

A CASE OF MULTIPLE PERSONALITY

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THE psychiatric manifestation called multiple personality has been extensively discussed. So too have the unicorn and the centaur. Who has not read of these legendary quadrupeds? Their pictures are, perhaps tiresomely, familiar to any school-boy. Can one doubt that during medieval times many twilight encounters with the unicorn were convincingly reported? Surely in the days of Homer there were men of Thessaly or Beotia who had seen, or even ridden, centaurs almost as wise as Chiron.

The layman who at college took a course in psychology may feel that for him *dual personality*, or *multiple personality*, is a familiar subject. Some psychiatrists' reactions suggest they are inclined to dismiss this subject as old hat. Nevertheless, like the unicorn and the centaur in some respects, multiple personality, despite vivid appearances in popularized books on psychology (2), is not commonly encountered in the full reality of life (1, 16, 17). Nearly all those perplexing reports of two or more people in one body, so to speak, that arouse a unique interest in the classroom, are reports of observations made in a relatively distant past. The most significant manifestations of this sort discussed in the current literature occurred in patients studied half a century or more ago (13, 23). It is scarcely surprising that practical psychiatrists today, never having directly observed such things as Morton Prince found in Miss Beauchamp or as Azam reported of Felida, might hold a tacitly skeptical attitude toward such archaic marvels and miracles. In the fields of internal medicine and chemistry the last, or even the middle, decades of the nineteenth century are close to us. In the relatively new field of psychopathology they are almost primeval, a dim dawn era in which we find it easy to suspect that a glimpse of a rhinoceros might have led to descriptions of the unicorn, or the sound of thunder been misinterpreted as God's literal voice.

A reserved judgment toward what cannot be regularly demonstrated is not necessarily

deplorable. Some current tendencies suggest that our youthful branch of medicine may not yet have emerged from its primordial and prerational phase. The discovery of *orgone* by one of our erstwhile leaders in the development of "psychodynamics" should not be ignored (4, 25). Enthusiastically adduced "proof" from an adult's dream that he was as an embryo significantly traumatized by fear of his father's penis, which during intercourse threatened him from his mother's vagina, is, we believe, the sort of evidence toward which our "resistance" is not without value (21). Despite Morton Prince's exquisitely thorough study of the celebrated Miss Beauchamp (23, 24) it is not surprising that decades ago McDougall should have warned us:

It has been suggested by many critics that, in the course of Prince's long and intimate dealings with the case, involving as it did the frequent use of hypnosis, both for exploratory and therapeutic purposes, he may have moulded the course of its development to a degree that cannot be determined. This possibility cannot be denied (16, p. 497).

It is perhaps significant to note that, despite the light (or at least the half-light) they throw on most of the puzzling manifestations of psychiatric disorder, the studies of Prince and others on multiple personality are not even mentioned in some of the best and most popular textbooks of psychiatry used in our medical schools today (19, 26). When mentioned at all in such works, the subject is usually dismissed with a few words (11, 20). It is particularly noteworthy that Freud, during his years of assiduous investigation, apparently displayed no appreciable interest in the development of this disorder. Erickson and Kubie cite one brief allusion (9) which they term his "only reference to the problem" (6).

Psychiatrists who would not deny outright the truly remarkable things reported long ago about multiple personality, even when accepting them passively in good faith seem often to do so perfunctorily. In the midst of clinical work, with its interesting immediate experi-

ences and pressing demands, few are likely to focus a major interest on what is known to them only through dust-covered records, on what they have never encountered, and don't expect to deal with. During the complications and excitements of a stormy sea voyage even the most sincere believer in the miracle of Jonah will probably not look to whales for his chief solution of problems that may arise from shipwreck.

Our direct experience with a patient has forced us to review the subject of multiple personality. It has also provoked in us the reaction of wonder, sometimes of awe.

One of us (C. H. T.) had for several months been treating a twenty-five-year-old married woman who was referred because of "severe and blinding headaches." At the first interview she also mentioned "blackouts" following headache. These were vaguely described by the patient. Her family was not aware of anything that would suggest a real loss of consciousness or serious mental confusion. During a series of interviews which were irregular, since the patient had to come from some distance away, several important emotional difficulties were revealed and discussed. Encouraging symptomatic improvement occurred, but it was plain that this girl's major problems had not been settled. To the therapist, Eve White—as we shall call her—was an ordinary case with commonplace symptoms and a relatively complex but familiar constellation of marital conflicts and personal frustrations. We were puzzled during therapy about a recent trip for which she had no memory. Hypnosis was induced and the amnesia cleared up promptly. Several days after a visit to the office a letter was received. (Exhibit 1.)

What was the meaning of such a letter? Though unsigned, the postmark, the content, and the familiar penmanship in most of the message revealed to the therapist that this had been written by Eve White. The effect of this letter on the therapist was considerable. It raised puzzling questions for which there were no answers and set in motion thoughts that pursued various and vague directions. Had some child found the uncompleted page, scribbled those words, and, perhaps as a whim, mailed it in an already addressed envelope? Perhaps. The handwriting of the last paragraph to be sure suggested the work of a child. Could Eve White herself, as a puerile prank, have decided to disguise her character-

True -

Dear Doctor,

*Remembering my visit
to brought me a great
deal of relief, to begin with.
Just being able to recall
the trip seemed enough, but
now that I've had time to
think about it and all that
occurred, it's more painful
than I ever thought possible.*

*How can I be sure
that I remember all that
happened, even now? How*

*can I know that it won't
happen again? I wonder
if I'll ever be sure of
anything again.*

*While I was there with
you it seemed different.
Somehow it didn't matter
so much, so have forgotten;
but now it does matter. I
know it's something that
doesn't happen yet.*

*I can't even recall
color schemes and I know
that would probably be the
first thing I'd notice.*

*My head hurts right
on top. It has ever since
the day I was down there
to see you. I think it must
be my eyes. I see little red
& green specks. and I'm covered
with some kind of rash.*

*body please be quite dear love
and let me see pictures with her
she's so sweet and innocent and
my self-control*

EXHIBIT I

This letter in retrospect was the first intimation that our patient was unusual. The dramatic and unexpected revelation of the second personality shortly followed.

istic writing and added this inconsequential note? And if so, why? Mrs. White had appeared to be a circumspect, matter of fact person, meticulously truthful and consistently sober and serious about her grave troubles. It was rather difficult to imagine her becoming playful or being moved by an impulse to tease, even on a more appropriate occasion. The "blackouts" which she had rather casually mentioned, but which did not seem to disturb her very much, suggested of course that a somnambulism or brief fugue might have occurred.

On her next visit she denied sending the letter, though she recalled having begun one which she never finished. She believed she had destroyed it. During this interview Eve White, ordinarily an excessively self-controlled woman, began to show signs of distress and agitation. Apprehensively and reluctantly she at last formulated a question: Did the occasional impression of hearing an imaginary voice indicate that she was "insane"?

