Painting as Psychotherapy:
Arthur Segal's *Painting School for Professionals and Non-Professionals* (1937-1944)

by

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Abstract

Arthur Segal (1875-1944), an émigré artist from Nazi Germany, taught painting as a form of psychotherapy at his *Painting School for Professionals and Non-Professionals* (founded in London, 1937). Using extensive and hitherto unexamined archival material, this thesis provides the first analysis of Segal's practices and theories, contextualised within the field of contemporary psychoanalysis in which he operated.

Segal's institution was unique; no other contemporary art school in Britain used painting as psychotherapy. Influential psychoanalysts and psychologists referred patients to the school for treatment and attended classes to learn his therapeutic methods. Notably, Sigmund Freud and Ernest Jones, amongst others, officially supported the artist's British work permit. However, Segal's understanding was not predicated on psychoanalysis and his primary concern was teaching students to develop visual ability and to paint using his system of formalist principles, in which he considered psychotherapeutic effect to be inherent. Accordingly, this thesis explores nuances in approaches to painting as psychological treatment in Britain between 1937 and 1944, arguing that contemporary psychoanalysts shared Segal's understanding that art could facilitate psychological stability, but reached this position via different trajectories. This investigation also locates Segal as a pioneer of art therapy; his practices impacted on institutional and professionalised schemes developed in the late 1940s and 1950s.

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Contents

Introduction

In July 1937, Arthur Segal (1875-1944), a Jewish émigré artist who had left Nazi Germany in 1933, opened an institution named *Painting School for Professionals and Non-Professionals* in London with his wife and daughter, Ernestine and Marianne Segal. The family first emigrated to Spain in 1933, where the artist also taught painting and exhibited, before moving to Britain in 1936 at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.[1] This thesis examines how Arthur Segal understood painting as a method of psychotherapy, articulated through the practices of his school in Britain and theorised in his writings. As such, this investigation offers the first analysis of the institution within the context of psychology in Britain during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1937, fifteen renowned psychologists and psychoanalysts, including Sigmund Freud, Ernest Jones, Ernst Simmel, Franz Alexander, John Rickman, Henry Dicks, Mary Chadwick and Mary Barkas, wrote references and letters of support for Segal's work permit and institution to the British Home Office.[2] Many psychologists and psychoanalysts worked with the painting school either by attending its 'Special Doctors Courses', which began in April 1938 with the aim of imparting Segal's methods for painting as psychotherapy, or by referring patients to the institution for treatment.[3] At the end of the 1930s, the artist also exchanged letters about

[1] Wulf Herzogenrath and Pavel Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944,* exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 6 Sept. - 18 Oct 1987; Haus am Waldsee, Berlin, 28 November 1987- 17 January 1988; Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie, Regensberg, 14 February – 10 April 1988; Museo Comunale d'Arte Moderna, Ascona, 30 April- 5 July 1988; The Tel Aviv Museum, Tel Aviv 1988, 68-73. Segal's emigration to Spain is mentioned in Reinhard Andress, 'Deutschsprachige Schriftsteller auf Mallorca (1931-36)- ein ungeschriebenes Kapitel in der deutschen Exilforschung', *German Studies Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, February 2001, 115-143

[2] Copies of the references written to the British Home Office are held in Arthur Segal's archive, Arthur Segal Collection, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Box 1, Folder 5. From here onwards 'Arthur Segal Collection' refers to this archive.

[3] The attendance of psychoanalysts can deduced from the school's exhibition catalogues. See Appendices 6 and 7. Letters written about patients referred to the school for treatment via painting are Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5.

the psychotherapeutic possibilities of painting with influential émigré psychoanalysts Ernst Simmel, Franz Alexander (who had both emigrated from Berlin to America) and Max Eitingon (who had emigrated to Palestine), as well as American psychiatrist Karl Menninger.[4]

Arthur Segal devised the *Objective Principles of Painting,* a formalist system which was the basis of his painting lessons and was designed to enable 'naturalistic' representations, centring on the premise that artworks represent objects in space via a combination of light, form and colour.[5] In Segal's framework, the psychotherapeutic effect of painting is facilitated by subjective application of these objective, impersonal principles.[6] Significantly, he systematically theorised this method of painting in the late 1920s, *before* he developed psychotherapy painting practices in London from 1937 onwards. Neither his painting school in Berlin, *Malschule Arthur Segal*, which ran from 1920 to 1933, nor his lessons in Spain used painting as therapy or examined the psychological implications of art

[4] Copies of this correspondence are also in Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5

[5] These principles are detailed in a text *The Objective Principles of Painting* which was published posthumously in 1976 but only a small number of copies seem to have been printed; the book is not available in any academic libraries in Britain. A typescript version is held amongst Segal's personal papers, which is the version examined for this thesis. See Arthur Segal, translated by Victor Grove, *The Objective Principles of Painting*, typescript version of publication, first written 1929, edited and translated in 1937, 111 pages, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 17. A photocopy of the translated text is also held in: TGA 8430/23, Tate Archives, London. For the original German copy, see Arthur Segal, 'Die objektiven (unpersönlichen) Gesetze der Malerei', unpublished typescript, 1929, 82 pages, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 16. 'Gesetze' is translated as 'laws' or 'principles' in different texts.

[6] Segal's theories on the therapeutic potential of painting are laid out in the following keys texts: Arthur Segal, translated by Alfred Fremantle, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, London, 1939; Segal, *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage: A Psychological Analysis based upon the Objective Laws of Painting*, London, 1939; Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', translated by Mary Barkas, unpublished typescript, 8 pages, August 1937, London, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 2, Folder 1 and Box 3, Folder 8. (Appendix 10). Original German version: Segal, 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung', unpublished typescript, 5 pages, London 1937, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 8 (Appendix 11); Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', unpublished typescript, 4 pages, April 1937, London, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 8. (Appendix 9)

practice; here he simply offered painting instruction using these principles.[7] Therefore, during the late 1930s, Segal remodelled these artistic principles, originating entirely as an instructional treatise for painting, into both a method for painting as psychotherapy and a framework for diagnosis, employed in his school in Britain and theorised in his writing at this time.[8] Crucially, his method of treatment is, therefore, primarily underpinned and shaped by this artistic foundation and neither his practice nor his theory were based, in the first instance, on psychoanalysis or, more broadly, psychology, despite the great interest he generated in this sphere. He and the psychoanalysts with whom he worked, operated with the same understanding that art practice had a psychotherapeutic function or a role in maintaining psychic stability, but reached this via different approaches. Hence, this thesis seeks to demonstrate, unpack and interrogate the relationships between art and psychotherapy in Britain between 1937 and 1944, analysing the nuances, complexities and ambiguities arising in these interdisciplinary exchanges. Foregrounding his psychotherapeutic concepts of art, this study, due to its formal limits, neglects to analyse Segal as a painter or to investigate his pre-exile activity in Berlin (see Appendix 1 for an overview of significant biographical information), which is also an area demanding study. Furthermore, the task of this investigation is not to analyse the school as an art institution or to locate it within contemporary discourses on art pedagogy, though, again, this would

[7] A brochure from *Malschule Arthur Segal* (1928) articulates that he teaches the impersonal laws of painting, which are the foundation of all art practice, enabling students to develop their individuality. See Arthur Segal, 'Art des Unterrichts', pamphlet from *Malschule Arthur Segal*, Berlin, 1928 (See Appendix 2). Reproduced in Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 238. Segal's students in Berlin included, amongst others: Nikolaus Braun, with whom Segal published *Lichtprobleme der bildenden Kunst* (1925); Anneliese Ratkowski with whom Segal remained in contact in exile (Segal's letters to Ratkowski are held in Anneliese Ratkowski-Wanger Collection 1920-1994, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Box 1, Folders 2-4) *Malschule Arthur Segal* is also discussed briefly in Jörn Merkert and Carolin Förster, *Anne Ratkowski: Eine vergessene Künstlerin der Novembergruppe*, Berlin, 1996. Lou Albert-Lasard was also a student and, interestingly, in 1925 Segal's teaching classes occasionally took place at her apartment. For a discussion of Segal's school in Berlin see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 39-68 and 254-258 for biographies of selected attendees.

[8] This is demonstrated practically through the way in which, in 1937, Segal added a preface outlining the therapeutic potential of painting to his otherwise unaltered 1929 text of *The Objective Principles of Painting*

be interesting and worth exploration.[9] Other private art schools existed in Britain at this time, including some run by émigrés such as Martin Bloch, who taught Harry Weinberger, and Adele Reifenberg and her husband Julius Rosenbaum, but Segal's school was unique in that no other contemporary art school in Britain practised painting as psychotherapy.[10]

Segal has received little scholarly attention which, given his artistic practices in both Berlin and Britain, belies his historical importance. Art historian Norbert Lynton, who attended the painting school as a teenager, suggests that Segal's neglect is because, for him, the artist does not easily fit into an art history defined by movements and because the artist shifted away from the avant-garde at the end of the 1920s towards 'naturalism', participating less frequently in exhibitions, to the extent that in Britain he hardly exhibited during his lifetime.[11] Indeed, a further reason is perhaps because in Britain he operated largely in spheres of psychology, psychoanalysis and, though to a lesser degree, pedagogy; areas so far rather neglected in canonical art history writing on Britain. Existing literature on Segal tends to be biographical, focused on his career in Berlin and providing formal analyses of his work. Key publications include: Ernestine Segal's short biographical account *The Life and Work of Arthur Segal* (1958)*,* Hermann Exner's *Arthur Segal Maler und Werk* (1985) and a more substantial book, *Arthur Segal (1875-1944)*, edited by Liška and Herzogenrath, which, written entirely in German, was published in 1987 and

[9] For example the school could be contextualised in light of contemporary art education, particularly in relation to Herbert Read, Viktor Lowenfeld and Franz Cizek, whose views on children's art pedagogy were prevalent in Britain at the time. Moreover, the relevance of Segal's pedagogic ideas on his theories of art psychotherapy is an avenue for investigation, especially since Diana Waller argues that an aspect of art therapy in Britain had its roots in art education. Diane Waller, *Becoming a Profession: the History of Art Therapy in Britain 1942-82*, London, 1991, 16-24

[10] Jutta Vinzent, *Identity and Image: Refugee Artists from Nazi Germany in Britain (1933-1945),* Weimar, 2006, 202, footnote 169; Walter Schwab and Julia Weiner (eds.), *Jewish Artists, The Ben Uri Collection*, London, 1994 (first edition 1987), 86

[11] Norbert Lynton, 'Arthur Segal and German Cubism', *Studio International*, Issue 169, July-August, 1969, 22-24; Norbert Lynton, 'Introduction', in *Arthur Segal,* Fischer Fine Art, London, October- November 1978, 1-2

accompanied a touring exhibition. This book covers several themes, is principally biographically orientated, with an emphasis on Segal's time in Berlin, discussing his involvement with the Neue Secession (1910-1914), the Novembergruppe (1920-1933) and how he hosted monthly intellectual *joue fixes* during the 1920s, attended regularly by artists including Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, Georg Grosz, Kurt Schwitters, art historian Adolf Behne, psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel, and Expressionist philosopher Salomo Friedläender.[12] The book gives comparatively little attention to Segal's time in Britain, except for a chapter written by Lynton, who also wrote an article 'Arthur Segal and Cubism' (1969), as well as a catalogue introduction for an exhibition of Segal's works held at Fischer Fine Art (1978) and, although covering a broad topic, included the artist's artworks and association with Dadaism in Switzerland during the First World War in his widely-read *The Story of Modern Art* (1980).[13] Surveys of modern German art and studies of Segal's better-known, more-researched contemporaries, particularly the Dadaists, with whom he operated in Berlin, also frequently mention the artist, although without detailed investigation.[14] Meanwhile, broad thematic art-historical studies have also included Segal's formal experimentations: John Gage's *Colour and Meaning, Art, Science and Symbolism* (1999) examines his use of Goethe's colour theory and 'prism' painting during the 1920s, whilst *Perfect Harmony, Bild und Rahmen 1850-1920* discusses his working

[12] Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944,* 43
[13] Norbert Lynton, *The Story of Modern Art*, Oxford, 1980, 123-124, 372
[14] See: Marc Dachy, *The Dada Movement, 1915-1923*, New York, 1990, 35, 55-56, 134,183; Timothy Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada*, Michigan, 1987, 55-56; Eberhard Roters, 'Künstlerfreunde', in Cornelia Thater-Schulz (ed.), *Hannah Höch: eine Lebenscollage*, Vol. 2, Part 1, 1921-1945, Berlin, 1989, 181-192; Heinz Ohff, *Hannah Höch*, Berlin, 1968, 28; Cara Schweitzer, *Schrankenlose Freiheit für Hannah Höch: das Leben einer Künstlerin 1889-1978*, Berlin, 2011, 89, 136-137; Lisbeth Exner, *Fasching als Logik: über Salomo Friedländer/Mynona*, Munich, 1996, 244-255; Merkert and Förster, *Anne Ratkowski: eine vergessene Künstlerin der Novembergruppe*; Wulf Herzogenrath, 'Oskar Schlemmer- The Futility of Painting and the Compulsion to Paint' in Christos M. Joachimides, Norman Rosenthal and Wieland Schmied (eds.) *German Art in the 20th Century, Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 11 October- 22 December 1985, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 8 February- 27 April, 1986, 455-456

practice of extending the painting's representation onto the surrounding frame.[15] With a different focus, Horst examines Segal's attempts to develop art-lending schemes, Kunstverleih, implemented briefly in Berlin in the 1920s and posthumously in Britain.[16] During the 1970s, several exhibitions of Segal's artwork were held in Britain, accompanied by short pamphlets giving rudimentary biographical information.[17] Segal's emigration to Britain received attention in the 1980s in *Kunst im Exil in Grossbritannien 1933-1945* (1986) and in the London version later that year, *Art in Exile in Great Britain 1933-45*.[18] More recently, in 2011, he was included in an exhibition in Amsterdam, *From Dada to Surrealism: Jewish Avant-Garde Artists from Romania, 1910-1938*.[19]

Aside from this scholarship investigating various aspects of Segal's work and life, most relevant to the focus of this study are two art-historical texts which examine his school in Britain. Firstly, Lynton's 'Arthur Segal in London', the aforementioned chapter in the 1987 book, introduces the institution, documents its basic principles, working partnerships and offers Lynton's personal experience of the lessons.[20] The second text is a chapter in

[15] John Gage, *Colour and Meaning, Art, Science and Symbolism*, London, 1999, 195. Segal's interest in Goethe is also referenced in John Gage, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*, London, 1993, 293, footnote 102. Eva Mendgen (ed.), *In Perfect Harmony, Bild und Rahmen 1850-1920*, Exhibition Catalogue, Van Gogh Museum Amsterdam; Kunstforum Vienna, 1995, 238-239

[16] Horst Dietze, 'Arthur Segal: Picture Lending and an Artist's Life', *Art Libraries Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1990, 10-14

[17] These include: *Arthur Segal Woodcuts*, Dundee Art Gallery, October, 1972; *Arthur Segal: A Selection of Paintings, A Collection of Woodcuts*, organised by Richard Nathanson, The Alpine Club, London, 2- 14 April, 1973; *Arthur Segal: A Collection of Drawings*, The Alpine Club, London, 18-30 April 1977; *A Collection of Woodcuts by Arthur Segal*, Ashmolean, Oxford, 10 May- 3 July 1977; *Arthur Segal,* Fischer Fine Art, London, October- November 1978. For a full list of exhibitions in which Segal participated see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 311-317

[18] Hartman Krug, Michael Nungesser and Freya Müelhaupt, *Kunst im Exil in Grossbritannien 1933-1945*, exhibition catalogue, Orangerie des Schlosses Charlottenburg, Berlin, 10 January – 23 February 1986 Monica Bohm-Duchen, *Art in Exile in Great Britain 1933-45*, exhibition catalogue, Camden Arts Centre, London, 20 August -5 October 1986

[19] Radu Stern and Edward van Voolen (eds.), *From Dada to Surrealism: Jewish Avant-Garde Artists from Romania, 1910-1938,* exhibition catalogue, Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam, 1 June to 2 October, 2011. Along with artworks by Segal, the exhibition represented other Romanian-born artists with whom he worked including, Tristan Tzara, Victor Brauner, Marcel Janco and M. H. Maxy

[20] Norbert Lynton, 'Arthur Segal in England' in Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 95-103

Jutta Vinzent's monograph *Identity and Image, Refugee Artists from Nazi Germany in Britain (1933-1945)*, which focuses on the school as part of an investigation of institutions founded by émigrés, examining the identity of the artist and the school, and their reception in Britain, but, like Lynton, neglects the institution's psychological context.[21] Additionally, histories of art therapy *Art, Psychotherapy and Psychosis* (1997) edited by Katherine Killick and Joy Schaverien, Diane Waller's *Becoming a Profession: the History of Art Therapy in Britain 1942-82* (1992) and Susan Hogan's *Healing Arts: The History of Art Therapy* (2001) mention the school and point to its influential position, but without analysing its methods in detail. Finally, it is worth noting the school's appearance in two perhaps slightly more unusual places: Jean-François Lyotard, known for his influential theories on Postmodernism, mentioned the fact that artist Ruth Francken attended the school in Oxford in his study on the artist[22] and philosopher Fritz Heinemann, who taught in Oxford at the same time as Segal and, in all likelihood, visited the school, noted in a 1957 publication that the institution had developed successful cures with painting as a means of psychotherapy.[23]

When Arthur Segal died in 1944, Marianne Segal and Ernestine Segal continued to run the

[21] Vinzent, *Identity and Image*, 91-96
[22] Jean-Francois Lyotard, 'The Story of Ruth', translated by Timothy Murray, in Andrew Benjamin, (ed.), *The Lyotard* Reader, Oxford, 1989, 250-264 for Segal references: 252, 254. Ruth Francken also wrote 'Über Arthur Segal' in Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 139-140
[23] Fritz Heinemann, *Jenseits des Existentialismus; Studien zum Gestaltwandel der gegenwärtigen Philisophie*, Oxford, 1957, 39. Heinemann wrote: 'In der Tat haben Arthur Segal und andere in ihren Malschulen ausgezeichnete Heilerfolge mit der Malerei als einem psychotherapeutischen Mittel erzielt.' It is highly likely that Heinemann visited the painting school given that he was also an émigré from Nazi Germany and taught at Oxford University whilst the painting school was also based in Oxford, although there is currently no evidence to suggest that he was a student. For Heinemann, see 'Fritz Heinemann-lebendig oder tot? 'Lebensgrundwissenschaft' als Fortseztung seiner 'Neuen Wege der Philosophie'' in Richard Wisser, *Vom Weg-Charakter philosophischen Denkens: Geschichtliche Kontexte und menschliche Kontakte*, Würzburg, 1998, 311-355

school which remained open until 1977.[24] Given the limits of this thesis and for a manageable focus, my scope is narrowed from 1937 to 1944. This was a critical period in which the school became established in psychological spheres and, additionally, although Ernestine and Marianne were always instrumental in the school's practice, participating in teaching and undertaking the administration, it was Arthur Segal who formulated and wrote the theories about the psychotherapeutic potential of painting. The school opened and operated at a critical time for the development of modes of psychotherapy in Britain and by the late 1930s London had become a centre for psychoanalysis.[25] Melanie Klein had been settled in London since 1926, having moved from Berlin at the invitation of Ernest Jones, president of the British Psychoanalytical Society. When Hitler invaded Austria in 1938, Jones arranged for thirty-eight Viennese psychoanalysts, including Freud and his daughter Anna, to move to London. The famous Melanie Klein and Anna Freud controversies began in the early 1940s, a decisive moment for British psychoanalysis, which caused a split in the society over what constituted acceptable psychoanalytic theory, technique and teaching. During the late 1930s and the 1940s, psychoanalysts were greatly interested in art practice and theory, which is most likely why Segal's institution generated such interest in these circles.[26] Not only did psychoanalysts support his British work

[24]Although the school closed in 1977 the Tate's website reads that the school in London 'still exists.' Unknown author, 'Arthur Segal', www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/arthur-segal-1921/text-artist-biography, accessed February 2012. Also published in: Ronald Alley, *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art other than Works by British Artists*, London, 1981, 677-8. Exemplifying the institution's neglect in scholarship, this is presumably because the text has not been reconsidered since the 1970s, when the school was still open and the gallery was in contact with Marianne Segal about acquiring a painting by Arthur Segal. See TG 4/2/940, Tate Public Records: Acquisitions: Segal, Arthur, Tate Archives, London

[25] For this and the following, see Edward Timms and Naomi Segal (eds.), *Freud in Exile: Psychoanalysis and its Vicissitudes*, London, 1988; Pearl King and Riccardo Steiner (eds.), *The Freud-Klein Controversies 1941-1945*, East Sussex, 1991, 1-5, 9-36; Nicky Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics: An Introduction to the British School*, London, 2009, xxiv-xxvi; George Makari, *Revolution in Mind: The Creation of Psychoanalysis*, London, 2008, 468-473

[26] Lynton, 'Arthur Segal in England' 97. Nicky Glover examines how from the 1930s onwards, British psychoanalysts, including Melanie Klein, Donald Winnicott, John Rickman, Ronald Fairbairn, Paula Heimann, Sylvia Payne and Ella Sharpe were interested in, and published on, the dialogue between art and psychoanalysis, including the nature of the creative process, the experience of the artist and the nature of aesthetic encounters. See Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics*, particularly xiii-xxxi

permit, attend his lessons and refer patients, but Segal also collaborated with German psychologist Hans Fleischhacker when researching and writing for his publication, *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage: A Psychological Analysis based upon the Objective Laws of Painting* (1939).[27] Segal published another text that year*, Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, and between 1937 and 1942 gave several papers disseminating his ideas in both psychology and pedagogy spheres, including: 'Art and Psychology' at the forty-first annual conference of the Parents' National Educational Union (June 1939), 'The Therapeutic Value of the Practice of Art' at the Psychological and Philosophical Society of Bedford College, London (October 1938) and 'Art and Psychotherapy' at the Guild of Psychology (December 1942).[28] In 1937, he also sent a paper 'Die Psychologischen Vorbedingungen der Modernen Malerei' to a conference in Paris, titled *Deuxième congrés international d'esthétique et de science de l'art*.[29] Several psychology publications reported on the school contemporarily. For instance, in November 1937, four months after the school had opened, *Practical Psychology* reported that Segal was developing a

[27] Segal mentions his 'analysis and research' undertaken 'in co-operation with Dr. H. Fleischhacker, who has worked for this purpose at my school', *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage*, 14. In February 1938, before the text was published, Segal wrote to Anneliese Ratkowski that a German psychologist, which in all probability refers to Fleischhacker, had begun to work at the school in order to gain insight into painting and they that would be undertaking a psychological study together and publishing a book on this. Arthur Segal to Anneliese Ratkowski, unpublished correspondence, 2 February 1938, Anneliese Ratkowski -Wanger Collection 1920-1994, Leo Baeck Institute, Box 1, Folder 4, letters 91-94 of 109

[28] Segal, 'Art and Psychology', *The Parents Review,* Vol.1, No.6, June 1939, 408-413. Segal's paper was read by 'Mrs Cedric Glover' at the forty-first National Parents' Education Union conference on 23 March 1939. An archival copy of the paper is also held in Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 22. See also Segal, 'Art and Psychotherapy', *The Guild of Pastoral Psychology*, Guildhall Lecture No. 20, December 1942 and Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of the Practice of Art', unpublished lecture, Psychological and Philosophical Society of Bedford College, London, 18 October 1938, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 24.

