingly, the conservative and clerical forces in retreat sought to defame the masonic lodges by claiming that their members were "vile pederasts," so that the issue of homosexuality has largely been avoided within masonic circles. A book such as Hans Blüher's *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (The Role of the Erotic in Male Society; 1917–18), which emphasized the homoerotic component of male bonding and organization-building, could create only embarrassment in masonic circles, even if the lodges practiced a considerable toleration in regard to the sexual lives of their members.

Harry Hay's original design for the *Mattachine Society* was modeled in part on the well-established hierarchical orders of freemasonry, as well as on the clandestine, anonymity-protecting structure of the American Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s. Such a scheme risked rousing fears of an international "homin-

tern" that like freemasonry exercised an invisible web of influence over the political life of the country, and in 1953 the national conventions of the Society abandoned this conspiratorial model for a simpler set of local and regional organizations. In the United States freemasonry has had the quality of a fraternal and benevolent society extending into all walks of American life rather than that of a political force engaged in sinister manipulations.

In Europe the freemasons have retained some of their former political might. A well-known French freemason, Henri Caillaet, drafted the law eliminating antihomosexual discrimination that was passed in 1981. At the same time the leading French lodge, the Grand Orient de France—despite its defense of other oppressed groups—remains uneasy about the subject of homosexuality, and gay members feel obliged to remain in the closet.

Warren Johansson

FREUD, SIGMUND (1856–1939)

Viennese physician and thinker, the founder of psychoanalysis. Born in Příbor in Moravia (now Czechoslovakia) of a Jewish family that stemmed from Galicia, Freud accompanied his father, a wool merchant, when he moved to Vienna in 1859. The family lived in considerable poverty, relieved only by gifts from the two sons of a previous marriage of his father's who had settled in Manchester and prospered. In school Sigmund was a brilliant student, sitting at the head of his class and mastering the classical and several modern languages.

Early Career. In 1871 Freud entered the University of Vienna as a medical student and passed his qualifying examinations as a physician in 1881. He continued research work for some fifteen months, publishing among other things a paper that entitles him to rank among the discoverers of the neurone theory, a basic

concept for modern neurology. In 1882, however, his teacher Ernst Brücke advised him to abandon research and to practice medicine; and since Freud wished to marry and start a family, he took this advice. There followed three years as a resident at the Vienna General Hospital, with five months in the psychiatric division. In 1885 the University awarded him a traveling fellowship that enabled him to study in Paris under Jean-Martin Charcot, the famous neurologist who had demonstrated the value of hypnosis; this contact awakened Freud's interest in hysteria and psychopathology. In 1886 Freud began his practice as a specialist in nervous diseases, and a few months later, after a long engagement, he married Martha Bernays.

The role played by sexuality in Freud's writings has given his own sex life a certain interest for the investigator. The available evidence suggests that Martha Bernays was the only love of his life, that he had no extramarital affairs and no homosexual activity, and that he ceased having sexual relations with his wife at the age of 42, in 1898, on the pretext that he wanted no more children and that contraceptive devices were aesthetically unsatisfactory. Thus he was a preeminently Victorian figure in his private life, even if his theories helped to foster the demand for sexual liberation from the bind of Christian asceticism.

The Emergence of Freud's Distinctive Ideas. In the 1880s most of the patients referred to a specialist in nervous diseases were neurotics with no physical illness of any kind, while the emphasis in psychiatry on hereditary degeneration and on lesions in the central nervous system left the practitioner helpless, fostering an attitude of therapeutic nihilism. The x-ray had not yet been discovered, operations on the brain were exceedingly dangerous and usually ended in the death of the patient, and diagnostic brain imaging techniques lay many decades in the future. Freud exhibited moral courage when he adopted the hypnotic technique in 1887 and a re-

version to scientific respectability when he replaced hypnosis with "free association," advising the patient to utter whatever came into his head in the hope that such undirected thought would revive the repressed traumatic event that had caused the illness. The underlying theoretical assumption was that neurotic symptoms are physical expressions of repressed emotion that will vanish if the painful experience is recalled and the emotion belatedly expressed. Examples of this were given in the book by Freud and Josef Breuer, *Studien über Hysterie* (Studies on Hysteria; 1895), which is usually regarded as the first psychoanalytic work, since it introduced into psychiatry the concepts of trauma, the unconscious, repression, conversion, and abreaction. It should be noted, however, that the concept of the unconscious had been for some decades a commonplace of German romantic literature and philosophy.

