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CURING SCHIZOPHRENIA

Frieda Fromm-Reichmann and Joanne Greenberg (1964)

"One exuberant young patient," Frieda Fromm-Reichmann wrote in her posthumously published book, *Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy*, "the daughter of indiscriminately 'encouraging' parents, was warned against expecting life to become a garden of roses after her recovery . . ." (1959, p. 204). The young woman to whom Fromm-Reichmann refers went on to become one of the most famous patients in psychoanalytic history. Fromm-Reichmann's warning became the title of a novel, *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (1964), in which Joanne Greenberg created a touching depiction of her schizophrenia and her therapy with Fromm-Reichmann. This work represents one of the best examples of a growing body of literature—case histories written by patients themselves.

Indeed, much of what we know of this case was provided by the patient in her popular novel (it was also made into a movie). However, there are also veiled but unmistakable vignettes from the

case in three of the papers Fromm-Reichmann wrote during the 1950s, while she was analyzing Greenberg. There is also an overview of the entire case history, based on documents from the archives of Chestnut Lodge, by McGlashan and Keats (1989). Together, these sources provide a well-rounded picture of the case.

At 4 feet 10 inches tall, Fromm-Reichmann often had to stand on a stool or bend the microphones down toward her when she spoke from a podium; however, the power of her personality transcended her size. According to Dexter Bullard, founder of Chestnut Lodge, she would captivate audiences with her charming mixture of smiles, frowns, mimicry, and seriousness. Her presence during the 1940s and 1950s, along with that of Harry Stack Sullivan, Harold Searles, and other notables, made Chestnut Lodge one of the best known and progressive institutions of its kind.

Frieda Fromm-Reichmann was born in 1890 in Koenigsberg, East Prussia, one of several daughters of a kind and understanding father—a banker—and a mother who encouraged her to pursue a career in medicine. She graduated from medical school in 1914 and became interested in psychoanalysis after reading the work of Freud. She underwent psychoanalytic training and established a private psychoanalytic sanatorium in Heidelberg. She and her husband, Erich Fromm, also founded the Psycho-analytic Training Institute of Southwest Germany. Later she and Fromm fled Nazi Germany and immigrated to the United States. Eventually they divorced and she landed at Chestnut Lodge, where she served as supervisor of psychotherapy for twenty-two years. By the time Greenberg entered treatment, Fromm-Reichmann had already written her first book, *The Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy* (1950), and had achieved a measure of fame.

In contrast to Fromm-Reichmann's tiny size, Greenberg was tall and overweight—she weighed about 200 pounds when admitted to Chestnut Lodge—with "long, straggly blonde hair, bitten-off fingernails and unbrushed teeth" (McGlashan and Keats 1989). She could not allow people to walk behind her on the street, and was given to burning herself with cigarettes and peeling

off her skin, particularly from her heels. Like Kirk Allen, she had a delusional world that she called her kingdom, where people spoke a special language she had made up and wrote in symbols resembling Chinese.

The initial interview is recorded both in her novel and in one of Fromm-Reichmann's papers. According to Greenberg's version of this initial interview, Fromm-Reichmann first asked if she had anything to tell her. Greenberg (1964) was angered by this question and stood up.

> "All right—you'll ask me questions and I'll answer them—you'll clear up my 'symptoms' and send me home . . . *and what will I have then?*"
>
> The doctor said quietly, "If you did not really want to give them up, you wouldn't tell me." A rope of fear pulled its noose about Deborah [Joanne]. "Come, sit down. You will not have to give up anything until you are ready, and then there will be something to take its place." [p. 23]

Fromm-Reichmann's version (1959), written in order to illustrate her handling of patients' anxieties and defenses, was more clinical:

> A patient shouted at the psychiatrist during their first visit, "I know what you will do now! You'll take my gut-pains, and my trance, and my withdrawal states away from me! And where will I be then?" The psychiatrist first asked for a description of the three pathological states, the loss of which the patient allegedly feared. The patient's answer made it possible for the psychiatrist to demonstrate to her the attempt at escaping anxiety, which three of the states had in common. [p. 191]

In Fromm-Reichmann's version, she then reassured Greenberg that her symptoms would not be taken away, but, on the contrary, she herself would wish to dispose of them when she learned to understand enough about her anxiety to make it decrease. Omitted from Greenberg's version was Fromm-Reich-

mann's important initial interpretation about the meaning of her symptoms as defenses against anxiety.