[29] It is not known whether Segal actually attended the conference in person but his paper was published in the conference's proceedings: Segal, 'Die Psychologischen Vorbedingungen der Modernen Malerei', *Deuxième Congrés International D'esthétique et de Science de L'Art,* Paris, 1937, 287-290. A typescript copy of the text is also held in: Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 8

pioneering method for the therapeutic application of painting.[30]

The painting school impacted on the development of art therapy, a term commonly understood to be have been coined by Adrian Hill in 1942, following his work in King Edward VII Sanatorium and defined by Diane Waller in her history of the subject as 'a belief in art as a process which could help heal troubled minds.'[31] Art therapy practices developed in institutions in Britain during the 1940s onwards, crystallising with the formation of the British Association of Art Therapists (BAAT) in 1963.[32] Segal's painting school taught many art therapists who implemented the first official, professionalised schemes later during the 1940s and 1950s and who engaged in discussion about the formation of the practice, the full extent of which is not currently recognised in art therapy histories and becomes apparent over the course of this investigation. The school also remained particularly influential in art therapy spheres from the 1940s to the 1970s, although it is beyond my scope to interrogate this legacy in great detail, focusing instead on the period between 1937 and 1944 which prefigured institutional developments.

This thesis takes an historical approach to the painting school and to psychoanalysis using contemporary published and unpublished source material, subjected to wider theoretical examination in order to analyse the social context of the school's practices and Segal's approach to psychotherapeutic treatment. This research uses a range of archival material,

[30] Unknown author, 'Painting and Psychology', *Practical Psychology*, Vol. 2, No. 9, November 1937, 317. The text reads: Segal's 'methods, though based on widely accepted psychological theory, have, as far as one knows, never been put into practice before […] An appreciation of the basic laws of harmony in art might even lead the way to a little more harmony in the affairs of men and nations.' The article appeared following a report on the school published in *The Sunday Times* on 26 September 1937
[31] Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 35
[32] *Ibid.,* 35-36

not examined in any of the literature outlined above, including Segal's personal papers, held at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Containing over a thousand pages of material in English and German, including unpublished typescripts, manuscripts and lectures dating from around 1905 to the 1940s, as well as correspondence with, amongst others, Ludwig Meidner, Salomo Friedländer and Ernst Simmel, ranging from 1915 onwards, this substantial archive, digitised and made available online in 2009, as part of the institute's general digitising project, has not hitherto been used in any studies. Part of chapter one examines Segal's partnership with Q Camps, a Quaker organisation, which established Hawkspur Camp in 1936, which aimed to treat and rehabilitate young men with social or behavioural difficulties. Three Hawkspur Camp members attended Segal's painting school as a form of psychotherapy, my analysis of which is based on interpretation of Q Camps archives, which have also never been studied in light of Segal's institution.[33]

Interpretation of archival material is crucial to my argumentation, especially given the absence of critical scholarship on the topic. Documentation sheds light on the school's historical circumstances and events; primary records are an essential means to ascertain information and empirical facts not yet comprehensively established in secondary literature, including who attended the school and when, and how arrangements developed, which provides a necessary platform from which to interrogate and to locate the practices more broadly. In other instances, interpretation is more conceptually focused, centring on the language used, for example, in order to investigate how painting is understood. In the case of Q Camps, David Wills, who was Camp Chief, lived onsite at the camp in Essex

[33] The archives are held at the Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archive and Study Centre, Toddington, in the following collections: Q Camps Committee records SA/Q; Friends of Q Camps support organisation SA/Q/F; Hawkspur Camp for Men SA/Q/HM; Mile (Market) End House period SA/Q/MEH; Hawkspur Camp for Boys SA/Q/HB

and psychoanalyst Marjorie Franklin, Q Camps Committee secretary, lived in London, meaning that, usefully from a documentation perspective, the two corresponded frequently about the organisation, camp affairs, and, importantly, Segal's painting lessons. The Q Camps archives also comprise material written by different people involved so information is carried from multiple perspectives, offering a particular *sense* of how they operated. Individual letters are crucial and are analysed, but the overall picture presented by the material as a whole is also important. Given my approach it is also important to note, however, the complexity of archives, which are not 'simply holders of historical sources', a viewpoint developed by Foucault's critical theory which asserted that the storage of archives, which are a source of power in society, is not a passive act.[34] Jacques Derrida explored the 'archivization' process, arguing that the form of archives themselves and technology of communication available actually determine *what* can be archived, which shapes discourse and history. He demonstrates this point with reference to the development of psychoanalysis, which, given the subject of this thesis, is particularly interesting and poignant. He argues that if 'Freud, his contemporaries, collaborators and immediate disciples, instead of writing thousands of letters by hand, had had access to […] telephonic credit cards, portable tape recorders, computers, printers, faxes, televisions, teleconferences, and above all E-mail' the whole field of psychoanalysis would be different, only not in its documentation but 'in its very events.'[35] Archives do not, therefore, only record but in their structure actively produce events: 'the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its

[34] Louise Craven (ed.), *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: a Reader*, Aldershot, 2008, 14-21, Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York, 1966 and Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London, 1972. See also: Marlene Manoff, 'Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines', *Libraries and the Academy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2004, 9–25 and Tom Nesmith, 'What is an archival education?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists,* Vol. 28, No.1, April 2007, 1-17, 3-4.

[35] Jacques Derrida, translated by Eric Prenowitz, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression ', *Diacritics*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1995, 9-63, 17

very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event.'[36] Although archival records are a vital source from which a conceptualisation of painting can be deduced and argumentation formed, enabling the school to be understood and located historically, this undertaking is, of course, determined by the material which has found its way into the archives.

The thesis has two chapters: the first examines the school's practices, its historical context and psychotherapeutic approach, paving the way for the second to interrogate Segal's writing. Practice and theory are not easily separated and the two inform one another, but analysing the two independently is appropriate, not only because Segal kept his practical painting lessons and theorisation distinct, but because a study, firstly, of the nature of his lessons and, secondly, of his theorisation of this process in writing, elucidates his approach. His objective principles of painting most clearly mark the overlap between practice and theory, forming the basis of his teaching instruction and subsequently becoming a means to conceptualise the therapeutic potential of painting. To locate the school within interdisciplinary and intellectual circles, chapter one establishes who attended the school and for what purposes, collating information from exhibition catalogues, correspondence in Segal's personal papers and references in a range of secondary sources. Following this, the chapter analyses the institution's painting instruction, using first-hand accounts and interviews conducted with former pupils, contemporary photographs, pamphlets and catalogues produced by the school, as well as Segal's publications. This provides a basis from which to analyse how his painting practice was implemented as a form of psychotherapy. Accordingly, the second section of chapter one focuses on the aforementioned partnership between the painting school and Q Camps,

[36] *Ibid.*, 17

analysing the concept of painting presented by the attendance of three Hawkspur camp members at the school. Painting was discussed as a form of psychotherapy but simultaneously, as will be demonstrated, there was a clear interest in attendees' skills, talent and suitability to art practice. There is ambiguity about whether attendance is for artistic training or psychotherapeutic purposes, which highlights the fact that the school was, first and foremost, an art institution and that this is the position from which Segal operated. This assumes significance in the final section of chapter one which locates the painting school's practices more broadly within mid-twentieth century approaches to the use of art practice in therapeutic settings, by comparing Segal's methods to those used by psychoanalysts Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott.

The second chapter subsequently analyses how painting is understood to be psychotherapeutic in Segal's writing, firstly exploring how he uses the objective principles of painting to construct an analogy between art and psychology. The notion of expression also occupies a central position in his texts, which seems to have been shaped by the German Expressionist circles in which he operated in Berlin during the 1910s. Having established the primacy of these two factors in his theories, the chapter focuses on how Segal's approach, primarily concerned with implementing art practice and formalist modes of representation, differs from how contemporary psychoanalysts used psychoanalysis as a conceptual framework to theorise art as a process which maintains psychological stability. Complicating the distinction in their approaches is, however, that although Segal's understanding of painting as therapy is not grounded on the mechanisms of psychoanalysis, he does use psychoanalytic terms in his writing, which is perhaps the *result* of his movement in these spheres in Britain. Accordingly, the final two sections of this chapter

analyse how ‘sublimation’ and ‘abreaction’ function in his texts and intersect with his artistic perspective, illuminating further nuances in these contemporary exchanges between art and psychoanalysis.

Chapter 1

The Practices of Segal's Painting School

This chapter interrogates the practices of Segal's school, which was founded in London but moved to Oxford in September 1939, before relocating back to London in 1943.[37] First, the school's network of attendees will be established, demonstrating the institution's participation in innovative practices and influential position, before its painting methods are analysed, using archival material, including brochures and catalogues produced by the school, accounts and interviews conducted with former students, correspondence from Segal's personal papers and contemporary photographs. Establishing who and what the artist taught, neither of which are comprehensively detailed in any literature, provides an essential platform from which to analyse his use of painting as psychotherapy, put into practice with, for example, his work with the Quaker organisation, Q Camps. The second section of this chapter uses Q Camps archives to analyse how three Hawkspur Camp members attended the painting school, also currently unexplored in secondary literature; both Lynton and Vinzent reference this partnership but without close investigation.[38] Using the conclusions drawn from these investigations, the chapter's final section compares Segal's approach to contemporary psychoanalysts' use of art practice in psychotherapeutic treatment.

[37] Vinzent, *Identity and* Image, 91
[38] Lynton, 'Arthur Segal in England', 98; Vinzent, *Identity and Image*, 95

1.1 Attendees and Working Methods

Segal's school was attended by a wide-range of students, in terms of both age and profession. The school had three separate areas: the 'Professionals Branch', 'Non-Professionals Branch' and 'Psychological Occupational Work.'[39] Although psychotherapeutic concepts of art held a significant position in his school, not all students received lessons for explicitly therapeutic purposes; some students attended simply in order to learn to paint. Attendees can be categorised generally as artists, or those who attended the school as part of their formal art training, later becoming professional artists, 'amateurs'[40], psychoanalysts and psychologists, psychoanalysts' patients, students who later became art therapists and British soldiers who attended classes as a result of the school's employment by the Ministry of Information. There is, however, a blurring between those attending as 'patients' and those as 'art students', which surfaces at several points in this thesis. Moreover, all courses, regardless of their function, were taught using the same basis: Segal's system, *The Objective Principles of Painting* which, as stated above, originated exclusively as painting instruction. As a consequence of these factors, there is an overlap between 'painting' and 'painting as therapy' which subsequently frames our understanding of what constitutes the psychotherapeutic potential of painting in Segal's approach, which is elucidated over the course of the following discussion.

Attendees: Artists and Amateurs

Segal taught teenagers who subsequently became professional artists, such as George

[39] For the school's brochures detailing these courses see Appendices 3-5. Copies are held in the following archive: Hawkspur for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.3 (record closed until 1999 and restricted until 2029), Q Camps Archive, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archive and Study Centre, Toddington

[40] Arthur Segal, *The Amateur*, London, 1944. Segal's view and of definition of 'amateur' is discussed below

Weissbort and Lily Freeman. Weissbort, who describes being taught by the artist as 'the most important juncture' in his life, also later trained under Bernard Meninsly at the Central School of Arts and Craft, London.[41] Artists such as Ruth Francken attended the school in Oxford, mentioned by postmodernist Lyotard in his philosophical study on the artist.[42] Segal asserted that *Everyone Can Learn to Paint* (a short text published posthumously in 1945) and, in line with this, a key of objective of the school was to teach those who Segal termed 'amateurs', who formed a large proportion of the students.[43] Segal argued that the pre-eminence of canonical and professional art practice means that amateurs 'neither appreciate their own work nor care to exhibit it.'[44] This viewpoint appears to have its roots in Segal's artistic and philosophical theory of *Gleichwertigkeit* (translated as 'equivalence' in an article by Adolf Behne from 1930)[45] which he developed during the First World War and explored into the 1920s, in an attempt to subvert hierarchies that he held accountable for conflict. He understood dominant and subordinated parts of visual perspectives to echo the struggle between the 'strong' and 'weak' in society and attempted to achieve formal 'equivalence' in his artwork, in which

[41] George Weissbort, Tony Rudolph, David Lee and Bernard Dunstan, *Paintings and Drawings by George Weissbort*, London, 2008, 14-34

[42] Francken had emigrated to Oxford during the 1940s, where she attended Segal's school, before moving to New York in 1942, continuing her training at New York Art Students' League. Lyotard 'The Story of Ruth', 250-264

[43] Composer Joseph Horovitz who attended the school as a teenager between 1941 and 1943 recalls that classes comprised 'a sprinkling of highly gifted students but mainly amateur painters.' Interview with Joseph Horovitz, 14 April 2011. Horovitz wrote a short text 'Arthur Segal remembered by Joseph Horovitz', in Weissbort, Tony Rudolph, David Lee and Bernard Dunstan, *Paintings and Drawings by George Weissbort*, 18. Horovitz's family emigrated from Vienna to Britain, relocating Phaidon Press to Oxford. An interview with Horovitz was included in the exhibition *Double Exposure: Jewish Refugees from Austria and Britain,* 11 February- 7 April 2012, ACF London and Aberystwyth Arts Centre

[44] Segal, *The Amateur*, 2

[45] Adolf Behne regularly attended Segal's *joue fixes* during the 1920s in Berlin and the two moved in the same intellectual circles. Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 43. Behne's text was the first article published in English on the artist, in which he argued that Segal's artworks 'take a high place among the output of contemporary German art.' Adolf Behne, 'Arthur Segal: A Personality of Importance in Contemporary German Art,' *Studio*, 1930, Vol. 100, 127-134, 134

all aspects of the composition were equal.[46] Importantly, as early as 1915, Segal's theory of equivalence took the form of challenging the hierarchy of canonical practice and posited an equality between artworks produced by an 'anonymous sculptor' and Michelangelo, for example.[47] His practice in Britain from the late 1930s onwards of teaching 'amateurs' and asserting the value of their artwork, can be seen as a practical, pedagogic implementation of his earlier *Gleichwertigkeit* principles.

Attendees: Psychologists, Psychoanalysts and Patients

The school was firmly situated in psychoanalysis and, more broadly, psychology spheres. In January 1938, six months after the school had opened, Segal informed Anneliese Ratkowski, a former student from Berlin, that six psychologists and doctors had attended his Christmas party, accompanying an exhibition of students' work, that several others had enquired about his methods and that the institution, despite its short existence, was

[46] A version of Segal's *Gleichwertigkeit* theory, printed in a Dada discusses formal 'equivalence' whereby: 'keine dominiert, keine ist Authorität- oder all dominerien, alle sind Authoritäten[…] Jeder Teil ist gleichwertiger Teil der Komposition- kein Teil wird zuerst, keiner zuletzt gesehen', 'Gleichwertigkeit' in *Der Zeltweg I*, Zurich, November 1919, reproduced in Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 286. The text was printed in the Dada catalogue underneath a reproduction of a Kurt Schwitters' collage. Schwitters also attended Segal's *joue fixes* during the 1920s and had also emigrated to Britain but only visited the painting school once before Segal died, see Cornelia Thater-Schulz (ed.), *Hannah Höch: eine Lebenscollage*, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1946-1978, Berlin, 1989, 87. For Schwitters' work in Britain, see *Kurt Schwitters in Exile, The Late Work 1937-1948*, exhibition catalogue, Marlborough Fine Art, London, 2-31 October 1981. Timothy Benson notes how Segal's theories of *Gleichwertigkeit* were praised by Raoul Hausmann and he briefly considers Segal's formal explorations in relation to Hausmann and Höch's artworks produced around 1917 (Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada*, 166-67). Dachy also discusses Segal's optical equivalence, comparing his work to Robert Delaunay and Fernand Leger (Dachy, *The Dada movement, 1915-1923*, 55-56). On an ideological basis, Liška suggests that Segal's theory of *Gleichwertigkeit*, although not constituting a firm basis for an enduring partnership with the Dadaists does align with their attack on bourgeois hierarchy (Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944,* 32-33). A line of investigation which lies beyond the scope of this thesis would be, taking lead from Benson, Dachy and Liška, to interrogate and contextualise Segal's theory of *Gleichwertigkeit* in light of the formal and conceptual activities of the more well-known Dadaists with whom he worked.

[47] Segal writes: 'und so ist ein Werk Michelangelos ebenso ein Bildhauerwerk wie dasjenige des Bildhauers 'X'. Eine von Ti[t]ian ist eine Malerei ebenso wie das Bild, das eine höhere Tochter zum Geburtstag ihrer Tante gemalt hat, eine Malerei ist.' Segal, 'Tagebuch eines Schwachen, Das Werk eines Ununterscheidenden', unpublished manuscript, 128 pages, 1915, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 2, Folder 12, 112.

becoming well-known in these circles.[48] Prominent members of the British Psychoanalytical Society, including Ella Sharpe, Sylvia Payne, Barbara Low and Karin Stephen, attended his 'Special Doctors Courses' in order to learn the therapeutic methods.[49] Low, Sharpe and Payne were all particularly interested in, and published on, art and literature and joined the school shortly before the famous Klein and Freud debates, in which they played leading roles.[50] Low was a founding member of the British Psychoanalytical Society (1919), writing *Psycho-Analysis: A Brief Account of the Freudian Theory* (1920), when the discipline was in its infancy in Britain.[51] Payne was also a pioneer: she joined the British Psychoanalytical Society in 1918, in 1936, shortly before she joined Segal's painting school, she became chairperson of the medical section of the British Psychological Society and in 1944 became president of the British Psychoanalytical Society.[52] The second chapter examines Segal's relationship with Payne, analysing how he engages with a text by the psychoanalyst, in order to compare their concepts of the 'psychology of art.' Other attendees included Mark Burke, a Polish Jew, who was later instrumental in establishing psychoanalysis in Brazil[53] and Hilde Maas, also an émigré[54], as well as H.G. Williams, Alice Hutchisson, H. Wright and R.A. Macdonald. Segal also promoted the idea that painting was therapeutic to the medical profession with a

[48] Arthur Segal to Anneliese Ratkowski, unpublished correspondence, 5 January 1938, Anneliese Ratkowski -Wanger Collection 1920-1994, Box 1, Folder 4, letters 97-99/109
[49] For a list of students see exhibition catalogues (Appendices 6 and 7)
[50] King and Steiner (eds.), *The Freud-Klein Controversies 1941-45*, xvii- xxi, 9-36. Ella Sharpe in particular published on creativity and dreaming during the 1930s. See Ella Sharpe, *Collected Papers*, London, 1950; Maurice Whelan (ed.), *Mistress of Her Own Thoughts: Ella Freeman Sharpe and the Practice of Psychoanalysis*, London, 2000.
[51] King and Steiner (eds.), *The Freud-Klein Controversies 1941-45,* xvii
[52] *Ibid.*, xvii
[53] Jane A. Russo, 'The Social Diffusion of Psychoanalysis during the Brazilian Military Regime: Psychological Awareness in an Age of Political Repression', in Joy Damousi and Mariano Ben Plotkin (eds.), *Psychoanalysis and Politics: Histories of Psychoanalysis Under Conditions of Restricted Political Freedom*, New York, 2012, 175
[54] Unknown author, 'Hilde Maas', *Psychoanalytikerinnen in Deutschland*, http://www.psychoanalytikerinnen.de/deutschland_biografien.html#Maas, accessed 14 December 2012. Maas wrote a short text on Freud in the publication of the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain: Hilde Maas, 'Sigmund Freud Centenary', *AJR Information*, Vol. 11, No. 5, May 1956

'psychiatrist's night' which was well attended by private practitioners from Harley Street, London, an area famous for psychological practice.[55] Psychoanalysts attending the 'Special Doctors Courses' to learn the therapeutic methods *also*, significantly, participated in the school's exhibitions, and consequently, although listed separately in the catalogues, they assume a comparable status to students from other branches of the school: all attendees become exhibitors, with a subsequent focus on their artwork, exemplifying the blurring which existed between courses and purposes for attending the school; a key point to which we will return.