Breuer recoiled, however, from certain of the corollaries of the technique, in that patients who benefited from this form of therapy became passionately attached to the therapist, and the pathogenic, traumatic experience often seemed to be sexual. Freud was undeterred and went on to formulate the concept of transference to explain the first phenomenon and his theory of infantile sexuality to explain the second. Breuer's withdrawal from the scene left Freud alone, and so psychoanalysis proper was his individual creation, not that of a group of collaborators. Also, in the years 1894-1902 Freud was undergoing a period of self-analysis that was in fact a creative mental illness. During this time Freud was obsessed by his own dreams and suffered from feelings of total isolation alleviated only by correspondence and occasional meetings with the Berlin physician Wilhelm Fliess, in whose eccentric numerological fantasies he was absorbed for years. He only gradually emancipated himself from them.

At the close of this ordeal he emerged with the conviction that he had

discovered three great truths: that dreams are the disguised fulfillment of unconscious, mainly infantile wishes; that all human beings have an Oedipus complex in which they wish to kill the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite one; and that children have sexual feelings. At the same time Freud felt himself despised, rejected, and misunderstood. This last attitude became part of a myth which held that Freud was universally ignored and even persecuted by his psychiatric colleagues, although it is true that the lay reception of Freud's work was often far more sympathetic and positive than theirs.

Maturity. Freud's first notable publication concerning bisexuality and homosexuality was the *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality) of 1905. During the following decade Freud made other significant observations on sexuality. In 1902 he had founded the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, to be followed, in 1910, by the International Psychoanalytic Society. Promoted by an increasing number of disciples, Freud's thought was on the way to becoming institutionalized.

In the 1920s he added two ideas to his original corpus: the tripartition of the human mind into superego, ego, and id; and the concept of the death instinct (*thanatos*). As the founder of psychoanalysis Freud attracted the rich and famous to his couch in Vienna, while a cancer of the upper jaw induced by cigar smoking undermined his health. His rise to world renown during this period was clouded by the threat of National Socialism, which finally forced him to leave Austria. Just after the outbreak of the World War II, he died in London on September 23, 1939. At this point the turmoil of world events precluded any full assessment of the value of his work.

After World War II appraisals in the English-speaking world inclined to the laudatory, following paths laid down by the psychoanalytic establishment itself;

Ernest Jones' three-volume biography is the best example of this tendency. Those who criticized Freud and his ideas were commonly accused of clinging fearfully to traditional morality and of willful resistance to his insights, while the foes of psychoanalysis branded it a mystical and dogmatic belief system that merely perpetuated in a new guise notions inherited from the idealistic thinkers of antiquity. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, more fundamental criticisms were heard, and the psychoanalytic establishment was forced on the defensive, while new therapeutic techniques took the place of prolonged and costly analyses with doubtful outcomes.

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Warren Johansson

FREUDIAN CONCEPTS

The following discussion reviews a number of Sigmund Freud's published writings on sexuality and homosexuality, in an attempt to isolate elements of enduring value within them. Five aspects of Freud's psychoanalytic work are relevant to homosexuality, though by no means have all of them been fully appreciated in the discussion of the legal and social aspects of the subject. These include: (1) the psychology of sex; (2) the etiology of paranoia; (3) psychoanalytic anthropology; (4) the psychology of religion; and (5) the origins of Judaism and Christianity. In regard to the last two the psychoanalytic profession in the United States has notably shied away from the implications of the founder's ideas, in no small part because of its accommodation to the norms of American culture, including popular Protestant religiosity.