Greenberg was the first child of a well-to-do Jewish immigrant family. Her father was a lobbyist and her mother a professional artist. Her father was prone to frightening fits of temper; her mother had a saccharine demeanor and a history of depression. He was always looking for evil, while she tended to deny reality. They were said to be extremely intrusive, particularly her father. During Greenberg's infancy her father's intrusiveness centered on her evacuations. He frequently administered enemas to her, which she experienced as rapes, and constantly reprimanded her for bedwetting, a habit which continued until her 5th year, when it was discovered that she had an abnormal urethral opening and had developed tumors in her urethra. It is not known whether the tumors were congenital or whether they had developed as the result of familial stress. "We have no use for a pantswetting stinker in this house," the father would tell her (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 41).

When Greenberg was 3, her mother gave birth to a stillborn son. Her parents went away for two weeks so that the mother could recover, and Joanne was left in the care of a nurse. During this time she "lay in her crib, paralyzed with apathy, and took little food," and when her mother returned she "greeted her with a tremendous shriek" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 42). At around the same time, her father left for six months to settle the estate of a deceased relative, and her fear of abandonment was reinforced. Greenberg also felt that her father was angry at her for not being a son.

When she was 5 her sister was born. Feeling abandoned once again by her mother, she picked up her baby sister one day with the intention of throwing her out the window. Her parents were horrified and punitive, showing no understanding of her feelings. When the problems with her urethra were discovered, Greenberg had to undergo a cystoscopy and two operations. "We're taking your doll to the hospital so it can be operated on," her parents told her (p. 41). This act of deception shattered her trust in her parents

and made her feel abandoned once again. As an adult, she developed an olfactory hallucination: when things in her life went bad she smelled ether.

Her childhood and adolescence up to the time she entered treatment with Fromm-Reichmann continued to be a saga of controlling and intrusive parents who never seemed to realize what she was feeling. They sent her to summer camps that were very anti-Semitic. Whenever she complained about that or anything, they would say it was her fault. At about the age of 10 she began to put on weight. Her mother had always been overly preoccupied with Greenberg's food intake because she herself had a weight problem. The child also began developing other symptoms: "she bit her nails, sucked her thumb, picked her nose, ground her teeth, and complained of her eyes going out of focus" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 43).

Although Greenberg had an IQ of about 130, she did poorly in school. After psychological testing, the school recommended that her parents take her to a therapist. She went into therapy, but six months later her mother ended the treatment, not wanting the girl to feel that something was wrong with her. At 12 she withdrew more and more, and her father became more intrusive. He was obsessed with rape and constantly lectured her about it. He was always watching over her, keeping her under surveillance. To stop him from reading her poetry, she invented a language she called "Irian." She also developed her own religion, which featured gods, goddesses, and seven worlds. She began sitting in the dark in the living room gorging herself with sweets. She complained of constant abdominal pain and put herself into trances during which nobody could talk to her. Finally her parents could not ignore what was happening, and a psychiatrist referred them to Chestnut Lodge.

The treatment by Fromm-Reichmann lasted four and a half years. Greenberg saw Fromm-Reichmann four times a week during the three years she was at Chestnut Lodge, and once or twice a week for another year and a half as a private patient. In the beginning Greenberg came to the sessions slouching around and

smoking a pipe. Soon the pipe-smoking was dispensed with and she began lying on the couch. Fromm-Reichmann's goal during the beginning phase was to "relieve Joanne of early wariness while at the same time allowing suspicion to be expressed: and to demonstrate that the therapist was not god-like, but instead fallible, human, liable to err, and open to correction" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 49). She stressed from the outset that therapy would be a collaborative effort, and she was quite open about expressing her feelings.