To the therapist this information was startling. Nothing about Eve White suggested even an early schizoid change. Her own attitude toward what she now reported was in no respect like any of the various attitudes of patients who are in the ordinary sense experiencing auditory hallucinations. Yet, she insisted with painful embarrassment, she had on several occasions over the last few months heard briefly but distinctly a voice addressing her. Something about her reaction to this may be conveyed if we compare it to what we can imagine an experienced psychiatrist in robust mental health might feel if, with full retention of insight, he heard himself similarly addressed. While the therapist, hesitating a moment in wonder, sought for an adequate reply, an abstruse and inexplicable expression came, apparently unprompted by volition, over Eve White's familiar countenance. As if seized by a sudden pain she put both hands to her head. After a tense moment of silence, her hands dropped. There was a quick, reckless smile and, in a bright voice that sparkled, she said, "Hi there, Doc!"

The demure and constrained posture of Eve White had melted into buoyant repose. With a soft and surprisingly intimate syllable of laughter, she crossed her legs. Disconcerted as he was by unassimilated surprise, the therapist noted from the corner of his awareness something distinctly attractive about them, and also that this was the first time he had received such an impression. There is little point in

attempting here to give in detail the differences between this novel feminine apparition and the vanished Eve White. Instead of that retiring and gently conventional figure, there was in the newcomer a childishly daredevil air, an erotically mischievous glance, a face marvelously free from the habitual signs of care, seriousness, and underlying distress, so long familiar in her predecessor. This new and apparently carefree girl spoke casually of Eve White and her problems, always using *she* or *her* in every reference, always respecting the strict bounds of a separate identity. When asked her own name she immediately replied, "Oh, I'm Eve Black."

It is easy to say that this new voice was different, that the basic idiom of her language was plainly not that of Eve White. A thousand minute alterations of manner, gesture, expression, posture, of nuances in reflex or instinctive reaction, of glance, of eyebrow tilting and eye movement, all argued that this could only be another woman. It is not possible to say just what all these differences were.

It would not be difficult for a man to distinguish his wife, or perhaps even his secretary, if she were placed among a hundred other women carefully chosen because of their resemblance to her, and all dressed identically. But few would wager that, however articulate he might be, he could tell a stranger, or even someone very slightly acquainted with her, how to accomplish this task. If he tries to tell us how he himself recognizes her, he may accurately convey something to us. But what he can convey, no matter how hard he tries, is only an inconsequential fragment. It is not enough to help us when we set out to find her. So, too, we are not able to tell adequately what so profoundly distinguishes from Eve White the carefree girl who took her place in this vivid mutation.

Even before anything substantial of her history could be obtained, the therapist reacted to the new presence with feelings that momentarily recalled from distant memory these words:

The devil has entered the prompter's box
And the play is ready to start.

Over a period of 14 months during a series of interviews totaling approximately 100 hours, extensive material was obtained about the behavior and inner life of Eve White—and of Eve Black. It is our plan to report on this more

adequately in a book-length study. Here space limits our presentation to a few details.

Eve Black, so far as we can tell, has enjoyed an independent life since Mrs. White's early childhood.¹ She is not a product of disruptive emotional stresses which the patient has suffered during recent years. Eve White apparently had no knowledge or suspicion of the other's existence until some time after she appeared unbidden before the surprised therapist. Though Mrs. White has learned that there is a Miss Black during the course of therapy, she does not have access to the latter's awareness. When Eve Black is "out," Eve White remains functionally in abeyance, quite oblivious of what the coinhabitant of her body does, and apparently unconscious.

On the contrary, Eve Black preserves awareness while absent. Invisibly alert at some unmapped post of observation, she is able to follow the actions and the thoughts of her spiritually antithetical twin. The hoydenish and devil-may-care Eve Black "knows" and can report what the other does and thinks, and describes her feelings. Those feelings, however, are not Eve Black's own. She does not participate in them. Eve White's genuine and natural distress about her failing marriage is regarded by the other as silly. Eve White's love and deep concern for her only child, a little girl of four, is to us and to all who know her, warm, real, consistent, and impressive. Eve Black, who shares her memory and verbally knows her thoughts, discerns her emotional reactions and values only as an outsider. They are for the outsider something trite, bothersome, and

¹ The question: "How can the various personalities be called out?" has been asked. After the original spontaneous appearance of Eve Black it was at first necessary for Eve White to be hypnotized in order for us to talk with Eve Black. How Eve Black could "pop out" of her own accord at unpredictable times and yet could not come out on request, we do not know. Under hypnosis of Eve White, Eve Black could very easily be called forth. After a few hypnotic sessions, we merely had to request Eve White to let us speak to Eve Black. Then we called Eve Black's name, and Eve Black would come forth. The reverse was true when Eve Black was out and we wished to speak with Eve White. Hypnosis was no longer necessary for the purpose of obtaining the changes. This made things simpler for us but complicated Eve White's life considerably because Eve Black found herself able to "take over" more easily than before. A third personality, Jane, to be described below, emerged spontaneously and we have never had to employ hypnosis to reach her.

insignificant. The devotion of this mother for her child, as an empty definition, is entirely familiar to the lively and unworried Eve Black. Its substance and nature are, however, so clearly outside her personal experience that she can evaluate it only as "something pretty corny."

During the temporary separation of her parents, which may become permanent, this little girl is living with her grandparents in a village. Because her earnings are necessary for her child's basic welfare, the mother has no choice but to work and live in a city approximately a hundred miles from the child. Having apparently known little but unhappiness with her husband, she was finally forced to the conclusion that her young and vulnerable child had little chance of happy or normal development in the home situation, which, despite her best efforts, continually grew worse. She now endures the loneliness, frustration, and grief of separation from her warmly loved daughter, who is the primary object of her life and feeling, and who, she has good reason to fear, is likely to grow up apart from her. Perhaps, it seems to her sometimes, she will become to her as years pass little more than a coolly accepted stranger.

Vulnerable, uningenious, and delicately feminine, Eve White characteristically preserves a quiet dignity about personal sorrow, a dignity unpretentiously stoic. Under hypnosis one can come closer to the sadness and the lonely despair she feels it her task not to display. Even then no frantic weeping occurs, no outcries of self-pity. Her quiet voice remains level as she discusses matters that leave her cheeks at last wet from silent tears.

Despite access to this woman's "thoughts" Eve Black has little or no real compassion for her. Nor does she seem in any important sense actively, or purposefully, cruel. Neutral or immune to major affective events in human relations, an unparticipating onlooker, she is apparently almost as free of hatefulness, or of mercy, or of comprehension, as a bright-feathered parakeet who chirps undisturbed while watching a child strangle to death.

It has been mentioned that Eve Black's career has been traced back to early childhood. She herself freely tells us of episodes when she emerged, usually to engage in acts of mischief or disobedience. She lies glibly and without

compunction, so her account alone can never be taken as reliable evidence. Since Eve White, whose word on any matter has always proved good, still has no access to the other's current awareness or her memory and, indeed, did not until recently even faintly suspect her existence, it has been impossible through her to check fully and immediately on Eve Black's stories. Her memory has, however, afforded considerable indirect evidence since she has been able to confirm reports of punishments she received, of accusations made against her, for deeds unknown to her but described to us by Eve Black.

