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KRISTINE MANN: JUNG'S "MISS X" AND A PIONEER IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

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> [W]e must not forget that only a very few people are artists in life; that the art of life is the most distinguished and rarest of all the arts.
>
> —C. G. Jung

> From the middle of life onward, only he remains vitally alive who is ready to *die with life*.
>
> —C. G. Jung

INTRODUCTION

For many years I have been interested in the history of the earliest Jungians in the United States.[1] All were women living in New York City. The first was Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, who began to practice as a Jungian analyst there just before World War I; the next three were Drs. Kristine Mann, Eleanor Bertine, and Esther Harding, who launched their New York analytic careers in the early 1920s. Different sources disagree slightly on the dates, but, as far as I surmise, Mann and Bertine began in 1921, and Harding in 1924. A fifth woman, Frances Wickes, came to the scene at roughly the same time.

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Each has a unique story, and those stories testify to the courageous lives lived by these wise, strong, and passionate women.

Mann's life especially interests me, as I found out that—like me—before becoming a Jungian analyst she had taught in the English department at Vassar College, where Eleanor Bertine had been her student. I became curious about that Vassar connection and discovered that several distinguished early Jungians were Vassar graduates—Dr. Cary Fink Baynes, who never practiced as an analyst but became a trusted friend of Jung in Zürich and translated some of his work from German as well as *The Secret of the Golden Flower* and the *I Ching*, for both of which he wrote the forewords; Dr. Elizabeth Goodrich Whitney, who was the first Jungian to practice west of the Hudson River and brought analytical psychology to the Bay area of California; Dr. Margaret Doolittle Nordfeldt, another early New York analyst; and Mary Conover Mellon, whose ambitious dream established the Bollingen Foundation to publish all of Jung's work in English. But my focus here is on Kristine Mann.

I would like to introduce Kristine Mann through the eyes of Elizabeth Goodrich Whitney, who was her student at Vassar and then many years later intermittently a patient. Whitney's portrait describes Mann's physical appearance and demeanor, but it goes beyond that to reveal something of her character and inner life as well. Whitney's words suggest the qualities in Mann that all who knew her came to recognize, revere, and love.

> Kristine Mann was the new English Instructor at the College. Fair-skinned, with ash-gold hair, free-moving, self-contained, direct, simple, grave. She taught us the principles of logical thought and language structure. One day she corrected the misleading words, the cloudy non-sequitur of my composition. Suddenly I realized that she was concerned with truth; and truth under her quiet look and concentrated effort was not rules and correctness, but a reality she served, a snowy peak she climbed towards.
>
> This was the first I saw of her journey[,] which was always trail-breaking. She was serving scholarship and culture; a woman pioneering in a man's domain.

> When I saw her fifteen years later, she had pioneered still further into that world, into science and medicine. She had to know the truth about the body, about our basic nature. She was teaching men and women students.
>
> But it was not even this mastery which struck me most. She was as simple and direct as before. She enjoyed light-heartedly whatever the moment brought. But in the midst of a mutual friend's crisis she gave sympathy, tenderness, heart. She shared deeply. She was much older [45] and worn. She had entered the domain of woman as well as of mind; of human love, of human values.
>
> Something else she had. What it was I did not know then. Already she planned to study with Dr. Jung. Already she was breaking trail into the world of the psyche. What was she seeking? All I knew was that beyond the single-mindedness and single-heartedness she had won, there was a commitment, a devotion to a further, greater quest.
>
> From that time on, this journey of the soul was her central preoccupation. She gave generously to friends, to her students, to group needs, to analytical studies. She still lived as forthrightly and happily in the moment. But whatever the ebb and flow of circumstances, whether the world was at peace or in the most devastating war of its history, whether she was sick or well, even through [her] long last year of illness, she grew in tenderness and in wisdom; steadily she unfolded and lived the core of her own being.[2]

Whitney's moving tribute evokes the personality of a woman I would like to have known: a vibrant, brave seeker, fearlessly engaged in the process that the poet John Keats called soul-making and that Jung later referred to as the development of personality, or individuation. Whitney saw Mann as a quester, a heroine pursuing her inner Grail. Others who knew her shared that sense of her grounded identity and purpose. But who was Kristine Mann? What is her history? What was her relationship to Jung and the Jungian world? What is the legacy that she left us?

Mann's Personal History

Very little is known about Mann's life. She was born in Orange, New Jersey, on August 29, 1873. Her father, Charles Holbrook Mann (1839–1918), was a Swedenborgian minister there and came from an old New England family; Cotton Mather performed the marriage ceremony for Kristine's great- great- great- great-grandfather and his wife Priscilla Grice in Boston in 1711. Kristine's mother, Clausine Borchsenius, emigrated at the age of fourteen from the picturesque medieval town of Rudkøbing in Denmark; she became interested in Emanuel Swedenborg's teachings while working her way through the Northwestern Female College in Evanston, Illinois, which was later incorporated into Northwestern University.[3] Swedenborg's thought influenced Kristine Mann from her early years onward and probably strengthened the affinity that drew her to Jung's work later in her life. We know that from his own early years Jung also felt a strong kinship with Swedenborg's sensibility. "I admire Swedenborg as a great scientist and a great mystic at the same time," Jung affirmed. "His life and work has always been of great interest to me, and I read seven fat volumes of his writings when I was a medical student."[4] Swedenborg's striking ability to hold the tension of opposites, a dual consciousness, helped to shape the vision of both Jung and Mann.

Mann grew up with two older brothers, Horace and Riborg; an elder sister, Clausine; a younger sister, Anna; and a younger brother Holbrook. Kristine began her formal education at the age of four at the Dearborn Morgan School in Orange and graduated from it at eighteen. In 1891, she entered Smith College, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1895. She subsequently returned home to work as a private tutor and for her father, in his editing of the weekly *New Church Messenger*, the official publication of the Swedenborgian General Convention. In 1898–1899, she taught Latin and science at the Dearborn Morgan School, but then traveled to Berlin to teach ancient history and English for a year at the Willard School for American girls. While she was there, she continued her education by developing her proficiency in German and attending classes in literature and science at the University of Berlin; she spent vacations in Italy and England. On her return to the United States in 1899–1900, Mann enrolled at the University of Michigan and worked as an assistant in the

Department of English; there she received a Master's degree, and subsequently taught English at Vassar College from 1901 to 1905, specializing in argumentation and debate. But, restlessly, Mann moved on, as if seeking something she had not yet been able to find, or perhaps even define. She next spent several years in New York, first taking graduate courses in education, philosophy, and psychology at Columbia University (studying under John Dewey) and then teaching at the Brearley School.[5] Here a new focus emerged, as Mann's later friend and colleague Dr. Marguerite Block recorded:

> The first important turning point in [Mann's] career was now approaching. From her contacts with girls of school and college age, she had become convinced of the necessity for better health education of women. She had always been fond of athletics, and had been captain of the first basketball team at Smith. She had improved her own physical condition by systematic exercise, and she now felt a strong desire to work for the improvement of women's health. She, therefore, began the study of anatomy at the Women's Medical School in 1907, and two years later, at the age of thirty-six, she entered Cornell Medical School. She received her M.D. in 1913, and went to Wellesley College as a member of the faculty of the Physical Education Training School, having charge of corrective exercises and freshman hygiene.
>
> In 1914 Dr. Mann returned to New York to begin a two-year investigation of the health conditions of saleswomen for the New York Department Store Education Association, and, after our entrance into World War I, she served under the [army's] Ordnance Department, supervising the health of women in munition[s] plants [in Washington, D.C.]. But after the Armistice there came an opportunity for even wider service. The War Work Council of the Y.W.C.A., finding itself at the sudden conclusion of the war with a large amount of war work money, undertook a nation-wide experiment in health education for women. An able corps of women physicians was engaged to lecture and put on health demonstrations in educational institutions all over the country, and Dr. Mann was one of the lecturers on social hygiene.[6]

Eleanor Bertine also participated in this successful, ground-breaking program. The project took Mann to twenty colleges for women; at each she spent a week lecturing and "interviewing hundreds of young women

as a contribution to her intensive study on 'the Psychology of Sex,'" euphemistically referred to as "social hygiene."[7]

A 1920 article from this period by Ida Clyde Clark in the *Pictorial Review* contains an interview with Mann, referring to her as "one of America's most distinguished women physicians."[8] The magazine boasted a large circulation and supported many reforms in women's rights, including both suffrage and birth control. In that interview Mann's radical feminism is apparent as she calls for more social and political involvement for women. She sharply criticizes the education of girls and women in the United States, advocating their "mass education," and urges them to "discard artificialities and aim for greater simplicity, fearlessness, self-reliance [and] strength." Anticipating science's later recognition of the strong, significant connection between mind and body, Mann asserts that those qualities are contingent on good physical health, which the education of women usually ignored. While arguing that women and men have the same inherent intellectual and creative capacities, Mann maintains that in general a woman "uses her brain differently."

To support her belief in that difference Mann cites her medical education, which she reports loathing because of the coldly factual, detached, scientific objectivity of the faculty's attitude toward illness and suffering and the "atrocious standards" that the training upheld. She recalls an incident when a mother came into the school's clinic with a syphilitic baby. The training physician was "one of the greatest children's specialists in New York" and told his students that the case was typical. When the mother had left, he instructed the class, "Never tell the mother what is the matter with the child when you find a condition like that." Mann "boldly" asked, "Why?" and "he replied testily, 'Why you always run the risk of causing a misunderstanding and breaking up a marriage.'" In striking contrast, Mann affirms the need for empathy and relatedness between doctor and patient, qualities that the two other women in her medical class at Cornell also recognized and valued. Their concern was for the baby and the danger of allowing the woman to produce other diseased children, whereas the twenty men in the class saw only the facts of a scientific case.[9]

During her early years in New York City a number of Mann's acquaintances—including Vassar alumnae—were active feminists and embodied the values of the emancipated New Woman, popularized in

the writing of Ibsen, Shaw, Henry James, and Edith Wharton. Mann's article "Training Women for Marriage," published in the *Smith Alumnae Quarterly* for 1915, articulates her belief in the necessity for women to work to attain confidence in their autonomy.[10] It anticipates a succinct quotation from a 1921 interview that was printed in her obituary in the *New York Times* in 1945:

> I heartily recommend at least a year's business experience for every girl. It is a splendid booster for self-respect. Every woman, whether she expects to marry or not, should possess the feeling of self-reliance which comes with earning a salary. The young wife who knows that, if necessary, she can resume her place in the business world, has a much greater chance of maintaining an equal part in her household than has a young wife who must rely absolutely on the support of someone else.[11]

Dr. Block's account provides more information about Mann's life in the years following World War I:

> Another important project founded at this time under the auspices of the Y.W.C.A. was a Health Center for Business and Industrial Women in New York, of which Dr. Mann became Director in 1920. [The appointment continued, though perhaps part-time, until 1924.]
>
> But it was yet another Y.W.C.A. project, an international convention of women physicians held in New York in 1919 [from September 15 to October 24], which brought Dr. Mann to her second great turning point. One of the major emphases of this convention was on the psychological aspects of individual and social health, and here Dr. Mann came face to face with her true life work. She was greatly attracted to the Jungian system, so ably expounded by Dr. Constance Long, of London, and resolved to enter this new field. She began her preparation under Dr. Beatrice H. Hinkle.[12]

An influential early disciple of Jung and the first woman in England to practice as a psychoanalyst, Constance Long edited and translated a number of his early works, publishing them in England as *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology* in 1916. Later that year Hinkle's translation of Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* was published in the United States. (The work is titled *Symbols of Transformation* in his

Collected Works.) In 1917 Hinkle's volume played a leading role for Mann in an incident, which Eleanor Bertine vividly recalled and described years later as a "curtain raiser." A fierce war was raging in Europe at the time, but that summer she and Mann

> were tramping together in the White Mountains and our rucksack contained two warm sweaters, one cake of sweet chocolate, a thermos of water and—Jung's Psychology of the Unconscious! We were just discovering Jung, and the eternal mountains were the perfect setting for that adventure. We were thrilled to recognize the voice of a Master, but we could little guess how deeply it was to influence our lives.[13]

Hearing Constance Long speak in 1919 inspired Mann's determination to become a Jungian analyst herself. Her quest finally had a clear goal. Records from Jung's seminar in Sennen Cove, Cornwall, do not reveal whether Mann joined Beatrice Hinkle and Eleanor Bertine there in 1920, but we do know that Mann studied with Jung the following year.[14] She also began practicing as an analyst part-time in the United States in 1921, and studied abroad with Jung several more times during the 1920s. Early in 1925, she hosted a lecture by him in her New York apartment when he visited the United States, and she saw an American patient, a woman named Sidney Robertson, in Zürich under his supervision during a sojourn there that same year.[15] In 1928, she traveled to Zürich for an intense analysis with him, which began in October.[16] Regarding Mann's new career, Marguerite Block observed,