Fromm-Reichmann utilized many of the same techniques as innovators like Ferenczi and Lindner. However, she used these techniques a bit differently, never losing sight of her own objectivity. For example, she actively supported Greenberg's resentment about the deception practiced on her at the time of her surgery, when she was told a doll would be operated on, only to find herself going under the knife. In her book Greenberg describes how afterwards, in the ride home from the hospital, her parents were strangely joyous. They had driven home from the hospital through a light rain and Joanne had stood up in the back of the car and looked out at the gray skies, thinking, "Reality was not inside the car with her singing mother and cheerful father, but toward the murky sky finishing with its rain, exhausted and dark. It occurred to her that this darkness was now, and was forever going to be, the color of her life" (Greenberg, pp. 60–61). When Greenberg spoke of this memory, Fromm-Reichmann would express her own anger at her parents. "Will parents ever learn not to lie to children?" (Greenberg 1964, p. 62). On other occasions she expressed similar sympathy with respect to Greenberg's murderous impulses toward her younger sister and toward the anti-Semitic children at the summer camp she had attended.

When Greenberg talked about her intrusive and tyrannical father, Fromm-Reichmann play-acted the father. She would get up from her chair and prance about the room, pretending to hunt about for Joanne, calling in a gruff voice. "Get me my slippers, damn-it! Get me my newspaper! Get me a beer from the ice-box! Now!" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 50). When Greenberg

said that she felt confused, Fromm-Reichmann joined her delusional world, knowing that this world was used not only as a defense but also as an indirect way of expressing her thinking about current, everyday issues. "Would you ask Antilobia [the chief Irian god] if he will permit letting me in on the secret of the confusion?" she asked Greenberg.

Taken aback, Greenberg replied, "Nobody ever told me such a thing. I will try, but it will take a lot of concentration" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 50). She did make contact with Antilobia, and Antilobia told her that even though Fromm-Reichmann seemed all right and was from the 'sixth world' Greenberg could not share the secret with her because nobody can share anybody else's experiences.

"Of course not," Fromm-Reichmann replied. "I think he's quite right, or you who talk to him are quite right. But I want to intensely participate in the experience while I am observing it and come as near it as I can, so I can help you understand it" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 50).

Fromm-Reichmann not only entered the fantasies for her own understanding, but also to impart that understanding to Greenberg. When Greenberg kept expressing fears of being raped, Fromm-Reichmann told her that her fears had been caused by her father's paranoia about rape. Rape did occur, Fromm-Reichmann said, but only about one millionth as frequently as her father would have her believe. This combination of active therapy, deep empathy, understanding, and interpretation characterized the treatment from beginning to end. At its core was Fromm-Reichmann's realness and genuine respect and affection for Greenberg, an authenticity that was appreciated and, in time, returned.

Toward the end of the first year of treatment Fromm-Reichmann began to encourage the establishment of an observing ego in Greenberg. She had noticed that whenever she announced that she had to cancel an appointment or go away for a vacation, Greenberg would always act out immediately after the announcement. When Greenberg tried to explain why she acted out, Fromm-Reichmann interspersed, "I don't think you know why. You told

me before about an 'it' inside you that makes you do things. I think this time the 'it' made you do it, and you should not believe that you yourself did it" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 52).

One of Greenberg's most destructive forms of acting out was burning herself with cigarettes. Greenberg describes one such occasion when Fromm-Reichmann went away for a vacation and Greenberg assumed that her therapist was dead. She went into a trance, all her own senses went dead, and the inside of her felt as though it were a volcano about to explode:

> [Joanne] perceived that by burning she could set a backfire that would assuage the burning kiln of the volcano, all the doors and vents of which were closed and barricaded. And by this same burning she could prove to herself finally whether or not she was truly made of human substance. Her senses offered no proof; vision was a gray blur; hearing merely muffled roars and groans, meaningless half the time; feeling was blunted, too. [Greenberg 1964, p. 161]

Fromm-Reichmann returned to find Greenberg in a wet pack, strapped to her bed. (Thirty years later, in a follow-up interview, Greenberg claimed she found this wet pack a relief, like a strong, wet hug that prevented her from destroying herself.) Fromm-Reichmann exclaimed her surprise and shock.

