

Eugène Nielen Marais: An Adlerian Psychobiography

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF PSYCHOLOGY BY DISSERTATION

in the Department of Psychology, Faculty of the Humanities

at the University of the Free State

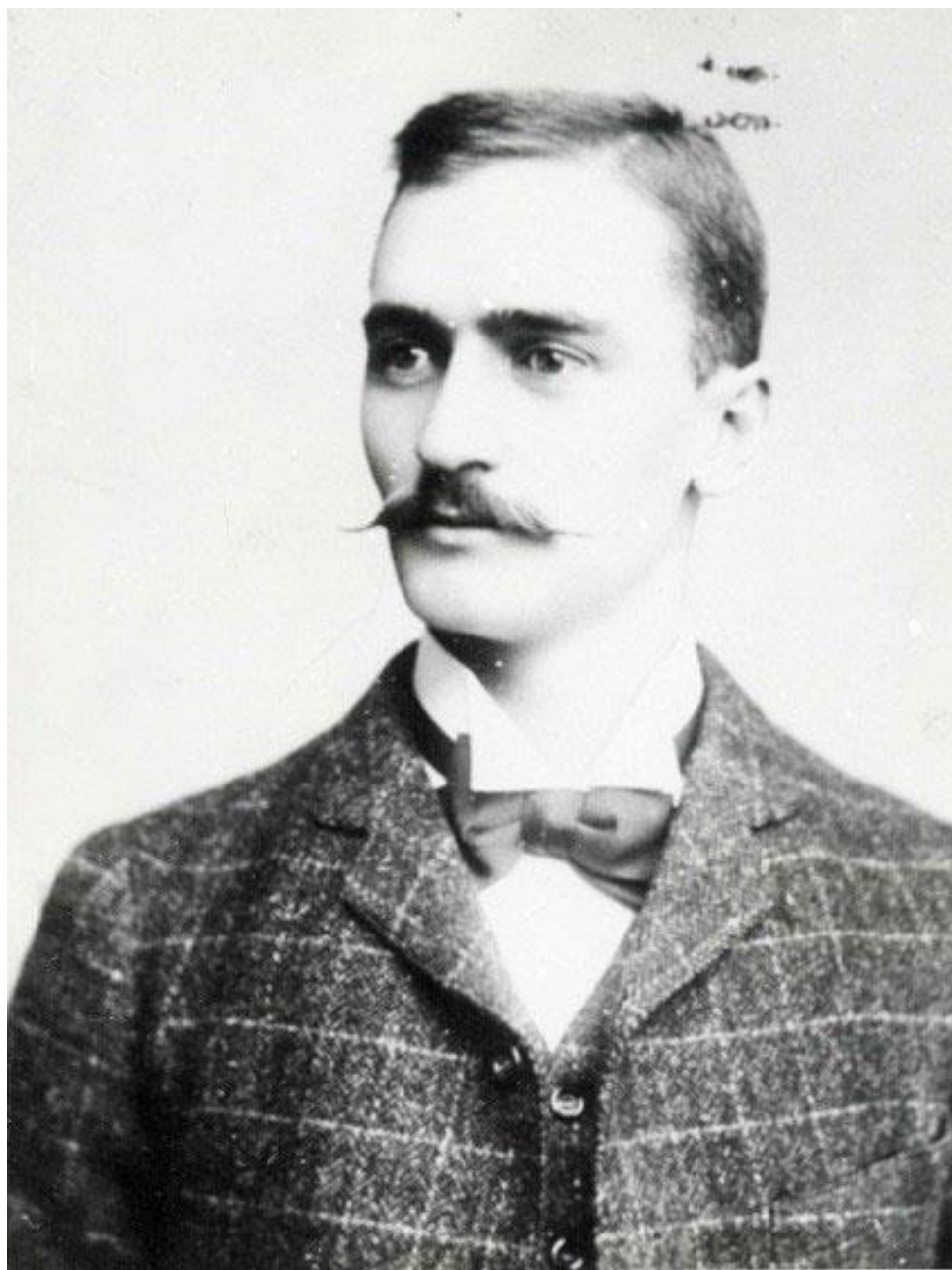
Bloemfontein

January 2020

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PHOTOGRAPH OF EUGÉNE NIELEN MARAIS



Eugène Marais as a young journalist

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was completed with the assistance and support of a number of people. I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to:

- My supervisors, Prof Paul Fouché and Dr Pravani Naidoo, for their willingness to provide their wealth of knowledge and valuable time to assist me in this research endeavour.
- My family and friends for their support and encouragement to endure with this study.
- Anneke Denobili, for her assistance in language editing this dissertation.
- Dr Jordaan, for his assistance in the APA editing of this dissertation.
- My mentor and personal motivator, Mr Gertjie Viljoen, for preparing me for university and helping me get this far.
- Most importantly, I would like to thank God for giving me the strength, knowledge, ability and opportunity to undertake this research endeavour.