Some stories have been substantiated through others. Both of this patient's parents, as well as her husband, have been available for interviews. They recall several incidents that Eve Black had previously reported to us. For instance, the parents had had to punish their ordinarily good and conforming six-year-old girl for having disobeyed their specific rule against wandering through the woods to play with the children of a tenant farmer. They considered this expedition dangerous for so young a child, and their daughter's unaccountable absence had caused them worry and distress. On her return Eve received a hearty whipping despite her desperate denials of wrongdoing or disobedience. In fact these very denials added to her punishment, since the evidence of her little trip was well established and her denial taken as a deliberate lie. Eve Black had previously described this episode to us in some detail, expressing amusement about "coming out" to commit and enjoy the forbidden adventure and withdrawing to leave the other Eve, sincerely protesting her innocence, to appreciate all sensations of the whipping.

The adult Eve White recalled this and several other punishments which she had no way of understanding and which sometimes bewildered her in her relations with her parents.

Irresponsibility and a shallowly hedonistic grasping for ephemeral excitements or pleasures characterize Eve Black's adult behavior. She succeeded in concealing her identity not only from the other Eve but also from her parents and the husband. She herself denies marriage to this man, whom she despises, and any relation to Eve White's little girl except

that of an unconcerned bystander. Though she had often "come out" in the presence of all these people, she went unrecognized until she agreed to reveal herself to them in the therapist's office.

Her wayward behavior, ill will, harshness, and occasional acts of violence, observed by Mr. White and the parents, were attributed to unaccountable fits of temper in a woman habitually gentle and considerate.

During her longer periods "out," when she expresses herself more freely in behavior so unlike that of Eve White, she avoids her family and close friends, and seeks the company of strangers or of those insufficiently acquainted with her alternate to evaluate accurately the stupendous transformation.

Once we had seen and spoken with Eve Black, it seemed to us at first scarcely possible that, even in the same body as her alternate, she could for so long have concealed her separate identity from others. Yet, who among those acquainted with her would be likely to suspect, however unlike herself Eve appeared at times to be, such a situation as that voluntarily revealed to us by the patient? No matter how many clues one is given, no matter how obvious the clues, one will not be led to a conclusion that is inconceivable. One will seek explanations for the problem only among available hypotheses.

Not knowing the only concept into which successive details of perception will fit, even a very astute man may observe a thousand separate features of something his imagination has never shaped without grasping the gestalt, without being able to put into a recognizable whole the details he has so clearly detected. Only our previous familiarity with three-dimensional space enables us to see the representation of depth in a picture. What is for us still unconceived can give us a thousand hints, boldly flaunt before us its grossest features, and remain for us undelineated, formless, uncomprehended as an entity.

The astonishingly incompatible gestures, expressions, attitudes, mannerisms, and behavior which Eve occasionally displayed before intimates provoked thought and wonder, demanded explanation. But who in the position of these people would be likely to find or create in his mind the hypothesis that forms a recognizable image? Let us remember too that Eve

Black, until she voluntarily named herself to the therapist, meant to remain unrecognized. When it suits her, she deliberately and skillfully acts so as to pass herself off as Eve White, imitating her habitual tone of voice, her gestures, and attitudes. Let us not forget that she is shrewd. Would it not, after all, require a sledge-hammer blow from the obvious to drive into an unsuspecting acquaintance the only hypothesis that would lead to her recognition?²

Psychometric and projective tests conducted on the two Eves by a well-qualified expert were reported thus:

Psychological Consultation Report

This twenty-five-year-old married female patient was referred for psychological examination with a provisional diagnosis of dual personality. Two complete psychological examinations were requested, one of the predominant personality, Mrs. White, the other, . . . of the secondary personality, Miss Black.

The patient is the oldest of three siblings, having twin sisters. She quit school two months before graduation from high school. She was employed as a telephone operator. She has been married six years and has a girl four years old. Patient states that she did things recently she cannot remember having done, and expresses serious concern about this condition. The following psychological tests were administered in both examinations:

Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale
Wechsler Memory Scale
Drawings of Human Figures
Rorschach

Test behavior: Patient was neat, friendly, and cooperative. However, while Mrs. White was more serious, more conscientious, and displayed more anxiety, Miss Black appeared somewhat less anxious and was satisfied with giving more superficial responses. Still the basic behavior pattern was very similar in both personalities, indicating that inhibitory forces were not markedly abolished even in the role of the desired personality. Speech was coherent, and there were no distortions in ideation or behavior according to the assumed personality. No psychotic deviations could be observed at the present time.

Tests results: While Mrs. White is able to achieve an IQ of 110 on the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale, Miss Black attains an IQ of 104 only. There is evidence that the native intellectual endowment is well within the bright normal group; however, in Mrs. White's case anxiety and tenseness interfere, in Miss Black's superficiality and slight indifference as to achievement

² Eve White's husband and parents were troubled by the unexplicable changes in her. They assumed them to be "fits of temper" about which she lied. Her mother called the fugues of her daughter these "strange little habits." Apparently these people observed the same changes that we have observed, but unlike ourselves, they have not had the conception of multiple personality in mind. Lacking it, they could not use it as an explanatory construct.

are responsible for the lower score. While Mrs. White shows more obsessional traits, Miss Black shows more hysterical tendencies in the records. It is interesting to note that the memory function in Miss Black is on the same level as her Intelligence Quotient, while Mrs. White's memory function is far above her IQ, although she complained of a disturbance of memory. The only difficulty encountered by both personalities is on recall of digits, a performance in which telephone operators usually excel. On the other hand, the Rorschach record of Miss Black is by far healthier than the one of Mrs. White. In Miss Black's record a hysterical tendency is predominant, while Mrs. White's record shows constriction, anxiety, and obsessive compulsive traits. Thus Miss Black is able to conform with the environment, while Mrs. White is rigid and not capable of dealing with her hostility.

Personality dynamics: A comparison of the projective tests indicates repression in Mrs. White and regression in Miss Black. The dual personality appears to be the result of a strong desire to regress to an early period of life, namely the one before marriage. Miss Black is actually the maiden name of Mrs. White. Therefore, there are not two different personalities with completely dissimilar ideation, but rather one personality at two stages of her life. As is characteristic for this type of case, the predominant personality is amnesic for the existence, activities, or behavior of the secondary or subordinate system, while the secondary personality is aware and critical of the predominant personality's activities and attitudes. The latter reaction is quite similar to the ego-conflict in obsessive compulsive disturbances.

Mrs. White admits difficulty in her relation with her mother, and her performance on the Rorschach and drawings indicate conflict and resulting anxiety in her role as a wife and mother. Only with strong conscious effort can she compel herself to subject herself to these roles. The enforced subjection results in ever increasing hostility. This hostility, however, is not acceptable to her, and activates a defense mechanism of regression to avoid severe guilt feelings, by removing the entire conflictual situation from conscious awareness. At the same time, the new situation (in which she plays the role of Miss Black) permits her to discharge some of her hostility towards Mrs. White. Miss Black on the other hand has regained her previous status of freedom from marital and maternal conflicts, and thus has liberated herself from the insoluble situation in which Mrs. White found herself through her marriage. In addition, she can avert the—in her conviction—inevitable spiritual loss of her child. Thus, it is not surprising that she shows contempt for Mrs. White who permitted herself to become involved in such a situation because of her lack of foresight, as well as her lack of courage to forcefully solve the dilemma.