Greenberg said, "I thought you were dead!" (Greenberg 1964, p. 169).

Fromm-Reichmann told Greenberg that she had gotten herself in such bad shape, as a way of telling her how angry she was with her. Greenberg reacted by thrashing around, and Fromm-Reichmann encouraged her to express her anger and hate.

After some difficulty, Greenberg for the first time verbalized some of her feelings about how she was poisonous and hated it, how she was going to be destroyed in shame and degradation and hated it, how she hated herself and the deceivers. "I hate my life and my death. . . . God curse me! God curse me!" She began to cry and then stopped herself.

"Maybe when I leave," Fromm-Reichmann said, "you can learn to cry. For now, let me say this: measure the hate you feel now, and the shame. That quality is your capacity also to love and to feel joy and to have compassion. Also, I'll see you tomorrow" (Greenberg 1964, pp. 169–170).

Writing about her attempt to understand Greenberg's often cryptic communication, Fromm-Reichmann explains that it was truly a collaborative effort. No psychiatrist can understand a schizophrenic patient's communication without the patient's help, she asserts, just as one cannot understand a dream without the dreamer's associations. To illustrate, she cites two pieces from Greenberg's history which at first defied understanding. Greenberg had been a bed- and pants-wetter as a child, and she came from a family in which the women were disposed to become overweight, and so the avoidance of becoming fat was made into a religion. Fromm-Reichmann suspected that these two factors were somehow connected, but did not realize how until one day Greenberg told her, "Pants-wetting and overweight belong together, and not only because both are connected with defiance and resentment against my parents and with the anxiety connected with these feelings" (Fromm-Reichmann 1959, p. 182). The patient remembered being at a camp during her childhood and, being unable to make it to the toilet in her cabin in time, she had wet the Turkish towel she was wearing. At that moment she heard her roommate's footsteps and tried to wring out the towel; but she was only a little girl and the towel was too heavy to wring out. "It was the *weight* of the *wet* towel which made it so hard," she stated. "There you are, 'weight and wet.' 'Wet' has to do with my resentment against my father, 'weight' with my defiance against mother. . . . 'Wet' and 'weight' are father and mother, and the camp stands for both of them" (p. 183).

At times Fromm-Reichmann would have Greenberg show her a poem, sing a song, or play the piano, and afterwards she would say, "Now we both know what it (the poetry, singing, etc.) is like. Even though I enjoy it, we can't spend too much time on it, and I am sure the artistic quality won't be lost" (McGlashan and

Keats 1989, p. 55). At other times she would concentrate her efforts on interpreting to Greenberg her imaginary world of "Iria." She told Greenberg that Iria did not exist but that Greenberg made use of it to indirectly express forbidden thoughts and feelings, such as murderous rages. She also hammered away at the point that believing in Iria increased rather than diminished her unhappiness. Gradually Greenberg began to see how the Irian gods encouraged her self-destructive tendencies, pushing her, for example, into penances, during which she was not allowed to eat. However, each time she resolved and gave up a symptom, she became upset, burned herself, and was sent to the disturbed ward.

As the months and years passed, Greenberg slowly developed the capacity to verbalize rather than act out her feelings. Shortly before relinquishing Iria for good, Greenberg burned herself one more time. Fromm-Reichmann asked her why she did it, and Greenberg was now able to say, "I am so ugly, fat, and mean that I might just as well make myself more ugly, fat, and mean. . . . I don't know where to go with my intense feelings of anxiety and need for action and so I turn it against myself. . . . I have so much passion and I can't have men" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 58).