> In accepting this, her new vocation, Dr. Mann was, consciously or unconsciously, fulfilling one of her father's dearest dreams, for Charles Mann was one of a number of New Church thinkers who were groping toward a system of psychological healing. Swedenborg [1688–1772] himself had stated clearly that the causes of disease are spiritual, though he was too much of a scientist to deny its physical reality, and as early as the 1830's his followers were attempting to formulate a system of healing based on his doctrines. An article in a New Church periodical of 1833 states that "disease always implies a conflict between the internal and external," and Charles Mann, in his remarkable little book *Psychiasis* [1900], writes, "I believe in the healing of the body through the soul. ... Every disease corresponds to its own evil ... lusts and passions of the mind, hatreds, jealousies, etc.—The removal of spiritual causes is the true means of healing—but a kind of therapeutic method is needed—the clearing of the mind of all obstructions." It is not surprising that Dr. Mann, in her paper, "The Self-Analysis of Emanuel Swedenborg," speaks of him as "a forerunner of Jung." This paper is revealing, not only of Swedenborg as interpreted in Jungian terms, but also of Swedenborgianism itself as a matrix for the shaping of a great Jungian analyst.[17]

That "great Jungian analyst," of course, was Mann herself. And Block's assessment is on the mark. With several Jungian colleagues Mann helped to shape the Jungian community in New York. They founded the Analytical Psychology Club there in 1936, the same year that Mann and three of those colleagues—Drs. Beatrice Hinkle, Eleanor Bertine, and Esther Harding—organized Jung's 1936 visit to Bailey Island in Maine, where the Mann family had summered since 1885 or 1886. Her father had built a small summer home for his family there in 1887, which his descendants share to this day. As an adult, Mann bought a larger vacation home on the island's coast, where Bertine, and later Harding, joined her for one month each summer and, beginning in 1926, saw patients who also vacationed on Bailey Island. They called that house the Trident, perhaps in reference to the friendship the three women shared. In 1944, they purchased a spacious home called Inner Ledge, also on Bailey Island's shoreline, where analytic hours with patients continued. At the Bailey Island Library in 1936, Jung gave the weeklong seminar, "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process," based on the dreams of a brilliant scientist later revealed to be Wolfgang Pauli.[18] Jung and his wife Emma ate meals at the Trident, but stayed next door at the home of Mann's sister, Clausine (Mrs. Perry MacNeille).[19] Jung returned with Emma for a visit in 1937, after giving the Terry Lectures at Yale, and that time stayed at the home of the three doctors.

Mann died in 1945, before the formal establishment of a training program in New York. She left her Jungian library to the Analytical Psychology Club, where it became the nucleus of an outstanding collection of Jungian materials, and, in its current, expanded form, still bears her name. It is housed at the Jung Center in mid-Manhattan,

sharing a building with the Jung Foundation, the Jung Institute, the Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism (ARAS), and the Analytical Psychology Club.

Recollections of Mann's Friends and Colleagues

The testimonies of others flesh out the picture of Mann's life during her years as an active member of the Jungian community. I have already quoted Elizabeth Whitney's tribute. Statements by her analyst and colleague Beatrice Hinkle, her friend and colleague Esther Harding, as well as her former student, close friend, and colleague Eleanor Bertine bring her to life as a person.

Beatrice Hinkle recalled Mann as "a rare and beautiful woman" and remembered the occasion of their first meeting in 1918, when Mann was helping to organize the world conference of medical women with Y.W.C.A. funds. Hinkle explained,

> At that time I was the only woman analyst in the country and, as there were very few men analysts, I had been working almost alone for nearly ten years. It was therefore a great pleasure to be asked to participate in a conference to which a number of the best known women of Europe were to be invited. ... This was the beginning of a long and deep relationship with Dr. Mann.[20]

One result of the conference was Mann's decision to work with Hinkle as her analyst. "As everyone with any experience knows," Hinkle observed,

> the most intimate relationship in the world is that between analyst and analysan[d]. Everything in the character and personality is revealed and here the fine, sensitive, and idealistic quality of Kristine Mann came clearly into view. Her fibre was of a particularly fine substance and coupled with her inquiring and interesting mind created an individual of unique character. ... Although Dr. Mann generally preferred a person-to-person relationship, nevertheless she was always an important member of any group with which she was associated and contributed a full share to its activities, its well-being and significance. There was never any aggressiveness in her attitude, but her quiet, unobtrusive spirit carried a strength that hid her shyness and created a sense of power that was reflected in many of her interests.[21]

For many years Esther Harding, like Bertine, came almost every summer to Bailey Island when not working abroad with Jung. Mann, Harding, and Bertine also shared a weekend home in Connecticut farmland near New Milford. Harding sketched the more personal side of Mann's life in a tribute immediately following her death, recalling the times when Mann

> doffed her professional manner with her city clothes, and set off so gaily for Farm or Island home. There the natural zest for life which was so characteristic of her had free play, whether in discussing the latest book she had been reading, or in playing with Baba, who gave her a particular doggie devotion, or going birding in the woods with her field glasses. In each and all she lived fully, with youthful enjoyment of whatever life presented. Even into her sixties she could pull an oar with the best, discounting any praise by saying: "What you have done all your life you do easily"; or she would sit by the hour at her window looking out over the ocean she had known from childhood. It was there that much of her thinking and reading were done, and something of the sea's own blue was reflected in her eyes. But it was as a friend that she was at her best. For she gave of herself freely to her friends. To her, conversation—talk—was an art, deserving of the best one had to give. Discussion of world affairs, about which she was always well informed (she was reading the latest books about the European situation right up to the end of her life), was interspersed with the exchange of news and gossip about the smaller interests of a very human woman. She never grudged the long hours spent in translating articles, and indeed whole books, so that her friends, who did not read German, could share the latest treasures from Zürich without having to wait for the official translations.
>
> She lived, truly and humbly, the truth she had found through her own inner search, which, indeed, she taught, perhaps most effectively, by the reality of her own spiritual achievement.[22]

But we must give the last words to Eleanor Bertine, who knew Mann intimately from Vassar days until her death, and asserted, "A friendship such as this is one of the most precious gifts of life."[23] In mourning, Bertine emphasized the love that Mann inspired.