Psychologists, including, highly significantly, Margaret Lowenfeld who was instrumental to the development of child psychotherapy in Britain, also referred patients to the school for treatment, and Segal wrote reports on their developments.[56] In 1928, Lowenfeld established the Children's Clinic for the Treatment Study of Nervous and Difficult Children, which, in 1931, became the Institute for Child Psychology. Four years later, this institute established a training course in child psychotherapy using her methods; the first of its kind, which became funded by the NHS upon its formation in 1948.[57] Lowenfeld famously developed 'the world technique' as a psychotherapy in which the child uses a sand tray and model figures to create an imaginary world, enabling the therapist to explore the child's non-verbal world and their relationship to social reality. She presented her influential ideas on play therapy to the British Psychological Society in 1937 and 1938,

[55] Susan Hogan, *Healing Arts: The History of Art Therapy,* London, 2001, 300, footnote 20
[56] Letters written by Segal about students who attended the school for treatment via painting are in Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5
[57] For this and the following on Lowenfeld, see: Cathy Urwin, 'Lowenfeld, Margaret Frances Jane (1890–1973)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; Cathy Urwin and John Hood-Williams (eds.), *Child Psychotherapy, War and the Normal Child*, *Selected Papers of Margaret Lowenfeld,* London, 1988, 8-11; Margaret Lowenfeld, Phyllis M.Traill and Frances H.Rowles (eds.), *The Non-Verbal Thinking of Children & Its Place in Psychotherapy***,** London, 1964. Lowenfeld published nine medical research papers, twenty-three papers on psychological work and three books: *Play in Childhood*, London, 1935, *The Lowenfeld Mosaic Test*, London 1955 and *The World Technique*, London, 1979 (published posthumously)

around the same time that she began to work with the painting school. In June 1938, Lowenfeld informed Segal that she had observed improvements in the children who had received his painting tuition and was pleased with their progress, which, given her position, firmly locates the school within a key context of pioneering psychotherapy.[58] This partnership was not a unique instance; patients were also referred to Segal by psychologists including Grace Calver, EB Strauss (both of whom were Harley Street practitioners), as well as Winifred Doherty and Culver Barker.[59] Indicating the institution's impact on the development of institutional art therapy is the fact that the latter, Barker, having previously sent patients to Segal for painting treatment, implemented various art therapy schemes in his practices (for example, at Withymead Centre, an experimental centre for psychotherapy through arts which opened in 1942 and closed in 1967) and contributed to early debates on the subject during the 1940s and 1950s.[60]

Attendees: Art Therapists

Segal's school prefigured professionalised art therapy, which developed in hospitals and sanatoriums from around the mid 1940s onwards. [61] In fact, a significant proportion of art therapists who implemented these schemes, and who participated in formal debates about the practice, had either previously attended the painting school or referred their patients for lessons. Such alumni include: Edward Adamson (who implemented an art therapy programme at Netherne Hospital in 1946), Elsie Davies (who conducted art therapy at

[58] Lowenfeld wrote: 'I have been looking up my cases recently and considering those who have been working with you and I want to write and say how particularly pleased I am with them. With Iona I think you have done something quite unique and been of the most material assistance and I do not know what I should have done in her case and that of Michael without help', Margaret Lowenfeld to Arthur Segal, unpublished correspondence, 25 June 1938, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5

[59] This is discerned from unpublished correspondence written by these psychologists to Segal about their patients. Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5

[60] For Barker, see Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 82, 219 footnote 131, 251-253 and Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 97, 101

[61] Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 35-36

Birmingham Sanatorium during the 1940s), Elizabeth Wills (née Colyer) and Winifred Gaussen (who both like Barker worked as art therapists at Withymead Centre).[62] Additionally, the famous Tavistock Clinic employed a Segal-trained art therapist in 1949.[63] Elsie Davies, in particular, based her approach closely on Segal's methods, delivering a paper 'The Arthur Segal Method in Art Therapy' at the very first conference devoted to art therapy which took place in March 1949, sponsored by the British Council for Rehabilitation, in which she outlined his methods of the 'Objective Principles of Painting.'[64] Some of the first discussions about art therapy training took place at the meetings of the British Red Cross Society Art Therapy Advisory Committee which, in 1948, noted Segal's school as successfully training art teachers for specialist work in hospitals as art therapists.[65]

Attendees: British Soldiers

In 1941 the Ministry of Information employed the school, then based in Oxford, to teach painting to British soldiers, in an arrangement which lasted until the end of war, with

[62] John Henzell notes that Edward Adamson attended the school, in Katherine Killick and Joy Schaverien (eds.), *Art, Psychotherapy, and Psychosis*, London, 1997, 195, footnote 9. For Adamson's practice at Netherne hospital, see Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 167-181 and Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 52-57. For Elsie Davies, see Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 151-152. Hogan references that Winifred Gaussen and Elizabeth Wills attended the painting school, Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 255, 233. Winifred Gaussen is also listed as a student in a school's exhibition catalogue (Appendix 6). For an account of the art therapy practice at Withymead see Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 220-289.

[63] The Tavistock Clinic report for 1949 reads: 'February of this year a second club evening was introduced for patients interested in painting and modelling as a form of expression. There are two groups, one taken by Mrs Wolpe, a teacher of oil painting from the Arthur Segal School, and other for 'free expression' in painting and modelling, supervised by Mrs Williams. Over 40 patients have attended for varying periods. Most of them either had not attempted such work before or had taken no part in creative activities of this kind since childhood. The stimulus of this new experience appears to have had a positive result in some cases.' Unknown author, 'Beaumont Club', 'Adult Department', *The Tavistock Clinic, Report for the year*, 1949, 9

[64] Elsie Davies, 'Arthur Segal's Methods' in 'Report of a One-day Conference on Art and Music Therapy', *Rehabilitation*, No. 3, October 1949, 11-21. A working party chaired by Adrian Hill was also held in 1951 at the National Association for Mental Health and was attended by Elsie Davies and Culver Barker, who had attended Segal's school. Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 95-97, 101

[65] Hogan, *Healing Arts,* 210

exhibitions also being held.[66] This practice is significant on two accounts. Firstly, although there is at present little scholarship on the subject, this practice can be located more broadly as, according to War Office archives, painting was widely practised by convalescing soldiers in hospitals during the Second World War.[67] Secondly, Segal moved in the same intellectual sphere as psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel, a leading figure in the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, who attended the artist's *jour fixes* in Berlin during the 1920s, wrote a reference for his British work permit and also corresponded with Segal around 1937. Simmel, who emigrated to America in 1933 where he later collaborated with Frankfurt philosopher Max Horkheimer, is renowned for theorising war neurosis and for his psychological treatment of soldiers in Berlin after the First World World.[68] This biographical connection prompts questions as to the relevance of Simmel's theories of war neurosis on Segal's painting practice with British soldiers, pushing towards a broader framework of the relationship between war trauma and art in the first half of the twentieth century. This demands further interrogation beyond the limits of this thesis, but indicates further the breadth of the school's participation in significant cultural discourses.

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[66] After Segal's death in 1944, this practice was continued by Marianne Segal. Vinzent, *Identity and Image*, 91. An exhibition of soldiers' artworks was held at the Taylor Institute, Oxford, 12 April -17 April 1943 and at Foyles Gallery, London, 2 December- 15 December 1944 which exhibited 119 works by approximately fifty army students from Segal's school

[67] Painting schemes developed during the war in hospitals and 'convalesecent depots', and the educational and psychological premise of these practices are documented in, for example: W.E. Williams, 'The History of Army Education 1939-1945', unpublished typescript, 1949, War Office records, WO 277/35, National Archives; 'Art and Craft Education in Wartime', 1944-1945, Board of Education and Ministry of Education: Drafts and Papers of Official History of Education, Second World War and General Historical Survey, ED 138/88, National Archives, Kew. An interesting passage in a survey of British army education reads: 'In Oxford a Viennese refugee, internationally known in psychology and art, would thrust a palette and brushes into a soldier's hand, and command him to begin at that 'before there was time for doubt'', Archie Cecil Thomas White, *The Story of Army Education 1643-1963*, London, 1963, 109-110. It seems possible, given the details presented here, that the text refers to Segal, mistaking him to be an émigré from Vienna. On the other hand, if White is referring to a different émigré artist working in Oxford, this presents an interesting account of a contemporary painting practice, similar to Segal's.

[68] Ernst Simmel *Kriegsneurosen und psychisches Trauma*, Munich, 1918, Simmel, 'War Neurosis', Sándor Lorand (ed.), *Psychoanalysis Today*, New York, 1944, 227-248. For a discussion of his theories, see Makari, *Revolution in Mind*, 308-310. Fuechtner offers an interesting analysis of how Simmel's psychoanalytic discourse on war neurosis and sexuality is manifest in Alfred Döblin's writing from the 1920s. Veronika Fuechnter, *Berlin Psychoanalytic: Psychoanalysis and Culture in Weimar Republic Germany and Beyond,* Berkeley, 2011, 18-64

Teaching Methods: *The Objective Principles of Painting*

Teaching at the school was undertaken by Arthur Segal, later with the assistance of his daughter Marianne Segal who took over upon her father's death in 1944.[69] The lessons were based on a system Segal devised in 1929, 'Die Objektiven Gesetze der Malerei', translated into English in 1937 as *The Objective Principles of Painting*. Although this text, which outlines the principles in detail, was not published during his lifetime, Segal discussed these methods in his 1939 publications, in papers he delivered, as well as in the school's brochures and exhibition catalogues. Hand-in-hand with his principles was a concern for 'naturalism' with which the artist became increasingly preoccupied at end of the 1920s, writing a 'Naturalistisches Manifest' in Berlin (1931) and later, in London, *We Copy Nature* (1939, published posthumously in 1945), claiming 'we intend to represent nature more objectively than has been done until now.'[70] His objective principles were based on the view that artworks represent objects in space by the means of three elements: light, form and colour.[71] Differentiation in these factors ('the greater the differentiation by which the objects are illuminated, limited and coloured- the richer the contrasts will the picture be'[72]), and further pairs of 'principles', formed the basis of the 'optical creation': hardness and softness; substantiality ('heavy') and insubstantiality ('light'); structures and details.[73] From a combination of these formal elements, Segal argues, multiple options can arise and his text offers methodical instruction, advising in detail, for example, how to

[69] Two British art teachers, Claude Flight and Edith Lawrence, were employed in 1938 but the collaboration was not successful and both left after a month. Vinzent, *Identity and Image,* 91
[70] Arthur Segal, *We Copy Nature*, London, August 1939, published 1945 (posthumously). Segal's interest in naturalism is discussed in Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 64-68, 281-282. Segal also published 'Einem neuen Naturalismus entgegen' *Das Tagebuch*, Berlin, 11 April 1931, 589. Indicating Segal's move away from the avant-garde, in 1934, Raoul Hausmann wrote to Hannah Höch criticising Segal's shift towards naturalism and his attempts to devise an objective foundation for painting. Hausmann to Höch, 28 June 1934, letter published in Thater-Schulz (ed.), *Hannah Höch: Eine Lebenscollage*, Vol. 2, Part 2, 517
[71] Segal, *The Objective Principles of Painting,* particularly 28-39
[72] *Ibid.,* 33
[73] *Ibid.*, 40-70

allow 'hard' ('separate') aspects of a painting to 'push forward', occupying the foreground, whereas 'softer' ('unified') parts should 'recede.'[74] Segal's pairs of concepts (light/dark, hard/soft) seem to have similarities to the set of oppositions proposed by Heinrich Wölfflin in 1915, ('linear and painterly', 'plane and recession', 'closed and open form', 'multiplicity and unity', 'clearness and unclearness') as formal principles to perform visual analysis on the 'mode of perception' of artworks across centuries.[75] Segal positions his principles as a 'scientific' base, 'the mathematics of painting' and as analogous to language, as a foundation which is learned and used subjectively.[76] By proposing a system that underlies both canonical and non-canonical art practice, based on learnable principles, Segal provides a method in accord with his views on 'amateurs' painting, emphasising that art practice is universally possible.

Segal demonstrated to his students how objects are constructed by light; an exhibition catalogue (1943) reads: 'I am guided by the view-point that the forms in space are basically the result of concerted action of light, shadow and colours.'[77] In *The Development of Visual Ability*, he theorises processes of viewing and painting as sequentially progressive stages aligned with the development from childhood to adulthood whereby the most advanced, adult stage involves understanding 'the object as a

[74] *Ibid.,* 40-52. A typical extract of his instructions reads: 'The beginner must gauge and work out the proportions of form, colour and light. To mention only a few points, he should, measure the size of the red surfaces and compare them with those of the other colours in order to have an idea how much red, how much yellow and so forth he will need for his particular task; or he should find out the width of the shaded area as compared with the side which is in the light, or how large the bright surfaces are in relation to the dark ones.' *Ibid.,*94

[75] Heinrich Wölfflin, translated by M. D. Hottinger, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art,* New York, 1950 (first published in German in 1915)

[76] Segal, *The Objective Principles of Painting*, 18

[77] Arthur Segal, 'Introduction', *Catalogue of the Works by Students and Ex-Students of Arthur Segal's Painting School for Professionals and Non-Professionals*, Taylor Institution, Oxford, 12 April- 17 April 1943, 2

phenomena of the light' and accepting 'the variability of its appearance.'[78] Segal also experimented with light during the 1920s, publishing *Das Lichtproblem der Malerei* (1925) with his pupil Nikolaus Braun and writing 'Prismatisches Licht' (1927/28) based on Goethe's colour theory, which he dedicated to Salomo Friedländer.[79] In Berlin in 1928, the artist took out a patent for 'optical sculptures' which he used in his lessons in Britain, according to artist and former student George Weissbort, in order to demonstrate how the appearance of objects changes with light.[80] The optical sculpture (Fig. 1) would only be clearly identifiable as a head when the light was positioned in a particularly way.[81] Consensus amongst former students is that Segal encouraged exploration of the tonal properties of light and shade and that he never taught drawing, supported by Lyotard's simple observation that 'Segal forbade lineament.'[82] Composer Joseph Horovitz who attended as a teenager between 1941 and 1943, recalls how students used brushes and oil paint to sketch out the light and dark elements of model objects in monochrome, learning 'that objects are defined by the light that strikes them and that what we regard as 'lines' are the borders of different tones' and that 'three-dimensionality is not created by lines but by planes which meet' and were taught to paint 'shifting planes of colour.'[83] Margaret Barron, who received lessons in Oxford along with her husband Arthur Barron, similarly recalls that Segal informed her that 'you don't need to draw! We do everything in colour' and

[78] Segal, *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage: A Psychological Analysis based upon the Objective Laws of Painting*, 10
[79] For Segal's exploration of light during the 1920s, see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 24-60. Segal's friendship with Salomo Friedländer is a further area for exploration. They met in 1915, remained close during the 1920s and during the Nazi regime wrote to each other frequently. Segal's letters to Friedländer are held the Salomo Friedländer Collection, Akademie der Künste Archiv, Berlin, and can be matched to create a complete set of correspondence with Friedländer's replies in Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 1
[80] Interview with George Weissbort, 2 May 2011. For the patent Segal took out in Berlin, see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 60
[81] Interview with George Weissbort, 2 May 2011
[82] Interview with George Weissbort, 2 May 2011, Interview with Margaret Barron, 7 July 2012, Horovitz, 'Arthur Segal remembered by Joseph Horovitz', 18, Lyotard, 'The Story of Ruth', 252
[83] Horovitz, 'Arthur Segal remembered by Joseph Horovitz', 18, Interview with Joseph Horovitz, 14 April 2011

how students painted still lifes, containing flowers and fruit.[84] Contemporary photographs of the school (Figs. 2-4) show paintings of still lifes and portraiture, and Horovitz documents that students did not paint 'imaginative scenes'[85], which aligns with Segal's own statement that his interest was not in producing artwork concerned with the 'inner self […] without any relation to the outside world.'[86]

The painting approach was, therefore, firmly rooted in formalist problems unique and specific to art practice: emphasis was on visual modes of representation, how three-dimensional objects are constructed by light and how paint could be handled and applied in order to translate this into a two-dimensional representation. Crucially, in Segal's framework, this method also facilitated the 'psychotherapeutic possibilities of painting'[87]; he stressed that 'subjective art', 'from the therapeutic point of view, can give no satisfying results nor produce a liberating effect.'[88] The fact that this approach originated simply as a method of painting instruction in Berlin during the late 1920s and also that in Britain, *all* branches of the school were taught on this basis, results in an indistinction between 'painting' and 'painting as therapy' which means, in turn, therefore, that the therapeutic potential of painting is inherent to this mode of painting. Segal described his method as being for 'artistic *as well as* therapeutic purposes'[89] which indicates, in its simplicity, that the psychotherapeutic potential of painting is inseparable from, and, therefore, located *within* these painting methods; facilitated, in short, by formalist approaches to artistic

[84] Interview with Margaret Barron, 7 July 2012. Arthur Barron first encountered Segal through his work as a student helper at Hawkspur Camp, which is discussed below
[85] Horovitz, 'Arthur Segal remembered by Joseph Horovitz', 18. Unfortunately, the photographer and purposes for which these photographs were taken are not known. (Figs. 2-4)
[86] Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', 2 (Appendix 9)
[87] Segal, 'Preface' to *The Objective Principles of Painting*, 9
[88] Segal, 'Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', 8 (Appendix 10)
[89] Italics here and throughout indicate my emphasis. Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', 4 (Appendix 9)

problems of representation. This provides a key indication of the perspective from which Segal operates, which can be carried forward into an exploration of his painting practice used in a therapeutic setting.

1.2 The Painting School and Q Camps

In order to elucidate Segal's approach further, the following discussion analyses his partnership with Q Camps. In May 1936, Q Camps Committee, which included psychoanalyst Marjorie Franklin and David Wills, a leader of therapeutic care, established Hawkspur Camp:

> a self-governing educational community for young men between the ages of 17-25 who do not fit into their social environment and may present behaviour difficulties. It aims at developing assets and talents which are valuable for good citizenship.[90]

The name 'Q' was chosen for the organisation to avoid description and to imply a quest or query; 'Hawkspur' then provided a private, geographical address for the camp.[91] In September 1937, when the camp had been running for almost eighteen months, Helene Frank, a German psychoanalyst working at the Institute of Education, to whom a

[90] David Wills to Marjorie Franklin, unpublished correspondence, 12 May 1936, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Marjorie Franklin/David Wills correspondence, SA/Q/HM 12.2.1, Q Camps Archives, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archive and Study Centre, Toddington. All of the archival material used in the following discussion, unless stated otherwise, is from Q Camps Archives, held at the Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archive and Study Centre, Toddington

[91] Marjorie Franklin (ed.), *Q Camp: An Epitome of Experiences at Hawkspur Camp (1936 to 1940) for Young Men aged 16 1/2 to 25*, London, 1966 (first edition 1943), 12

Hawkspur member 'Jim Payne'[92] had been referred for reading tuition, suggested that he should receive Segal's painting lessons, which she described to Wills as 'a kind of psychological treatment.'[93] Another Hawkspur camp member also later began to attend in February 1940 and arrangements were made for a third member to attend, although he eventually received only a few lessons, as he gained employment and left the camp.[94] The following investigation examines how Segal's lessons functioned in this therapeutic context and the conceptualisation of painting presented by this practice.

Painting and Q Camps' 'Planned Environment Therapy' approach

Q Camps' approach to the treatment of delinquency is a neglected area in therapeutic care histories, mentioned in surveys of therapeutic communities but without detailed investigation. Whilst it lies beyond my scope and disciplinary limits to locate historically or provide a comprehensive account of Hawkspur's practices, key premises need to be established in order to understand and situate painting's psychotherapeutic function within the organisation's broader rehabilitative aims. Hawkspur was an experiment into 'planned environment therapy', a term coined and summarised by Marjorie Franklin as:

[92] The Hawkspur camp member is anonymised as 'Jim Payne' in David Wills, *The Hawkspur Experiment: An Informal Account of the Training of Wayward Adolescents*, London, 1967 (first published in 1941) and I will use this pseudonym throughout the following discussion

[93] Helene Frank to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 3 October 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1 (records closed until 1997 and restricted until 2027). Wills' Camp Chief report for September 1937 reads: 'it is hoped that arrangements can be made for 'Jim Payne' to receive regular instruction from an artist in London' which marks the beginning of a partnership between the organisations. David Wills, unpublished camp chief report, September 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Camp Chief Reports, SA/Q/HM/ 11.1. For a further discussion on how this arrangement developed, see Wills, *The Hawkspur Experiment*, 27-30. It should be noted that it is not known whether Helene Frank attended Segal's school as art student or in order to learn his therapeutic method. Primary source material does not shed light on their partnership.