Fromm-Reichmann seems to have used whatever intervention she thought would work at a particular time. On one occasion, after a particularly good session, she broke off a flower growing in a pot in her cottage and handed it to Greenberg, saying that she did not usually give gifts to patients but thought Greenberg had worked hard that day (Greenberg 1964, p. 151). On another occasion she used suggestion to help Greenberg get rid of the last character from the world of Iria—Gloria. "One of these days I suppose you will throw Gloria out the window and see that she can go through the window without the window being opened and that there is no spot on the ground where she lands and then you will realize she was your creation" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 58). Three days later Greenberg reported that Gloria was gone.

Once she had given up her delusional world, Greenberg began to lose weight. Within several weeks she had dropped down to her normal weight, and then began talking about not having a boyfriend, and other common adolescent problems. By the middle of the second year she went back to school and sang in several church choirs. She made advances and had setbacks in connection with these new activities. Each setback was analyzed and the feelings were resolved.

She began to relate to her parents in a different way. She was less frightened of her father's tyranny and more able to see both her father's and her mother's shortcomings. The hardest part was separating from her mother. Her mother had repeatedly told her that she was very understanding, full of love, and only wanted to do what was right by Joanne. Joanne knew that her mother could also be very contrary, especially if her vanity had been pricked, but for a long time she needed to protect her mother and maintain the idealization.

Soon Greenberg was in college and she began to see Fromm-Reichmann as an outpatient. A college professor liked her poetry so much that he told her that she was the best student he had had in his creative writing class in twenty years. She was well-groomed, had boyfriends, kept her own apartment, and gave dinner parties for professors and fellow students. When Fromm-Reichmann brought up the subject of termination, however, there was an immediate flare-up of Joanne's symptoms. Dr. Fromm-Reichmann interpreted them as an expression of her dependency needs. For a period of time one symptom after another returned: the overeating, the peeling of skin from her heels, and the burnings with cigarettes. Each was once again analyzed and resolved.

After four and a half years the treatment began to wind down. At that point, they saw each other every six months. Fromm-Reichmann told Greenberg, "Your activities in life will begin to be more important than our meetings. Soon you're just not going to want to fit them in" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 64). That is exactly what happened.

At one of their last sessions, Greenberg told Fromm-Reichmann about a recent visit to her parents. She had described to her parents the success she had been having in her creative writing class, and her father immediately asked her to write a poem. She did so regretfully, and later complained to Fromm-Reichmann about her compliance. She felt she should have asked her father if he would tell a real poet to go in the next room and do a poem. Then she reminded Fromm-Reichmann of a story she had once related about a father who called his grown son "my darling goldfish" and kissed and hugged him, and had to be told that that would in no way help bring about a real, mutual, adult relationship with him. Greenberg and Fromm-Reichmann shared a good laugh.

When her professor offered to get her poems published in a poetry magazine, Greenberg told him that she definitely did not want this to happen. Later she confided to Fromm-Reichmann that she did not want to be known as 'that girl whose poetry is published.' She was afraid boys would be scared of her and she would get no dates. She was confident in her poetry but felt that she had missed out on normal teenage experiences. Fromm-Reichmann saw Greenberg's concern with her attractiveness to boys as a sign of normal adolescent growth that had been impeded by her illness.

Throughout the treatment, up until its final phase, Fromm-Reichmann held monthly case conferences in which she discussed her treatment of Greenberg with others on the Chestnut Lodge staff. (It is from the notes of these staff meetings that the McGlashan and Keats study is based.) Fromm-Reichmann used these conferences to keep herself objective and free of countertransference interference. She had written in her first book (1950) that when a therapist is unable to establish a workable relationship with a schizophrenic patient, it is invariably due to the therapist's personality difficulties, not to the patient's psychopathology, and she was always careful to make sure her own "personality difficulties" did not get in the way of her treatment with Greenberg.