Actually the problem started at a much earlier period of life, with a strong feeling of rejection by her parents, especially after the birth of her twin sisters. Mrs. White loves them dearly, Miss Black despises them. In this connection an episode is related by Miss Black. After quitting school to help support the family, she (that is to say Mrs. White) sent home money to be used for overcoats for her twin sisters, denying herself a badly wanted wristwatch. When the money was used to buy them two wristwatches instead of overcoats, she re-

acted with strong, but repressed, hostility. Significantly, she removed her wristwatch while examined as Mrs. White, stating that she doesn't like jewelry. There are several illustrations of her strong sense of rejection as well as sibling rivalry in her records.

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With the circumspect Eve White oblivious of her escapades, Miss Black once recklessly bought several expensive and unneeded new dresses and two luxurious coats. Sometimes she revels in cheap night clubs flirting with strange men on the make. Insouciantly she pursues her irresponsible way, usually amused, sometimes a little bored, never alarmed or grieved or seriously troubled. She has, apparently, been unmoved by any sustaining purpose, unattracted by any steady goal, prompted only by the immediate and the trivial.

Eve White's husband, on discovering the valuable outlay of new clothes, which the other Eve had hidden carefully away, lost his temper and abused his wife for wantonly plunging him into debt. He found no way to accept her innocent denials as genuine but was at length assuaged in wrath by her wholehearted agreement that it would be disastrous for them to run up such a bill, and her promptness in returning all these garments to the store.³ Eve White has told us of many real and serious incompatibilities with her husband. Even if the two were unmolested by an outsider, it is doubtful if the imperfections of this marriage, its unhappiness, and the threats to its continuation could be alleviated. Adverse acts and influence by an insider have been peculiarly damaging and pernicious. Though Eve Black does not apparently follow a consistent purpose to disrupt the union, or regularly go out of her way to make trouble for the couple, her typical behavior often compounds their difficulties.

³ Mrs. White apparently failed to produce a satisfactory rationalization. This is true for all of her fugue states. She did tell us she suspected that her husband may have planted the clothes in order to make it appear that she was "insane." She did not, however, seem to come to grips with the problem. Apparently finding it, along with so many other problems, too much for her, she took an attitude in some ways like that of Scarlett O'Hara when the latter would tell herself, "Well, tomorrow will be another day."

"When I go out and get drunk," Eve Black with an easy wink once said to both of us, "*she* wakes up with the hangover. She wonders what in the hell's made her so sick."

Though as a rule only indifferent, passively callous to her alternate's child, Eve Black once in the past became irritated with her and hurt her. Apparently she might have done her serious harm had her husband not restrained her. This act she denied and lied about consistently though the evidence for it through others is strong. Later she flippantly confessed, giving as her reason, "The little brat got on my nerves."

Abstract terms and other descriptive words are not likely to convey much of what one experiences directly of a human being, of a specific personal entity. Nor could any list of ten thousand such items be even near complete. Let us, nevertheless, set down for what they are worth a few points:

Eve White	Eve Black
Demure, retiring, in some respects almost saintly	Obviously a party girl. Shrewd, childishly vain, and egocentric
Face suggests a quiet sweetness; the expression in repose is predominantly one of contained sadness	Face is pixie-like; eyes dance with mischief as if Puck peered through the pupils
Clothes: simple and conservative, neat and inconspicuously attractive	Expression rapidly shifts in a light cascade of fun-loving willfulness. The eyes are as inconstant as the wind. This face has not and will never know sadness. Often it reflects a misleading and only half-true naïvete
Posture: tendency to a barely discernible stoop or slump. Movements careful and dignified	Voice a little coarsened, "discultured," with echoes or implications of mirth and teasing.
Reads poetry and likes to compose verse herself	Speech richly vernacular and liberally seasoned with spontaneous gusts of rowdy wit
Voice always softly modulated, always influenced by a specifically feminine restraint	A devotee of pranks. Her repeated irresponsibilities have cruel results on others. More heedless and unthinking, however, than deeply malicious. Enjoys taunting and mocking the Siamese alternate
Almost all who know her express admiration and affection for her. She does not provoke envy. Her strength of character is more passive than active. Steadfast on defense but lacking initiative and boldness to formulate strategy of attack	All attitudes and passions whim-like and momentary. Quick and vivid flares of many light
An industrious and able worker; also a competent housekeeper and a skillful cook. Not colorful or glamorous. Limited in spontaneity	

Consistently uncritical of others. Tries not to blame husband for marital troubles. Nothing suggests pretense or hypocrisy in this charitable attitude

Though not stiffly prudish and never self-righteous, she is seldom lively or playful or inclined to tease or tell a joke. Seldom animated

Her presence resonates unexpressed devotion to her child. Every act, every gesture, the demonstrated sacrifice of personal aims to work hard for her little girl, is consistent with this love

Cornered by bitter circumstances, threatened with tragedy, her endeavors to sustain herself, to defend her child, are impressive

This role in one essentially so meek and fragile embodies an unspoken pathos. One feels somehow she is doomed to be overcome in her present situation

No allergy to nylon has been reported

feelings, all ephemeral

Immediately likable and attractive. A touch of sexiness seasons every word and gesture. Ready for any little, irresponsible adventure

Dress is becoming and a little provocative. Posture and gait suggest light-heartedness, play, a challenge to some sort of frolic

Never contemplative; to be serious is for her to be tedious or absurd.

Is immediately amusing and likable. Meets the little details of experience with a relish that is catching. Strangely "secure from the contagion of the world's slow stain," and from inner aspect of grief and tragedy

Reports that her skin often reacts to nylon with urticaria. Usually does not wear stockings when she is "out" for long periods

It is not possible here even to summarize the history of each personality that emerged and accumulated over the months, or to describe the varied and multiplex complications that arose to tax, and often to baffle and overwhelm, the therapist's efforts. Let us note briefly a few scattered items.

In contrast with the interesting case reported by Erickson and Kubie (6), the secondary personality, Eve Black, has shown anything but a regular desire to help the other with her problems. The considerably submerged and dissociated manifestations referred to by Erickson and Kubie as Miss Brown apparently expressed themselves only through the medium of automatic writing. And this writing was so verbally imperfect and abstruse that considerable interpretation or translation was necessary to promote even limited communication. Nevertheless, whatever the influence designated by the term *Miss Brown* may represent, it consistently worked to aid the accessible personality, Miss Damon. It was a therapeutic influence (6).

Efforts to interest Eve Black in taking a similar role met with grim obstacles. Many of these, as can be imagined, were not unlike what impedes and frustrates the psychiatrist who tries to help a typical psychopath deal more constructively with his own problems, to find real goals and to develop normal evaluations. New toys or games can sometimes serve to arouse briefly the interest of a capricious child. So, too, the therapist occasionally was able to enlist Eve Black's support in some remedial aim directed towards the problems of her body's coinhabitant. Sometimes attaining in her even an attitude of neutrality was of value. What helpful acts or abstentions she could be induced to contribute have, however, been prompted, it seems, only by fleeting impulses such as casual curiosity, the playful redirection of a whim towards some pretty novelty. Often she has, by ingenious lies, misled the therapist to believe she was cooperating when her behavior was particularly detrimental to Eve White's progress.