[94] This is discerned from: Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.42.1-2, (records closed until 2001 and restricted until 2031) and SA/Q/HM 31.33.1-2 (records closed until 2001 and restricted until 2031)

> The effort to study and treat anti-social behaviour and mal-adaptation by environmental and educative means with a scientific seriousness comparable to that used for individual methods of psychotherapy.[95]

Hawkspur Camp had a self-functioning structure with shared responsibilities. Fees, Harrison, Kennard and Whiteley note how Hawkspur Camp's 'planned environment therapy' approach to the rehabilitation of juveniles prefigured and had much in common (biographically and conceptually) with the 'therapeutic community movement' which developed in medical institutions during the Second World War, in which the central ideas were to provide responsibility within a community, especially via physical maintenance of space, and to facilitate democratic decision-making and self-discipline, in order to develop social maturation.[96] Hawkspur camp members lived in self-erected wooden huts which exemplifies the central role which construction played in the camp. Members were enabled, for example, to develop new buildings and paths, to make furniture and to grow plants, with the aim of developing 'inspiration, encouragement, adventure, education and discipline.'[97] David Wills was the Camp Chief, with a democratic Camp Council comprising camp members, staff and student helpers, dealing with day-to-day conduct and domestic affairs. Work had a central role in Q Camps' method, described by Hawkspur Student Helper Arthur Barron, who later undertook further residential childcare work and, having trained with Anna Freud, became a psychotherapist, as 'something essential to do if one is to be happy, or to gain or retain self-respect, or to develop one's character or use

[95] Franklin, *Q Camp,* 14
[96] See David Kennard, 'The Therapeutic Community as an Adaptable Treatment Modality Across Different Settings', *Psychiatric Quarterly,* Vol. 75, No. 3, Autumn 2004, 295-307, 297; Tom Harrison, *Bion, Rickman, Foulkes, and the Northfield Experiments: Advancing on a Different Front*, London, 2000, 68-71; David Kennard and Jeff Roberts, *An Introduction to Therapeutic Communities*, London, 1983, 38-40; Stuart Whiteley, 'The Evolution of the Therapeutic Community', *Psychiatric Quarterly,* Vol. 75, No.3, Autumn 2004, 233-48, 235-236; Craig Fees, 'From the Archives', *Therapeutic Communities*, Vol. 18, No.4, 1997, 310–311
[97] Franklin, *Q Camp,* 17

one's powers.'[98] Duties included maintaining the grounds, gardens, animals and buildings and other domestic tasks, to develop self-reliance.[99] Hawkspur's camp regime, structured democratically and involving tasks designed to facilitate responsibility, was the predominant method of treatment (as the 'planned environment therapy'), but there were, however, additional 'special treatments' adjunctive to the camp which around half of the camp members received, including, most commonly, 'regular psychotherapy', undertaken by approximately eleven members.[100] This is where Segal's painting lessons enter the picture; attendance at his school was classified, along with psychoanalysis-based psychotherapeutic interviews, as an adjunctive 'special treatment.'[101] Both Segal and the psychotherapist are positioned as outside specialists to whom camp members travelled and Q Camps unambiguously understood Segal's painting lessons as a psychotherapeutic treatment. David Wills describes the painting lessons in correspondence as 'form of psychotherapy'[102], a 'treatment'[103] and informs a guardian that 'a very good friend of the camp runs a school of painting in which the object is painting used as a therapy for people with neurotic or emotional or other behaviour symptoms.'[104] However, upon further examination of reports and correspondence, it becomes clear that, within this general categorisation of painting as psychotherapy, a central position is simultaneously afforded to attendees' skill, potential and suitability to painting. This presents a more nuanced

[98] *Ibid.,* 36
[99] *Ibid.,* 34. Barron writes: 'Each member (and member of the staff, since in work as in everything else the camp was a classless society) spent about 30% of his working week doing orderly duties. This work was arranged by rota, everyone taking his turn, because it was desired that members, before leaving the camp, should be self-reliant in meeting their personal needs., such as cooking, washing and repairing clothing, scrubbing and sweeping.'
[100] *Ibid.,* 39-49 for an overview of the Hawkspur cases, their symptoms, background and treatment. Some camp members also received 'intermittent' psychotherapy or 'occasional interviews with psychotherapists', rather than regular psychotherapy
[101] *Ibid.,* 48
[102] Wills to a Hawkspur member's guardian, unpublished correspondence, 29 April 1939, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.33.2
[103] Wills to a Hawkspur member's guardian, unpublished correspondence, 12 October 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.33.1
[104] Wills to a Hawkspur member's guardian, unpublished correspondence, 21 February 1940, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.42.1 (records closed until 2000 and restricted until 2030)

conceptualisation of painting as treatment, which, requiring unpacking and analysis, points to both the perspective from which Segal operated and how his lessons can be understood as integrated into Q Camps' 'planned environment therapy' approach.

Contemporary reports and correspondence indicate that Q Camps staff understood painting to have effected an improvement in camp member 'Jim Payne', who received the most lessons, observed through his behaviour and conduct. After approximately three months' attendance, Wills reports that:

> He is much quieter and less inclined to lose his temper. He often spends the evening drawing or painting portraits of the people in the camp and does it with an air of self confidence and contentment which we have never seen in him before.[105]

In a letter about the student, Segal, too, singles out 'self confidence and contentment'[106] as improved qualities and Franklin similarly observes a 'marked change in his general attitude and behaviour.'[107] Further improvements are noted repeatedly, attributed to attendance at the painting school: 'his general appearance and tidiness and his manners in conversations had also improved very greatly'[108] and he becomes 'more acceptable to his

[105] Wills to Segal, unpublished correspondence, 7 December 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.2. Similar observations are also made by Wills in his published account of Hawkspur. He writes that, following his attendance at the painting school, Payne 'was a different person. He was a human being. There was a different look in his eye, there was purpose in his movements. Pilfering diminished, temper became rarer, and he became a worker. […] He wasn't a 'whole' man yet, but we had found the clue and he was on the way.' Wills, *The Hawkspur Experiment,* 27-30

[106] Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 21 December 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files SA/Q/HM 31.3.2

[107] Franklin writes that he is 'now attending the painting school twice a week and continues to make remarkable progress. There is also a marked change in his general attitude and behaviour. He has made himself an easel which is really workmanlike job, and in everything is more self-assured and confident.' Marjorie Franklin, unpublished report, 25 May 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files SA/Q/HM 31.3.2

[108] Franklin to unknown Q Camps staff member, unpublished correspondence, 31 January 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1

fellow members and less liable to have periods of depression.'[109] Significantly, these assertions that painting resulted in a positive change in Payne are underpinned, simultaneously, by understanding that he *also* possesses artistic ability and has the potential to paint professionally. Payne attended the painting school on a scholarship offered by Segal, which Wills describes as 'very generous', given that classes would normally cost 4 guineas for 3 painting days weekly.[110] Indeed, Segal was struggling financially and so his commitment to teaching to Payne without fee is, under the circumstances, significant and was, correspondence reveals, for the reason that he considered the student to have artistic talent and ability.[111] Whilst the scholarship covered the cost of his classes, the Q Camps Committee paid for painting materials.[112] Once his lessons had begun, Segal reported that 'his artistic gift became free and visible', emphasising 'I am anxious to continue my work with him and I should be pleased to develop his artistic gift.'[113] Therefore, whilst the psychological and subsequent behavioural benefits of painting are repeatedly noted, there is an emphasis, initiated by Segal's reports and reinforced by Franklin and Wills, that Payne has artistic potential. Pertinently, Franklin's published account of Payne reads: 'progress first manifested after

[109] Wills, unpublished 21st monthly report, 5 June 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1

[110] Wills to Hawkspur member's guardian, unpublished correspondence, 2 November 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1

[111] This is discernible in the correspondence between the school and Q Camps in SA/Q/HM 31.3.1- 31.3.3. For instance Wills writes: 'Mr Segal is *so impressed by his potentialities* that he has asked to be allowed to give him lessons […] without fee, for two or three days a week.' David Wills, unpublished report, 2 November 1937 Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1

[112] Segal wrote regularly to Wills informing him how much the committee owed for materials or what specific materials were required so that Wills could purchase them himself. For instance, on 21 October 1937, the Q Camps Committee paid 14 shillings six pence to Segal for materials for Payne. Unpublished Report, 21 October 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.2. On 26 August 1938, Segal wrote to Wills: Payne 'needs. new colours, because his staff *[sic]* is quite finished also some new brushes, the brushes he has, are very durty *[sic]*. Please could you be so kind to buy for him all he need[s] for the new term. You will find colours and brushes in any shop. Please buy [the] student colours, the same, he had before. He also need[s] some pieces of plywood and some sheets [of] white oil paper[,] non absorbent, you will find this in any shop where you buy the colours. You can order colours etc at L Cornellissen & Son, 22 Great Queen Street, WC2.' Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 26 August 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.3

[113] Segal, unpublished report on camp member, 17 September 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1

18 months, *when artistic talent uncovered and cultivated*. *Then* marked improvement in all symptoms. Became articulate, intelligent in conversation, thoughtful, sensitive, industrious and much less unstable.'[114] Here, facilitating the development of artistic talent, implied to be natural and pre-existing (through the use of 'uncovered'), appears to be at the root of why painting led to an improvement, rather than art practice being a generalised, universally-applicable treatment. Furthermore, Payne's application to join Hawkspur lists 'painting' as a hobby, indicating that he was already interested in the practice before he received Segal's lessons.[115] There is ambiguity about whether Payne's lessons operate as formal art training or as psychotherapy; indeed, importantly, the two functions become conflated. Segal articulates that he could become a professional artist: 'by my special method and by this training at my school he may be time in a position to increase his mental level, to get [a] connection with artistic quarters who may be interested in his work and he could become a valuable member of the community' [116] and that 'if circumstances are favourable I am sure [he] could become a 'remarkable artistic personality.'[117] Franklin, on this basis, reports to Wills that Payne need not necessarily 'learn a trade' as he may 'eventually be able to earn his living in some branch of art.'[118] In this light, Payne's attendance takes on a different emphasis and significance: whilst the painting lessons are undoubtedly described broadly as a form of psychotherapy, discussion about this camp member (who significantly received the most lessons and for whom painting was considered to be crucial) is also firmly centred on his potential to become a painter. For the other two Hawkspur camp members who attended Segal's school, on the other hand, Wills

[114] Franklin, *Q* Camp, 48
[115] In his application, under the section '14a. present interests', 'pictures' is listed and under '14b hobbies', 'painting' is listed. Camp member's application to join Hawkspur, unpublished, 20 May 1936, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1
[116] Segal, unpublished report on camp member, 17 September 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1, (records closed until 1997 and restricted until 2027)
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] Franklin to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 13 November 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Marjorie Franklin/David Wills correspondence, SA/Q/HM 12.2.3

was keen to assert both to the men and their guardians that the lessons were for the purposes of therapy and *not* for art training.[119] At the same time, however, these camp members were considered suitable to attend lessons on the very grounds that they had already demonstrated interest in the arts. One of the two who had been offered a scholarship (but did not eventually attend owing to other circumstance) is described in a report as having 'artistic ability and a love for beautiful things'[120] and the school is proposed as an alternative to music college, which he wished to attend.[121] Here, painting's psychotherapeutic potential is again linked to the member's interest in the arts. Financial restraints would have prevented Q Camps Committee paying fees for all members but nonetheless those who attended were considered to be suited to painting which, accordingly, can be seen to fall under an aim of the 'planned environment therapy' approach 'to discover and cultivate [individual] talents and aptitudes.'[122]

Three key aims can be identified as part of Q Camps' 'planned environment therapy' method: firstly, to improve self-control, behaviour and self-respect; secondly to develop individual talents and assets and, finally, to prepare the young men for 'good citizenship',

[119] A guardian is informed by Wills: 'we got Mr Segal to take him in because although we do not think that [he] has a future as a painter we know that Mr Segall *[sic]* uses the teaching of painting as a form of psychotherapy which he thought might be very useful.' Wills to a Hawkspur member's guardian, unpublished correspondence, 29 April 1939, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.33.2. Similarly another guardian is informed that attendance at the school 'does not mean that we are going to make a painter of him and he[the attendee] is being warned that this is not training for a profession. But Mr Segal does achieve extraordinary results in helping people with their emotional problems.' David Wills to a Hawkspur member's guardian, unpublished correspondence, 21 February 1940, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.42.1

[120] Institute for the Treatment of Delinquency Report on camp member, unpublished report, 16 March 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.33.1

[121] Wills proposes: 'Mr Segal [..] would like to have you as a student for one day a week […] I should like to hear from you what you think of this as a substitute either temporary or permanent for the music studio. I think it has the same virtue as the music studio.' Wills to Hawkspur camp member, unpublished correspondence, 7 Feburary 1939, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.33.2. Segal also considers that attending the painting school will benefit other artistic interests. He writes to Wills: 'I explained to him that he may get advantage by this training as well for his other abilities i.e music and writing, because theare *[sic]* are everywhere the same basic laws.' Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 24 February 1939, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.33.2

[122] Franklin, *Q Camp*, 18

which implies employability.[123] Painting, as an *activity* undertaken by some suitable camp members, aligns with these aims: the painting classes were considered, as the above discussion has demonstrated, to develop individual talent, interests and skills, to improve behaviour and concentration, to socialise camp members and the lessons are understood, in one instance, to prepare a camp member for employment. Viewed in this light, painting is a form of therapy in the sense that the entire camp, and all that it comprises, is a form of therapy. Painting, as an activity, falls under the same rubric as 'work', for instance, facilitating skills and interests, as part of Q Camps' broader therapeutic, rehabilitation programme. Moreover, the fact that discussion centred on artistic ability, skills and suitability to painting not only indicates that the practice can be understood as integrated into Hawkspur's 'planned environment therapy' approach, but points us in the direction of the fundamental point that Segal's institution was primarily an *art* school, which is the position from which he conceptualises art practice as a psychotherapeutic. Although this seems an obvious point to make, it assumes a particular significance within the context of interdisciplinary institutional exchanges, converging at the common understanding of painting as psychotherapeutic. Segal's focus is painting and its esoteric issues, such as students' ability and, formally, modes of representation. Art practice is not an appendage to psychoanalysis-based psychotherapy, which is the approach adopted by Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott, examined in the final section of this chapter. First though, it is necessary to establish the events which proceeded Hawkspur's closure in January 1940, which, largely occluded from historical accounts, locate the painting school further within pioneering and influential developments in therapeutic care.

[123] For instance, Hawkspur's Memorandum reads: 'Without entertaining extravagant hopes of profound character change in young adults through education and environment, it may reasonably be expected that improvement in self-control, social behaviour, physical health, and general outlook will accrue. The aim in short is to discover and give scope and encouragement to those assets and talents possessed by the men which make for good citizenship, to stimulate a desire for this and to restore self-respect and usefulness.' Franklin, *Q Camp*, 18

Q Camps, Winnicott and Segal

Since its inception, Hawkspur struggled financially and this worsened as the war started. In January 1940, the camp was unable to survive financially and closed. However, the following month, the Q Camps Committee was invited by Oxfordshire County Council, with the approval of the Ministry of Health, to move from Hawkspur to a hostel, Market End House, in Bicester and simultaneously to take charge of evacuated boys over the age eleven who had not adapted to the homes to which they had been sent.[124] Consequently, some Hawkspur members moved to the hostel, although others were considered unsuitable to live with the younger evacuated boys, and Wills managed the hostel, running the two groups separately.[125] At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Segal's school relocated to Oxford, based only twenty miles or so from Q Camps' hostel in Bicester, and some of the younger evacuated boys attended painting lessons. One boy received a scholarship, as Payne had during the Hawkspur period, and five other boys attended which was paid for by Q Camps Committee.[126] Unfortunately, the case files for Bicester hostel members have not been traced, and may no longer exist, which prevents close examination of how painting functioned for the younger boys, but it can be ascertained, however, that the boy

[124] See Craig Fees, 'A Fearless Frankness', paper delivered at a workshop *Therapeutic Community, the Archive and Historical Research*, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, 21 November 2009, available at: http://www.childrenwebmag.com/articles/child-care-history/a-fearless-frankness accessed 3 March 2012. Oxfordshire County Council reported: 'arrangements have been made for an organisation known as 'Q Camps' to take over the running and staffing of Market End House for the duration of the Government Evacuation Scheme and to look after any difficult boys who may be billeted there.' 'Accommodation for Difficult Children', Oxfordshire County Council, Joint Report of the County Emergency Committee for Civil Defence and of the County A.R.P Controller, 14 February 1940, Quarterly Reports of the Oxfordshire County Council Committee Meetings, Oxfordshire History Centre

[125] Some of the Hawkspur Camp members were considered unsuitable to live with the younger boys and letters such as the following were sent to their guardians and probation officers by Wills: 'Hawkspur has taken the responsibility of looking after difficult evacuees which means that our age limits are lowered and while we may be able to keep certain members of the age limit I am afraid it would not be feasible for [camp member] to be in the same Institution as young children.' Unpublished correspondence written by Wills, 6 January 1940, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.37.1

[126] Ernestine Segal requested that the payment for the boys' lessons could be settled monthly. In May 1940, for example, she wrote to Wills detailing the costs for lessons and required materials for five boys attending for one day a week and the cost of materials for the boy who was attending on a scholarship. Ernestine Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 4 May 1940, Hawkspur Camp for Men, General Correspondence, SA/Q/HM 22.1.16, S 1936-1940

who received a scholarship was considered by the Segals to be 'very talented [in painting]' which again indicates their interest in issues pertaining to ability and suitability to art practice.[127]

Significantly, in February 1940 Donald Winnicott, whose contribution to British psychoanalysis is well established, joined the hostel in Bicester in the capacity of Medical Psychologist, at the invitation of Marjorie Franklin.[128] Four months later, at the end of May 1940, David Wills resigned from the Q Camps Committee, partly because of the difficulties he faced managing two separate groups of the Hawkspur members and the younger evacuated boys, who had different needs. The hostel in Bicester continued to be run by Q Camps, with Winnicott but without Wills, until it closed in April 1941.[129] Winnicott was then employed by Oxfordshire County Council to work in further evacuation hostels, as is firmly established in secondary literature; however, the fact that these war-time practices undertaken by the psychoanalyst were the result of his preceding work with Q Camps is, as Craig Fees highlights and explores, missing from historical

[127] Ernestine Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 12 February 1940, Hawkspur Camp for Men, General Correspondence, SA/Q/HM 22.1.16, S 1936-1940. The files for the boys who lived at Market End House are not held at the Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archive or at the Oxfordshire History Centre. The records may no longer exist, given the rapid change in management at the hostel. There is, however, some relevant material from this period within Hawkspur's general correspondence which offers a little detail on the practices.

[128] Fees, 'A Fearless Frankness', 21 November 2009. For an overview of Winnicott's theories and career, see: F. Robert Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and work,* Oxford, 2003 and Brett Kahr, *D.W. Winnicott: A Biographical Portrait*, London, 1996. Key publications by Winnicott include: *The Child, the Family and the Outside World*, Harmondsworth, 1964; *Playing and Reality*, London, 1971; *Deprivation and Delinquency*, London, 1984

[129] Oxfordshire County Council minutes record the closure of Market End House: 'the Architect of the Ministry of Health has reported to the Ministry that the premises at Market End House are not suitable for the purpose of a hostel for difficult children and the Ministry have therefore recommended that it should be discontinued as a hostel as soon as possible. […] It is hoped that the boys at present in the Market End House hostel will be transferred from there to fresh accommodation in the Shiplake district in the course of the next month or two. Dr. Winnicott, a practising London Psychologist, has agreed to act [as] Psychiatric Advisor to the new hostels.''Accommodation for Difficult Children', Oxfordshire County Council, Joint Report of the County Emergency Committee for Civil Defence and of the County A.R.P Controller, 14 May 1941, Quarterly Reports of the Oxfordshire County Council Committee Meetings, Oxfordshire Record Office

accounts, even though, according to Winnicott's own evocative account, the four months between February 1940 and May 1940 in which he worked with Wills impacted greatly on his understanding about the importance of environment to psychic security, which was a field he famously came to dominate.[130] The full implications of Market End House on the formation of Winnicott's theories of environment, and the place of this in the history of residential childcare, edge beyond my disciplinary scope but these circumstances locate Segal's institution further within critical developments in therapeutic care: using archival sources, we can pinpoint that from February 1940 until at least May 1940, at least one boy (the student who held a scholarship for the school), concurrently received psychotherapy with Winnicott and attended Segal's painting lessons, although more primary source material would be required to investigate this further.[131]

It is useful to conclude this discussion by mentioning three subsequent ventures that took place after 1941 which demonstrate the impact Segal had on Q Camps staff. Firstly, in July 1944, a month after Segal died, the Q Camps Committee, in which Marjorie Franklin was still instrumental, began another initiative: Q Camps for Boys with Arthur Barron as Camp

[130] Fees, 'A Fearless Frankness', 21 November 2009. For Winnicott's account of his encounter with Wills at Bicester, see Donald Winnicott, 'Residential Care as Therapy', 1970, in Donald Winnicott, Clare Winnicott, Ray Shepherd, and Madeleine Davis (eds.), *Deprivation and Delinquency*, London, 1984, 220-228
This text was also delivered as a paper at The David Wills Lecture, given to the Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children, 23 October, 1970. A key extract in which Winnicott discusses his realisation about the importance of environment to therapy, following his work with Q Camps reads: 'I think I started to grow smaller at the time of my first contact with David Wills.[…] Rather quickly I learned that the therapy was being done in the institution, by the walls and the roof; by the glass conservatory which provided target for bricks […] by the cook, by the regularity of the arrival of food on the table, by the warm enough and perhaps warmly coloured bedspreads […] Naturally I needed to have had a decade in which I explored to the full use of the technique that really stems from Freud, the technique which he devised for the investigation of the repressed unconscious [...] I began to see, however, that in psychotherapy it is necessary for the boy or girl who is seen in personal interview to be able to return from the interview to a personal type of care.' 220-222

[131] It is not known what happened with the painting lessons after May 1940 when Wills left the hostel. Presumably, the boys continued to paint at the school organised by Franklin and Winnicott, although, without further primary source material this cannot be documented for certain. Moreover, it is not known whether Winnicott maintained a partnership with Segal after he became employed by Oxfordshire County Council in 1941. No secondary literature mentions a biographical connection between the two and a step might be follow this into Winnicott's personal archives

Chief, who taught, significantly, 'painting in oils by methods inspired by Mr. Arthur Segal.'[132] Secondly, upon leaving Bicester, Wills became Warden at Barns House hostel and school for 'unbilletable' boys in Scotland, where he and his wife Ruth Wills also taught painting and corresponded intermittently with the Segals, who advised on teaching principles; Ernestine Segal emphatically stressed to Wills that he should enable 'the children to develop their visual sense first of all' and to 'see the relationship of light and shade'[133], suggesting he should demonstrate how the form of a white vase changes in different lights.[134] Hogan argues that David and Ruth Wills can be regarded as the first art therapists working in Scotland, and, on the basis of this archival material, this can be seen to have been firmly shaped by their preceding work with the Segals.[135] Finally, Ruth Wills also later became a 'Segal-trained art therapist' at Birmingham Chest Hospital, evidencing further the artist's impact not only on Q Camps staff but also on the development of British art therapy more widely.[136]

1.3 The Use of Art Practices by Segal and Contemporary Psychoanalysts: a Comparison

It has been established that Segal's painting methods were based on formalist principles, his focus was on modes of representation and, demonstrated by his partnership with Q