TURNITIN ORIGINALITY REPORT

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 Word Count: 112367
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ABSTRACT

Psychobiographical research has received increased interest from both national and international researchers advocating its value. South Africa has also produced a number of psychobiographical studies based on significant individuals who made important contributions, both nationally and internationally. One of these individuals is Eugène Nielen Marais, on which this psychobiography is based. His poetry, short stories and ethological books have secured him a place as one of South Africa's most renowned writers. He is mostly remembered as the writer of the poem *Winternag* (Winter's Night), however, his ethological books and naturalistic studies have secured him international recognition.

No currently existing works on Marais provided an in-depth psychological perspective of his life. It was for this reason that the researcher selected Marais, through purposive sampling, as the subject of this psychobiography with the aim of providing a psychological exploration and description of aspects of his life, against the backdrop of his socio-historical context. This was achieved by applying a single psychological theory (Adler's theory of individual psychology) to the publicly available biographical and historical data collected on Marais, which consisted of both primary and secondary sources. The study's primary aim was, therefore, to explore and describe Marais's individual psychological development throughout his life. The exploratory-descriptive nature of this study, means that the objective falls within the inductive research approach.

Specific methodological strategies were used in the extraction and analysis of data in this study. Alexander's nine indicators of psychological saliency was employed to assist in the organisation and prioritisation of Marais's biographical data. In an attempt to manage the vast amount of data available on Marais, specific questions were posed to the data, which enabled the extraction of relevant units of analysis that focused on the study objectives. A psycho-historical matrix, as proposed by Fouché, was incorporated to facilitate the data analysis of in

this study. This assisted in the systematic categorisation and consistent analysis of the collected biographical data on Marais, according to the constructs of his individual psychological development, and in terms of his socio-historical contexts.

Findings of the study suggested that Marais may have had an inferiority complex as represented by his dependence on morphine throughout most of his adult life. Despite this he also seemed to have had a strong social interest towards people as well as animals. This was seen his love for animals and willingness to help not only his own people but the enemy in times of war. His practises as an amateur doctor in the Waterberg region without asking for compensation also indicated his social interest towards others.

The integrative and holistic approach of this study's psychological framework enabled an extensive exploration and description of various constructs, and ensured that Marais's life was explored against the backdrop of his socio-historical context, since Adler's theory highlights the impact of one's cultural, historical and political environment on one's development and intrapsychic processes. In addition to contributing to the body of knowledge on Marais and to the framework of Adler's theory of individual psychology, this study also contributed to the educational objectives in psychobiography.

Keywords: Psychobiography, Eugène Nielen Marais, Alfred Adler, Individual Psychology.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter provides an introduction to the study by, firstly, providing the primary aim and general orientation to the research context. Thereafter, a brief introduction pertaining to the general problem statement, the research subject, the psychobiographical approach and the selected Adlerian theory follows. This chapter concludes with the researcher's personal journey and a broad outline of the chapters which shape the dissertation.

1.2 Introduction and Research Aim

This dissertation served as an example of a psychobiographical case study design and methodology, from a qualitative, morphogenic perspective. The study was longitudinal in nature in order to enable an exploration and description of Eugène Nielen Marais's (1871–1936) life within his socio-historical context by applying a specific psychological theory to biographical data. This aim was achieved by the application of Alfred Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology to the biographical and historical data collected on Eugène Marais.

The study's primary aim was the exploration and description Eugène Marais's individual psychological development throughout his lifespan. Therefore, this study's aim falls within an inductive research approach (Edwards, 1998). In accordance with this approach, the researcher conceptualised Marais's life in terms of a specific psychological perspective by applying one psychological theory (i.e., individual psychology) to the biographical and historical information publicly accessible on Eugène Marais. The study's secondary objective was to informally assess the applicability and relevance of the propositions and constructs of the

psychological theory applied to Marais's life. The concepts underlying this undertaking are presented in the subsequent section.

1.3 Context of the Research

In this section the reader is provided with the general problem statement and a short introduction to the research subject, Eugène Marais. This is followed by (a) a brief description of psychobiography as a research-approach and (b) an outline of Adler's theory of individual psychology, which was used to guide the data analysis of this study.