What can I say in memoriam for my friend, Kristine Mann? Others may speak of her professional achievements, her matured character, her service in the sphere of her life work. None knows better than I how true all that is. But I leave it to those who knew her chiefly through her activities and attainments. To me it was as a friend and companion on the way that her memory will be forever green. We have shared so much in our forty odd years of friendship, and things were always more interesting and exciting for the sharing. Her mind was always questing and inquiring, and from whatever she saw or read, she brought back something of interest to recount and discuss. She could work hard and did. But what a grand loafer she was: She never made the mistake of thinking that time was worthily spent only in busy-ness. Doing nothing, for her, was a fine art, not an empty place on the schedule. After breakfast at Bailey or at the farm, she would light a cigarette, pull up to the fire and begin the day with a good old "talk-fest", for as she used to say, "Spiritual values should come before material." Indeed it became an affectionate little jest in our household to refer to cigarettes as "Kristine's spiritual values!" Such precious times they were, when the talk drifted of its own accord hither and yon. Many a knotty problem of the analytic way was thrashed out together in front of the open fire, and the clarification which resulted could never be attributed to any one of the three of us, for it was truly the fruit of our comradeship in doing nothing in a corner outside of time.

She liked a slow and orderly rhythm of life, with time to heed the inner reverberations of events. Experience for her was always a chord, the melody of the visible interwoven with the deeper notes from the invisible, so the actual moment was never flat or merely obvious. She felt the significant riddle of human fate behind the incidents that make up the facade of daily living.

Relationship to her was not a surface thing to be taken for granted or kept smooth at any price. Rather, in its tides and ripples were revealed the significant movements of the heart, with all its waywardness as well its devotion. This did not make for an easy placidity, which a part of her would have so much liked. Rather the way led at times over stormy seas, but the upshot was always a deeper mutual understanding and trust, in which affection could flower naturally.

She had a genius for friendship. Her amazingly well-stocked mind could always produce something rich or racy to talk about and, in conversation, she gave herself lavishly. The circle was large of those who felt that they had a warmly intimate contact with her. From every period of her long life, devoted friends remained to her. Even when she was stricken with mortal illness, she held court in her bed, and all those who visited there felt the inspiration of her frank and courageous way of facing death.[24]

In 1946, just after the end of another horrific war and after Mann's death, Bertine reflected,

> In days like those we are living through, when the human race is showing the depths of evil of which it is capable, it is good to have known a person like Kristine Mann, who in her utterly unostentatious way kept faith to the end with the spirit and with her fellow man. For us her memory will stay alive as one who loved and whom we greatly loved. Her best memorial, and the one she would most have valued, will be built in the hearts of those to whom she has been, and will always be, the beloved friend.[25]

Mann's Analysis with Jung

Without revealing her name, many years earlier Jung had built another memorial to Kristine Mann by presenting a series of *mandalas* that she painted in his well-known essay "A Study in the Process of Individuation." He lectured on her case at the very first Eranos conference in August 1933 and published his paper with five of her paintings the following year in the Eranos-Jahrbuch.[26] In 1939, Stanley Dell produced an expanded translation of that lecture with the same title in an influential collection of Jung's essays: *The Integration of the Personality*.[27] Jung revised, enlarged, and re-published that essay in 1959 in volume 9, Part I, of his *Collected Works*.[28] The revision includes twenty-four of Mann's paintings. Another forty-eight paintings exist in the picture archive of the Jung Institute in Küsnacht, Zürich, three of which were published by Vicente de Moura in 2012 in *The Sacred Round: Mandalas by the Patients of Carl Jung*.[29] All his versions of this paper testify to the respect Jung felt for the extraordinary inner journey that Mann undertook and the inspiration that it provided for Jung

himself. In the paper's final form, Jung freights his initially straightforward case study with references to numerous alchemical concepts. His goal appears to be the demonstration of their archetypal nature, power, and universal presence in the psyche. In presenting his work with Mann in 1959, Jung refers to her as "Miss X" and slightly alters the date of her birth.[30] James Webb, nonetheless, was able to claim convincingly in 1976 that Kristine Mann was indeed the woman behind that pseudonym by studying the biographical facts of her life and her astrological chart.[31]

In 2013, the Jungian scholar Jay Sherry discovered two letters from Jung to Esther Harding, dated October 30 and November 19, 1948, in files relating to the Analytical Psychology Club and owned by the Kristine Mann Library. The October letter begins,

> I'm just revising my paper about the Individuation-process of 1933 in which I dealt with Dr. Mann's mandalas up to a certain point. There is going to be a new edition of this paper and at this occasion I have entirely rewritten the whole thing and I have included some of the mandalas which you have brought me recently.[32]

He asks Esther Harding if she and Eleanor Bertine believe that mentioning breast cancer as the cause of Mann's death would seem inappropriate. Apparently the two women saw no indiscretion in this. In the second letter Jung requests the dates of Mann's birth and death and also her astrological chart, if it is available.[33] (A copy of the chart was with the letters in the recently discovered documents.) The letters prove the correctness of Webb's 1976 conjecture and formally establish Mann as the anonymous "Miss X" in Jung's "A Study in the Process of Individuation."

Jung valued Mann's paintings especially highly because of their alchemical implications, their confirmation of the healing power of active imagination, and their *maṇḍala* images. He had become aware of the symbolic power of *maṇḍalas* during his own spiritual crisis documented in *The Red Book,* now familiar to many of us since its publication in 2009. Alchemy became a subject of strong interest to Jung in 1928, the year of Mann's intensive analysis with him and in which Richard Wilhelm sent him the German translation of the Taoist text, *The Secret of the Golden Flower.* Significantly, at the conclusion of the 1939 revision of his Eranos lecture on Mann's case material, Jung baldly states that when she came to him he had no knowledge of alchemy and that "this very case ... led [him] to the study of alchemy."[34] He omitted this statement in the 1959 publication, and James Webb points out that Jung had in fact encountered alchemical concepts much earlier in reading the work of Herbert Silberer.[35] In alchemy Jung recognized a new symbolic system that moved beyond the models of Gnosticism and Christianity, which he felt he had outgrown, but for which he had been unable to find a satisfactory substitute before 1928. In interpreting Mann's paintings he repeatedly insists that the images derived spontaneously from Mann herself, not from any influence that his own intellectual interests might have imposed upon her. How much Jung in fact knew about alchemy at the time remains uncertain, and he claimed Mann's ignorance of the tradition; it is probable, however, that, from her father, Mann had gleaned some knowledge of healing and alchemy that was known to writers on Swedenborg, who had associated his teachings with the Hermetic tradition.

In his writings Jung describes Mann in less personal terms than her New York friends and colleagues did, but he acknowledges that her father was "exceptional" and notes that she herself had "varied interests, was extremely cultured, and possessed a lively turn of mind."[36] He reports that "Miss X" began treatment in 1928 because of "some difficult experiences that could not be avoided" and her realization that she had gotten "stuck."[37] Modern readers have assumed that the difficulties that he alluded to may refer to the complex personal relationships that existed between Mann, Bertine, and Harding. It seems probable that Mann and Bertine had been lovers and that in the early 1920's Harding replaced Mann as Bertine's partner.[38] In his commentary Jung simply refers to Mann's "two women friends who shared her intellectual interests and were joined to her in a lifelong friendship."[39] Impressively, and perhaps because of Mann's work with Jung, the three remained close friends and colleagues for roughly a quarter of a century; acquaintances sometimes referred to them as "the troika."