[132] Q Camps Committee (eds.), *Q Camps for Boys, A Hostel and School for Boys between the ages of about 11 to 15: An Outline of Principles and Methods*, Watlington, July 1944, 6
[133] Ernestine Segal writes: 'How exciting that you now started painting with the boys! […] Mr Segal asks me to mention that your main attention should be in teaching the children to develop their visual sense first of all. Do not give very much importance first to the forms, but [teach] them [to] see the relationship of light and shade and the surrounding of the objects, because in our opinion that is more important than to make in the first stage the form correctly.' Ernestine Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 6 November 1941, Hawkspur Camp for Men, General Correspondence, SA/Q/HM 22.1.16, S 1936-1940
[134] Ernestine Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 9 December 1941, Hawkspur Camp for Men, General Correspondence, SA/Q/HM 22.1.16, S 1936-1940,
[135] Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 295-299
[136] *Ibid.,* 298

Camps, he held an interest in concepts of artistic skill and potential, which provides a platform from which to compare his approach to the psychotherapeutic use of art practice by contemporary psychoanalysts. Mid-twentieth century psychoanalytic approaches to the interpretation of artworks in therapeutic settings tended to rely on interpretation of subject matter in light of psychoanalytic mechanisms, predicated on the idea that artworks offer insight into the dynamic unconscious. To exemplify this approach, I will analyse two texts by key psychoanalysts, Melanie Klein and Winnicott. Klein's *Narrative of a Child Analysis: the Conduct of the Psycho-Analysis of Children as seen in the Treatment of a Ten-year old Boy* provides a detailed account of her psychotherapeutic treatment of a child which took place at around the time in question, i.e. 1939-1940; consisting of ninety-three interviews over four months, in which seventy-four drawings were produced. Klein's work is significant as she was one of the first psychoanalysts to use art practice with children as part of therapeutic treatment.[137] The second text chosen for analysis is Winnicott's chapter, 'Dissociation Revealed in a Therapeutic Consultation' (1965) in which he discusses anti-social tendencies, examining drawings produced as part of a psychotherapeutic interview.[138] Although written over twenty years later than the period under focus here, this text is a useful comparison because he deals specifically with delinquency and anti-social behaviour, which was, of course, Q Camps' interest and, moreover, because according to Waller, Winnicott's use of drawings was influential to the development of art therapy.[139]

[137] *Ibid.,* 68
[138] Donald Winnicott, 'Dissociation Revealed in a Therapeutic Consultation', 1965, in *Deprivation and Delinquency*, 256-282
[139] Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 73-75. For Winnicott's theories of creativity also see: Lesley Caldwell (ed.), *Art, Creativity, Living,* London, 2000

Melanie Klein was a pioneering psychoanalyst who famously developed object-relations theory during the 1920s which shaped British psychoanalysis.[140] In her book, *Narrative of a Child Analysis: the Conduct of the Psycho-Analysis of Children as seen in the Treatment of a Ten-year old Boy*, she analysed a ten-year old boy, Richard, described as 'very hypochrondical and frequently subject to depressive moods'[141], symptoms, she notes, which were worsened by the outbreak of war, the events of which he followed closely.[142] Kleinian theory comprises two phases in the development of the ego: the paranoid-schizoid and the depressive positions. In the paranoid-schizoid position, understanding of the world is dominated by 'part objects' exemplified by the mother's breasts which, sometimes gratifying and sometimes frustrating, are 'split' into the ideal 'good breast' (which feeds the hungry child) and the persecuting 'bad breast' (which does not). The child experiences destructive phantasies towards 'bad' objects. Importantly, this splitting of objects in the paranoid-schizoid phase is also accompanied by a splitting of the ego; so that the destruction of the bad objects is committed by a separate part of the self to that which experiences the good objects. The subsequent transition to the depressive position, which is required for normal development, involves understanding 'good' and 'bad' as part of the same whole object, which brings a corresponding integration of the ego.[143] Klein

[140] For Klein generally see: Lyndsey Stonebridge and John Phillips (eds.), *Reading Melanie Klein*, London, 1998; Meira Likierman, *Melanie Klein: Her Work in Context,* London, 2002; King and Steiner (eds.), *The Freud-Klein Controversies 1941-45*, 9-36

[141] Melanie Klein, *Narrative of a Child Analysis: the Conduct of the Psycho-Analysis of Children as seen in the Treatment of a Ten-year old Boy*, London, 1961, 15

[142] Klein writes the war 'stirred up his anxieties and he was afraid of air raids and bombs. He followed the news closely and took a great interest in the changes in war situation, and his preoccupation came up again and again during the course of his analysis.' Klein, *Narrative of a Child Analysis*, 16, 19-20

[143] Melanie Klein, 'Some Theoretical Conclusions Regarding the Emotional Life of the Infant', 1952, in Klein, *Envy and Gratitude: and Other Works 1946-1963*, London, 1988, particularly 70-76; Klein, 'Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms', 1946, in Klein, *Envy and Gratitude: and Other Works 1946-1963*, 1-24; Klein, 'A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States', 1935, in Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*, London, 1988, 344-369. See also R.E. Money-Kyrle 'Introduction' in Melanie Klein, Paula Heimann, R.E. Money-Kyrle, Ernest Jones (eds.) *New Directions in Psycho-Analysis: The Significance of Infant Conflict in the Pattern of Adult Behaviour*, London, 1955. For a discussion of this Klein's approach, see 'Essentials of Kleinian Theory' in Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics*, 33-64 and for a detailed discussion of the positions, 53-58

maps the boy's anxieties about war onto this theory of the part objects of the paranoid-schizoid position: Churchill and Britain become his 'good' objects, and Hitler and Germany are his 'bad' objects, as well as the destructive parts of himself, and, subsequently, this is the predicate on which Klein analyses the boy's relationship with his own family, conducted through an examination of his drawings. This is explained and examined in the following discussion, which, it should be noted, centres on Klein's use of art practice and images produced in therapeutic settings, rather than her theorisation of creativity, which receives attention in the second chapter.

During the course of an interview, Richard drew two German 'U-boats', military submarines used by the Nazis during the war, which he numbered U 102 and U 16 (Fig. 5). Klein interprets Richard's boats as representing himself and another boy, John, whom Richard knew, on the basis that the boy points out that he is 10 years old (contained within 102 of the boat number U 102) and John is 16 which corresponds to his other boat number. The British ships in the drawing, on the other hand, according to Klein, represent the boy's family, whom he loved, but, because of the split in his ego, also wanted to attack. Thus, she argues, the dangerous, hostile German U boats represent the destructive part of the boy's self, and the British boats represent the boy's family, which part of him wished to attack. Richard subsequently demonstrates how easily a drawing of a swastika can be changed into a drawing of a Union Jack, which Klein interprets, using psychic mechanisms, as revealing that 'he hoped he could change his hostile and aggressive U boat self into a British one- and that meant a good one.'[144] Richard drew another picture (Fig. 6) depicting a ship, and underneath was another U boat, a starfish (which he said was a baby),

[144] Klein, *Narrative of a Child Analysis*, 58

a plant, and a fish swimming (which he said was his mother). Klein interprets the depiction of the ship as representing the boy's parents, and analyses the image in the following way:

> the hungry starfish, the baby, was himself; the plant, Mummy's breast which he wished to feed from. When he felt like a greedy baby, who wanted his mother all to himself and could not have her, he became angry and jealous and felt he attacked both parents. This was represented by the U-boat, which would 'probably' attack the ship. […] he had said that everything which went on under water had nothing to do with the upper part. This meant that greed, jealousy, and aggression were not known to one part of his mind, they were kept unconscious. In the top part of the drawing, divided off from the lower half, he expressed his wish to unite his parents and to have them happily together. These feelings, of which he was quite aware, were experienced in which he felt to be the upper part of his mind.[145]

The objects in the drawing become symbols for the boy's psychoanalytic processes. According to Klein's analysis, the image of the ship represents his attempt to unite and love his parents, whilst his simultaneous impulses of hate, destruction and greed are represented symbolically by the German U boat. The two drives, compartmentalised in his mind, as a result of the psychoanalytic splitting process, are, accordingly, distinguished spatially in the drawing. Klein's approach is, therefore, to read the drawings through the lens of psychoanalytic mechanisms; she draws on the contemporary conflict of war, which troubled the boy, as a way to frame his relationship with his family and positions the images as illustrations of this. During the course of the interview, Klein talks to the boy about what he draws and the images play a role in the 'working through' which

[145] *Ibid.*, 59

characterised the psychotherapeutic process, the aim of which was to achieve ego integration that characterises normal development.

Winnicott takes much the same approach as Klein in 'Dissociation Revealed in a Therapeutic Consultation', in which he outlines a psychotherapeutic interview with a girl, Ada, who had been stealing.[146] According to Winnicott, the origin of anti-social behaviour is deprivation. This leads to dissociation, whereby the self has a split fraction; this partial disintegration is characteristic of an anti-social child. When a child denies an act, like stealing, it is because it was committed by this dissociated part of the self.[147] During the course of the interview, which led the girl to stop stealing, she produces drawings, considered by Winnicott to play a part in healing the girl's dissociation, as well as evidencing the integration of the girl's self subsequently achieved. The drawings, understood to be productions of the unconscious, are subjected to dogmatic, symbolic interpretation. For instance, as the girl tells Winnicott that she cannot draw hands well, he suggests: 'the hiding of hands could be related either to the theme of stealing or to that of masturbation- and these themes are interrelated in that the stealing would be compulsive acting out of repressed masturbation fantasies.'[148] When she draws a bow, Winnicott responds: 'I now thought of the bow as symbolical of repression, and it seemed to me that Ada was ready to have the bow untied.'[149] Winnicott records how, when the girl was four years and nine months old, her brother became ill and her older sister (who had mothered her) transferred attention to him, and that, as a result, the girl became deprived. To rediscover a sense of security she began to steal as part of her dissociated compulsion that

[146] Winnicott, 'Dissociation Revealed in a Therapeutic Consultation', 256-282
[147] Winnicott, 'The Antisocial Tendency', 1956, in *Deprivation and Delinquency*, 120-131
[148] Winnicott, 'Dissociation Revealed in a Therapeutic Consultation', 266
[149] *Ibid.*, 277

she could not acknowledge. In the psychotherapeutic interview, Winnicott asks the girl whether she steals, to which she replies 'NO!', but, simultaneously, she creates a drawing which Winnicott interprets as 'the discovery of the mother's breasts' and which consequently meant 'deprivation had been symbolised' and, accordingly, her dissociation causing her denial, ceased to be operative.[150] In this framework, the girl denied stealing (committed by the dissociated part of herself) but at this moment of denial, she finds, importantly through drawing, 'what she had lost' (i.e. 'symbolic contact with her mother's breasts'), which had caused this deprivation. For Winnicott, the drawings, read entirely in psychoanalytical terms, are at once manifestations of the unconscious, subjected to his generalised symbolic interpretations, and a means by which an integration of the self was achieved. As with Klein, the images are given an integral role in this psychotherapeutic process, and are also invoked to 'illustrate' the psychoanalytic theory underlying anti-social tendencies and their treatment in children. From a contemporary, art-historical perspective, these reductive clinical approaches are, of course, problematic: the recourse to symbolic interpretation and the literal connections between psychic process and the subjects of representation, including the tenuous leaps Winnicott makes from the ability to draw hands to masturbation to stealing, or which Klein makes between the depiction of a German U Boat and the boy's destructive impulses, are troubling and unconvincing. However, the point here is not to challenge this historical approach, but rather to highlight how this use of drawings in psychological treatment differs greatly from the painting practice which took place at Segal's school.

[150] *Ibid.*, 277-281

As highlighted by the examination of Q Camps, Segal's institution was first and foremost an art institution; his primary concern was teaching students how to paint, unlike Winnicott and Klein, whose focus is not their patients' interest or ability in art practice. It is pertinent at this point to return to an observation made above, that the purposes for which students attended Segal's school were not always entirely distinct. This is indicated through psychoanalysts' participation in exhibitions, and the practice with Q Camps also demonstrates a blurring between pupils who were attending for therapeutic purposes, those attending to *learn* the therapeutic methods and those learning how to paint, which brings us back to the point that, in Segal's framework, the therapeutic potential of painting is inextricable from the painting process itself. Q Camps staff members, David Wills, Ruth Wills, student helper Arthur Barron, as well as Marjorie Franklin, who also participated in at least two exhibitions, all received lessons as 'private students.'[151] The suggestion carried via correspondence is that attendance would enable the staff to assist the boys to practise what they had learned at the school.[152] The classes for the staff did take place in a separate space to those for the boys, implying, to an extent, a distinction in purpose: Ernestine Segal informs Wills: 'you and your staff or Mrs Wills, will work in the studio. The boys will work separately in the 2nd floor and there it is room for 6-7 boys.'[153] In practice, however, their reasons for attending are indistinct and, importantly, as noted previously, all lessons had the same teaching basis. Moreover, Franklin informs Wills: 'I was encouraged by Mr Segal's comments on my painting'[154] which implies that, although she attended the 'Special Doctors Course' and was categorised accordingly in the exhibition catalogues, she also occupies a position as a student who is interested in her own artistic ability and whose

[151] Ernestine Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 12 February 1940, Hawkspur Camp for Men, General Correspondence, SA/Q/HM 22.1.16, S 1936-1940
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] Franklin to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 10 July 1939, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Marjorie Franklin/David Wills correspondence, SA/Q/HM 12.1.17

work, importantly, is commented on by Segal in these terms. My overarching point here is that Segal's primary interest was in modes of representation and teaching attendees to paint, irrespective of their official purpose for attending. His approach with Hawkspur members differs greatly to Winnicott's treatment of anti-social behaviour, bearing no similarity to the way that the psychoanalyst uses drawings to source, discuss and treat delinquency, in light of psychoanalytic mechanisms. Segal's emphasis was firmly on formal problems of learning to view and represent objects produced by light, a process in which the therapeutic potential is generally inherent, unlike both psychoanalysts for whom the patients' artworks, considered as manifestations of the unconscious, operate as *adjuncts* to the psychotherapeutic interview.

Further distinction can be observed in how Segal and the psychoanalysts analyse artworks; both make diagnostic deductions about the patient/student through their artworks but with different approaches. In *Art as a Test*, Segal offers a diagnostic framework, in which breaches in the objective principles reveal psychological disorders. For example: 'Megalomania expresses itself mainly in the exaggeration of size, over-bold form and colour-work […]. Sexual Abnormality is usually distinguishable by disharmony in the disposal of cold and warm colours.'[155] He put these methods into practice, reporting that a Hawkspur student 'has a good deal of sentibility *[sic]* in his artistic expression, he is very tidy in using the colours and it seems [to] me that he is suffering [from] inferiority.'[156] He writes to the father of another student who was sent for therapeutic treatment:

[155] Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 13
[156] Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 13 December 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.2

> I had a look at your daughter's painting and find a good feeling for space from the point of view of perspective. […] However I am of the opinion that your daughter has to overcome difficulties to harmonise all her abilities. As a consequence of these difficulties an inner dissatisfaction has resulted […]. There is not sufficient distinction between the parts of the whole, the contrasts and the colours. She seems to have a strong sense of order which however she is unable to put into practice.[157]

Segal's interpretative method involves reading psychological states through the use of colour, space and shape in the artwork. The mode of representation is diagnostically significant, not the subject matter, since: 'the same subjects may be chosen by normal and abnormal artists. An erotic subject only shows abnormality where the treatment of it is abnormal, that is, where it deviates from the objective laws.'[158] This differs greatly to the psychoanalytic approach detailed above, whereby subject matter is read as symbolic manifestations of the unconscious and psychic mechanisms. Segal does not consider artworks to be products of the unconscious as decreed by psychoanalysis, but rather the 'expression' of a more general 'inner' being, considered in the next chapter, and he deduces psychological meaning entirely through a formalist lens. Klein writes: 'Richard urgently required a more appropriate medium for expressing his unconscious, and I therefore decided to bring back paper, pencils, and crayons.'[159] In contrast to Segal's perspective, this description of art practice demonstrates firstly, how drawing functions as a method for the child to represent, and the analyst to access, his unconscious and, secondly, the adjunctive nature of art practice in a psychoanalysis-based psychotherapeutic

[157] Segal to Lord Bishop of Truro, unpublished correspondence, 3 October 1938, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5
[158] Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 14
[159] Klein, *Narrative of a Child Analysis*, 56, footnote 1

interview. Klein also famously used dolls and play in psychoanalysis to access children's psychic processes, indicating how art is one of many methods used in her psychoanalysis, whereas for Segal painting *is* the source of psychotherapy.

This chapter has demonstrated that Segal's emphasis is formalistic: his focus is on modes of representation and formal properties of colour, shape and space, issues which are, importantly, inherent and specific to art practice and this is the perspective from which he develops a therapeutic and diagnostic framework. Emphasis was not placed on the subjectivity of the student or encouraging a form of expulsion of emotion or using painting as a means of articulating trauma, rather the approach centred firmly on exploring the appearance of objects in light and applying colour. This approach locates the psychotherapeutic potential firmly within the painting process itself, rather than painting acting a conduit for therapeutic effect by, for example, serving as a means to make unconscious repressions conscious. This shows that although his conceptualisation designates painting as psychotherapeutic, which formed partnerships and generated interest in these spheres, importantly, this is not actually predicated, in the first instance, on psychoanalytic theory. If, in Segal's framework the therapeutic potential of painting comes from mastering formal concerns and representing objects naturalistically, as this chapter has demonstrated, the question posed is *how* this exerts a psychological benefit. This moves our discussion into the terrain of the theoretical underpinnings of Segal's practices, which is the concern of the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Segal's Theories of the Psychotherapeutic Potential of Art

Segal published two texts in English during his time in Britain, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes* and *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage: A Psychological Analysis based upon the Objective Laws of Painting,* and the latter was in collaboration with Hans Fleischhacker, a German émigré psychologist. There are virtually no primary or secondary sources on Fleischhacker; the little material available indicates that he was a Board Member for the AJR (Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain) and in 1956 had 'lent his expert assistance in cases of psychological difficulties' to the AJR Social Services Department.[160] That same year, Fleischhacker also reviewed *Flight and Resettlement*, a book published by UNESCO about emigration effects on refugees.[161] Segal disseminated his theories on the therapeutic and diagnostic potential of painting by giving papers at the Guild of Pastoral Society, the Parents' National Education Union and the Psychological and Philosophical Society of Bedford College, London and he submitted a paper 'Die Psychologischen Vorbedingungen der Modernen Malerei' to the *Deuxième congrés international d'esthétique et de science de l'art* in Paris, as indicated in the introduction to this thesis. Further texts including *The Amateur*, *We Copy Nature,* and *The Development of Painting during the Past 40 Years* were published posthumously. This chapter studies Segal's

[160] Unknown author, 'Achievements and New Tasks', *ARJ Information*, Vol. 11, No. 10, October 1956, 1-2
[161] Hans H. Fleischhacker, 'Healing the Wounds', *ARJ Information*, Vol. 11, No. 6, June 1956, 6

publications and papers, as well as selected unpublished typescripts held in his archive, in order to establish and analyse how painting is psychotherapeutic in his framework and how this relates to contemporary psychoanalysts' writing. First, some preliminary observations need to be made which shape the discussion of this chapter.

None of Segal's texts prior to 1937 designate painting as a mode of psychotherapy and, arguably, this conceptualisation derives from the artist's more general conviction of art's regenerative function. His 1929 version of *The Objective Principles of Painting*, written *before* the artist developed painting psychotherapy practices, positions the principles as powerful and energising: a 'life-giving source […] the alma mater who feeds and replenishes our individual selves with fresh energy.'[162] Segal's first typescript in which painting is described as having an impact psychologically is 'Male Dich gesund' (January 1937) in which painting, affecting the 'psyche', has a general healing, health-giving role.[163] Later that year, in August 1937, this conceptualisation is shifted so that painting explicitly has 'psychotherapeutic possibilities.'[164] Segal's writings from 1937 onwards position art practice as psychotherapeutic but also simultaneously ascribe painting with a more general power and benignity, suggesting further how the therapy conceptualisation lies and originates with his conception of art's broader function. A school brochure states that art practice is 'healing to mankind' and further reads: 'painting as an occupation is a great refuge. It is […] a very good friend. It gives joy and amusement and creates a

[162] Segal, *The Objective Principles of Painting*, 23
[163] Segal, 'Male Dich gesund', unpublished typescript, 3 pages, January 1937, reproduced in Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 245-247
[164] Segal, 'Preface', *The Objective Principles of Painting*, 9

concentration which causes all outside influences to be forgotten.'[165] The crux of the issue is that his understanding of art's psychotherapeutic possibilites, rather than developing from an understanding of the mechanisms and functions of the mind, as with contemporary psychoanalysts discussed below, seems to emerge from his conviction of the broadly regenerative power and potential of art practice, which aligns with conclusions of the previous chapter, that in his framework the psychotherapy is inherent to and located within art practice itself. In short, it seems that Segal understands art practice to be a potent regenerative source, from which he develops its therapeutic function, which his writing subsequently theorises. The way in which he does this is a central concern of this chapter.

Segal's objective principles of painting formed the practical methods taught by the school but are also a means via which the artist theorises a connection between art and psychology in his texts. Both art and psychology, he postulates, have objective, impersonal foundations, in relation to which the individual operates.[166] The relationship between the two fields is based, accordingly, on a correspondence between their objective principles, which formed the basis of his diagnostic framework whereby 'each breach of the objective principles of painting, which […] can be easily recognised in a picture, points to a corresponding disorder and transgression in the objective laws of psychology.'[167] Segal operates with a concept of psychology constructed through his formalist art principles and,

[165] See Appendix 4. Arthur Segal, 'Non-Professionals Branch', Course Brochure, undated, printed between September 1937 and September 1939. Copy held in: Hawkspur for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.3, (record closed until 1999 and restricted until 2029), Q Camps Archive. An unpublished typescript written by Segal in German in 1939 similarly reads: 'Kunst als Beschaeftigung ist eine Zuflucht in schweren Stunden. Kunst ist wie ein guter Freund, bringt Freude und Zerstreuung und ermoeglicht Konzentration', Segal, 'Kunst, Kunstgewerbe und Handwerk als psychological occupational work and therapy', unpublished typescript, September 1939, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 9, 1

[166] This is explored in two texts in particular: Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', translated by Mary Barkas (Appendix 10) (the original German version is Segal, 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung' (Appendix 11)) and Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 3-18.