No real or persistently constructive or sympathetic motivation has yet been induced in the irresponsible Eve, but one valuable means of influencing her is in the hands of the therapist. Though Eve Black has apparently been able since childhood to disappear at will, often doing this suddenly to leave the conscientious Eve with unpleasant consequences of misconduct and folly not her own, the ability to displace Eve White's consciousness and emerge to take control has always been limited. Sometimes she could "get out" and sometimes not. Since Eve White during treatment learned of the other's existence it has become plain that her willingness to step aside and, so to speak, to release the imp plays an important part in this alternate's ability to appear and express herself directly. Eve White cannot keep the other suppressed permanently or count with certainty on doing this for some given period. Her influence, and indirectly that of the therapist, have, however, been sufficiently strong to use for bargaining with Eve Black for better cooperation. If she will avoid the more serious forms of misconduct she is rewarded with more time "out."

Even when invisible and inaccessible she, apparently, has means of disturbing Eve White. She tells us she caused those severe headaches that brought the latter to us as a

patient. Her unsuccessful struggle to get out often produces this symptom in the other. So too, she explains that the hallucinatory, or quasi-hallucinatory, voice which Eve White heard before the other Eve disclosed herself to us was her deliberate work.

From the two Eves during many interviews and from her husband and parents, we in time obtained a great deal of information about the patient. Having concluded we had a reasonably complete and accurate history of her career since early childhood, we were astonished by the report of a distant relative who insisted that a few years before she met her present husband a previous marriage had occurred.

Eve White denied this report and has never yet shown any knowledge of it. To our surprise Eve Black also maintained that we had been misinformed, insisting that Eve White had married only once, that she herself had never and would never consider marrying any man.

Finally, under the persistent pressure of evidence, Eve Black gave up her position, admitted that the relative's report was correct, that she herself and only she had been the bride. This event she told us occurred several years before Mrs. White's marriage. While the other Eve was employed in a town some distance from her parents' home she had come "out" and gone to a dance with a man she scarcely knew. After a night of merriment, something was half-jokingly mentioned about the pair getting married more or less for the hell of it. This apparently struck her fancy.

She has recounted many details of outlandish strife and hardship during several months when, apparently, she had lived with this man. No record of a legal union has been obtained but considerable evidence indicates she did cohabit during this period with such a man as she describes, perhaps under the careless impression that a marriage had really occurred. She insists that some sort of "ceremony" was performed, saying that it was not formally recorded and admitting it may have been a ruse. During this time when she regarded herself as wed, Eve Black enjoyed her longest periods of uninterrupted sway. She was predominantly in control, almost constantly present. Apparently she had no desire for sexual relations but often enjoyed frustrating her supposed husband by denying herself to him. He in turn, she says, was prone to beat her savagely. She claims to have suc-

ceeded in avoiding most of the pain from this by "going in" and leaving the other Eve to feel the blows.

This last claim immediately impressed us both as extremely implausible. If Eve White experienced the pain and humiliation of these beatings, why did she not remember them? She has consistently denied any memory of the entire marital or pseudomarital experience reported by Eve Black. Our unreliable but convincing informant maintains that she herself remained in control or possession nearly all the time during this adventure. She furthermore insists that she can, by exerting a considerable effort, often "pick out" or erase from Eve White's reach certain items of memory. "I just start thinking about it very hard," Eve Black says, "and after a while she quits and it doesn't come back to her anymore." All awareness of the beatings she claims so to have erased from the other's recollection. Such a claim, obviously, was subject to testing by the therapist. Several experiments indicated that it is correct.

After approximately eight months of psychiatric treatment Eve White had apparently made encouraging progress. For a long time she had not been troubled by headaches or "blackout." The imaginary voice had never been heard again since the other Eve revealed herself to the therapist. Mrs. White worked efficiently at her job and had made progress financially through salary raises and careful management. The prospect of returning to her husband and of working out a bearable relation was still blocked by serious obstacles, but, having achieved more personal security and financial independence, she had become more hopeful of eventually reaching some acceptable solution. Though sadly missing the presence of her child, she found some comfort in her successful efforts to provide for her. She had made friends in the once strange city and with them, despite many worries and responsibilities, occasionally enjoyed simple recreations.

Meanwhile Eve Black, though less actively resisted in emerging, had in general been causing less trouble. Being bored with all regular work, she seldom "came out" to make careless and costly errors, or indulge in complicating pranks while the breadwinner was on her job. Though in leisure hours she often got

in bad company, picked up dates, and indulged in cheap and idle flirtations, her demure and conventional counterpart, lacking knowledge of these deeds, was spared the considerable humiliation and distress some of this conduct would otherwise have caused her.

At this point the situation changed for the worse. Eve White's headaches returned. They grew worse and more frequent. With them also returned the "blackouts." Since the earlier headaches had been related to, perhaps caused by, the other Eve's efforts to gain control, and the "blackouts" had often represented this alternate's periods of activity, she was suspected and questioned. She denied any part or influence in the new development. She did not experience the headaches, but, surprisingly, seemed now to participate in the blackouts, and could give no account of what occurred during them. Apparently curious about these experiences, she said, "I don't know where we go, but go we do."

Two or three times the patient was found lying unconscious on the floor by her roommate. This, so far as we could learn, had not occurred during the previous episodes reported by Eve White as "blackouts." It became difficult for her to work effectively. Her hard-won gains in serenity and confidence disappeared. During interviews she became less accessible, while showing indications of increasing stress. The therapist began to fear that a psychosis was impending. Though this fear was not, of course, expressed to Eve White, it was mentioned to her reckless and invulnerable counterpart. The fact was emphasized that, should it be necessary to send Eve White to an institution, the other, too, would suffer the same restrictions and confinement. Perhaps, the therapist hoped, this fact would curtail her in any unadmitted mischief she might be working.

Since it has for long been presumed that so-called dual personalities arise from a dissociation of an originally integrated entity of functioning and experience, efforts were naturally exerted from the first to promote reintegration. Attempts were made with each Eve to work back step by step into early childhood. With Mrs. White hypnosis was sometimes used to regain forgotten events or aspects or fragments of experience. It was hoped that some link or bridge might be found on which additional

contact and coalition could grow or be built. Under hypnosis she occasionally re-experienced considerable emotion in recalling events of her childhood. We have never been able to hypnotize Eve Black.

It soon became possible for the therapist to evoke either personality at will. During the first few weeks a transition from Eve White to Eve Black was more easily achieved by hypnosis. Shortly afterwards it became possible to simplify the procedure. Permission and the promise of cooperation were obtained from the lady present. Then the other was called by name and invited or encouraged to emerge. With repetition, and with deepening emotional relations between patient and physician, this process became after a while very easily accomplished. In the very early stages of treatment an effort was made, perhaps a too naive effort, to promote some sort of blending, or at least a liaison, by calling out both personalities at once. To this attempt Eve White reacted with violent headache and emotional distress so severe that it was not considered wise to continue. When the experiment was reversed, with the apparently invulnerable Eve Black manifest, much less agitation was observed. After one unsuccessful trial, however, she bluntly refused to go further. In explanation she said only that it gave her "such a funny, queer, mixed-up feeling that I ain't gonna put up with it no more."

Sometime after the return of headaches and blackouts, with Eve White's maladjustment still growing worse generally, a very early recollection was being discussed with her. The incident focused about a painful injury she had sustained when scalded by water from a wash pot. As she spoke her eyes shut sleepily. Her words soon ceased. Her head dropped back on the chair. After remaining in this sleep or trance perhaps two minutes her eyes opened. Blankly she stared about the room, looking at the furniture and the pictures as if trying to orient herself. Continuing their apparently bewildered survey, her eyes finally met those of the therapist, and stopped. Slowly, with an unknown husky voice and with immeasurable poise, she spoke. "Who are you?"