Jung keeps the nature of the women's relationships confidential but does reveal that "Miss X" had a very positive father complex—she was a "fille à papa"—and "did not have a good relation to her mother."[40] Mann's father had died in 1918 and her mother in 1923. Mann realized

that visiting Denmark, her mother's birthplace, might help her connect more positively to her maternal roots, and she made that pilgrimage in 1928, just before coming to Zürich to work with Jung. (He did not name Denmark as that birthplace in his 1939 version of his essay, but did so in his 1933 Eranos lecture.) In Denmark Mann discovered that her most powerful emotional response was to the landscape, and unexpectedly she experienced a desire to paint it. She had never drawn or painted before but at age fifty-five took up watercolors. The resulting "modest landscapes filled her with a strange feeling of contentment," Jung recounts, and "seemed to fill her with new life."[41] In Zürich before her first appointment with him she began painting another landscape from memory, but it transformed into an image of a woman—Mann herself—on a rocky seacoast, the lower half of her body stuck fast and helplessly within a block of stone. She gazes out to the sea on her left. In his *Visions* seminar on May 4, 1932, Jung comments on a vision of Christiana Morgan in which she stood, rather than sitting, by the sea; however, the scene is relevant to what Mann depicted:

> The sea is always the symbol of the collective unconscious, and standing on the seashore is a symbolic situation which occurs often in dreams or visions, meaning that one is on the edge of the conscious world, as it were, looking into the limitless distance, or the uttermost depths of the ocean. The sea, the unconscious, looks like a mirror; one cannot penetrate into it, but one knows that its shining surface covers an immense depth containing all sorts of mysterious forms. And when standing there, she [Morgan, but Mann as well] naturally expects something to happen or to appear; she is looking into the distance, or down into the sea, and that *looking*, psychologically, brings about the activation of the object. It is as if something were emanating from one's spiritual eye that evokes or activates the object of one's vision.[42]

Mann experienced such an activation, for as she painted she had a fantasy image of Jung as a medieval sorcerer releasing her from imprisonment with a magic wand. Jung's continuing commentary on Morgan's vision might well have been a description of Mann's process as she contemplated the image before her.

> The English verb, to look at, does not convey the meaning, but the German *betrachten*, which is an equivalent, means also to make pregnant. *Trächtig* means to carry, to be big with young, pregnant, but it is used only for animals, not for human beings; a pregnant cow is a *trächtige Kuh*. So to look at or concentrate upon a thing, *betrachten*, gives the quality of becoming pregnant to the object. And if it is pregnant, then something is due to come out of it; it is alive, it produces, it multiplies. That is the case with any fantasy image; one concentrates upon it, and then finds that one has great difficulty in keeping the thing quiet. It gets restless, it shifts, something is added, or it multiplies itself; one fills it with living power, and it becomes pregnant.[43]

Mann and Jung both recognized the sexual symbolism in her fantasy of the appearance of the wizard with his wand, but both read the image symbolically. To Jung's surprise Mann spontaneously discovered active imagination, which had proved so fruitful to him during the years that *The Red Book* documents. Jung believed that Mann was trapped in the unconsciousness of Mother Earth. In her painting of herself at the coastline, several of the rocks behind her resembled eggs, and he was certain that they presaged a process of transformation for her, although he had no notion of how it might develop; he does not specifically mention that the waves of the sea also imitate ovular shapes, also foretelling a birth. Mann's images of the earth and the sea both contain her undiscovered self. With Jung's encouragement and no knowledge of what the next images might be, Mann continued her spontaneous process, although it sometimes felt very dangerous to her.

In her next painting, labeled Picture 2, and the first *maṇḍala* that we see, lightning strikes one of the stones on the seashore—which Jung had seen as an egg—and a transformation begins. Jung, the sorcerer, becomes a flash of aerial fire, and Mann represents herself as a sphere with a red center containing a seed.[44]

According to Mann, her third painting and the actual moment of painting it represented "the 'climax' of her life."[45] It incorporates two major dreams from her earlier life, and in it she saw the vibrating silver "wings of Mercury" as a band encircling a "planet in the making," with a golden serpent overlooking its movement from above.[46] Liberation comes with this presence of Hermes (the messenger of the gods), himself the god of revelation, and the spirit—Jung explains in his revised text—presiding over alchemical processes. Mann's vibrant images that follow—more snakes, wings, a symbolic coniunctio, quaternities, dualities of exquisitely balanced sun and moon, day and night, then

Manhattan's skyline, rainbows, flowers, plants, trees, animals, hexagrams from the *I Ching*, eyes, and a few human forms—subsequently unfold in exuberant plays of bright, confident colors, which Jung encouraged her to use. In his discussion of these images Jung saw Mann free herself from dominant animus energy, to open receptively, to new feminine energy, as she gave her creative intuition the power to overrule her critical thought processes.[47]

The final painting by Mann that Jung includes is a breath-taking image of what appears to be a prototypical white lotus, cradled in green petals above two golden snakes, with a single golden star above it—all enclosed in a shining golden circle. In her note on the back of the painting Mann reveals that she painted the image in May 1938 on her last trip to Jung, and she calls the flower "night blooming cereus."[48] The identification is significant for several reasons. One is that the blossom is the flower of a tall, tropical American cactus. Mann is not copying a lotus from the mythologies of India or the medieval mystical white rose to which Dante pays homage in *The Divine Comedy* as an image of Paradise with God at its center surrounded by saints. Instead she defines her own American source of inspiration. The word *cereus* derives from the Latin word *candle* and the Greek word meaning *wax*, and the theme of light, which the word implicitly suggests, occurs repeatedly among Mann's metaphors. In her active imaginations and analysis Mann found the light within her own inner darkness and loneliness, her fears, her negative feelings toward her mother, her regret at not having had children, and other issues that Jung does not reveal. The stuck feeling she had experienced before her deep work with him began appears to have transformed into a new serenity.