[167] Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', 7 (Appendix 10)

as a result, the mind, as the 'psychic sphere', is spatial, articulated through an analogy with pictorial composition: 'the function of psychology is the investigation and construction of psychic space, the function of painting is the investigation and construction of visual space.'[168] In his 1929 text, which, it is pertinent to recall, offers instruction simply for painting, Segal repeats that a balance between the objective principles and the subjectivity of their application enables, for example, a pictorial 'equilibrium'[169] and a 'harmonious work of art.'[170] Equal application of form, colour and light means that the 'effect produced will be one of harmony.'[171] This idea is modified in 1937, based on a spatial correspondence between the mind and painting, so that this method of painting, previously facilitating pictorial harmony, subsequently effects *psychological* harmony, enabling students to become, for instance, 'inwardly more ordered and harmonious'[172] and giving children a 'basis of *internal order*.'[173] By the same token, the idea that failure to maintain a balance between the objective principles and their individual application results in a 'chaotic' painting'[174] and pictorial 'disorder and confusion'[175], indicates, in the later therapeutic and diagnostic framework, *psychological* 'disorder' and, ultimately, neurosis. The fact that compositional concerns are a predicate for theorising painting's psychotherapeutic effect and that Segal operates with a spatial concept of the mind assumes significance given that he also employs psychoanalytic terms in his writing,

[168] *Ibid.,* 4
[169] Segal, *The Objective Principles of Painting*, 18
[170] *Ibid.*, 7
[171] *Ibid.*, 32. Segal emphasises the need to achieve pictorial 'harmony' throughout the text. He instructs, for example, 'the greater consistency with which we observe [form, colour and light], the clearer and the more harmonious will be the effect of our work', 39; 'in order to achieve a *harmonious effect* it is essential to find an equilibrium between the totality of the picture and that of its parts, 65-66; 'if we intend to achieve a *harmonious effect* we must maintain an equilibrium by taking great care that the foreward-backward [*sic*] movements proceed at a right angle diagonally to the vertical upward movement', 74
[172] *Ibid*., 9
[173] *Ibid*., 11
[174] *Ibid*., 20. A further example reads: 'the correct observation of the distribution of light and shade on our subject will enable us to produce the correspondingly correct scale of light and darkness in our picture. Failure to do so will result in disorder, and the less attention we pay to this principle the most chaotic will our picture be.' 34
[175] *Ibid*., 7

which, in contrast, depend on the mind as the dynamic unconscious, formed of urges, drives and repressions. Although in Berlin Segal operated in circles interested in psychoanalysis, his writings before 1937 demonstrate no engagement with psychoanalysis or psychology, indicating that his later use of psychoanalytic terms, rather than the basis of his ideas, are probably the result of his shift *into* this sphere in Britain through the partnerships he formed in the field.[176] Before his relationship with psychoanalysis is analysed, the following section interrogates how 'expression' operates in his writing.

2.1 Segal's Concept of Expression

The concept of expression occupies a central position in Segal's theory of art's therapeutic function: 'if the patient is not master of his means of expression, the achievement of these means becomes in every case a healing power.'[177] In his understanding, painting, as well as speech, action, movements, for example, is 'the direct expression of […] inner

[176] Segal's circle of acquaintances and friends in Berlin during the 1920s were interested in psychoanalysis, including Höch, Hausmann and Friedländer. During the first years of the Weimar Republic, Berlin had established itself as the 'nerve centre of the world of psychoanalysis.' Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time*, London, 1988, 460; 459-69. Moreover, Fuechtner argues that Berlin's cultural modernity during the 1920s, in which Segal can be located, was intrinsically connected to the development of psychoanalysis. Fuechtner *Berlin Psychoanalytic*. However, despite this context, Segal's texts from the 1920s do not discuss psychoanalysis or psychology. In 1929, Paul Plaut, a psychiatrist and child delinquency expert, asked over 400 prominent scientists and artists, including Segal (and others including Freud, Ernst Simmel, Alfred Döblin, Stefan Zweig, Walter Gropius, Kandinsky, Otto Dix, Max Pechstein, Albert Einstein) for their views on creativity for his publication, *Die Psychologie der produktiven Persönlichkeit.* Segal's response to Plaut discusses his *Gleichwertigkeit* principles and does not mention painting, psychology or psychotherapy which dominated his practices from 1937 onwards, strongly suggesting, given the subject of Plaut's enquiry, that Segal had not yet developed an interest in this area. See Arthur Segal to Paul Plaut, unpublished correspondence, 1 November 1927- 14 November 1927, Paul Plaut: Correspondence, 1897-1932, 647/18/8-10, The Wiener Library for the Study of the Holocaust and Genocide, London. The full list of artists and scientists approached by Plaut for his study can also be viewed at, 'Document Collection: Paul Plaut: Correspondence, 1897-1932', http://www.wienerlibrary.co.uk/Search-document-collection?item=1067, accessed 25 May 2012

[177] Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 12

experience'[178] and this correspondence between 'expression' and the 'inner' is a basis for painting's therapeutic effect. In the case of an 'abnormal' person, Segal writes, since 'his expression, both as action and form is in accord with his inner self […] his movements […] will be clumsy, ill-balanced, uncertain.'[179] Offering a means of expression, via art practice, is beneficial on the basis of this two-way correspondence between 'inner' and 'expression': painting can bring 'the excited, exaggerated movements of a neurotic […] into tranquillity and balance' which 'will have a tranquilising effect upon his inner self.'[180] In a letter to David Wills, Segal writes that a Hawkspur member 'must get *expression* in any way and I hope to be able to help him a little'[181] and later reports an improvement in his 'possibility to express himself'[182], which demonstrates the overlap between this theory and his practice. Further investigation into what constitutes 'expression' is required here. Art theory in the German Expressionist circles in which Segal operated in Berlin during the 1910s was dominated by discussions of 'expression' and an individual's 'inner world' as distinct from the external, outer world.[183] The concepts, by no means monolithic or uncontested, are complex and cannot be fully explored here, but this historical context does provide a loose framework in which to locate Segal, assisting to understand how these terms operate in his writing, and forming part of my broader interest in both what shapes his theories and the position from which he engages with psychology.

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[178] Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', 4 (Appendix 10). This is repeated elsewhere: for example, the arts are 'the most direct expression of psychical experience', Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', 1 (Appendix 9)

[179] Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 10

[180] *Ibid.*, 11

[181] Segal to Wills, unpublished correspondence, 13 December 1937, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.2

[182] Arthur Segal, unpublished report on camp member, 17 September 1938, Hawkspur Camp for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.1

[183] Donald Gordon examines how the term 'Expressionism' (originating in France in the 1890s) came to be applied to German artists working around 1911-1914, tracing the prevalence and shifting meaning of the term 'expression' (Ausdruck, and its relation to Eindruck) in contemporary German discourses, including Herwarth Walden's *Sturm* circle for instance. Donald E. Gordon, 'On the Origin of the Word 'Expressionism', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 29, 1966, 368-385, particularly 378-379**.** For Segal's artistic activity during the 1910s, see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 24-28

In Segal's writing, 'expression' emphatically refers to the artistic outcome following close observation of the 'naturalistic' appearance of objects, rather than to a representation or expulsion of subjectivity or emotion: painting 'is the expression of the visual world by means of optical phenomena, i.e. by light, shade, form and colour.'[184] He explains further that since 'each individual reacts to his picture of the environment according to his own peculiar nature', each painting is an individual's 'inner visual approach to things and his expression of them.'[185] In the autumn of 1913, the Sturm, a circle in which Segal moved, held an exhibition titled *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* in Berlin, in which, according to a letter to Herwarth Walden from August Macke, Segal was planning to participate, although eventually he did not.[186] The catalogue's introduction, written by Walden has parallels with Segal's concept of expression:

> Art is the personal shaping of a personal experience [...]. The painter paints whatever he sees with his innermost senses, the expression of his being [...] every impression from the outside to him becomes an expression from the inside.[187]

Whilst Walden writes 'every impression from the outside […] becomes an expression from the inside', Segal offers that 'art is the breathing-in of life's *impression* followed by the individual *expression*.'[188] In 1911, Sievers, as noted by Gordon, described

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[184] Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 3
[185] *Ibid.,* 3
[186] Letter from August Macke to Herwarth Walden, 21 April 1913, translated by Rose-Carol Washton-Long and published in *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, London, 1995, 59-60. For Segal's exhibitions and publications with the Sturm, see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 25-27. See also Appendix 1.
[187] Herwarth Walden, 'Vorrede' in *Der Sturm, Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, exhibition catalogue, Berlin, 1913, 6. The original German version reads : 'Kunst ist die persönliche Gestaltung eines persönlichen Erlebnisses [...]. Der Maler malt, was er schaut mit seinen innersten Sinnen, die Expression seines Wesens [...] jeder Eindruck von Außen wird ihm Ausdruck von Innen.' Translated by Washton-Long, in *German Expressionism*, 57-58
[188] Segal, *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 2

Expressionists as portraying 'the imprint which the viewed object leaves in their artistic imagination.'[189] Similarly, Pechstein, with whom Segal founded the Neue Secession in 1910, discussed his work as trying to 'depict […] expressions in simple phenomena: to learn from an object, a tree, a boat […] which kind of special *impression* they give him.'[190] Therefore, Segal's view of painting as an *expression* from the 'inner' sphere, not exclusively of subjective emotion or a state of mind, but as a representation of an individual *impression* received from objects in the external environment, can be located, broadly-speaking, whilst the complexities of these terms is acknowledged, as a prevalent understanding in artists' spheres in which he operated during the 1910s. He subsequently modified this understanding into a theory of therapy, so that *enabling* a person to articulate this 'expression' (i.e. by providing them with the artistic means to represent objects that they view, via subjective application of his formalist, objective principles) exerts a benign effect on their psychological 'inner', predicated, in turn, on a correspondence between the 'inner' and the 'expression.' This points further to how the conceptual tools with which Segal operates primarily derive from, and are shaped by, artistic viewpoints.[191]

2.2 Segal and Sylvia Payne: 'Psychology of Art'

[189] J. Sievers, 'Die XXII Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession', *Der Cicerone*, Vol. 3, No. 10, May 1911, 383-384, cited in Gordon, 'On the Origin of the Word 'Expressionism', 372

[190] Max Pechstein, transcribed by W. Heymann, 'Was ist mit dem Picasso ?', *Pan 2*, No. 23, 25 April 1912, 665-69. 'What is Picasso up to?' translated by Washton-Long in *German Expressionism*, 33-36, 35

[191] Further to this, however, more primary research would be needed to establish a detailed understanding of the various meanings of 'inner world' and 'inner experience' discussed by Expressionists here. Literature on Expressionist artists mentions this prevailing interest in the 'inner' but, unfortunately, without discussing precisely what this constitutes, see for example: Stephanie Barron, 'Themes of the Exhibition', Peter Paret, 'Expressionism in Imperial Germany' and Joan Weinstein, 'Expressionism in War and Revolution', in Stephanie Barron and Wolf-Dieter Dube (eds.), *German Expressionism: Art and Society*, London, 1997, 23-28, 29-34, 35-44 and Douglas Kellner, 'Expression and Rebellion', Ulf Zimmermann, 'Expressionism and Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz*', in Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas Kellner (eds.), *Passion and Rebellion: The Expressionist Heritage*, London, 1983, 3-40, 217-234 and 'Introduction' in Shulamith Behr, David Fanning and Douglas Jarman (eds.), *Expressionism Reassessed,* Manchester, 1993, 1-9. These sources imply that 'inner' designates 'subjectivity' generally, emotion and temperament. It is possible that these concepts of the 'inner' were also shaped by contemporary German psychology more broadly, but investigation of this requires further primary research beyond my scope here.

Amongst Segal's personal papers are several identical versions of his typescript 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung' (1937), as well as copies translated into English as 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity' by psychoanalyst Mary Barkas.[192] This is not unusual; Segal's archive contains multiples of the same texts, occasionally with handwritten annotations or alterations. This case is, however, intriguing because one version of the text contains additional typed references to an article 'Post-War Activities and the Advance of Psychotherapy' (1936) by Sylvia Payne, which constitutes a rare example of Segal correlating his theories to a psychoanalyst.[193] In the article, Payne, who, as established in the previous chapter, attended Segal's 'Special Doctors Course', explains aspects of post-First World War society, such as a perceived increase in scientific and technological developments, using the psychoanalytic theory of narcissism. A comparatively short section of her article attributes art with psychotherapeutic potential, predicated, like the rest of her argument, on the mechanisms of narcissism. Segal and Payne independently theorise art practice as having the potential to maintain psychic stability but via different trajectories, which is elucidated by analysing how Segal engages with Payne's text.

In psychoanalysis, narcissism is a normal and healthy process which builds the ego, crucial for a sense of self. Freud posits that self-regard and self-esteem partly derive from a sense of omnipotence. Omnipotent thoughts enable the self to believe that thoughts are all-

[192] Original German version: Segal, 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung' (Appendix 11). Translation: Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', translated by Mary Barkas (Appendix 10).
[193] Sylvia Payne, 'Post-War Social Activities and the Advance of Psychotherapy', *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. 16, May 1936, 1–15. Her article was also published in German (which is the version Segal refers to) in *Imago*, a psychoanalysis journal edited by Sigmund Freud: Sylvia Payne, 'Nachkriegsbestrebungen und der Fortschritt der Psychotherapie', *Imago*, Vol. 23, 1937, 96-114. See Appendix 12 for Segal's version of 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetätigung' which contains additional references to Payne's article.

powerful and can exert change on the world, which, accordingly, creates the strong ego required for normal psychic health. Payne's conceptualisation of art partly relies on Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1913), in which, in light of the theory of omnipotent thoughts, he draws an analogy between the function of primitive magic and imitative art, positioning both as processes that assist the self to believe it can affect externality.[194] Payne writes:

> Art has many unconscious connections with the source and technique of primitive magic […] The first pictures were made with the intent to obtain power over the individuals they represented, good or destructive purposes. […] The pleasure which a work of art gives to the man of to-day is a substitute for the pleasure experienced in illusory fulfilment of unconscious omnipotent wishes.[195]

Here, Payne conceptualises art as a 'substitute' for the 'pleasure' effected by the mechanism of omnipotent thoughts of narcissism. She positions art as a part of narcissism, which is a process essential for a normal ego and, therefore, contributing to maintaining a sense of self and psychic stability, has 'therapeutic value.'[196]

Segal prefaces his text with the following passage from Payne's article, in which she ascribes painting a therapeutic potential:

> The *therapeutic value of artistic interests* which do not infrequently arise spontaneously during psycho-analytic treatment should be welcomed; perhaps we

[194] Sigmund Freud, 'On Narcissism: An Introduction', 1914, in Sigmund Freud, translated by James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 14 (1914-1916), London, 1957, 67-102; Burness E. Moore, 'Narcissism', in Edward Erwin (ed.), *The Freud Encyclopedia: Theory, Therapy and Culture*, London, 2002, 355-359
Sigmund Freud, A.A. Brill (trans.), *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, London,1919 (first published in German, 1913)
[195] Payne, 'Post-War Social Activities and the Advance of Psychotherapy', 4
[196] *Ibid.*, 5

> do not always appreciate fully the significance of the fact that these may be necessary for the maintenance of health. For this reason a knowledge of the *psychology of art* is useful to the psychopathologist as well as to the psychologist interested in wider issues.[197]

Directly below this extract, Segal, in response to Payne, states that his subsequent text offers 'knowledge of the psychology of art', and proceeds to offer his account of the relationship between art and psychology, constructed, as detailed above, by an analogy between pictorial and psychic space. Significantly, however, the fact that Payne's argument is grounded entirely on psychoanalysis is neither articulated in Segal's citation nor in his proceeding text. Although the artist correlates his work to Payne, he does not engage with or make reference to the psychoanalytic specifics used in her conceptualisation of art, a significant omission given that the entire thrust of her argumentation is underpinned by this discourse. Segal's references to Payne's text seem to be retrospective additions to his pre-formulated and pre-written text: this version of 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung' is identical to the others, all of which are dated August 1937, except for three isolated paragraphs which refer to Payne's article, inserted in the introduction and near the end of the typescript.[198] Therefore, Segal's lack of engagement with the specifics of Payne's method could be, in practice, for the very reason that he correlated his own writing to her article after he already written his text. However, the absent references to Payne's approach move beyond the practical consideration that the

[197] This citation is from the English version of Payne's text: Payne, 'Post-War Social Activities and the Advance of Psychotherapy', 5 whereas Segal cites from the German version, which reads: 'der therapeutische Wert der künstlerischen Interessen, die nicht selten während der psychoanalytischen Behandlung spontan auftauchen, sollte willkommen sein; vielleicht würdigen wir nicht immer genügend die Bedeutung der Tatsache, dass dies für die Erhaltung der Gesundheit notwendig sein kann. Aus diesem Grunde ist die Kenntnis der Psychologie der Kunst dem Psychopathologen von gleichen Nutzen wie dem an weiteren Problemen interessierten Psychologen', Payne, 'Nachkriegsbestrebungen und der Fortschritt der Psychotherapie', 101, cited in Segal 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung', 1 (Appendix 12)
[198] See the difference between Appendices 11 and 12 for Segal's additions

citations were probably completed retrospectively and point more broadly to how their positions differ: Segal's theories are not underpinned by psychoanalytic theory and he operates with a different concept of the mind. His idea of the 'psychology of art', the phrase he isolates from Payne's text, is based on a spatial analogy between art and psychology. His omission of Payne's approach indicates how his interest lies, not in her theoretical psychoanalytic methods, but in the final understanding she reaches, concerning the 'therapeutic value of artistic interests'; hence his extraction of this description, without reference to the path via which she reaches her conclusion. Consolidating this is the fact that the instance where Segal does engage directly with Payne's article concerns what is fundamentally an artistic issue. In order to demonstrate this, it is first necessary to identify and explain some further arguments in Payne's article.

There are two forms of narcissism in psychoanalysis. Primary narcissism, an initial stage in childhood, is where sexual drives are directed inwardly towards the self ('ego libido'). Secondary narcissism is where sexual drives are directed externally to other objects ('object libido') and, in short, self-regard and self-esteem comes from satisfaction of this 'object libido.'[199] Payne draws on an argument formulated by psychoanalyst Hanns Sachs, that societies are shaped by the direction of communal secondary narcissistic drives. For example, he argues that Greek and Roman civilisations focused on bodily beauty: in psychoanalytic terms, the body was 'libidinised in a special way', whereas in later periods, communal drives were directed towards deity and so religion subsequently occupied a central position in society.[200] Payne, furthering this, argues that the First World War caused the notion of a protecting God to be questioned and, accordingly, society's 'object

[199] See Freud, 'On Narcissism: An Introduction', 1914 and Moore, 'Narcissism' in Erwin (ed.), *The Freud Encyclopedia: Theory, Therapy and Culture*, 355-359
[200] Hanns Sachs, 'The Delay of the Machine Age', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, No.2, 1933, 404–24

libido' generally shifted towards 'man's control and knowledge of natural phenomena', evidenced by an increase in scientific progress and technological developments. She summarises that 'man [...] seems obsessed with the idea that knowledge of external laws will give him control over the world and, therefore, of his own destiny.'[201] She subsequently argues that these shifts in society's narcissistic drives towards areas that enable humans to command power, such as technology, has caused a corresponding change in modes of representation in art. She notes that in living organisms, rhythm controls nature's 'active forces' and so, she argues, contemporary art, as part of these broader shifts in narcissistic drives towards a command of nature, contains rhythm, pattern and unity as a method of conveying successfully 'the impression of controlled life and movement.'[202] She conceptualises art practice in light of the communal libidinal drives of narcissism, located contextually within post-First World War society. Perceived formal characteristics in painting, pattern and rhythm, are positioned as the result of the direction of object-libidinal drives, fundamentally a mechanism within the framework of narcissism that promotes the ego's sense of self and maintains psychic security.

Segal, though correlating his text to Payne's article does not engage with this complex psychoanalytic argument but the aspect that he does isolate, cite and comment on is the idea that 'rhythm' is prevalent in modern art. Payne writes:

> in painting the modern tends to adopt a technique the aim of which is to reveal rhythm and movement and pattern rather than the 'frozen accuracy of a mass of detail', as I have heard some painting called.[203]

[201] Payne, 'Post-War Social Activities and the Advance of Psychotherapy', 5
[202] *Ibid.*, 4
[203] *Ibid.*, 4

Payne does not attribute this quotation of 'frozen accuracy of a mass of detail' to an artist in particular or elaborate on its source in any way: it is vague ('as I have heard some painting called'), unconvincing evidence positioned entirely to support her claims that there *has* been a shift in the appearance of painting towards 'movement' and 'rhythm', an observation on which her psychoanalysis-based argument about communal narcissistic shifts is contingent. My point here is that this quotation attributed by Payne generally to unnamed artists is a relatively minor statement in her overall argument, operating simply as evidence, albeit problematic, to support her larger psychoanalytic claims. Segal, however, assumes the existence of these unidentified artists, as well as the reliability of what Payne claims they have said, and engages with the unreferenced citation as though it is an established, attributed argument. Picking up on Payne's point that modern artists want to avoid 'frozen accuracy of mass detail', Segal writes:

> The artists forget, however, that masterpieces by old masters observe 'accuracy of details' and that these artworks are not in the least frozen, but also have rhythm, movement and compositional aspects which modern painters prefer to have, as the article [by Payne] in Imago says.[204]

Segal challenges the implication that paintings by old masters lack movement and rhythm, rather than engaging with how the idea, that modern art does contain these elements, operates in Payne's theory. Segal mounts a challenge towards the unnamed modern artists who are only vaguely called into being by Payne, as a comparatively insignificant and expedient piece of evidence to support her argument, whilst he ignores how the psychoanalyst actually uses the claim and, moreover, ignores her central concern which is

[204] Segal 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung', 6 (Appendix 12). The original German text reads: 'Die Künstler vergessen aber, dass die Meisterwerke der alten Meister die 'Genauigkeit einer Menge von Details' beobachten und diese Kunstwerke sind nicht nur nicht im geringsten erstarrt, sondern besitzen auch Rythmus, Bewegung und Komposition –Dinge, die die modernen Maler lieber haben, wie es im Aufsatz Imago heisst.'

to conceptualise art practice using psychoanalytic narcissism. Segal's focus here, coupled with his demonstrable lack of interest in the theory on which Payne's argument is formed, indicates further that his primary interest lies with artistic, formalist problems, as opposed to psychoanalysis.