The last conversation, according to Greenberg's novel, took them full circle, focusing once again on her fear of letting go of her symptoms, which Fromm-Reichmann referred to as "garbage." "I love you, too," Greenberg exclaimed in parting, "but I haven't forgotten your power, you old mental garbage-collector!" She cried and asked, "Does it all have to go? Do we pile it up and throw it *all* out?"

"It cannot be a decent bargain now—don't you see," Fromm-Reichmann answered. "You have to take the world first, to take it on faith as a complete commitment . . . on my word, if no one else's. Then, on what you yourself build of this commitment, you can decide whether it's a decent bargain or not" (Greenberg 1964, p. 248).

Fromm-Reichmann felt that her treatment of Greenberg had been quite unusual. Never in her previous experience had she had such a quick success or seen such a complete recovery. And this recovery was borne out by a follow-up interview some thirty years after the treatment had been terminated. During these years Greenberg had written eight books and become a famous author. She married a psychotherapist and settled down in Colorado, where she had two sons.

McGlashan telephoned her and she told him that she had not had a relapse since termination, although in the first few years of her marriage, when she had lived in a cabin in the woods, she had had bouts of "cabin fever." For a few minutes at a time she would think she was going crazy again, but then she was able to understand the difference between the past circumstances and the present ones and she would come out of it.

She said that it had taken ten years for her to be able to write about her experience at Chestnut Lodge. First she wrote the book under a pseudonym, Hannah Green, but later the secret got out and she used her real name. Then she was invited to talk at various places, and she used this as a chance to integrate the past with the present. But, she reported, "It got kind of old, being a professional ex-nut. I only do it now when they let me talk about the deaf"

(McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 67). She explained that since she herself had become deaf in one ear, she has developed an interest in the problems of the deaf.

Asked to review her work with Fromm-Reichmann, she said what she appreciated most in her former therapist was a kind of matter-of-factness and ordinariness, and the fact that Fromm-Reichmann treated her like an equal. She cited what she thought were the most valuable aspects of Fromm-Reichmann's treatment: her interpretation of Greenberg's burning herself as an inverted expression of anger at Fromm-Reichmann, which made her realize how important her therapist was to her; her genuine concern about the burnings—telling her repeatedly, "You are an attractive young girl and if you get well and your arms are full of scars, that will be too bad!"; her insistence that the therapy was a collaborative venture; and, finally, her remark that, even if Greenberg recovered, life would not be a rose garden. This last intervention made Greenberg feel that her therapist really took her seriously and was willing to talk practically with her, woman to woman.

In addition to writing, Greenberg taught a class in English etymology and tutored several other students in Hebrew. She also served on the fire and rescue squads and belonged to the League of Women Voters and the National Association for the Deaf. A striking feature of the follow-up, according to McGlashan, was the ease with which Greenberg spoke. He describes her as engaging and charming, and it was evident to him that she had advanced well beyond other patients he followed up on.

Asked if she were having fun, she answered, "I go skiing. I talk with friends. That's play. On the other hand, skiing is not play. It's a form of prayer. It's what God does on Saturday afternoons. I know, because I saw him on the slopes" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 70).

As for Fromm-Reichmann, she died soon after the treatment was terminated. On April 28, 1957, at the age of 67, she suffered a fatal acute coronary thrombosis. She had no children, but she was mourned and missed by those who knew her and had grown to love her at the Lodge.

Interpretation

Fromm-Reichmann is reported to have said that a patient will forgive mistakes of the head, but not of the heart (see Searles 1965, p. 17). Perhaps for that reason she and others who worked at Chestnut Lodge dispensed with the classical analytic stance, particularly the use of a blank screen. She tried to reach patients on a human-to-human level, while at the same time adhering to certain rules she had discovered were necessary in working with schizophrenics.