1.3.1 General Problem Statement

Psychobiographers originally came from other disciplines, such as history, political science and psychiatry which led to psychobiography receiving only minor status in academic psychology (Simonton, 1999). However, with the advent of the narrative turn in psychology in the 1990s, life story analysis was fully accepted and popularised, leading to “a renaissance of psychobiography” (Kóváry, 2011, p. 739). Psychobiography was regarded as a way of conducting both biography and psychology, which implies an intrinsically interdisciplinary characteristic of psychobiography (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; McAdams & Ochberg, 1988, Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). Despite the interdisciplinary characteristic resulting in a disquietude due to the different methodological approaches used in psychology and biography (Elms, 1994). The established alliance also resulted in reciprocal benefits, with psychology improving biography and *vice versa* (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché, Smit, Watson, & Van Niekerk, 2007; Runyan, 1988a).

The array of handbooks and journals published in the field of psychobiography over the past few decades prove that this discipline is attracting growing attention (Barenbaum & Winter, 2013). For example, the publication of a special section on psychobiography by the *American*

Psychologist in 2017 (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). In addition, comprehensive works such as the recently published book *New Trends in Psychobiography* (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019) prove that the discipline is currently flourishing with new developments. Psychobiography as a field has experienced a burgeoning of researchers who advocate its value (e.g., Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988, 1994; Ponterotto, 2013a, 2014; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2001a, 2005a), sequenced approaches (Cara, 2007; Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2017; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018; Runyan, 1988a), best practices (Ponterotto, 2014) and data analysis tools (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2005b) that give the method a more structured and powerful appearance. In addition, Ponterotto's (2014) valuable contributions to psychobiography promoted the value of psychobiography as a topic for doctoral dissertations and theses and research approach in psychology.

In South Africa, the significance of academically institutionalised psychobiography has been pursued with much more vigour and enthusiasm by supervisors and postgraduate students in various South African Departments of Psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché et al., 2007; Nel, 2013; Perry, 2012; Rust, 2019; Stroud, 2004). In addition to the awakening and growth of psychobiographical research at academic institutions, various articles pertaining to psychobiography have been published in the past years, especially in the *Journal of Psychology in Africa* (Fouché, 2015). Numerous psychobiographies have focused on the lives of South African literary figures such as Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven (Burgers, 1939; Jacobs, 2004), Louis Leipoldt (Burgers, 1960), Ingrid Jonker (Rust, 2019; Van der Merwe, 1978), Sol Plaatjie (Welman, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019), and Olive Schreiner (Perry, 2012); all of whom made significant contributions to South African literature. The researcher hopes that this study will add to the growing field of psychobiography in South Africa and that it will also illuminate aspects of the life of another pioneer of South African literature.

1.3.2 The Psychobiographical Subject

Eugène Nielen Marais (1871–1936) is considered the founding father of Afrikaans poetry and one of the most celebrated Afrikaans writers (Swart, 2004). Marais's works, including the renowned poem, *Winternag* (Winter's Night), have had a considerable impact on the South African Literary movement. He began his career as a journalist in Pretoria, South Africa. By 1890, he became the editor of the newspaper *Land en Volk* (Land and Nation) and in 1892, he purchased the newspaper (Barnard, 2012a). It was during this time that Marais started using morphine, which would later become a significant part of his life and daily functioning (Rousseau, 2005). In 1894, he married Aletta Beyers, who died shortly after giving birth to their son, Eugène Charles Gerard Marais (1895-1977). This event had a traumatic effect on Marais and after his wife's death, he moved to London where he lived for the duration of the Second Anglo-Boer War (Barnard, 2012a; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). He studied Law at the Inner Temple in London and qualified as an advocate. Whilst studying in London, he became preoccupied with exploring esoteric interests, most notably Victorian Spiritism, which played a considerable role in his writing and his later life (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). In London, Marais decided that he would attempt to reconcile the Boers and British through his newspaper *Land en Volk* when he returned to South Africa (Van der Merwe, 2015). He had an affinity to exaggerate and lie (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), especially when it came to his morphine dependence (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais was also known for his bohemian lifestyle. He lacked a permanent home and usually resided with friends or relatives. While he managed to live a very productive life, the devastating effects of constant morphine use negatively impacted upon him and in the last few years of his life, he withdrew from the public (Rousseau, 2005). He became increasingly dependent on the financial support of friends and family and evidently committed suicide in 1936 (Rousseau, 2005). He was also the subject of a biographical film *Die Wonderwerker*

(‘The Miracle Worker’) (Heyns, 2012). The film focuses on the few months he spent on the Van Rooyen's farm.