We can conclude from this discussion that although Segal and Payne occupy the same terrain, there is complexity to their exchange, centring on the 'therapeutic value' of art, which can be situated more broadly. Segal's theory derives from a conviction about the inherent regenerative function of art, and operates on a correspondence between the 'inner' sphere and obtaining 'expression', whereas Payne applies understanding of psychic mechanisms to art. Extrapolating this, we can see how, contemporarily, psychoanalysts, exemplified here by Payne, *theorised* art-making processes using psychoanalytic models and how this differs from Segal's position. The first chapter considered Klein's use of art practice in a therapeutic setting, but she also theorised art practice in more abstract terms. She posits that normal ego development is contingent on the transition from the paranoid-schizoid position, which is dominated by split 'part objects', to the depressive position, in which 'good' and 'bad' are understood as part of the same whole object, and that this process, accompanied by feelings of guilt for previous destructive impulses, induces a desire for reparation.[205] In 1929, she attributed art practice with this psychoanalytical role of reparation; positioning creativity as emanating from the impulse to restore and repair the

[205] Klein writes: 'when the infant feels that his destructive impulses and phantasies are directed against the complete person of his loved object, guilt arises in full strength and, together with it, the over-riding urge to repair, preserve or revive the loved injured object.' Klein, 'Some Theoretical Conclusions Regarding the Emotional Life of the Infant', 74. Also see Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics*, 53-58

injured objects attacked in paranoid-schizoid position.[206] Klein unambiguously positions art as a psychologically constructive activity but on a largely theoretical plane; beginning with object-relations theory as the primary concern, she theorises that art practice has a function within broader psychoanalytic mechanisms facilitating normal ego development. Both Segal and the psychoanalysts understand art as enabling psychological stability but Segal's primarily concern is implementing this practically, focusing on art processes and modes of representation, which he subsequently theorises using artistic concepts as tools. Klein, like Payne, on the other hand, has an explanatory approach; neither psychoanalysts necessarily advocate or present a method of art practice as psychotherapy as such, but, through the lens of Freudian or object-relations based psychoanalysis, theorise art's potential to maintain psychic security by ascribing it a role within normal psychoanalytic mechanisms. The two approaches meet at the same juncture; that art practice assists with psychological stability, but reach this through different sources, understandings, and with a different stance to painting as practice.

Klein's approach can also be plotted into the second half of the twentieth-century. Theorists, taking her lead, developed ideas about art using object-relations theory, including Hanna Segal (who, although sharing the same surname, was not related to Arthur Segal) and artist and writer Adrian Stokes.[207] Stokes theorised art practice as psychologically benign using Kleinian theory and, although writing fifteen years later than the period in question, offers an interesting coordinate from which to consider Segal's

[206] Melanie Klein, 'Infantile Anxiety Situations Reflected in a Work of Art and in the Creative Impulse', 1929, in Juliet Mitchell (ed.), *The Selected Melanie Klein*, London, 1986, 84-94. For a discussion of this text, see Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics,* 48-53

[207] Glover argues that it was through Stokes and Segal that Kleinian aesthetics became a coherent approach, developed later by Winifred Bion, Donald Meltzer and Roger Money-Kyrle. Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics*, 65-99

position. Stokes was invited in 1968 to open an exhibition of patients' art at Netherne Hospital, Surrey, which was one of the first institutions to initiate art therapy practices during the 1950s, employing Edward Adamson, who had attended Segal's school, to implement a painting scheme.[208] Although Stokes was not involved directly in art therapy as a practice, his invitation was most likely in recognition of his theories on the psychological role of painting. In 'Form in Art: A Psychoanalytical Interpretation' (1955) he argues that form is analogous to psychic integration; creating art is a mode of repairing the inner world, 'part of bringing together, of a coalescence that provides an emblem to the difficult organisation of the ego.'[209] In the paranoid-schizoid phase, parts of the self are split and destroyed; art, he argues, assists with the subsequent drive to reparation and ego integration. Since the separate whole objects of the depressive position are closely connected with the integrated ego, art is also aligned with the 'restored' ego, as 'once more a full and separate life.'[210] Klein, who corresponded with Stokes, particularly between 1948 and 1958, wrote about this idea: 'I have read your paper and think that it contains some interesting and fruitful ideas: [...including] the link between form, wholeness and depressive position.'[211] Stokes also defines form in relation to the paranoid-schizoid position so that, as well as aligning with the independent, integrated object of the depressive phase, form also evokes a sense of oneness with the enveloping good breast of this first phase: art has both a 'sense of fusion and object-otherness.'[212] Stokes has a

[208] Unpublished archive meeting minutes for 'Psychiatric Art' held at the Common Wealth Institute, Kensington, organised by Edward Adamson and Karl Freudenberg, Netherne Hospital, 25 January 1968, Freundenberg Archives, PP/RKF/B15/4, Wellcome Trust, London. For Adamson's practice at Netherne hospital, see Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 167-181

[209] Adrian Stokes, 'Form in Art: A Psychoanalytical Interpretation', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol.18, No.2, December 1959, 193-203, 196. The same article 'Form in Art' was published earlier in Klein, Heimann, Money-Kyrle, Jones (eds.) *New Directions in Psycho-Analysis*, 406-420

[210] Stokes, 'Form in Art: A Psychoanalytical Interpretation', 202-203

[211] Melanie Klein to Adrian Stokes, unpublished correspondence, 19 Jan 1952, Correspondence J-K to Adrian Stokes, TGA 8816/235, Adrian Stokes Collection, Tate Archives, London. Photocopies of the letters from Klein to Stokes are also held in Adrian Stokes Collection, GC/126, Wellcome Trust Archive, London.

[212] Stokes, 'Form in Art: A Psychoanalytical Interpretation', 194

different approach to Segal; his argument about the psychological benignity of art is predicated on object-relations theory and his interest lies in theorising the process, rather than devising and implementing art therapy practices. However, the reason that Stokes is pertinent to this discussion and why his writing seems to stand out within an object-relations trajectory is his emphatic focus on *form* as the source of benignity and as analogous to psychic integration. For Stokes, there is something fundamental about form, and, given that form is unique to art, the benignity is inherent to art practice. Although their positions differ, the point of similarity between Stokes and Segal is that both take the potential of art practice as their starting point; painting and its idiosyncratic formal properties are the focus, whereas Klein positions and theorises art practice simply as one possible way of repairing the psychic damage committed in the paranoid-schizoid phase.

2.3 Segal's Engagement with Psychoanalysis: Abreaction

This chapter has so far shown how Segal's approach is not shaped by psychoanalysis, that the relationship between art and psychology with which he operates is formulated using his objective principles and that his concept of expression which facilitates painting's therapeutic function has its roots in German Expressionism. Adding nuance to this account is that Segal's theorisation of painting as psychotherapy does use psychoanalytic terms, abreaction and sublimation, which is investigated in the remainder of this chapter. In *The Development of the Visual Ability*, Segal discusses painting in light of abreaction, a method of treatment in psychoanalysis. We can identify two ways in which the term functions in his text: firstly, Segal positions painting practice *as* a mode of abreaction and secondly, he *likens* the development of viewing and painting skills to the process of abreaction.

Abreaction designates a method of catharsis, of reliving a traumatic experience in order to purge it of its emotional excess, often making repressed traumatic events conscious.[213] In fact, abreaction was the cornerstone of psychoanalysis: in 1898, Freud wrote: 'basing myself on the 'cathartic' method introduced by Breuer, I have in recent years almost completely worked out a therapeutic procedure, which I propose to describe as 'psychoanalytic.''[214] Catharsis was first applied by Josef Breuer and Freud in 1881; patient Anna O would tell stories which facilitated the 'talking away' of her symptoms.[215] Breuer and Freud understood traumatic experiences to have distressing 'affects' associated with them; if the person has an 'affect-laden' reaction to a disturbing event, such as tears or an act of revenge, then the 'affects' are discharged, but if the reaction is suppressed, the 'affect' remains attached to that memory. The psychotherapeutic treatment focuses on re-experiencing the traumatic memory, in order to abreact, or discharge its 'affects'. Also, according to Freud, if the root of neurosis is a repressed wish, for example, then abreaction can be used as the treatment to release the 'affect' accompanying this neurotic root or symptom.[216] Jackson notes how this understanding shaped twentieth-century approaches to healing and that the cathartic method gained significance in the treatment of soldiers during the First World War in both Britain and Germany. In particular, psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel, whose relationship to Segal has been noted, developed abreaction methods

[213] For definitions and the history of abreaction see: Onno Van der Hart and Paul Brown, 'Abreaction Re-evaluated', *Dissociation*, Vol.5, No.3, September 1992, 127-140; Stanley W. Jackson, 'Catharsis and Abreaction' in Stanley W. Jackson, *Care of the Psyche: A History of Psychological Healing*, New Haven, London, 1999, 117-142, particularly 129-134 (also published in Stanley W Jackson, 'Catharsis and Abreaction in the History of Psychological Healing', *History of Psychiatry, Psychiatric Clinics of North America,* Volume 17, No.3, September 1994, 471-491)

[214]Sigmund Freud, 'Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses', 1898, in Sigmund Freud, translated under general editorship of James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 3, 1893-1899, London, 1974, 259-285, 282; cited in Jackson, *Care of the Psyche*, 129.

[215] Jackson, *Care of the Psyche*, 123-124; Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time*, 63-68; Henri F. Ellenberger, 'The Story of 'Anna O.': A Critical Review with New Data', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, Vol.8, No.3, 1972, 267-79. For the case study of Anna O. see Josef Breuer, 'Anna O' in 'Studies on Hysteria' 1895, in James Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 2, 1893-1895, London, 1953, 21-47

[216] Van der Hart, 'Abreaction' in Erwin (ed.), *The Freud Encyclopedia*, 4-5

in his pioneering treatment of World War One soldiers, whereby, under hypnosis, patients psychologically re-experienced war trauma and were given stuffed dummies, onto which fear and anger could be transformed.[217] Gestalt therapy developed by Fritz Perls, also contained significant abreaction elements and, intriguingly, Bocian, tracing the origins of Perls' therapeutic model to 1920s Berlin, notes the psychologist's movement in the 'Mynona [Salomo Friedländer]/Segal-circle.'[218] However, although Segal moved in a cultural context in which abreaction was developed, he did not engage directly with the concept until his 1939 publication, and the following discussion examines the two ways in which he does so.

Segal positions art practice as a method of abreaction, but within his discussion, his overriding, primary concern is that insufficiently developed visual abilities and painting skills *limit* its abreactive function. 'Primitive paintings' created by adults, using undeveloped painting skills, he writes, 'do not provide satisfactory means of abreaction.'[219] As mentioned in the first chapter, Segal aligns the development of visual abilities with the growth from childhood to adulthood, whereby the most advanced stage involves understanding that objects are produced by light. Emphasising the need to attain this level, he writes: 'it is absurd to think that the adult is compelled to *abreact his psychic troubles* which are no more troubles of a child, but of a grown-up person, by means which still belong to the children's sphere.'[220] He further states that adults with undeveloped visual and painting skills are 'very unsatisfied and ashamed of their abreaction by

[217] Jackson, *Care of the Psyche*, 132-134. See also Brown and Van der Hart, 'Abreaction Re-evaluated', 129-135 and Onno van der Hart, 'Abreaction', 4-5
[218] Bernd Bocian, 'Zu den Berliner Wurzeln der Gestalttherapie: Expressionismus- Psychoanalyse-Judentum', in Thomas Müller (ed.), *Psychotherapie und Körperarbeit in Berlin: Geschichte und Praktiken der Etablierung*, Husum, 2004, 13-52, particularly 26, 34. Bocian uses the phrase 'Mynona/Segal-Kreis'
[219] Segal, *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage*, 10
[220] *Ibid.*, 10

painting.'[221] Painting is, therefore, unambiguously a form of abreaction but the way in which this is articulated, demonstrates that his primary concern lies with developing adequate modes of viewing and means of representation, to which the psychoanalytic process appears almost incidental. It seems that Segal uses 'abreaction' to connote descriptively that his painting methods are psychologically therapeutic, rather than because his practice is rooted in the specific mechanisms of the cathartic practice. This becomes even clearer by considering his approach in light of what the treatment constitutes. Given the process delineated above, abreaction using art practice implies that the painting process, and the resulting artwork, have integral roles in the revisiting and re-experiencing of traumatic events and in the subsequent discharge of the 'affect' attached to the memory. However, in Segal's approach, as we have seen, art's therapeutic potential is facilitated by application of his objective principles. On the basis of a correlation between 'expression' and the 'inner' world, painting the external world naturalistically exerts a positive effect on psyche. Nowhere does this system suggest that painting should constitute an emotional, 'affect'-laden release; in fact, as was established in chapter one, he stresses that 'subjective' modes of painting produced from the 'inner self, that is without any relation to the outside world' are not conducive to therapy; 'the continuous preoccupation with himself does not give the adult lasting satisfaction. He gets tired of cultivating himself […]

[221] *Ibid.*, 10

he moves round in the circulus vitiosus of his own complexes and is unable to get out.'[222] Indeed, highlighting this dissonance further is Hogan's observation that Elsie Davies' art therapy methods at Birmingham Sanatorium, based closely on Segal's approach, was emphatically not aimed at 'free expression or catharsis.'[223] The premise of Segal's formalist approach bears no relation to locating and relieving trauma, and his text does not explain the process or discuss the mechanisms of repressions and their traumatic trigger. Arguably, nothing suggests that his painting methods constitute the psychoanalytic process of abreaction, apart from his deployment of the term, which seems to be used broadly to connote painting's therapeutic potential, and as such, can be considered to be interchangeable with other generalised descriptions he uses of painting, such as 'psychic recovery.'[224]

Abreaction is also a lens through which Segal articulates the process of developing painting skills. Bearing in mind that the critical objective of abreaction is returning to a traumatic event and, indeed, that a priority of psychoanalysis is how childhood experiences are central to the formation of subjectivity, it is revealing to examine how Segal theorises

[222] Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', 2 (Appendix 9). Segal, *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage*,12. Similarly, Segal writes that the schizophrenic dancer Vaslav Nijinsky 'did not paint from nature. He had no contact with the things around him. He was *occupied only with himself.* And since his inner life was abnormal, he could produce only abnormal things which could not help him in anyway. The powers of healing that lay in the things around him were not made available to him. His drawings and painting were- to use a metaphor- not a metabolic cure but a way of cultivating and increasing the diseased products which were already within him.' Segal, 'Exhibition Nijinsky. London. November 1937', unpublished typescript, 5 pages, November 1937, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 8, 4. Nijinsky was a schizophrenic dancer who generated cultural interest at this time. An exhibition of his artwork was held in London in 1937 which Segal analyses in this text, sending it to Ernest Jones who replied 'Thank you for letting me see your interesting comments on Nijinsky.' Ernest Jones to Arthur Segal, unpublished correspondence, 17 November 1937, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5.

[223] Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 151

[224] Segal, 'Exhibition Nijinsky. London. November 1937', 4

the process of learning to paint, noting the language he uses.[225] Due to a stagnation in the development of visual ability from childhood to adulthood, adults find it difficult at first to begin painting, he argues, having 'to *overcome* the inertia of a long period or even decades during which […] abilities have remained undeveloped'[226] and having to 'revisit' how they viewed objects as children, which is 'a very difficult change of position, and a serious inner struggle.'[227] He describes the process further in the following way:

> My adult pupils began to *overcome these remembrances of childhood*. It became evident that the pupils in question were *now* able to see an object as an optical phenomenon that is changed by the influence of light and space.[228]

The development of visual ability and painting is articulated through a central premises of abreaction; involving a return to a site of (childhood) struggle, whereby, subsequently, the moment of re-experience, which effects a positive psychological change, can be pinpointed ('were *now* able'). Here, arguably, the influence of psychoanalysis is present, not in terms of its psychic mechanisms or psychotherapeutic function, but in the general notion at the centre of the discourse, that childhood, forming the personal history of adults, can be accessed, with varying degrees of ease, and impact on present subjectivity, and Segal draws a parallel with this and the formation of painting skills.

2.4 Painting as Sublimation

The objective principles of order are the ground or springboard upon which one

[225] For a discussion on psychoanalysis and childhood, see Carolyn Steedman, 'The World Turned Within' in *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority*, 1780-1930, London, 1995, 77-95
[226] Segal, *The Development of the Visual Ability from the Earliest Childhood to the Adult Stage*, 9
[227] *Ibid.,*14
[228] *Ibid.,*14

> can safely indulge in the wildest acrobatics. The way to sublimation is the achievement of balance between the general and the individual- not the predominance of either.[229]

In his writing and conference papers, Segal positioned sublimation as the end goal of art practice, facilitated via his painting methods using the objective principles. In July 1937, Franz Alexander, who had played a key role in the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute during the 1920s, wrote to Segal that he was certain that the sublimation possibilities of painting could play a worthwhile role in psychoanalytic treatment.[230] By using the concept, Segal taps into prevailing contemporary psychoanalytic ideas about art practice, the nuances of which require exploration.

Sublimation, a key concept in psychoanalysis, is a defence mechanism which assists to shield the ego and maintains psychic health. Freud first defined the process in 1905 as the cathartic discharge and transformation of 'sexual instinctual forces', emanating from the id (the part of the mind devoted to the pleasure principle) by the ego (the part of the mind with a grasp of the reality principle) into non-instinctual, socially acceptable forms of behaviour. Art practice and other cultural production are according to Freud, forms of

[229] Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', 8. (Appendix 10) The German original reads: 'Die objektiven Ordnungsgesetze sind die Basis oder das Sprungbrett zu den tollsten Purzelbäumen, ohne dass man sich das Genickbricht. Ein Gleichgewicht zwischen dem Allgemeinen und dem Einzelfall ist der Weg zur Sublimierung- nicht aber die Ueberordnung des einen oder des anderen.' Segal, 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung', 8 (Appendix 11). Other texts positioning painting as sublimation include: Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', 2 (Appendix 9); Segal, 'Exhibition Nijinsky. London. November 1937', 1. Segal similarly stated that 'a balance between the universal and the individual case is the path towards sublimation while lack of order in one or other will never lead there' at the lecture he gave, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity' at Psychological and Philosophical Society of Bedford College, 18 October 1938, 7

[230] Franz Alexander to Arthur Segal, unpublished correspondence, 1 July 1937, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 1, Folder 5 (Appendix 8). Alexander writes: 'Dass das Ausnützen der Sublimierungsmöglichkeiten des Malens in der Neurosen und psychoanalytischen Behandlung eine wertvolle Rolle spielen könnte, scheint mir sicher zu sein. Änliche Versuche sind schon öfter gemacht worden.'

sublimation; i.e. processes of managing and transforming unfulfilled desires, primitive urges and repressions into more socially-valuable objectives, regulating states of tension.[231] The renounced primitive sexual and aggressive instincts are given further existence in the form of phantasies, by the process of compensation; a 'mental realm of phantasy' is created where 'everything, including what is useless and even what is noxious, can grow and proliferate there as it pleases.'[232] Phantasies, as the product of compensation, are used in art practice: 'there is a path that leads back from phantasy to reality- the path, that is, of art.'[233] In short, in Freudian discourse, artworks are the product of sublimation, the transformation of primal urges; art practice constitutes a psychological strategy which maintains the ego and creates a socially-acceptable self. In his famous essay 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood', Freud claimed that Leonardo had 'extraordinary capacity for sublimating the primitive instincts'[234] and that his artistic output and 'craving for knowledge' constituted sublimation: 'the greater portion of the

[231] See Freud, 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality', 1905, in Freud, James Strachey (trans.) and Angela Richards, (eds.), *On Sexuality: Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality and Other Works*, Penguin Freud Library, Vol. 7, London, 1977, 45-169; particularly linking sublimation and art practice: 69, 94, 163-164. He argues that artists have a strong capacity for sublimation in Freud, 'Lecture XXIII: The Paths to the Formation of Symptoms', 1916-1917, in Freud, James Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychoanalytical Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 16, London, 1963, 376. For key discussions on Freud's view on creativity and sublimation, see: Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our* Time, 272-273; Michael W.M. Macgregor and Karina Davidson, 'Sublimation', in Erwin (ed.) *Freud Encyclopedia*, 546-547; Danielle Knafo, 'Creativity', in Erwin (ed) *Freud Encyclopedia*, 112-113; Marguerte La Caze, 'Sublimation, Love, and Creativity', Michael Philip Levine (ed.), *The Analytic Freud: Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*, London, 2000, 261-275; Ken Gemes, 'Freud and Nietzsche on Sublimation', *The Journal of Nietzsche Studies*, No. 38, Autumn 2009, 38-59; Edith Kramer, 'Sublimation and Art Therapy' in Judith Aron Rubi, *Approaches to Art Therapy: Theory and Technique*, London, 2001, 28-38; Jack Spector, 'The State of Psychoanalytic Research in Art History', *The Art Bulletin,* Vol. 70, No. 1, March 1988, 49-76, 52. Also see Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics*, 3-25, for an examination of how Freud's theory of creativity provided the basis for later developments within British psychoanalysis.