Epstein and Feiner (1979) point out that Fromm-Reichmann "humanized" the therapist, maintaining that the analyst must be a real object, not a blank screen, because it was impossible for the analyst to really hide her humanness, especially with schizophrenics, who are keenly aware of any falseness. Indeed, the awareness and confrontation of the myth of the analyst's anonymity actually furthered the work. In this respect Fromm-Reichmann echoed the words of Ferenczi (1933) and Winnicott (1947), who also dispensed with the blank screen, expressed real feelings, and admitted their errors to their patients.

However, Fromm-Reichmann eschewed an overpermissive therapeutic attitude. In a paper written at the time she was working with Greenberg, she cautions therapists to listen to verbal hostile outbursts with an eye to investigating, not indulging, them. "Retrospectively, schizophrenic patients loathe themselves for their hostile outbursts, and do not respect the therapist who lets them get away with it" (1959, p. 180). She recommends addressing the adult part, rather than the child part, of the patient's personality (encouraging an observing ego), and discourages the therapist from offering closeness, friendship, or love. "The psychoanalyst who feels tempted to do so should ask himself whether he may not be motivated by his own anxiety rather than by an alleged concern for the patient's welfare" (p. 187). She also maintains that schizophrenics are afraid of any offer of closeness, seeing it as false, fearing rejection. Her approach, then, was to humanize the therapist while assuming strict boundaries of professionalism.

Searles (1955) agrees with Fromm-Reichmann's view about overindulging schizophrenics, stressing that, since it is related to the patient's fears of dependency, it can destroy the therapeutic relationship. However, there is a tendency for therapists to develop countertransference anxiety in response to the patient's hostility and to act it out by indulging the patient. "The therapist who is afraid of the patient's hostility, and of his own counterhostility, is likely to function in an overindulgent, smothering manner which is repetitive of the schizophrenic's pathogenic early experience with the original mother person" (p. 148).

Spotnitz (1985) gives credit to Fromm-Reichmann for being one of the therapists who, from the 1950s onward, identified countertransference as the crucial factor for success in working with schizophrenics such as Greenberg. He reiterates her assertion that any problems in the therapist–patient relationship were the result of countertransference, and adds: "In the treatment of the schizophrenic patient, the need for an exquisite balancing of evenly hovering attention with emotional sensibility gives rise to special problems" (p. 222).

McGlashan and Keats (1989), in reviewing the case history, note that from the outset Fromm-Reichmann had achieved a good "treatment alliance" with Greenberg. Each adapted to and accepted her respective role with the aim of advancing treatment. "From the beginning, their alliance was largely analytic rather than supportive in nature. One of the most striking things about Joanne was her love of truth" (p. 168). Reichmann's plainspokenness and Greenberg's love of the truth combined to forge the alliance that was necessary for success. In this sense, Fromm-Reichmann became an antidote to the deceptive behavior of Greenberg's parents, modeling an authority figure who always behaved and spoke truthfully, fulfilling Greenberg's frustrated craving for sincerity.

Of equal importance, according to McGlashan and Keats, was Fromm-Reichmann's ability to understand Greenberg's language and religion, which helped her to achieve "linguistic consensual validation." She did not use force in developing communi-

cation, but rather deciphered Greenberg's narrative by being intensely interested and creative, as when she asked Greenberg's chief Irian god for permission to understand her confusion, played the role of her father, or assigned responsibility for Greenberg's acting out to an "it."

Fromm-Reichmann also functioned as an advisor and consultant, particularly toward the end of the treatment, again breaking away from classical psychoanalytic technique. She actively supported Greenberg's pursuit of educational, social, and recreational activities, and helped her solve problems that came up along the way. For example, McGlashan and Keats (1989) point out that when Greenberg complained that her mother had typed up her poems rather poorly, Fromm-Reichmann advised her to send them back and insisted, over Greenberg's objections, that "she had to let people know when she was displeased" (p. 169).

