The growth of disciplines that offer knowledge of the human personality in the past century is startling when one measures that interest against previous centuries. Perhaps it is an expression of an emerging consciousness in our civilization that to be human requires a critical dimension of self-understanding previously absent as a norm. The fields that study personality range from areas of the natural sciences, through the social sciences, and, of course, the humanities. The experimental psychology of the nineteenth century, which focused on physiology, chemistry, and physics in approaching personality, still exists in the work of behaviorists. New knowledge in biochemistry continues the nineteenth century aspiration to explain temperament and mental health through the organic functioning of the human system. Medical psychiatry draws upon these traditional natural scientific methods, but since Freud has included as a dominant focus the study of personality. Personality is seen as a spiritual presence that cannot be simply reduced to physical causes. Human intention must be considered in its meaning. Freud's accomplishment in dignifying the complex individuality of personality accompanied and reinforced movements in other fields as the twentieth century began. Georg Simmel, one of the founders of sociology, Wilhelm Dilthey in history, Picasso in the fine arts, as well as the many Expressionists, and Ernst Mach in physics, all emphasized the fundamental moment of the human personality in giving shape to one's world.

Each field that treated personality, however, had roots in a paradigm of specialized inquiry that set limits on its realm of evidence and explanation. Though individual thinkers of genius always drew from fields beyond their specialization in considering personality, ultimately their hypotheses and research had to integrate themselves to the accepted region of their discipline. Certainly such limitation enables careful and thorough studies in the dimensions treated by the field: the psychiatrist concentrates on the psychodynamics of mental life, the sociologist explores the interactive conditions in which personality develops, the philosopher develops a logic of identity, the historian presents a new view of historical
events from the standpoint of a search for identity, and so forth. For the strong, mature intellect, such as a Freud or Dilthey, working in one's own field need not prevent an integrative approach to acquiring knowledge; but for the average student of personality, the tension between the demands of one's major discipline, and the wealth of information on personality produced by a score of other disciplines and sub-disciplines overwhelms integration. One finds himself in the position of the person in the Hasidic tale who labels each piece of clothes he takes off at night so that he knows where it belongs on him in the morning. He awakes and sees his shirt, labelled "shirt that goes on upper body," his pants, labelled "pants that go on legs." Finally dressed he looks around in bewilderment, "but I--where am I?" We have many separate pieces of information about personality from diverse fields, but how can we integrate this knowledge into a coherent meaning for ourselves?

An integrative opportunity is necessary in our education so that we can secure a coherent perspective that includes the many dimensions of fact concerning personality. The study of autobiography can be such a focus. As personality became a problem and guiding thread at the beginning of the century for researchers in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, Wilhelm Dilthey proposed that the study of the individual and his expression in literature, art, and letters, as well as in his behavior, could provide the human proportion and crucible in which the complex knowledge of the disciplines found a synthesis.¹ Autobiography was encompassed in Dilthey's view that one could only comprehend the human being by seeing him as a single individual, and relating to him as a person. The student of personality could pose questions to the historical individual in an imaginative dialogue that enabled him to gradually understand the motives, values, and life questions of that person. One could in the formulation of questions bring to the imaginative dialogue the constructs of the social sciences, natural sciences, and humanities for the incisiveness of the question could expose facts and emphases in the historical life that not even the autobiographer fully comprehended.² But the questions must be shaped so that if that person were alive, he might respond. One might call the questions "client-centered" in the sense that as a questioning cultural analyst, one must draw upon the statements of the person as fully as possible in inferring meanings that go beyond the person's own comprehension; moreover, the spirit of the questioning is like a helpful associate who could, if time and distance were bridged, share his insights.³ Of course, the researcher, in Dilthey's view, also studied the objective elements of the social context in which the historical individual lived in order to be able to measure the evidence of the person against his conditions and possibilities.⁴ The dialogue with the historical individual had a value for self-understanding as well. As the questioner formulated the thoughts he would address to the historical individual, he was impelled to measure himself in the light of
those thoughts. Through the dialectic with the autobiographical character (Dilthey included the great characters of fiction as accessible to the imaginative dialogue), the questioner fashions analogies which link his world to the world of the historical person in some dimension.