His literary works were markedly inspired by the historical and socio-cultural context in which he lived (Visagie, 2015). In addition, his interest in Victorian Spiritism also served as an inspiration for his short stories dealing with unusual and often (ostensibly) supernatural and mysterious events [i.e., “*Die spookbul van Farellone*” (The ghost bull of Farellone), “*Die vlieënde Hollander*” (The flying Dutchman), “*Diep rivier*” (Deep river), “*Die man met die mantel*” (The man with the cloak) and “*Die pad van drome*” (The path of dreams) (Marais, 1984). He also did pioneering work in Ethology (i.e., the scientific study of animal behaviour), predominantly on insects and primates. These works are especially prominent in his books *The Soul of the White Ant* (1973) and *The Soul of the Ape* (1969), respectively. Marais’s writings also give a very clear view of his mental state and personality (Du Toit, 1940). His poems, especially, reflect him as a person (Du Toit, 1940). Marais’s son recalled, “in any piece of writing by my father, you can always see at work the poet, the journalist and the morphine addict” (Rousseau, 2005, p. 52). Marais’s writing method closely accompanied the nature of his self-explained life existence (Du Toit, 1940) “a continual struggle against the deepest precipitation that makes work and conscience very difficult” (p. 232).

1.3.3 The Psychobiographical Approach

Psychobiography can be defined as “the systematic use of psychological (especially personality) theory to transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story” (McAdams, 1988, p. 2). This research approach involves the qualitative analysis of a single case using an idiographic and longitudinal approach (Simonton, 1999). The psychobiographical approach entails the systematic collection, analysis and understanding of life stories within their socio-historical context (Fouché et al., 2007; McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1988b). Using this approach

provides the opportunity for an in-depth study of the fundamental components that bring an individual's personal story to life (Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1988).

Psychobiographical studies are anchored in the social constructivist and interpretivist paradigms (Van Niekerk, 2007), which proposes the existence of multiple, socially constructed realities (Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Ponterotto, 2010). These paradigms enable researchers to enhance the understanding and interpretation of a subject's life story through the application of psychological theory and research to the subject's life (Van Niekerk, 2007). Psychobiography thus also involves the exploration of a biographical subject in an attempt to confirm certain hypotheses (Nel, 2013). It, therefore, offers the opportunity to develop, refine and test psychological theories (Runyan, 2005). Accordingly, psychobiographies can generate formal propositions that could ultimately be tested against larger groups of people (Schultz, 2005a).

In this study, the primary objective was to uncover and reconstruct the individual psychological development of Eugène Marais. The primary objective illustrates the exploratory-descriptive nature of the inductive research approach followed in this study, since it involves a detailed exploration and description characterised by attention to triangulated evidence of the subject's life experiences, interpersonal relationships and socio-historical context (Denzin, 1989; Geertz, 1973; Ponterotto, 2006, 2014; Ryle, 1971). This study's secondary objective was to test the applicability and relevance of the propositions and constructs of the psychological theory applied to Marais's life. The secondary objective involves the descriptive-dialogic nature of the deductive approach followed in this study, which involves the informal confirmation or refutation of existing theoretical conceptualisations and propositions by comparing the psychobiographical research findings to the expected outcomes of the theoretical framework used (Chéze, 2009; Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999). This study,

therefore, highlighted the individual psychological development of Eugène Marais and also offered an opportunity to informally test aspects and facets of the theory's content.

Advocates of psychobiographical research have identified some undeniable advantages of the approach for the discipline of psychology (Elms, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Kóváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014). In this study, advantages included: (a) an appreciation of the uniqueness of Marais's case as a whole; (b) the integration of the socio-historical context of his life; (c) contemplation of his subjective reality; (d) exploration of behavioural processes and patterns across his lifespan; (e) the testing of the theory applied to his life, and (f) integration of the findings within the psychology discipline. A comprehensive discussion of the psychobiographical approach and its methodological considerations are explored in later chapters (see Section 5.2).

1.3.4 Adler's Theory of Individual Psychology

Alfred Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology served as the theoretical approach employed within this psychobiography. According to Adler (1958) people have an ultimate goal and a need to move towards it. However, the goals for which they strive are mere potentialities and are created subjectively. People's most important goal is that of superiority, a goal they create early in their lives. According to Adler's theory, all individuals experience an inborn feeling of inferiority. To overcome this inferior feeling, individuals strive for superiority. This personal goal guides people's style of life and gives unity to their personality. Striving for superiority is a person's attempt to improve him-/herself and master the challenges of life (Adler, 1958). The person's strive for superiority is further motivated by their desire to find recognition and purpose within their social worlds. Every individual needs to work in order to overcome some feeling of inferiority (i.e., a physical and/or psychological shortcoming). To compensate for this, the striving for superiority becomes more pronounced.