Mann's Later Work

Mann continued to paint until shortly before her death and left a painting unfinished.[49] She never wrote as much as her colleagues Bertine and Harding did, but three late talks for New York's Analytical Psychology Club show the clarity of her thinking and eloquence of her expression. They also reveal some of her values and outlook. In one lecture, "The Self-Analysis of Emanuel Swedenborg" (1940), Mann traces the process of a life-changing experience that Swedenborg underwent beginning in his fifty-fifth year—her age when she embarked on her intense work with Jung.[50] Mann's father, too, had

gone through a spiritual crisis, beginning in his late fifties, after which he elected to leave the Swedenborgian church to found his own, which was more personally focused, psychologically deeper, and more compelling to him. Mann examines Swedenborg's dreams and his surrender to a disorienting process demanding a radical sacrifice of ego that concluded in a profound spiritual transformation and reorientation in his work. His encounter with the unconscious parallels aspects of Jung's description of his own descent in *The Red Book*, which similarly transformed his life and work. Mann demonstrates that Swedenborg recognized the dangers of projection, the limits of rationality, the value of the tension of opposites, and suffering as a guide to life. She sees him as "a forerunner of Jung" and interprets his experience, though incomplete, in Jungian terms.[51] In Swedenborg's dreams Mann also detects a suggestion of *maṇḍala* imagery, another similarity to what Jung had discovered and that to his surprise Mann herself independently discovered in her 1928 analysis with him. Discussing Swedenborg's visions and feelings, Mann affirms the value of recognizing unconscious processes and the importance of moving beyond rationality to honor the symbolic life, to claim a life of the spirit that opens us to deeper mysteries. In writing about Swedenborg's crisis, she appears to be formally re-experiencing both her father's and her own crises, and from a detached, objective perspective acknowledges the absolute necessity of the integration of opposites in individuation.

The strong influence of Swedenborg's integrated vision of human existence appears in Mann's comments on a *maṇḍala* she completed in the autumn of 1943, after an operation for breast cancer, the illness that took her life two years later. The vibrantly colored image contains eight small circles holding pictures of twelve flying geese above, and a frog on a lily pad below; along the right side an old stone church, a scroll bearing the words "Whoever is near to ME is near the Fire," and a dog (perhaps Baba?); and on the left, a bluebird on a branch feeding a fledgling, a crucifixion, and two sheep beside each other in a pasture. Flames radiate out from a star at the center, and four blue fans curve out to mark four corners for the painting. Mann titles the piece—unpublished until 2012—"The Mandala is born," and comments,

> From the black depths of the unconscious it is forced up into the light of day. It must breathe. The transition is fraught with suffering. The whole weight of evil threatens to overcome one

> until one differentiates between body and spirit. The fan-like expansions are like lungs—opening and closing to draw in and absorb from the outer world. The crucifiction [sic] is what my feelings went through when I was operated upon. I shared some of the horror of humanity brought on by the most deadly of all diseases at the present day. I shared in one of the deepest afflictions of humanity. But there might be compensations in the vigor of the spirit. The idea (so prevalent—and particularly so among Swedenborgians) of the all-pervading goodness of life must be crucified—however overwhelming the suffering in the acceptation [that is, reception or approval] of the evil, the dark inscrutable horrors of life.[52]

In her remarks at the Analytical Psychology Club's memorial service for Mann, Esther Harding quotes passages from the Gnostic "Acts of John," which, she says, Mann "asked to have read to her again and again during the last days of her life."[53] Following the Resurrection in that text Christ appears in a dark cave and explains the paradoxical experience of the crucifixion, suffered and yet not suffered, because of the transcendent mystery of the divine spirit within.

In a lecture that Mann read at a meeting of the New York Analytical Psychology Club in 1938, the same year that she last saw Jung in person, she spoke on "The Shadow of Death." I cannot help wondering if she had unconscious premonitions of her own painful death seven years later. In "The Soul and Death," Jung asserts that dying "has its onset long before actual death," and her reflections seem to confirm that.[54] Mann quotes a stirring passage from the "Tibetan Book of the Dead":

> O nobly born, when thy body and mind were separating, thou must have experienced a glimpse of Pure Truth, subtle, sparkling, bright, dazzling, glorious and radiantly awesome, in appearance like a mirage moving across a landscape in spring-time in one continuous stream of vibrations. Be not daunted thereby, nor terrified, nor awed. This is the radiance of thine own true nature. Recognize it.
>
> From the midst of that radiance, the natural sound of Reality, reverberating like a thousand thunders simultaneously sounding, will come. That is the natural sound of thine own real Self. Be not daunted thereby, nor terrified, nor awed.[55]

Mann accepts death here as an opportunity "to come into closer and closer relation to what we really are, through the withdrawal of libido from a life lived almost solely in the conscious." She asks, "Who can say, then, that the later years may not be a time of preparation for a dimly perceived future rather than for the actual process of dying?"[56] In her case it would seem difficult to deny.

Mann's conclusion to this 1938 lecture implicitly circles back to the beautiful flower which she painted in her last analytic sessions with Jung in the same year as her lecture and which he printed in 1959 as the final image in the series of her *mandalas*. She wrote,

> It is as if there had been implanted in each of us at birth a seed, "smaller than the small and greater than the great" which is nurtured largely in unconsciousness during the passionate strivings of early and middle life. But that as the conflicts of the ego period abate and the shadows approach there could take place within the psyche a complete unfolding of that four-petaled flower of eternal life which Jung has called the Self.[57]

Mann's painting of her serene, multi-petaled, white flower symbolically depicts the numinous manifestation of the full energy of that seed.

Mann gave her last talk at the Analytical Psychology Club in the spring of 1943, two and a half years before her death, while another devastating war brought death in Europe and the Pacific. The context was a memorial meeting for the distinguished mythologist Heinrich Zimmer, who had died that year at age fifty-three. She quotes his words from his last lecture to the Analytical Psychology Club on "The Integration of Evil":

> Nothing dies, nothing perishes, nothing meets utter annihilation. No Energy, no virtue is lost—neither in physics nor in psychics. Death and destruction are an outer mask of transformation—for better or for worse, for higher or for lower.[58]

Mann closes, "It is given then to us, the living, to keep fresh in our hearts the inspiration which [his] ... brief stay among us has bequeathed as a lasting heritage."[59]

Conclusion

Mann learned to accept life's tides of change, but also to see the radiance of eternity that shines through them. She was hospitalized for five months before her death on November 12, 1945, while suffering agonizing pain from breast cancer. Nine and a half months before that, and feeling the isolating effects of World War II, Jung wrote her a warm, personal letter describing his near-death experience following a heart attack the year before. As far as I am aware, it is his first written account of that experience. Years later he published an expanded description in Chapter X of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, titled "Visions." I have quoted Jung's letter in full, below, as it testifies to the strength of the respect and friendship that he felt for Kristine Mann and demonstrates a kinship that they shared in facing life's final mystery of death:

> 1 February 1945
>
> My dear Dr. Mann,
>
> Eleanor Bertine has already given me the news of your illness in a letter I received a few days ago. I wish I could talk to you personally, but one is so far from each other and it is such a long time we are separated from the rest of the world that one feels quite hopeless about a communication. We don't even trust our letters to be capable of jumping over the abyss which yawns between us and the wide world. Still I hope that a good star conveys my letter to you.
>
> As you know, the angel of death has struck me down too and almost succeeded in wiping me off the slate. I have been practically an invalid ever since, recovering very very slowly from all the arrows that have pierced me on all sides. Fortunately enough my head has not suffered and I could forget myself in my scientific work. On the whole my illness proved to be a most valuable experience, which gave me the inestimable opportunity of a glimpse behind the veil. The only difficulty is to get rid of the body, to go quite naked and void of the world and the ego-will. When you can give up the crazy will to live and when you seemingly fall into a bottomless mist, then the truly

> real life begins with everything which you were meant to be and never reached. It is something ineffably grand. I was free, completely free and whole, as I never felt before. I found myself 15,000 km. from the earth, and I saw it as an immense globe resplendent in an inexpressibly beautiful blue light. I was on a point exactly above the southern end of India, which shone in a bluish silvery light with Ceylon like a shimmering opal in the deep blue sea. I was in the universe, where there was a big solitary rock containing a temple. I saw its entrance illuminated by a thousand small flames of coconut oil. I knew I was to enter the temple and I would reach full knowledge. But at this moment a messenger from the world (which by then was a very insignificant corner of the universe) arrived and said that I was not allowed to depart and at this moment the whole vision collapsed completely. But from then on for three weeks I slept, and was wakeful each night in the universe and experienced the complete vision. Not I was united with somebody or something—it was united, it was the hierosgamos, the mystic Agnus. It was a silent invisible festival permeated by an incomparable, indescribable feeling of eternal bliss, such as I never could have imagined as being within reach of human experience. Death is the hardest thing from the outside and as long as we are outside of it. But once inside you taste of such completeness and peace and fulfillment that you don't want to return. As a matter of fact, during the first month after my vision I suffered from black depressions because I felt that I was recovering. It was like dying. I did not want to live and to return into this fragmentary, restricted, narrow, almost mechanical life, where you were subject to the laws of gravity and cohesion, imprisoned in a system of 3 dimensions and whirled along with other bodies in the turbulent stream of time. There was fulness, meaning fulfillment, eternal movement (not movement in time).

Although your letter is dated Nov. 27th/44, I hope that my answer will reach you. Your letter arrived today and I am writing at once.

Throughout my illness something has carried me. My feet were not standing on air and I had proof that I have reached a safe ground. Whatever you do, if you do it sincerely, will eventually become the bridge to your wholeness, a good ship that carries you through the darkness of your second birth, which seems to be death to the outside. I will not last too long any more. I am marked. But life has fortunately become provisional. It has become a transitory prejudice, a working hypothesis for the time being, but not existence itself.

Be patient and regard it as another difficult task, this time the last one.

I greet you, CARL G. JUNG[60]

Jung's farewell reads as a welcome to the other realm that he himself had visited with such intensity and ecstasy only months before. Again in Mann's final transition, he could play the role of the wise guide whom she trusted and who had encouraged her in the past. One morning three or four months before her death she beheld "an ineffable light glowing" in her hospital room, which "lasted for about an hour and a half and left her with a deep sense of peace and joy ... that remained indelible" even though her health worsened and her mind deteriorated. Jung later told Eleanor Bertine he believed that at the time of that experience "her spirit had left her body."[61]

A few years earlier, in "The Shadow of Death," Mann had speculated,

> [P]erhaps there is a light that shines in darkness, and perhaps the darkness is growing to comprehend it. It is the light that gives meaning to life and in its brilliance enables us to comprehend in our own experience the purpose of that which we have lived.
>
> Perhaps it is just our more understanding contact with our unconscious processes that will enable us more and more to comprehend this light that shines in darkness so that the later years of life may help (as people live them with more wisdom) to throw light on that greatest of all mysteries—possible life after death, about which even after eons of life on earth we know nothing. Just perhaps even at death the continuity of consciousness will not be broken. By a bare possibility, a deeper level of awareness may arise which demands for its comprehension the withdrawal of the light of life itself.[62]

Mann understood that the soul afraid of dying never learns to live. Her transcendent vision of human existence grounded in her own consciously lived life is her final legacy to us—the supreme gift of an artist in life.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to many scholars, analysts, librarians, and relatives of Kristine Mann for information and assistance in the preparation of this essay. I particularly wish to acknowledge Doris Albrecht, Polly Armstrong, Chris Beach, Peggy Brooks, Robin Brown, Janet Careswell, Vicente L. de Moura, Suzanne Gieser, Gretchen Lieb, Kay Mann, Michele McKee, Ronald Patkus, Lorna Peachin, Phil Richardson, Jay Sherry, and Nanci Young. I presented earlier versions of this paper at the "Celebration of the 75th Anniversary of C. G. Jung's 1936 Visit to Bailey Island and Three Bailey Island Summer Residents Who Hosted Him: Drs. Kristine Mann, Esther Harding & Eleanor Bertine," September 25, 2011, Bailey Island Library Hall, Bailey Island, Maine; at "Founding Mothers: An Event Honoring the Four Women Doctors Who Introduced Jung's Analytical Psychology to the United States—Beatrice Hinkle, Kristine Mann, Esther Harding, and Eleanor Bertine," the C. G. Jung Center, New York, March 31, 2012; and at the XIXth International Congress for Analytical Psychology, "100 Years on: Origins, Innovations and Controversies," sponsored by the International Association for Analytical Psychology, Copenhagen, Denmark, on August 18–23, 2013.

2. Elizabeth Goodrich Whitney, *In Memoriam: Kristine Mann, 1873–1945* (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York, 1946), pp. 24–25.

3. Mann family records given to the author.

4. Quoted in Harvey F. Bellin, "Opposition Is True Friendship," in Harvey F. Bellin and Darrell Ruhl, eds., *Blake and Swedenborg:*

Opposition Is True Friendship (NewYork, NY: Swedenborg Foundation, 1985), p. 44.

5. Mann family records.

6. Marguerite Block, *In Memoriam: Kristine Mann, 1873–1945* (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York, 1946), pp. 8–9.