Is there a complete identity possible between the questioner of the present and the historical person? Can there be perfect understanding? To what degree can one learn about his own life and circumstances by attending the thoughts and actions of another individual who is removed in time and environment? Dilthey believed that each historical period had its own ethos, its own world view that separated it from the contemporary questioner, but he did feel that the sameness of human beings, and the common nature of cultural and environmental variables made the "probability" of an understanding of and approximate identity with historical persons possible. Dilthey referred to this approximate knowledge as the discovery of a "resemblance" between oneself and the historical individual.\(^5\) Dilthey was also interested in a more substantial knowledge of the psychological laws that gave rise to personality; he thought it possible to develop a psychology from the contemplation of one's own "lived experience" and analogical inference to past persons, that might explain human behavior in every age.\(^6\) His foundation for a descriptive and explanatory psychology has been cited as a stimulation for the Phenomenology of Edmund Husserl.\(^7\) Thus, Dilthey has in his concentration upon the life of the individual in history provided a focus that is seminal for both the "relativist" of culture who sees the possibility of knowledge, and the "absolutist" who sees causal certainty of historical behavior as an eventual outcome of the sciences and humanities. One of the "relativists," Max Weber, a pioneer of modern sociology, developed a heuristic in interpreting social history that was influenced by Dilthey's notion of concentration upon the "lived experience" of the historical person that could be discovered in an approximate manner through a thoughtful dialogue in imagination. Through that dialogue "models" of the person and his time were constructed by the isolation of "ideal-typical" responses of that person and his community to the challenges of their lives.\(^8\) The ideal types of behavior might span generations, but the characteristic model in which they occurred in one historical time and place enabled the investigator to see how and to what degree the persons of that period were the same or different than himself. Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is one such study.\(^9\) One of the "absolutists" influenced by Dilthey is Hans Gadamer, a major existential philosopher of the contemporary age. Gadamer holds that a clear and thoughtful statement from a past or foreign culture can with interpretation based on knowledge of the objective elements of the cultural context become an essential part of our own present identity. One can bridge the distance that separates historical persons to such a degree that the spirit of the past person can become a voice of the questioner's own spirit. The dialogue makes this complete identity a reality, for one is in touch with a human spirit.

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whose essential sameness is heard and felt directly, not inferred. Moreover, the objective elements of our own culture have implicit and explicit relations to most past cultures, thus our spirit is not as divorced in its cultural context from other times as Dilthey surmises.10

Dilthey's inheritors become even more vocal as contemporary thinkers in all fields realize that stereotypes of the historical past or the present can only be overcome by a more proximate approach to the "lived experience" of the historical subject. Dilthey's integrated study of personality, which combined history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and literature, all leavened in the concentration upon the historical individual, is suspect by even many of these followers. Academicians prefer to interpret personality within the vocabulary of their field. The weakness of such specialization is that it ignores the multi-faceted reality of personality. Thus, even Max Weber, as broad as was his knowledge and approach to individuals in history, neglected the psychological dimension of human motivation.11 A modern commentator on the historical individual from the field of literary criticism, Robert Jauss, furthers Dilthey's notion of the dialogue in developing a theory of aesthetic reception, but one feels the lack of any epistemological or psychological foundation in his writings.12 One must learn to respect the fact of the existence of differing disciplines in the study of personality which encompass the various dimensions of a human life, from its organic to its linguistic bases. Perhaps only an integrated education that considers human life in the proportion of a "lived experience," an education that commences in the elementary years, and reinforces its perspective in a spiral repetition of issues over the years of the individual's maturation, can achieve the breadth of horizon required to adapt new knowledge of personality from an adequate range of fields in a holistic approach to understanding self and others.

I would like to describe a course that uses autobiography as an integrating means at the college level. If the study of personality was cultivated throughout the years of primary and secondary schooling, in a manner appropriate for the age of the child, perhaps the course I will explain might be more modest in its integration of fields. But I see my role in offering the course "Identity and Society" as providing an integration and opportunity for personal reflection upon diverse areas of personality that has not yet been the experience of most students. Thus, perhaps I attempt more than one course can offer. Be that as it may, I have taught the course several years at this writing, and have found it to be of value in the immediate dialogue with the student. Whether it offers a persisting framework of integration for the individual is as yet untested.