If the person's sense of inferiority is not properly managed, personality disturbances or substance misuse may develop, which in turn, increases the individual's sense of inferiority (Adler, 1958, 1996a, 1996b).

The theory of individual psychology affirms that individuals are not influenced by merely hereditary or environmental factors. Instead, they are creative, proactive, meaning-making beings, with the power to choose and be in control of their choices (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson, Watts & Maniaci, 2006; Watts, 2009, 2013, 2015; Watts & Eckstein, 2009). This creative power (i.e., their free will) can be used cognitively, behaviourally or emotionally in a socially positive or negative direction, leading to useful achievements or useless conflict, exploitation and destruction. Adler's theory is a holistic, phenomenological, socially oriented and teleological (i.e., goal-directed) approach, aimed at understanding people (Siedlecki, 2013; Watts, 2009). The holistic nature of Adler's theory makes it an appropriate choice to use in a psychobiography (Perry, 2012). Adler's theory was also selected since it was developed during the same historical period that Marais lived in. This can enhance the trustworthiness of a study (Kagitcibasi, 1992; Ponterotto, 2014). Lastly, Adler's personality constructs, particularly a sense of inferiority, are applicable to Marais' life, as was evidenced in his misuse of morphine.

1.3.5 Reflexivity

Subjectivity is considered an essential part of qualitative research (Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005). Effective management of subjectivity is integral to minimise the negative effects of researcher bias (Morrow, 2005). As a means to address the assumptions and biases that arise from their own personal life experiences or from possible emotionally-laden interactions with their research subjects over prolonged periods, it has been recommended that qualitative researchers approach their research with reflexivity and ambivalence (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Kóváry, 2018; Morrow, 2005; Burnell, Nel, Fouché & van

Niekerk, 2019; Schultz, 2005a; Stroud, 2004). Reflexivity is a process which entails the critical reflection of oneself as a researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 2008) and is defined as an awareness of self and a sense of agency within that self-awareness (Rennie, 2004). Engaging in reflexivity as a practise emerged from qualitative research methods rooted in the constructivist-interpretivist epistemology (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Reflexivity recognises the cooperative roles that both the researcher and the subject plays in the collection and construction of knowledge and the meaning which is derived from such knowledge (Ashworth, 2003; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Punch, 1993; Taylor, 1999; Willig, 2008). In order to ensure critical reflection on the self as a researcher (which is explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6), the next section focuses on the researcher's personal reasons for undertaking this study on Eugène Marais.

1.4 The Researcher's Personal Journey

One of the primary reasons for embarking on this psychobiographical exploration of Eugène Marais emerged from the researcher's personal interest in psychobiography as a research field. The researcher was drawn to Marais based on his literary outputs, especially his naturalistic studies as she has had an early interest in zoology, particularly entomology (i.e., the scientific study of insects). While the researcher only knew of Marais based on his literary outputs, she had little biographical knowledge of Marais before the commencement of the study. Despite having sparse biographical knowledge of Marais, the researcher became increasingly interested in learning more about his life and work as the study progressed. This lack of prior knowledge was, however, regarded as an advantage since it reduced the likelihood of researcher bias (Elms, 1994) – a consideration which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Therefore, the researcher's ambivalent attitude towards the research subject was seen as an advantage, as it

prevented the researcher from approaching Marais with either an idealising or denigrating attitude.

Since the researcher lived in a different historical period compared to that in which the subject lived, an extensive literature study concerning the political, social, historical and cultural milieu in which Marais lived was necessary. This not only ensured sensitivity to the contextual considerations applicable to this study, but it also highlighted significant differences and similarities between the researcher and the subject, which needed to be addressed as a way to avoid the dangers of subjectivity and researcher bias. Although the researcher and the subject differed in terms of historical life period and gender, they shared the same culture and home language.

The primary reason for choosing Marais as the research subject of this study was due to his significance of being a psychobiographical subject as well as the researcher's personal interest in studying his life in-depth. On a personal level, the researcher had been interested in conducting a psychobiographical study ever since she first read about this type of research method. Also, the reason for choosing Marais as a subject stem from the researcher's personal interest in history and biography.

Apart from a postgraduate study of this nature to have a profound impact on one's life in terms of time, effort and resources, the researcher found the endeavour insightful and meaningful. Not only did the researcher enjoy the in-depth exploration of Marais's life and works, but also found the holistic and longitudinal exploration of the life of such a creative and talented individual enriching. This study provided the researcher with invaluable knowledge and experience in psychobiography, which will undoubtedly be beneficial for future endeavours in research. Chapter 8 provides a final reflection on the researcher's thoughts and remarks of this research journey and research subject.