From the first moment it was vividly apparent that this was neither Eve White nor Eve Black. She did not need to tell us that. The thousands of points distinguishing the two

Eves have grown more clear and convincing as we acquire additional experience with each. So this new woman with time and study has shown herself ever more plainly another entity. Only in a superficial way could she be described as a sort of compromise between the two. She apparently lacks Eve Black's obvious faults and inadequacies. She also impresses us as far more mature, more vivid, more boldly capable, and more interesting than Eve White. It is easy to sense in her a capacity for accomplishment and fulfillment far beyond that of the sweet and retiring Eve White, who, beside this genuinely impressive newcomer, appears colorless and limited. In her are indications of initiative and powerful resources never shown by the other. This third personality calls herself Jane, for no particular reason she can give. In her it is not difficult to sense the potential or the promise of something far more of woman and of life than might be expected from the two Eves with faults and weaknesses eliminated and all assets combined.

Some weeks after Jane emerged to make a group of three patients, electroencephalographic studies were conducted.

Report of Electroencephalogram

This tracing consists of 33 minutes of continuous recording including uninterrupted intervals of 5 minutes or more of each personality as well as several transpositions. The record was made with a Grass Model 111 EEG machine (8 channels) under conditions standard for this laboratory.

Each personality shows intervals of alpha rhythm interspersed with periods of diffuse low voltage fast activity. Intervals of L.V.F. are presumably associated with periods of mental tenseness, which the patient admitted experiencing. Although it is possible that these periods occurred at random, tenseness is most pronounced in Eve Black, next in Eve White and least of all in Jane. Several EEG's would be needed to show this to be a constant relationship.

When alpha rhythm occurs (relaxation), it is steadily maintained at $10\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ cycles per sec. by Eve White and by Jane. Eve Black's alpha is increased in rate of 12 or 13 cycles per sec.—generally at $12\frac{1}{2}$. This increase is significant and falls at the upper border of normal limits approaching an F1 category. It is interesting to note that F1 records are fairly common in psychopathic personality although no consistent correlation has yet been demonstrated. In addition to the increased rate there is evidence of restlessness and generalized muscle tension during Eve Black's tracings which are not observed in the other two personalities.

Transposition is effected within a few seconds. It is usually accompanied by artifact from eye movements and slight body movements. Alpha rhythm is frequently blocked for several seconds during and following

transposition. Alpha blocking was most pronounced in passing from Eve White to Eve Black. It did not occur at all in transposition from Eve Black to Eve White. This might possibly suggest that transposition from Eve Black to Eve White is easier to effect. However, only two such transpositions are recorded.

No spikes, abnormal slow waves or amplitude asymmetries are recognized.

Summary

All three personalities show alternate periods of alpha rhythm and low voltage fast activity, presumably due to alternate periods of mental relaxation and mental tenseness. The greatest amount of tenseness is shown by Eve Black, Eve White next and Jane least. Eve Black shows a basic alpha rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cycles per sec., as compared with 11 cycles per sec. for Eve White and Jane. This places Eve Black's tracing on the border line between normal and slightly fast (F1). Slightly fast records are sometimes (but not consistently) associated with psychopathic personality. Eve Black's record also shows evidence of restlessness and muscle tension. Eve Black's EEG is definitely distinguished from the other two and could be classified as border-line normal. Eve White's EEG probably cannot be distinguished from Jane's—both are clearly normal.

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Jan. 5th, 1953.

For several months now there have been three patients to interview and work with. Jane has awareness of what both Eves do and think but incomplete access to their stores of knowledge and their memories prior to her emergence upon the scene. Through her reports the therapist can determine when Eve Black has been lying. Jane feels herself personally free from Eve White's responsibilities and attachments, and in no way identified with her in the role of wife and mother. Apparently she is capable of compassion, and, we feel likely, of devotion and valid love. She has cooperated with sincerity, and with judgment and originality beyond that of the others. Though it took her a while to learn what was quite new to her, she has already taken over many of Eve White's tasks at work and at home in efforts to relieve and help her. Her feelings towards Eve's little girl appear to be those of a wise and richly compassionate woman towards the child of a family not her own, but still a child in emotional privation.

Her warm impulses to take a more active role with this little girl are complicated by the deep conviction that she must not in anyway act so as to come between the distressed mother and her only child. During the few

months of her separate existence Jane has, one might say, become stronger and more active. Despite her fine intelligence she began without experience, or at least without full access to the experience of an adult. As time passes Jane stays "out" more and more. She emerges only through Eve White, never yet having found a way to displace Eve Black or to communicate through her. Almost any observer would, we think, find it obvious that Jane, and she only of the three, might solve the deepest problems that brought the patient we call Eve White to us for treatment. Could Jane remain in full possession of that integrated human functioning we call personality our patient would probably, we believe, regain full health, eventually adjust satisfactorily, perhaps at a distinctly superior level, and find her way to a happy life.

Should this occur it seems very unlikely that Mr. White's wife would ever return to him. On the other hand it is little more likely that Eve White, even if she becomes free of all that she has known as symptoms, could or would ever take up her role again as wife in that marriage. Should she try to do so, it is difficult to foresee much happiness for her or the husband. The probability of deep and painful conflict is apparent, also the real danger of psychosis.

Were we impersonal arbiters in such a matter it would be easy to see, and to say, that the only practical or rational solution to this astonishing problem is for Jane to survive, and Jane only. A steadily prevailing Eve Black would indeed be a travesty of woman. The surface is indeed appealing, but this insouciant and likable hoyden, though perhaps too shallow to become really vicious, would, if unrestrained, forever carry disaster lightly in each hand.

The sense of duty, the willingness for self-sacrifice, so strong and so beautiful in Eve White, might bring her back repeatedly into this marital situation which she lacks the emotional vigor to deal with, and in which it is not likely she could survive. Jane, whose integrity, whose potential goodness, seems not less than that of Eve White, has rich promise of the power to survive, even to triumph against odds.

It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that we have not judged ourselves as wise enough to make active decisions or exert personal

influence in shaping what impends. It is plain that, even if we had this wisdom, the responsibility is not ours. Would any physician order euthanasia for the heedlessly merry and amoral but nevertheless unique Eve Black? If so, it is our belief, it could not be a physician who has directly known and talked for hours with her, not one who has felt the inimitable identity of her capricious being.

A surviving Jane would provide for Eve White's half-lost little girl a maternal figure of superb resources.⁴ Perhaps in time she could give the child a love as real and deep as that of the mother herself. Perhaps. But would those feelings be the actual and unique feelings that have sustained the frail and tormented Eve White in her long, pathetic, and steadfast struggle to offer the child a chance for happiness? It may be said that this is foolish and tedious quibbling, that Jane after all, *is* the girl's real mother. Was she not born of her body? All awareness of her as a daughter ever experienced by Eve White is recorded in the electrochemical patterns of Jane's brain. True indeed. But *is* she her mother? Those who have known Eve White personally will find it hard to accept simple affirmation as the whole truth. What this whole truth is can be better sensed in direct feeling than conveyed by explanation.