Identity and Society--An Integrative Study of Personality

The four major disciplines that are integrated in the
course are a selection that roughly comprise the social, political, mental, and spiritual-emotional dimensions of the personality—sociology, history, philosophy, and psychology. Within these disciplines are sub-fields that in themselves cross over into other disciplines. Other disciplines could be added or substituted, such as anthropology, political science, socio-biology, social psychology, religion, literary history, or any realm that deals with a dimension of personality. As I describe how I use the areas I have selected, the reader will hopefully be persuaded of the soundness of the integration.

History provides the temporal-spatial setting in which the life of the individual studied is lived. The personality develops within a social milieu that has a historical continuity of norms. Moreover these norms are not formed in a vacuum, rather in the action of events. The history of the territory or nation in which an individual lives must be included in the understanding of his personality, as it impinges on his goals, values, and attitudes. How much history should be included? Margaret Mead has an interesting measure of the breadth of history that is usually included in the identity of the individual: the generations one knows in considering the experience of one's grandparents, parents, oneself, and that of one's children and grandchildren. This span of five generations with which one identifies can be quite important in how one contemplates such ideas as progress, personal growth, achievement, and other aspects of one's "life world," that subjective sphere of experience that constitutes one's sense of historical possibility.13 (The fact that Benjamin Franklin's grandfather was born in 1598, before the English colonized America, may be of moment in Franklin's courage to attempt another political-social structure in the American Revolution.14) Thus, when one constructs a course in autobiography, the events of one to two generations before the life studied should be reviewed in order to provide an objective context of events against which the subjective associations can be evaluated. One may wish to augment the brief historical introduction with selected forays into a deeper past if the person studied relies on traditional bodies of knowledge and cultural institutions of great age in his formulation of identity.

Sociology grows quite easily from the consideration of historical setting, helping one to see that setting in a differentiated manner. For example, Arnold Toynbee's challenge and response theory of history is illuminated by studying the norms of certain institutions that have developed to enable one to cope with his environment. The historian of the American frontier, Frederick Jackson Turner, studied interpersonal cooperation, offering a sociological principle to aid in comprehending the character of settlers in new American lands. Character is what one does; identity is what one knows of one's actions. A sociological perspective can capture the forms of human action in many dimensions of which the individual may or may not be cognizant. Besides the history of events that provide a background for evaluating personal judgments, the tableaus made
possible by a study of the social customs and technologies of the area in which the person lives are an objective measure of his possibilities. The division of labor, political structure, forms of land ownership, means of transportation, communications systems, food supply, manner of policing the environment, defense against external danger, external relations to other communities (or societies), creative opportunity, social classes -- all these considerations, and an individual's response to them, and role within them, expose the outline of his character and enable the student to judge the congruence or dissonance between the historical person's thought and action.

The constraint of a one semester course limits, of course, how much history and sociology can be taught as a background for the autobiographical statement. For the study of persons in cultures foreign to the student, only one or two lives should be the focus of a single course, with a major portion of the time being given to the objective context. The dialogue with a historical person, the impact of his thought, can open a vista upon one's place in his own social-historical setting, if the historical person's setting is thoroughly developed. Erik Erikson's study of Martin Luther or even his shorter character sketches in *Childhood and Society* provide such analogical possibility for the modern reader. In structuring "Identity and Society," I have chosen a familiar culture, the United States, so that I can rely on previous knowledge of social institutions and historical events. I chose autobiographies that span 275 years, from the colonial experience of Benjamin Franklin's youth (and the heritage of his grandparents' experience of the Civil Wars in England) to the present using autobiographical statements of Studs Terkel's many interviews in *Working*. Between these two temporal poles, I have selected lives approximately every two generations so that through the autobiography studied one can begin to form a sense of the American experience." But the course is not solely intended as a study of American culture; the concentration upon how one formulates an identity within the challenge of certain historical-sociological conditions implies that in other cultures the dynamics of the person studied might be replicated. What Max Weber would call a "model" constructed of "ideal-typical" response patterns is suggested by the thought and behavior of Franklin, David Crockett, Frederick Douglass, Mark Twain, Margaret Mead, Sara Davidson, and others I have chosen for the course. The environmental challenges, and socioeconomic variables within the United States over the two hundred and more years since its colonial development have indicated four major models of identity, with Douglass being an example of a fifth model that reflects the tensions of freedom and bondage. The model Franklin typifies shows how individuals within an environment that is secure and undeveloped addresses cultural opportunity; Crockett exemplifies frontier identity; Twain's life is the manifestation of a culture where personal agency lessens in the challenge of technology and interdependence, and imagination and passive participation grow, and Mead introduces in her life the model of the present where social scientific attitudes and a desire for personal