1.5 Outline of the Dissertation

The current dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapters 2 to 4 constitute the literature review. In Chapter 2, Adler's theory of individual psychology is introduced and comprehensively discussed. Chapter 3 encompasses a comprehensive historical overview of the most prominent biographical and socio-historical periods and events of Eugène Nielen Marais's life. In Chapter 4, a theoretical overview of the psychobiographical approach is offered. Next, Chapters 5 and 6 explain the methodological aspects of the study. The preliminary methodological considerations in regards to potential issues implicit to psychobiographical research are explored in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 a comprehensive discussion of the psychobiographical research design and methodology as it applied to this study is given. The research findings pertaining to the individual psychological development of Marais are comprehensively discussed in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8 the study is concluded by providing a short summary of the major findings, a final discussion of the values and the limitations of the study, as well as recommendations for future research and a last reflection on the researcher's personal journey.

1.6 Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter briefly described the primary aim and general orientation to the research context. A brief introduction pertaining to the general problem statement, the research subject and the selected psychobiographical approach followed. Afterwards, the researcher's personal journey regarding this study was introduced. A broad outline of the chapters which shape the dissertation concluded this chapter. In Chapter 2 the reader is introduced to Adler's theory of individual psychology.

CHAPTER 2

ALFRED ADLER'S THEORY OF INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY

2.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter the reader is provided with an understanding of Alfred Adler's theory of individual psychology, which is the theoretical framework utilised in this psychobiography. Individual psychology offers a dynamic view of the complex development of personality within the individual's social context. The chapter begins with a brief biographical introduction of Alfred Adler, followed by an explanation on how Adler viewed and understood the person. Thereafter, the key theoretical concepts that form the basis of his theory is discussed in depth. Furthermore, the safeguarding mechanisms employed by individuals are explored. The theory's understanding of psychopathology, as well as optimal development is also discussed. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the theory, which comprises the values and criticisms of the theory and the applicability of the theory to psychobiographical research.

2.2. Introducing Alfred Adler

Alfred Adler (1870-1937) was born on 7 February 1870 in Vienna, Austria and was the second child in a family of six children (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). As a young boy he suffered from various ailments, including rickets and pneumonia (Corey, 2005; Wagner, 2010). Although his early years were marred with poor health, physical weakness and feelings of inadequacy towards his peers, specifically pertaining to his older brother (who was considerably athletic), Adler was committed to overcome his physical limitations. For this reason, he is considered "an example of a person who shaped his own life as opposed to having it determined by fate" (Corey, 2005, p. 93). According to Corey (2005), Adler's early childhood experiences played an important role in influencing and shaping his theory.

As a young student, Adler's academic performance was poor, however, he went on to study at the University of Vienna and graduated in 1895 with a degree in medicine (Human, 2015). He began his career as an ophthalmologist but moved to general medicine, specialising in neurology and psychiatry (Corey, 2005).

Sigmund Freud invited Adler to join his study circle, the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society, in 1902 (Milliren, Evans, & Newbauer, 2003). In 1910 Adler became president of the society but resigned in 1911 due to significant theoretical disagreements with Freud. Adler founded the *Society for Individual Psychology* in 1912 and proceeded to develop his own theory (Corey, 2005). By moving away from Freud's thinking, Adler was able to concentrate on a more optimistic and less deterministic view of human nature. As opposed to Freud, Adler's theory was based on a goal-oriented view of human nature (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). The name individual psychology was derived from the Latin word, *individuum*, which means undivided, referring to the individual as an integrated and inseparable whole (Mosak & Maniacchi, 1989; Wagner, 2010), as Adler avoided reductionism (Watts, 2009, 2015).

Along with Freud and Carl Jung, Adler's influential work also earned him being acknowledged as one of the founders of contemporary psychology and psychotherapy (Perry, 2012). However, his ideas have been disregarded, despite the significant influence his theory and clinical techniques had on psychology (Watts, 2015).

2.3. The View of the Person

The view of the person is the theorist's assumption of what is common to all people (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Adler's view of the person was related to three major concepts, namely holism, teleology and the person-oriented approach (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Adler stressed the uniqueness and unity of the personality (Chéze, 2009) and emphasised that human beings should be viewed as dynamic wholes (Adler, 1927, 1931a). He believed that it was