⁴ A question of the psychotherapist's responsibility has been raised. Morton Prince has been accused by some, particularly by McDougall, of taking too active a part in "squeezing out" Sally. Our experience made us feel very keenly the wish not to exert pressures arbitrarily and perhaps play a part in the extinction of qualities possibly of real value if they were integrated into more responsible patterns of behavior. We believe there is some choice open to the psychiatrist as to which personality he will try to reinforce, but that he must be tentative and work along with developments within the patient (or patients?) rather than make full and final judgments.

We feel that therapy has played a part in the emergence of Jane, but we do not consider her merely our creation. Our influence seems to have been more catalytic than causal. Psychotherapy has not been directed according to an arbitrary plan. Although we have persistently investigated early experiences through all three manifestations of our patient, and have encouraged emotional reaction to them, we have sought to avoid insistence on any of the popular theoretical forms of interpretation.

Jane continues to grow in influence, to be out more and more. She has established contact with some events in the early life of Eve White, and seems more rooted in a past. We cannot predict with any great confidence the outcome, but we are hopeful that some reasonably good adjustment will work out through the capacities contributed by Jane.

At a distance bridged only by printed or spoken words these "beings" may appear as factitious abstractions. In the flesh, though it is the flesh of a single body, one finds it more difficult so to dismiss them. Final decisions, or choices in the course of involuntary developments must, we have decided, be offered freely to something within our patient, perhaps to something beyond any levels of contact we have reached with Eve Black, with Eve White, or with Jane.

Jane, who appears to have some not quite articulate understanding or purblind grasp of this whole matter, not available to either of the Eves, shares our sharp reluctance about participating in any act that might contribute to Eve White's extinction. Unlike Eve Black, Jane has profound and compassionate realization of Eve White's relation to her child. The possibility, the danger, of a permanent loss of all touch with reality has occurred to Eve White. Through this we have found a better appreciation of her feelings as a mother. Too restrained ordinarily by modesty to speak about such a matter, after hypnosis she offered in quiet tones of immeasurable conviction to accept this extinction if it might win for her daughter Jane's presence in the role she had not succeeded in filling adequately for her child.

It has been said that a man must first lay down his life if he is to truly find it. Is it possible that this mother may, through her renunciation, somehow survive and find a way back to the one and dearest thing she is, for her child's sake, ready to leave forever? That we do not know. Long and intimate personal relations with this patient have brought us to wonder if in her we have blindly felt biologic forces and processes invisible to us, still uncomprehended and not quite imaginable.

Recently Eve White, anything but a physically bold or instinctively active person, was challenged suddenly by an event, for her momentous. Of this Jane, deeply moved, wrote to the therapist:

Today she did something that made me know and appreciate her as I had not been able to do before. I wish I could tell her what I feel but I can't reach her. She must not die yet. There's so much I must know, and so very much I must learn from her. She is the substance of, *this above all to thine own self be true*. In her, too, *the quality of mercy is not strained*. I want her to live—not me!

She saved the life of a little boy today. Everybody

thought him to be her child, because she darted out in front of a car to pick him up and take him to safety. But instead of putting him down again, the moment his baby arms went around her neck, he became her baby—and she continued to walk down the street carrying him in her arms.

I have never been thus affected by anything in my four months of life. There seemed only one solution to prevent her possible arrest for kidnapping. That was for me to come out and find the child's mother. In the end I had to give him to a policeman. Later tonight when she had come back out, she was searching for her own baby. She had her baby again for a short while this afternoon; and I'm so happy for that. I still can't feel Eve Black. I can't believe she's just given up. *I feel inexpressibly humble.*

DISCUSSION

What is the meaning of the events we have observed and reported? Some, no doubt, will conclude that we have been thoroughly hoodwinked by a skillful actress. It seems possible that such an actress after assiduous study and long training might indeed master three such roles and play them in a way that would defy detection. The roles might be so played for an hour, perhaps for a few hours. We do not think it likely that any person consciously dissimulating could over months avoid even one tell-tale error or imperfection. Though this does not seem likely to us, we do not assume it to be impossible. Let us remember, too, that in plays the actors are given their lines, and their roles are limited to representations of various characters only in circumscribed and familiar episodes of the portrayed person's life. The actor also has costume and make-up to help him maintain the illusion.

Have we, others may ask, been taken in by what is no more than superficial hysterical tomfoolery? We would not argue that the psychopathology presented here has nothing in common with ordinary hysterical conversions and dissociations. We do believe that here there is also something more, and something different. If one is to regard these three manifestations of personality as products of disintegration, could such a presumed disintegration be schizophrenic, or perhaps incompletely schizoid? If the process is akin to the processes of schizophrenia, it must still be noted that none of the three products, not one of the three personalities, shows anything suggesting the presence of that disorder. Are we justified in postulating a once unified whole from which our three performers were split off? Or is it

possible that the functional elements composing each, as we encounter them at present, have never in the past been really or completely unified?

The developmental integration of what we call personality appears to be a complex process of growth or evolution, a not-too-well comprehended unfolding of germinal potentialities. Let us compare such a process with the zygote's course from microscopic unicellular entity to adult human being. Reviewing the biologic course of identical twins we come at length to cellular unity in the single zygote. Perhaps we must assume in the multiple personalities at least a primordial functional unity. If so, is it possible that some division might have begun far back in the stage of mere potentialities, at preconscious levels of growth not accessible to us except in surmise or theory? If so, what chance is there that an adequate integration may occur?

One might from our verbal account easily see, or read into, the character Jane some fusion of, or even a mere compromise between, the diverse tendencies of the two Eves. If she has, indeed, been formed of their substance it is difficult for us to assume that the process was merely additive. If all her elements derive from the other two, this union, like that of hydrogen and oxygen to make water, seems to have resulted in a product genuinely different from both the ingredients from which it was formed.

Have we in our many hours of enthusiastic work with this patient gradually lost ourselves, and our judgment, in an overdramatization of the subject? Are we reporting what is objective, or chiefly the verbal forms of our surmises and speculations? It is not for us to give the final answer to these questions. We are aware that the only terms available to indicate what we think is valid carry also many connotations that we do not assume or believe to be supported by fact (27).

Obviously the differing manifestations we have observed in one woman's physical organism do not, in all senses of the term, indicate three quite separate people. Our words referring to the possible disappearance or permanent extinction of one of the personality manifestations perhaps imply we regard this as an equivalent, or at least an approximation, of death. Are we guilty of a misleading exag-

geration? No heart would stop beating should this occur. No eyes would permanently close. No flesh would undergo corruption. Such an extinction would not fulfill the criteria by which death is defined. Yet, if we may ask, would his immediate replacement by an identical twin invalidate for a bereaved widow the death of her husband? This analogy is not precise. In some respects it is misleading. It does not give us an answer to the question we raise. Perhaps it may, nevertheless, accurately reflect some of our perplexity.

For these and for many other questions that have confronted us in this study we have no full or certain answers. We ask ourselves what we mean by referring to that which we have observed by such a term as *multiple personality*? Immediately we face the more fundamental question: What is the real referent of this familiar word *personality*? In ordinary use we all encounter dozens of unidentical referents, perhaps hundreds of overlapping concepts, all with vague and elusive areas extending indefinitely, vaguely fading out into limitless implications (28).