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agency seek to solve the problem of a technological and social interdependence. There is not space in this essay to develop the models or to defend them; my work is pursued with the guiding thought that under certain social-historical conditions, on any continent, the unique character of each person also shares the ideal-typical response patterns of a finite number of models that our species has developed to cope with life.

Psychology lends to the construction of a model identity. In the second part of his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin outlines his experiment in behavioral self-observation. This attention to and recording of personal behavior is a therapeutic dimension of behavioral psychology.\(^1\)\(^6\) It allows me to gradually introduce the subjective reality of the individual from a psychological viewpoint as I develop the sociological field of cultural opportunity in which the historical person acts. Moreover, behavioral self-observation is one of the requirements for the student in the course as he develops personal analogies with the historical individual. Franklin and Crockett are the major focus in creating the sociological vocabulary. The third person in the sequence of the course, Frederick Douglass, enables me to further intensify the psychological perspective, as his long and changing life is described by him at various stages and in several revisions of the same material.\(^1\)\(^7\) The ego psychology of Abraham Maslow, in its analysis of defense and risk, as one seeks to actualize potential, fits Douglass' struggle and accomplishment well.\(^1\)\(^8\) Kurt Lewin's topological psychology is also used to illustrate and augment Maslow's thinking.\(^1\)\(^9\) Both these psychologies stress goal-formation, and the existential elements of decision-making, as well as the critical importance of subjective reality. Thus, a healthy counterpoint between the objective emphases of social norms and subjective understanding has been integrated into the process of identity formulation in the first third of the course. Mark Twain's \textit{Life on the Mississippi, Part I} [\textit{The Cub Pilot}] allows an explication of metaphorical understanding, an essential tool in the psychological analysis of subjectivity.\(^1\)\(^0\) The methodology of creating and analyzing metaphors to discover multiple intentions in the statements and acts of oneself and others is fundamental to autobiographical understanding. And it is a process that is part of many academic and technical disciplines in their study of personality. The second part of \textit{Life on the Mississippi}, written seven years and many accolades after Part I, when Twain revisited the river as a journalist, allows me to introduce depth psychology, and the concept of \textit{persona}.\(^1\)\(^1\) The public face of Twain in 1882 is markedly different than the younger personality, as can be seen both in the literary style and approach to self-understanding. Finally, Margaret Mead's life allows a further development of depth psychology, which she refers to in her autobiography as a complement to her anthropological work.\(^1\)\(^2\) Mead's life also permits a discussion of the integration of the sociological and psychological-dimensions of personality as she considers the issues and applies the integration to her own life. Sara Davidson's
Loose Change, and Studs Terkel's Working provide a rich array of contemporary life that the student uses in applying the insights drawn from the historical, sociological, and psychological dimensions of identity formulation in their own characterizations.

Philosophy provides a guiding thread in the consideration of the definition of identity as well as the formulation of identity models by logical criteria. While I have used contemporary thinkers on the philosophical aspects of identity formulation, such as D.H. Wiggins, Sydney Shoemaker, and Eli Hirsch, I find that three English philosophers from the period in which personal identity first became a modern problem, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and David Hume, offer a clearer, and in their combination, more thorough view of the logical aspect of identity than the moderns, who, by and large, base their own thinking on these English predecessors. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632-1704) lived through the violent and changing social conditions of the English Civil Wars, an age when individuals were compelled to become conscious of their personal beliefs, values, and place in society. David Hume (1711-1776), several generations younger than Hobbes and Locke, benefitted from the peace that was restored to English society, and in that more stable world provided the philosophy of identity with an analytic that complemented the synthetic logics of his philosophical predecessors.