[232] Freud, 'Lecture XXIII: The Paths to the Formation of Symptoms', 372, cited in Caroline Case and Tessa Dalley (eds.), *The Handbook of Art Therapy*, London, 1992, 72

[233] Freud, 'Lecture XXIII: The Paths to the Formation of Symptoms', 375, cited in Case and Tessa, *The Handbook of Art Therapy*, 73

[234] Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and A Memory of His Childhood', 1910, in Freud, Albert Dickenson (ed.), James Strachey (trans), *Art and Literature: Jensen's Gradiva, Leonardo da Vinci and Other Works,* Penguin Freud Library, Vol. 14, Harmondsworth, 1990, 223-231, 229

needs of his sexual instinct could be sublimated into a general urge to know.'[235] Around the time in which Segal was operating in Britain, art practice was linked to sublimation in a variety of texts. Herbert Read, for example, suggested that artists are prevented from madness through their capacity for sublimation, Ella Sharpe published on the process at the end of the 1930s shortly before she joined the painting school and, later during the early 1950s, Ernst Kris developed the Freudian concept further.[236] Sublimation is not a mode of psychotherapeutic treatment as such, but is a defence mechanism that, in psychoanalytical terms, enables psychic stability and results, in Freud's words, in an 'increase in psychical efficiency.'[237] Painting is not necessarily advocated as a psychotherapeutic practice by Freud, Read and Kris on the grounds of the mechanisms of sublimation, but rather the concept is a means to explain the process of art practice psychoanalytically and to theorise its role in psychological security. Whilst in Freudian discourse, all art practice is inherently the process of sublimation, Segal positions sublimation as the end goal, achieved via his method of painting and not if improper painting methods are employed: 'subjective' art, concerned only with the 'inner self' will 'lead to new complexes and repressions, rather than sublimations.'[238]

Sublimation is contingent on a view of the unconscious as comprising drives, urges and repressions, but Segal does not conceive the unconscious in these terms and in fact his

[235] Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and A Memory of His Childhood', 225. Freud emphasises Leonardo's capacity for sublimation further by stating: 'it is probable that another person would not have succeeded in withdrawing the major proportion of his libido from repression by sublimating it into a craving for knowledge', 229

[236] In 1952, Ernst Kris altered the Freudian perspective, arguing that artistic forms can develop *independently* from drives and instinctual energy. Glover, *Psychoanalytic Aesthetics*, xxiv. Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*, New York, 1952 (London, 1953), 25-31. For a discussion on Read's view on art and psychoanalysis see Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 102-103

[237] Freud, 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality', 1905, in Freud, James Strachey (trans.) and Angela Richards, (eds.), *On Sexuality: Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality and Other Works*, Penguin Freud Library, Vol.7, London, 1977, 163. Cited in Danielle Knafo, 'Creativity', in Erwin (ed.) *Freud Encyclopedia*, 112

[238] Segal, 'Painting and the Psychological Sciences', 2, (Appendix 9)

concept of the 'psyche' centres on the conscious and unconscious as divided physical spaces, articulated, as has been established, through an analogy with pictorial space.[239] The roots of neurosis decreed by psychoanalysis are numerous, complex and debated, but are determined, fundamentally, by the mechanisms of the unconscious, whereas, for Segal, neurosis arises from improper configuration in 'psychical space.'[240] Presenting the exchange between 'depression' and 'sexual urge', he writes:

> In psychic space, depression, having received strong illumination, that is, having become conscious, presses on the sexual urge, which, normally standing well in the fore-ground, is then repressed and driven into the background. The sexual urge is thus expelled from its proper place: that which has been in front is thrust back while the depression which has been at the back comes forward and spatial disorder arises.[241]

'Depression' and 'sexual urge' are discussed as isolated entities, located-spatially, like compositional aspects of a painting. This notion of 'sexual urge', as a self-contained component, shifting physical position, differs greatly to Freudian conceptions of the primitive and dominating sexual drives of the id, which, repressed as unfulfilled wishes, shape human activity. Segal does not offer a theoretical account of sublimation; his writing

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[239] *Ibid.,* Segal writes that in painting, 'everything in the distance is immaterial, incorporeal, intangible and hardly visible. So in psychology is the unconscious. The conscious is comparable to the foreground in painting which is tangible, visible and therefore material.'

[240] Segal writes:' if something which should normally be relegated to the background of the psyche is abnormally thrust forward, a dislocation of space and a disharmony are indicated. The artistic activity of the patient will exhibit similar discordances, closely connected with the psychical abnormality.' *Art as a Test of Normality and its Application for Therapeutical Purposes*, 18.

[241] Segal, 'The Therapeutic Value of Artistic Activity', 6 (Appendix 10). The German original reads: 'Im psychischen Raum drückt die Energieform Depression, weil sie sehr starkes Licht bekommt d.h. weil sie sehr stark bewusst geworden ist, auf die Energieform Sexualtrieb. Die letztere wird in den Hintergrundgrund gedrückt, obwohl sie sonst stark im Vordergrund stand. Der Sexualtrieb wird dadurch von seinem Platz verdrängt, sodass das was vorne ist, nach hinten kommt, die Depression die sonst hinten gelagert war, tritt nach vorn, wodurch sofort eine räumliche Unordnung entsteht.' Segal, 'Der Therapeutische Wert der Kunstbetaetigung', 4 (Appendix 11)

contains no further exploration of the process, including the function of the ego and the id or of the transformation of drives and urges. He uses the concept of sublimation to position painting as a process that maintains psychic security and prevents neurosis, which indicates his engagement with psychoanalysis, but his spatial concept of the psyche, constructed through a formalist understanding of artwork, is at odds with the psychic drives and mechanisms delineated by Freud and demanded by the process. As with his approach to abreaction, Segal engages with the prevalent understanding, demonstrating his shifting into the psychoanalysis sphere, but within this, his primary focus is modes of painting, to which psychoanalytic concepts are secondary, rather than a driving force.

A final point can be made about sublimation as a mode of theorisation, which returns the discussion to Segal's practice with Hawkspur Camp. Psychoanalysis as a *practice* was not the camp's central form of treatment, as chapter one established, although some camp members did receive additional psychotherapy. However, psychoanalytic *theory* does offer a method for Marjorie Franklin to explain the role that the camp's 'planned environment therapy' played in treatment. In the retrospective account, she suggests how Hawkspur facilitated 'psychic mechanisms' that led to improved conduct in members. For example, she notes that 'most of the members had in their early years suffered frustration or interference in their natural emotional relationship to parents and others' and argues that the camp enabled them instead 'to transfer on to members of staff these feelings and emotions sometimes hostile but, more often, of filial love and respect' and subsequently

allowed the young men 'to imitate as well as admire.'[242] Significantly, under the list of psychic mechanisms, which occurred in case of improvement, she includes the following:

> Sublimation. The regime made it possible to provide a choice of outlets for impulses and energy in directions of a cultural or socially useful character such as were natural to the individual concerned.[243]

Franklin does not cite the school directly but she seems to refer to Segal's lessons here; not only since her description 'culturally useful character' fits the institution, but because we also know that attendees were selected for Segal's school on the basis of their interest and skills in painting, which is articulated by the phrase 'as were natural to the individual.' On this basis, Franklin uses the psychoanalytic theory of sublimation to explain why painting practice was beneficial to Hawkspur attendees. Her approach aligns, generally, with Freud, Payne and Klein who conceptualise and explain art practice as a process which maintains psychic security. This brings us to the final point that although neither Segal's painting practice nor his subsequent theorisation of this process were based on psychoanalysis, this does not preclude Franklin's conceptualisation of his lessons as a general practice using the conceptual tools of psychoanalytic discourse. This conceptualisation can be entirely independent of the particulars of his instruction, highlighting further the nuances and complexities within contemporary encounters between art practice and psychoanalysis.

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[242] Franklin, *Q Camp,* 21. In light of Franklin's approach, it is interesting to see how Robert Hinselwood draws attention to the way that psychoanalysis, as a theory of the unconscious, and its concept of transference, have shaped therapeutic communities: 'psychoanalysis continues to inform the practice of the therapeutic community, but more in terms of its understanding of social setting than directly in terms of psychoanalytic practice as it has evolved in the consulting room.' He uses object-relations theory to explain how the structure of therapeutic communities enables psychological treatment, which is different to the practical use of psychoanalysis itself as a form of therapy. Robert Hinselwood, 'Psychoanalytic Origins and Today's Work: The Cassel heritage', in Penelope Campling and Rex Haigh (eds.), *Therapeutic Communities: Past, Present and Future*, London, 1999, 42

[243] Franklin, *Q Camp*, 21

Conclusion

This thesis has interrogated how Segal practised and conceptualised painting as psychotherapy in Britain during the late 1930s and early 1940s, contextualised within the field of contemporary psychoanalysis in which he operated. It showed that, whilst the school worked with psychoanalysts and psychologists who supported its foundation, attended painting lessons and referred patients for treatment, neither Segal's practice nor his theory were predicated on psychoanalysis. The school's lessons, analysed in the first chapter, taught students how the appearance of objects depends on light and how to represent this 'naturalism' using the objective principles of painting devised by Segal. Importantly, this was the basis for all courses, which, coupled with the demonstrable blurring between students attending for art training and those for psychotherapy, meant that in Segal's framework, the psychotherapeutic potential of painting is located *within* these formalist painting methods. Exploring the school's work with Hawkspur revealed a discernibly nuanced approach to painting as psychotherapy, whereby close attention was paid to camp members' interest and ability in painting, highlighting the institution's primary position as an art school. This assumed further significance in the subsequent comparison between Segal's approach and contemporary psychoanalysts' use of art practice in psychotherapeutic settings: whilst Klein and Winnicott read patients' work as manifestations of the unconscious, interpreting the images, which function as adjuncts to psychotherapeutic interviews, in light of psychoanalytic mechanisms, Segal's methods were emphatically grounded on teaching students how to view and paint, a process in which the healing potential was considered to be inherent.

Indeed, the second chapter, which investigated Segal's writings, argued that his

understanding of the psychotherapeutic possibility of painting emerged from his more general conviction that art practice is regenerative. His subsequent theorisation of how painting is psychotherapeutic is predicated on obtaining 'expression' which benefits the 'inner' sphere, concepts which appear to be rooted and developed in the German Expressionist circles in which he operated in Berlin during the 1910s. Examining how Segal engaged with text by Sylvia Payne demonstrated further how, although he and contemporary psychoanalysts conceptualised art as a way of maintaining psychological stability, they reached this understanding differently. Segal's primary concern is the implementation of painting practice, whereas psychoanalysts such as Sylvia Payne or Klein *theorise* art's role within psychoanalytic mechanisms that facilitate normal ego development, via a Freudian or object-relations trajectory, but without advocating art practice for therapeutic purposes on this basis. Complicating this distinction is the fact that Segal does employ psychoanalytic terms in his writing. However, whilst his use of sublimation and abreaction show his engagement with prevalent psychoanalysis, his methods are not based on these mechanisms, indicated most distinctly by the gap between the dynamic unconscious, on which psychoanalysis hinges, and the spatial concept of the mind formulated by Segal through an analogy with composition in painting.

This thesis locates Segal as a pioneer of art therapy. Not only was the institution unique in that no other contemporary art schools in Britain used painting as a mode of psychotherapy, but psychoanalysts and psychologists referring patients for treatment using painting was also unprecedented at this time. Many art therapists who devised the first institutional schemes during the mid-1940s and 1950s and who led discussions about the formation of art therapy had previously either attended the painting school or sent patients

for lessons. For example, Elsie Davies, as well as using Segal's objective laws approach, delivered a paper on the methods at the first official art therapy conference in 1949. The school also contributed to developments in therapeutic care more broadly through its partnership with Q Camps, which pioneered the treatment of 'planned environment therapy', prefiguring the later therapeutic community movement, and which not only involved Donald Winnicott, as the preceding practices to his famous war-time therapeutic hostel work with evacuees, but moreover by Winnicott's own account, greatly shaped his ideas about the importance of environment to psychic security, a field which he subsequently dominated.[244] Segal's influences on Q Camps staff with whom he worked are clearly demonstrated by the fact that David and Ruth Wills used art practice at Barns House in Scotland, Ruth Wills later became an art therapist in Birmingham and Arthur Barron taught using Segal's methods at a subsequent Q Camps hostel for younger boys in 1944. The school's legacy lies, therefore, in its direct impact upon the development and acceptance of art practice as a mode of psychotherapy.

A further way to locate the school's contribution to therapeutic care is in light of the social impetus which appears to have informed its practices. Segal's aim to afford art psychotherapy a more central position in society arguably prefigures post-Second World War developments in social services, which, along with a general increased understanding of psychological treatments, opened the door for the professionalisation of art therapy. To help explore this, Segal's socialist inclination needs to be established, which is indicated by his involvement with the Novembergruppe, which he joined in 1920, soon becoming a

[244] The implications of Winnicott's work with Q Camps are not yet, however, currently recognised and analysed in the history of residential childcare, as noted in the first chapter.

member of the board of associates.[245] The Novembergruppe was formed by Expressionist artists, the majority of whom supported the Socialist (SPD) government, in response to the German revolution of November 1918 and argued for the regenerative potential of art.[246] Their manifesto demanded greater dominance and active roles in art establishments and legislation, including architectural projects, the 'reorganisation of art schools and their curricula', museums, collecting policies and the allotment of exhibition spaces.[247] With these aims in mind, it is significant that Segal's first manifesto (1905-6), called for an art-lending scheme, Kunstverleih, to be established, a cause he pursued throughout his life. His concept was implemented in Berlin in the 1920s and, after his death, in both London (May 1954) and at Leeds City Art Gallery (1960).[248] The art-lending scheme aimed to 'work on a non-commercial basis' to enable 'all classes of society to get original works of Art for their homes in much the same way as books can be borrowed for a small

[245] Segal's relationship with the Novembergruppe is more complicated than the following discussion presents, given the specific socio-historical context and radical politics of the group but is nonetheless a useful way to begin to understand the artist's socio-political interests and to frame his practices. It should also be pointed out, however, that by using his relationship with the Novembergruppe as a starting point to establish his socialist orientation and, accordingly, the social role which he assigned to art, with the aim of locating his practices more broadly within social developments in psychotherapy in post-war Britain, I am not attempting to demonstrate any parallels between the political Socialism of 1920s Berlin and the way in which post-Second World War Britain was characterised by a 'new altruism, and a new passion for social justice' and a drive for a more egalitarian society, which Kathleen Jones notes further, may not even have been 'a desire for Socialism as such.' Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain: from the Poor Law to New Labour*, London, 2000 (first edition 1991), 103-105. For Segal's involvement with the Novembergruppe, see Herzogenrath and Liška (eds.), *Arthur Segal 1875-1944*, 41-44. Segal was also a member of the communist Association Revolutionärer Bildender Künstler Deutschlands (ARBKD)which formed in Berlin in 1928, following the example of the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (formed in 1922). Its membership of several hundred artists included John Heartfield, Laszlo Peri and Otto Nagel. The association's manifesto stated that they wanted to 'unite all revolutionary visual artists who support the proletarian class struggle' and that declared 'art is a weapon, the artist a warrier in the people's struggle for freedom from a bankrupt system!' For their manifesto, see Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900- 2000, An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Oxford, 2003, 408-409 and for further information on the ARBKD see Shearer West, *The Visual Arts in Germany 1890-1937: Utopia and Despair*, Manchester, 2000, 126-127

[246] West, *The Visual Arts in Germany 1890-1937: Utopia and Despair*, 111-114. See also Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany 1918-19,* Chicago and London, 1990; Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe*

[247] 'Novembergruppe Manifesto', December 1918, Harrison and Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900- 2000, An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, 265- 266

[248] Horst Dietze, 'Arthur Segal: Picture Lending and an Artist's Life', 10-14

amount.'[249] Although warranting further investigation in light of public and private collections and art markets, the scheme, underpinned by the demand that art and artists have a more central position in society, demonstrates Segal's social, if not socialist, interests. His assertion in *Art in the Home*, written to support his art-lending scheme, that 'the artist […] is as important and as necessary a part of society as the doctor, the manual worker, the technician or the civil servant' [250] echoes the Novembergruppe's declaration: 'we believe it is our special duty to gather together all significant artistic talent and dedicate it to the collective well-being of the nation.'[251] Segal's practices and writing are driven by a conviction that both artworks and art practice should be accessible, with an integrated role in society, from which, in turn, society benefits: 'painting activity should not be considered a reserved occupation for the FEW, but for the whole community as a SOCIAL FACTOR and as a MEANS OF EDUCATION, RECREATION AND REHABILITATION.'[252] Significantly, intertwined with his understanding that art practice is psychotherapeutic, is that art practice is also a necessity and, as the 'necessary expression of all men', 'preserves health.'[253] By enabling everybody to paint and to 'enjoy their instinctive urge towards artistic expression', he argues, 'a way will be opened that is beneficial and healing to mankind.'[254] Therefore, art practice is socially constructive as well as psychotherapeutic, with a function to 'heal' both psychologically and socially. This not only supports the conclusions drawn over the course of this thesis, that Segal's view of painting as therapy derives from a conviction about the more general regenerative function of art, but also, furthermore, pertains to views put forward later in the 1940s by art

[249] Segal, 'Art in the Home', unpublished typescript, undated, Arthur Segal Collection, Box 3, Folder 24, 1
[250] Segal, *Art in the Home*, London, 1946, 1
[251] 'Novembergruppe Manifesto', December 1918, Harrison and Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900- 2000, An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, 265- 266
[252] Capitals are in the original text. Segal, *Everyone Can Learn to Paint*, 1
[253] *Ibid.*
[254] See Appendix 4. Arthur Segal, 'Non-Professionals Branch', Course Brochure, undated, printed between September 1937 and September 1939. Copy held in: Hawkspur for Men, Members Files, SA/Q/HM 31.3.3

therapists Adrian Hill and Marie Petrie that art therapy could play a role in regenerating post-war society.[255] Segal's work with Q Camps, an organisation which had a clear social prerogative, is significant with regard to these issues. Committee member Norman Glaister wrote retrospectively that Hawkspur's 'planned environment therapy' attempted to bring 'into being a social organism' which could be implemented on a broader scale to 'provide each individual with opportunity and stimulus for living up to his highest possibilities.'[256] Segal's painting lessons integrated, as has been established, into the 'planned environment therapy' approach, operate as part of this socially driven programme. It is pertinent to recall that despite his own financial difficulty, Segal offered scholarships to some members of Hawkspur and Market End House hostel to attend his school without paying fees, an act that, together with his art-lending schemes, feeds into his broader aim to facilitate greater access to art practice.

Locating Segal's psychotherapy practices in light of his egalitarian approach, points to how the school anticipated later developments which aimed to make psychotherapies, including art therapy, available to all. The origins of art therapy, Hogan notes, are usually traced to the Second World War and, drawing on social historians Kathleen Jones and Nikolas Rose, she argues that the development of professionalised art therapy benefited from the war's impact on psychological services which, used to investigate the effects of the war on the general population, in addition to traumatised and injured civilians and

[255] Waller notes that Petrie and Hill thought that art therapy might 'give artists a chance to find a new, social role.' Petrie considered that art could play a role in 'construction and creation of order' and Hill wrote that art could 'force a new national characteristic.' Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 47. See Marie Petrie, *Art and Regeneration*, London, 1946, 13 and Adrian Hill, *Art versus Illness: A Story of Art Therapy*, London 1945, 97

[256] Norman Glaister, 'The Biological Aspects of Q Camps', in Franklin (ed.) *Q Camp*, 52

members of the armed forces, were shaped during this period.[257] The war also had the effect of advancing social services generally and, accordingly, this interest in psychological treatment was also shaped by the post-war demand for a more egalitarian society.[258] The 1945 report 'The Future of Organisation of Psychiatric Services' argued that psychiatry should be treated like other forms of medicine. The NHS Act of 1946 proposed changes which included the setting up of Regional Hospital Boards in England to take over the running of county mental hospitals and the Minister for Health assumed responsibility for mental health, which, Jones notes, achieved greater integration of mental hospitals with medical schools and general hospitals.[259] This increased interest in, and broader social acceptance of psychology and psychiatry as integral parts of medical treatment, combined with an institutional development in social services generally, demonstrated by the formation of the NHS, contributed to psychotherapies to become more widely available and paved the way for art therapy. Subsequently, the idea that art could be used in treatment developed during the 1940s and 1950s to the point where, crucially, the NHS employed art therapists, including some trained by Segal's school, to work in general and psychiatric hospitals, and in sanatoriums.[260] Segal's institution pushed for the widespread availability of art practice and painting as psychotherapy, indicated even so far as the learnable painting methods it taught, and the NHS's employment of art therapists can be seen therefore, to a degree, as a broader realisation and crystallisation of

[257] Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 190-191. Hogan notes that during the war, three of the four largest mental health voluntary agencies joined to form the Provisional National Council for Mental Health. Barriers to treatment, Hogan notes, were removed as private Harley Street practitioners worked with the Public Assistance Service, and psychiatrists and consultants worked with GPs.

[258] Jones argues that the war was a 'great engine of social advance' and a new sense of 'community' developed which demanded a more open and equal society. Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, 103-107 and Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 191-192

[259] Hogan, *Healing Arts*, 191 and Kathleen Jones, *A History of the Mental Health Services*, London, 1972, 272

[260] Waller, *Becoming a Profession*, 106. For example, in 1946 Edward Adamson was employed under the NHS at Netherne Hospital. Two year after the Tavistock Clinic became part of the NHS (1947), it employed an art teacher who had trained at Segal's painting school. The clinic had previously been supported by voluntary subscriptions and public appeals. Jones, *A History of the Mental Health Services*, 272

the painting school's social and therapeutic aims.

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