impossible to try and understand the components of the personality separately (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Adler was particularly influenced by the writings on *holism* and evolutionary theory of Jan Smuts (Fouché, 1999). Smuts created the term holism to name what he saw as the fundamental inclination of the universe: to create natural completeness (Perry, 2012). Smuts's work inspired Adler to such an extent that Adler incorporated holism into his theory. Holism (in reference to the unity of the personality) stands in contrast to dualism, reductionism and determinism. The concept presumes the inner functioning of people as inseparably linked to the settings in which they occur. Thus, holism emphasises the interdependence of the individual and their environment (Perry, 2012). According to Adler (1927), one should not view humans in isolation, but as 'whole beings', who are able to think, act and feel while being in continuous interaction with their environments. Individuals are seen as inseparable wholes, living in larger social systems and (due to their self-determining nature) cannot be properly comprehended without acknowledging their contexts (Adler, 1927). Therefore, one must study the entire person within his or her social environment if one wishes to properly understand the individual (Human, 2015). This emphasis on holism makes individual psychology comparable to Gestalt psychology, as both emphasise the whole rather than the elements, including the interaction between the whole and its components. More specifically, the realisation of how important it is to understand the person within their social context (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

As opposed to Freud's deterministic view, Adler adhered more to a *teleological* (the idea that behaviour is goal-directed) vantage point in explaining human behaviour (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). This was because Adler saw the individual's functioning as an aim towards a goal in a deliberate way. The primary goal of all human functioning is the strive towards superiority, which is expressed in two ways, namely to help the person *strive for power* or to help society prosper (*social interest*) (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). In addition, it is important to

grasp that this striving is activated by the experience of inferiority and leads to an attempt to overcome the inferiority by means of *compensation* (an attempt to make up for a weakness). Every individual has to work out this primary goal in his or her own way and strive towards the goal by his or her own means. In his theory, Adler (1927) emphasised the role of the conscious mind and that people had the freedom to express their own creative selves. Although Adler gave little definitive information about the creative self, he described it essentially as the person's free choice to decide their own goal-directed behaviour (Lemire, 1998). The individual's creative self emphasise that they possessed the ability to create their own life goals as well as the plans on how to achieve them. People are thus proactive in developing their own lifestyles, especially since they possess a creative self (Watts, 2009, 2015). This creative self is not a structural element, but an inborn individual ability. Thus, every person (to a certain extent) determines their own lifestyles (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). This teleological stance is formalised by Adler in his concept of *fictional finalism*. According to this concept, the individual's goals are fictional; the goal does not 'really' exist because it is created by the person (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Despite the goals being fictional, it is possible to determine the individual's behaviour based on their goals. The assumption of fictional finalism, therefore, entails that humans have substantial freedom in deciding their own destinies (i.e., humans possess free will) (Adler, 1929, 1930). This positive view meant that Adler (1931a, 1958) emphasised that humans have the ability to create and influence events in their own lives. Despite the existence of environmental and hereditary constrains, free will allow individuals to have control over their own lives and not be ruled by such unchangeable factors.

Adler's idea regarding goal-directedness was heavily influenced by Hans Vaihinger's (1925) philosophy, whose teaching is referred to as the philosophy of 'as if' (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008) or idealistic positivism (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Vaihinger believed that individuals lived their lives, convinced that some fictional ideas were real. He thought that the

concepts of God, heaven and hell were examples of such fictions, which had (and still have) a profound influence in how some people lived their lives (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Because Adler viewed the individual as ‘master of his own destiny’ in deciding their own lifestyles based to their own ‘fictitious goals’ his position is closer to the views of the person-oriented approaches than the deterministic and mechanistic positions of psychoanalysis and behaviourism (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Although Adler recognised inherent and environmental factors, he saw these factors as being subordinate to peoples’ goal-directedness and their creative capabilities to recognise their own goals (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008).

The next section aims to provide an understanding of Adler’s key theoretical concepts, which form the basis of his theory.

2.4. Key Theoretical Concepts

The key theoretical concepts of individual psychology that were applied to this study include the sense of inferiority, the striving for superiority, the unique life goal, the style of life, the schema of apperception, social interest and the inferiority complex. These concepts are discussed in detail below.

2.4.1. The Sense of Inferiority

Each individual strives to overcome a *sense of inferiority* (which is an innate human condition) (Adler, 1927; Perry, 2012). Adler (1927) argued that people cannot cope with feeling inferior for long, as this causes a state of tension which demands action. All individuals experience this sense of feeling inferior and their strive to confront this sense of inferiority already starts in infancy. It appears because infants (being dependent on adults to satisfy their needs) recognise that they are inadequate compared to adults and perceive themselves as inferior in this respect (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). The sense of inferiority motivates the child

to overcome their perceived deficiencies or shortcomings and to strive toward accomplishments (Adler, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1958, 1996a; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Orgler, 1963; Stein & Edwards, 1998, Wagner, 2010).