7. Ida Clyde Clarke, "Has Woman Any Real Creative Genius?" *Pictorial Review*, April 1920. A xeroxed copy of this article exists in the archives of the Kristine Mann Library. The name of the journal and its date are written in by hand. Despite searches, I have not been able to find the article in its stated context. In addition to its text, the article is valuable in providing a photograph of Mann early in her career as a medical doctor. Her eyes are thoughtful and her forehead high and slightly furrowed between her eyebrows. Seeing the photograph made me understand a remark that Grace Childs, President of the Analytical Psychology Club at the time of Mann's death, made in her introductory words at the club's 1946 memorial service honoring Mann: "I was not one of those fortunate persons who knew Dr. Mann well, but I remember the deep impression her face made upon me the first time I saw her. I was sure I had seen her before—her face haunted me. Sometime later I realized suddenly her face resembled strikingly one of the Sybils [sic] in the ceiling frescoes of "The Creation" in the Vatican, by Michael Angelo—frescoes I had studied long ago. The night she read her paper on "The Shadow of Death" a new vista opened for me. I realized for the first time what a creative old age might mean" (Block, *In Memoriam*, p. 5). In addition to Mann's sibylline appearance, she also might be regarded as a seer in her deep understanding of what human life may be.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Kristine Mann, "Training Women for Marriage," *Smith Alumnae Quarterly*, vol. 6, April 1915, pp. 158–63.

11. Obituary of Kristine Mann, *New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1945.

12. Block, *In Memoriam*, pp. 9–10.

13. Eleanor Bertine, *In Memoriam: Kristine Mann, 1873–1945* (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York, 1946), p. 13.

14. In 1921 Mann accompanied her former student Cary Fink de Angulo (better known as Cary Baynes after her 1927 marriage to H. G. Baynes) and Cary's three-year-old daughter Ximena to Europe, where Mann studied with Jung. [C. G. Jung, *Analytical Psychology: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1925*, ed. William McGuire, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. xiv].

15. *C. G. Jung Speaking: Interviews and Encounters*, eds. William McGuire and R. F. C. Hull (London: Picador, 1980), p. 48; C. G. Jung, *Analytical Psychology: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1925*, ed. William McGuire (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. xii.

16. Vicente L. de Moura, "Mandalas of the Picture Archives of the C. G. Jung Institute Zürich, Küsnacht: Case 016," in Vanya Nick, ed., *The Sacred Round: Mandalas by The Patients of Carl Jung* (Atlanta, GA: Oglethorpe University Museum of Art, 2012), pp. 25–37.

17. Block, *In Memoriam*, p. 10.

18. The text was expanded and published as "Individual Dream Symbolism in Relation to Alchemy," in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 12, eds. Herbert Reed, Michael Fordham, and Gerhard Adler, trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1953), §§ 44–331.

19. Henrietta Bancroft, "Bailey Island: The Contribution of a Place to Analytical Psychology," *An Annual of Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought* (Dallas, TX: Spring, 1983), p. 195.

20. Beatrice Hinkle, *In Memoriam: Kristine Mann, 1873–1945* (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York, 1946), pp. 19–20.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

22. Esther Harding, "In Memoriam: Dr. Kristine Mann," *APC of New York Bulletin* 7 (9, 1945): 2–3.

23. Bertine, *In Memoriam*, pp. 13–14.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–13.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

26. C. G. Jung, "Zur Empirie des Individuationsprozesses," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1 (1933): 201–14.

27. C. G. Jung, *The Integration of the Personality*, trans. Stanley M. Dell (New York, NY and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939).

28. C. G. Jung, "A Study in the Process of Individuation," in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 9–1, eds. William McGuire, Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, and Gerhard Adler, trans. R. F. C. Hull, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959/1968), §§ 525–626.

29. de Moura, "Mandalas of the Picture Archives," p. 25.

30. Changed from August 29, 1873; see Jung, CW 9–1, § 606.

31. James Webb, *The Occult Establishment* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1976), pp. 188–91.

32. C. G. Jung, manuscript letter, Oct. 30, 1948, Archives of the Kristine Mann Library, New York.

33. C. G. Jung, manuscript letter, Nov. 19, 1948, Archives of the Kristine Mann Library, New York.

34. C. G. Jung, "A Study in the Process of Individuation," in *The Integration of the Personality*, p. 51.

35. Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, p. 391.

36. Jung, CW 9–1, § 525.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Bertine's obituary in the *New Milford [Connecticut] Times* from Jan. 4, 1968, mentions Harding as Bertine's "friend and partner."

39. Jung, CW 9–1, § 543.

40. Jung, CW 9–1, § 525.

41. *Ibid.*

42. C. G. Jung, *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930–1934*, ed. Claire Douglas, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 660.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Jung's revised 1959 text mentions a "glowing red centre" (§ 543), but in the 1939 text he specifies that the red center contains a seed; see Jung, *The Integration of the Personality*, p. 35.

45. Jung, CW 9–1, § 549.

46. Jung, CW 9–1, § 545.

47. Mann discusses the difficulty of overcoming domination of the animus in "Individuation and the Family Problem," a paper that she read at a meeting of the Analytical Psychology Club in New York in March 1942 and subsequently published in *Spring*'s annual journal for 1942, pp. 80–92; without reference to her own history pp. 88–89 appear to reflect her own experience. *Spring* was originally published for its members by New York's Analytical Psychology Club, which remained its sponsor through the 1970s when James Hillman took over its leadership.

48. Jung, CW 9–1, § 615, fn. 172.

49. Vicente L. de Moura, *Individuation: The Case of Mrs. X* (Atlanta, GA: Jung Society of Atlanta, 2012), CD.

50. Kristine Mann, "The Self-Analysis of Emanuel Swedenborg," typescript (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York City, 1940); this essay was reprinted by Dr. Anna Richardson, Mann's sister and literary executor, in *The Review of Religion X* (3, 2000): 266–93.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

52. Quoted from Mann's notes on the painting; de Moura, "Mandalas of the Picture Archives," p. 37.

53. Harding, *In Memoriam*, pp. 26–28.

54. C. G. Jung, "The Soul and Death" (1934), in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 8, ed. and trans. Gerhard Adler and R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), § 809.

55. Quoted in Kristine Mann, "The Shadow of Death," Typescript (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York City, 1938) p. 22.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Quoted by Gertrude Ingersoll in her tribute to Mann, *In Memoriam: Kristine Mann, 1873–1945* (New York, NY: Analytical Psychology Club of New York, 1946), pp. 18–19.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

60. C. G. Jung, *Letters*, ed. and trans. Gerhard Adler and R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973) pp. 357–59.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

62. Mann, "The Shadow of Death," p. 21.