Finally, they point out that Fromm-Reichmann actively encouraged Greenberg's natural desire for independence. As the treatment progressed, Greenberg began more and more to analyze herself. Just before giving up Iria for good, she burned herself. In the next session, she initiated associations that went from burning to anxiety to her frustrated passion for men. She had so internalized Dr. Fromm-Reichmann by then that she initiated and carried on the work by herself. The process of internalization was natural, automatic, and largely silent.

There is not much, if anything, to criticize about Fromm-Reichmann's work in this case. Both therapist and patient agreed that it was an extraordinarily successful treatment, and we have the follow-up study by McGlashan and Keats, done thirty years later, to further validate the results. Fromm-Reichmann was not known for building theory or inventing new techniques, as were many of her predecessors in this work; rather she was gifted at understanding which theories or techniques worked and which did not, and making excellent use of those she decided were workable. In addition, she had the humility to truly listen to her patient, and if one technique did not achieve a positive response, she would discard it and try another.

As in the case of the "Wolf Man," we have here the advantage of the patient's input as to what helped her the most. For example, Greenberg validated Fromm-Reichmann's technique of making the treatment a collaborative venture, saying that it was quite helpful to her progress. This collaboration, she said, was most significant in understanding and resolving her longest-lasting symptom, that of pulling skin from her heels. Even after she had lived on her own and started college, she would still come home at night and peel off skin. In discussing the matter with Fromm-Reichmann, it finally occurred to her that she was still feeling terribly frightened, and the fear had to do with the notion that she was pretending to be a normal college girl when she was really a crazy nut from a mental institution. Upon analyzing this in Fromm-Reichmann's presence, she realized that peeling off skin safeguarded her against the dangers of change and gave her a sense of continuity. Once she understood that, this last symptom disappeared. The fact that both therapist and patient have emphasized the importance of their teamwork gives this aspect of the treatment more meaning. Similarly, Greenberg's recognition of the value of Fromm-Reichmann's matter-of-factness, her occasional toughness and her occasional permissiveness, and some of her interpretations, also adds weight to the importance of those interventions. "Our collaboration was the model for how I now live," Greenberg said in the follow-up interview. "I don't have much trouble with authority because I see things basically as collaborative. This began with my collaboration with Dr. Fromm-Reichmann, with whom I worked against the illness" (McGlashan and Keats 1989, p. 68).

Summing up the essence of Fromm-Reichmann's therapeutic technique, Weigert (1959) observes that although Fromm-Reichmann called her therapy with psychotic patients "psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy," she did not feel her modifications of classical technique were that great. The main difference, according to Weigert, was that her technique was not so much interpretation as it was communication of understanding. "She worked, in particular, to elucidate all those defenses that had delayed and

distorted [the patient's] ego development" (p. vii). She adds that Fromm-Reichmann's success was based "not only on her knowledge and experience but also on the exceptional character qualities which she brought to her challenging experiments. . . . She did not flinch. She was all there with the patient" (p. viii).

Francis, in the foreword to the McGlashan and Keats account of the case (1989) applauds "the remarkable encounter between a great therapist, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, and a great patient, Joanne Greenberg," observing that Fromm-Reichmann was "extraordinary in her sensitivity, simplicity, and great common sense," and Greenberg was equally extraordinary "for her creative, but uncontrolled, immersion in fantasy, and also for her insight, honesty, and personal charm." He appreciates the special chemistry that took place between this therapist and this patient, asserting that "together they make a grand treatment team and provide a wonderful example of that special magic that can occur in interpersonal relationships, including therapeutic ones" (p. xiii). Francis underscores an important point: the success of a therapy relationship, like any other relationship, depends upon whether or not the participants are a good match. Fromm-Reichmann herself acknowledged that she was surprised at how fast Greenberg recovered; she was undoubtedly not as effective with other patients, with whom she was not as well matched.

There is an anecdote about Fromm-Reichmann told by her younger sister. During their early childhood, Fromm-Reichmann threw herself between her sister and a barking dog with the words, "You don't need to be afraid." This protective attitude toward her younger sister became the chief characteristic of her relationships with her patients: she became their protector until they could stand on their own feet.