Thomas Hobbes, in Elements of Philosophy Concerning Body (1655), discusses an ancient Greek riddle, one I pose to the students in the first session, which considers the idea of identity in objects, and which begins the philosophical analysis of human identity. Hobbes said, "What if you have a wooden ship named Theseus that you repair plank by plank, nail by nail, until every part of the ship is replaced by a new part identical in material and form. Meanwhile, you have stored each item replaced in a pile behind the original ship. After replacing each part in the original ship, you reconstruct the stored parts into a second ship." The riddle: Which is the ship Theseus? Your answer will depend upon the aspect of identity you choose to structure your vision of the real ship; let us review some possibilities:

1. If you feel that the original materials themselves determine which is the real ship Theseus, the reconstructed ship would be the one.
2. If you feel that the continuity of form must determine the ship, then even though each part was replaced, the Theseus is the ship that has been repaired.
3. Both ships could be a Theseus if we argue by analogy to the biological processes of cloning in which new individuals are created identical in pattern, but different in substance.

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There are many other ways of answering this riddle; each answer should seek to base itself on facts of some sort, and adhere to a logical argument. Hobbes' views on identity, as expressed by his riddle, centered upon naming. One should select criteria to trace when considering the continuity of personal identity, and define the concepts used thoroughly, so that one could find a demonstration of one's personality in the self-evidence of everyday experience. Here I begin with the students, for few of us have dwelled specifically upon those aspects of self which we emphasize in formulating our identity. Among the criteria I suggest are early memories, family, interests, ideas, purposes, work, influences, emotions and tastes, personal territories, values, skills, preferred everyday activities, and social labels. There are many other topics that might be selected, although one might hypothesize a finite amount of topics that are considered as significant in identifying oneself over time. Any aspect chosen does function as a mechanism that sends a thread back into memory to sort into meaningful patterns past and present experience. One may use such criteria as elements in constructing a model of the historical personality as well as one's own.

The second phase of the construction of a model of identity with the guidance of philosophical principles is to structure the facts of identity in a coherent order. John Locke stressed the importance of one's consciousness of oneself in a meaningful vision that bordered on a philosophy of life, a story of oneself, or, at the minimum, a set of conscious operating principles that determined what reality was. The organizing structure by which one orders the criteria of identity one has followed can be borrowed from literature, religion, psychology, sociology, and other cultural studies. One should not shy away from the humanistic or scientific structures developed as meaning systems by others; one must feel at liberty to use meaning systems judiciously, as heuristic insight. A vision of oneself should be constructed gradually; one should avoid submerging personal meaning or the integrity of a historical person in a ready-made system of interpretation. The construction of analogies between oneself and the historical person is the human proportion of insight that will safeguard the experimental use of ready-made systems. Through the application of self-constructed analogies based upon identity criteria one feels he shares with a historical person a structure that has been tested in its apparent validity over time. As Dilthey suggested, such an exercise deepens knowledge of the historical person while giving corresponding experience of self-knowledge.

The third phase of the construction of a model of identity that has depth and a sense of validity involves memory, a facet of identity formulation stressed by David Hume. Hume felt, as Sigmund Freud did later, that we are what we have experienced, and that we can enlarge our identity by discovering long forgotten incidents. Hume countered Locke's limitation of personal identity to what is present in consciousness. The exercises I pursue with the students to develop this third phase of
model building—the discovery of new facts of self through memory—are of two kinds. One is the recall of past events which are sought by the criteria selected in the naming phase, or by other themes which occur to one. The event which contains facts recovered by the thematic search is then visualized, and the student asks questions of it that may lead to a strengthening or modification of his present organization of identity. One can apply the same method to the historical person, using facts that are subordinate in his life that he may mention in passing, or that are found in other records, to reconstruct the model of identity you have found the historical person to emphasize in his conscious preferences. The exercise of memory as a vehicle to enlarge or modify identity is not therapy, yet the gradual and logical experience of working on the facets of one's identity can help one develop a strong, yet flexible ego, thus potentially supporting and facilitating therapy. If the maladjustments and distortions that come from the minor and major trauma of experience are to be discovered and healed, one must have an ego that can participate in the discovery and integrate new information into an adequate sense of present identity. The exercise of memory discovery allows for a glancing off of areas in which a therapist must be present as a guide. Autobiographical memory discovery is equivalent to the exercises in self-analysis followed by Freud in the writing of the Interpretation of Dreams; his insight was self-revealing, but it found limits that only an analyst working with Freud could have gone beyond. If the person in self-analysis gets too close to painful material, a repression, a sublimation, or other defenses, will naturally occur.