Any day we may hear that John Doe has become a *new man* since he quit liquor three years ago. Perhaps we tell ourselves that Harvard actually made a *different person* of that boy across the street who used to aggravate all the neighbors with his mischievous depredations. Many religious people describe the experience of being *converted* or *born again* in terms that to the skeptical often seem chiefly fantastic.

With considerable truth, perhaps, it may be stated that after her marriage Mary Blank *changed*, that she has become *another woman*. So, too, when a man's old friends say that since the war he hasn't been the *same fellow* they used to know, the statement, however inaccurate, may indicate something real. We hear that an acquaintance when drinking the other night was *not himself*. Another man, we are told, *found himself* after his father lost all that money. Every now and then it is said that a certain woman's absorption in her home and children has resulted in her losing her *entire personality*. Though such sayings are never taken literally, there is often good reason for them to be taken seriously.

Are they not exaggerations or distortions used to indicate very imperfectly what is by no

means totally untrue but what cannot be put precisely, or fully, into words? The real meaning of such familiar statements, however significant, helps us only a little in explaining what we think we have encountered in the case reported. Some relation seems likely, as one might say there is some relation between ordinary vocal memory or fantasy and true auditory hallucinations.

Though often distinguished from each of the other terms, "personality" is sometimes used more or less as a synonym or approximation for "mind," "character," "disposition," "soul," "spirit," "self," "ego," "integrate of human functioning," "identity," etc. In common speech it may be said that John has a good mind but no personality, or that Jim has a wonderful personality but no character, etc. Often this protean word narrows (or broadens) in use to indicate chiefly the attractiveness, or unattractiveness, of some woman or man. In psychiatry its most specific function today is perhaps that of implying a unified total, of indicating more than "intelligence," or "character," more than any of the several terms referring with various degrees of exactness to various qualities, activities, responses, capacities, or aspects of the human being. In the dictionaries, among other definitions, one finds "individuality," "quality or state of being a person," "personal existence or identity."

There is, apparently, no distinct or whole or commonly understood referent for our word "personality." It is useful to us in psychiatry despite its elasticity, often because of its elasticity. If they are to be helpful all such elastic terms must be used tentatively. Otherwise they may lead us at once into violent and confused disagreement about what are likely to be imaginary questions, mere conflicts of arbitrary definition (14). Bearing this in mind we feel it proper to speak of Eve Black, Eve White, and of Jane as three "personalities." Perhaps there is a better term available to indicate the manifestations of this patient. If so we are indeed prepared to welcome it, with enthusiasm and with relief.

Our study has raised many questions. Even for us it has settled few if any. The relatively slight or inconclusive differences between the personalities of our patient noted electroencephalographically, and in psychometric and projective tests, are not particularly impressive

beside the profound and consistent differences felt subjectively in personal and clinical relations. A well-qualified expert examined for us the handwriting performed by each Eve. Though considerably impressed by consistent and significant differences between the two productions, it is his opinion that those with adequate professional training could regularly establish sufficient evidence to show both were done by the same human hand. After a detailed investigation this conclusion was expressed by our consultant:

As a conclusion of the opinions derived from analysis of the various handwritings of this multiple personality patient, it is believed that the handwriting does not undergo complete subordination to each marked change of personality, even though each group exhibits evidence of emotional instabilities. It readily appears the handwriting of each personality is of a different person. Such apparent or discernible variations may lead the untrained observer to believe that the handwriting of each personality is completely foreign to the other. However, extensive investigation of these handwriting materials establishes beyond any doubt that they have been written by one and the same individual. Nothing was found to indicate a wilful and conscious intent to disguise writings executed within a personality or between the first and second personalities.

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Though unable at present to add anything significant to the hypotheses that were offered in the past by those who have worked with similar patients, we find ourselves singularly stimulated by our direct experience with this case. If we have not so far devised final or even fresh answers we have at least been prompted to ask ourselves a number of questions. A few of these, even when put in verbal forms outwardly familiar, we find to our surprise have somehow become new to us and peculiarly stimulating.

Though long acquainted in a general and indirect way with Morton Prince's celebrated studies, we both deliberately refrained for months after beginning work with our case from reading *The Dissociation of a Personality* (23) and *Clinical and Experimental Studies in Personality* (24). We hoped, in this way, to avoid projecting the conclusions and conceptions of another into what we encountered.

After having noted what is recorded here, we compared our experience with what Prince

observed and discussed in cogent detail approximately fifty years ago. The popular terminology and theory of psychiatry today differ considerably from the explanations and hypotheses of behavior offered by the physician who wrote so impressively of Miss Beauchamp and of other matters.

Most of us believe, no doubt, that psychiatry and psychology have advanced marvelously since the turn of the century. In many respects this belief is unchallengeable. In many respects, yes; but in all?

In this half-century of progress have we not also developed some habits of thinking that may confuse us? Have we perhaps unwittingly enshrined as sacred dogma many concepts that obscure or distort more than they reveal? Long sanctified verbal constructs, flabby theoretical abstractions are manipulated with a bold flourish in many of our treatises and monographs, presumably in the name of science. In tedious polysyllabic jargon we read today of electrochemical libidos undergoing gelatinization (15), of parental imagos cannibalistically devoured per os and sadistically expelled per annum (7). Such terms as "proved," "so-and-so has established," "clearly demonstrated," etc. have become in our time more popular as synonyms for fantasy and speculation than Morton Prince found them (3, 7, 15, 21).

How much can we congratulate ourselves on having advanced in the last fifty years if many of our leading authorities still find themselves bound to write in ponderous volumes of "actual neuroses" and solemnly contrast these revered artifacts with "psychoneuroses" (7). Is it progress if we establish the universality of castration fear, and its supreme significance, by redefining "castration" to mean all parental and social forces that tend to restrict or direct genital activity (5)? By this method any point of doctrine regarded as too holy for questioning could indeed be proved valid. But, who will say that thereby we have revealed anything not already well known to a twelve-year-old moron? So, too, we can immediately demonstrate that all women are to a remarkable extent homosexual if we piously agree that no impulse to activity, no courageous response, can be classified as other than purely masculine (10, 18). In recent issues of a reputable medical journal we read how an adult's dream "proves" intrauterine emotional trauma, and

demonstrates profound personal relations between embryo and placenta. The investigators warn the reader that "resistance" may cripple his ability to evaluate the plain evidence presented, may disqualify him from scientifically appraising these discoveries (8, 21, 22). Is it not our responsibility as psychiatrists to examine frankly such developments as these and to ask ourselves what sort of progress we are making?

Who can doubt that since the case of Miss Beauchamp was so carefully studied reliable knowledge in the field of psychiatry has accumulated. Psychologic theory, "dynamic" interpretation of personality disorder, has moved to points far more ambitious than those reached by Morton Prince. One need not deny that much of this progress has been helpful, a genuine advance, to wonder if the movement has not also sometimes veered considerably from the direction of what is true or even plausible, and even occasionally spent much of itself in enthusiastic but circular expeditions about areas scarcely distinguishable from dianetics and other swamplands of veritable nonsense (12).

Be this as it may. We suggest that further direct study of multiple personality and careful reappraisal of Morton Prince's generally neglected formulations may yet yield to workers in our field some promising clue still overlooked, a clue perhaps to possible discoveries that may eventually yield insight we need but lack today.

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