A second type of exercise used to gather more information about oneself than normally would be seen, that uses memory as a vehicle of discovery, is to view oneself as a third person in past activities. In this exercise, the student writes about how "he" or "she" performed a certain act. This sharp, objective view, which is solidly behavioral, and excludes motivation, provides data which in their empirical fullness (in a phenomenological sense) can be the bases for an inferential process that lends new meanings for the event reviewed. Variations of this third person approach have been used by Allen L. Edwards in his personality inventory, and by the German expressionist writer, Franz Kafka, in his series of reflection entitled "He." Both Edwards and Kafka help one to perceive oneself in an initially harsh, yet greatly informative light.

The integration of history, sociology, psychology, and philosophy in "Identity and Society" provides a tool for the cultural understanding of others as well as for oneself. The use of autobiography provides a human proportion to the application of constructs from the arts and the sciences. The formulation of questions addressed to a person in history allows generalized knowledge to find its validity in a specific life. The student is able to develop articulate analogies between himself and the historical person because of the human propor-
tion of the study. The student may become adept at identifying facts of his own proclivities and other criteria of identity as he practices this insight on the historical individual. Thus, a dialogue with autobiography as a crucible in which the diverse fields of the arts and sciences can be integrated enforces Socrates' admonition to the Sophists that the end of knowledge is not a system of thought, it is practice in life.

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FOOTNOTES


3Carl Rogers' "clientcentered therapy" is an excellent contemporary guide for the spirit of the dialogue Dilthey suggests. One must use the language of the historical person as an entry and boundary for one's own questions and interpretations. See Carl Rogers, Counseling and Psychotherapy. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972); see also Allport, "The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science," pp.53-66 for a similar approach to the words of personal documents in his discussion of the preferred "idiographic" approach to interpretation, rather than the "nomothetic ."

4Wilhelm Dilthey, Descriptive Psychology and Historical Understanding, p. 131.

5Wilhelm Dilthey, Die Geistige Welt, pp. 276-277.

6Wilhelm Dilthey, Descriptive Psychology and Historical Understanding, pp. 51-120.

7Hans-Georg Gadamer, Truth and Method. (New York: 1975), p. 217. Gadamer points out that the influence was reciprocal. Edmund Husserl sought the construction of an absolute knowledge of the logical laws of knowing, as well as an application of those laws in research which would bring certain knowledge of the phenomena studied.

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Hans R. Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception,* translated by Timothy Bahti. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1982).


Benjamin Franklin wrote the first part of his autobiography, in which his genealogy is emphasized, in 1771 while in England as an agent of the Pennsylvania assembly. The possibility of a war of rebellion was contemplated by colonial leaders at that time. Franklin's first autobiographical exercise helped him to create a "life world" with a horizon of possibility that might include new beginnings.


See Carl E. Thoresen and Michael O. Mahoney, *Behavioral Self-Control,* (New York, 1974), p. 41, where the authors credit Franklin as one of the first persons to use behavioral self-observation. Thoresen and Mahoney present in their text a very current review of social scientific research in behavioral modification.


26 As one seeks the laws of consciousness, one may seek those ego identifiers fundamental to personality. Perhaps they are a combination of psychophysical needs that the human species requires. I suggest a finite set of topics in the spirit with which Immanuel Kant criticized Aristotle in the latter's listing of the essential categories of identifying things in experience: "It was an enterprise worthy of an acute thinker like Aristotle to make a search for these fundamental concepts. But as he did so on no principle, he merely picked them up as they came his way"; see Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, translated by Norman Kemp Smith, (New York, 1958) (B107), p. 114.


29 Locke's view has consciousness producing personal identity by its selection of facts, whereas Hume stresses the discovery of identity by recovery of all of what has occurred to one. See Locke, "Of Identity and Diversity," *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Sections 23, 24, pp. 259-261; see Hume, "Of Personal Identity," *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Section VI, p. 248.

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