This line of activity is found in all human beings, beginning in early childhood and continuing throughout our lives (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). This strive for superiority is a creative process which can be observed, for example, in children's pretend-play of being adults (Boeree, 2006). Being dependent on adults causes the child to feel inferior towards them and the child tries to compensate through pretend-play. A child would, for example, pretend to be a doctor or a policeman in an attempt to compensate for feeling inferior towards adults (Boeree, 2006).

Individuals cope with their weaknesses and feelings of inferiority in three ways namely, *compensation*, *sensitivity* and *overcompensation* (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Compensation is a coping mechanism and a healthy reaction to feeling inferior, as it is an attempt by the individual to make up for their weaknesses. The minus situation is turned into a plus situation. Sensitivity occurs when people are preoccupied with their own weaknesses to such an extent that they are easily hurt if any reference is made to them. Overcompensation occurs when individuals overemphasise their strengths in an attempt to hide weaknesses (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008).

As previously stated, the feeling of inferiority is omnipresent, as it is experienced by each person. These inferiority feelings are stimulants to healthy development, movement, improvement and action (Adler, 1930, 1996b). It is, thus, seen as beneficial because feeling inferior helps people strive towards feeling superior (Human, 2015).

2.4.2. The Striving for Superiority and the Unique Life Goal

Adler observed that suffering from feelings of inferiority motivates individuals to strive toward superiority (Wagner, 2010). According to Adler (1958), people are prone to feel

inferior and this feeling is the drive that pushes them towards their personal achievements and goals. Therefore, from feeling inferior the individual becomes motivated to strive for superiority and from this their unique life goal emerges (Adler, 1927, 1929, 1996a; Lemire, 2007). The goal allows the individual to perceive themselves as superior to their present difficulties. This is because the existence of a goal offers the possibility of future success, as well as giving meaning to their activities (Perry, 2012). In addition to help orientate the individual in the world, the goal serves two compensatory functions: (a) it initiates compensation and (b) it creates positive feelings in the present, which diminishes feelings of inferiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). According to Adler (1958), the only way for individuals to attain a true sense of superiority and fulfilment, their goal must focus on cooperation and contribution to society. A goal that only focuses on self-preservation will merely provide the individual with a false sense of superiority.

The goal is an abstract ideal, created by the individual (Perry, 2012). This forward movement towards a fictional future goal was the primary motivation for human functioning and the basis for Adler's dynamic theory (Chéze, 2009; Perry, 2012). The goal is impacted by the individual's inherited and environmental factors but not determined by them (Adler, 1930, 1958). It is how the individual used their genetic makeup that is important (Adler, 1930). Similarly, environmental influences merely suggested the possibility of a certain line of development, but it does not act as a definitive developmental determinant (Adler, 1930, 1958).

This belief in a goal was in sharp contrast with Freud's psychoanalytic theory. The biologically oriented system of Freud endorsed mechanistic, reductionist positivism that "... looked for ultimate causes in the past and in objective events" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 87). Freud saw personality development as driven by the past and determined by the person's genetic makeup and early life events. The subjectivism of individual psychology rejected this deterministic stance and strongly opposed physiological reductionism (Adler, 1958, 1996a;

Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006). Adler believed that it was the meaning that people gave their environmental and inherited factors that led to the development of their goals (Perry, 2012). The prototype of a matured personality emerges from the establishment of the goal and the first movements towards it (Adler, 1930, 1958; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Therefore, personality development was motivated by the individual's aspiration to achieve their goals. For this reason, Adler's understanding of how the personality developed (as discussed in Section 2.3) was grounded, from a philosophical perspective, in teleology and *finalism* (the belief that all events are determined by their purposes or goals). According to Adler (1927), individuals were motivated by a subjectively created (i.e., fictional) future that they experienced in the present.

Despite the goal representing a subjective view of the future, it guides and organises the person's behaviour towards the prospect of success in the future (Adler, 1930; Sperry, 2003). The individual's life is given meaning, purpose and direction from the existence of a fictional goal. Without the feeling of a goal (despite whether it is unattainable or unrealistic), the person's activities would become meaningless (Adler, 1929). When one knows the goal of the person, one knows more or less what will follow (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

The goal is, however, blurred and pliable (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). While some features of the goal might display in childhood in such palpable aims as wanting to be a doctor or policeman, the full extent of the goal is not entirely realised by the person and the expression of its nature is unclear (Perry, 2012). Adler (1958) regarded the final goal as somewhat unconscious to an extent. He viewed the unconscious as those particular parts of the goal that individuals were unaware of (Adler, 1929). For Adler, the conscious and unconscious were not distinct and incompatible objects, but cooperative and complementary parts, forming a single unity (Ansbacher, 1982) which were there to assist individuals in furthering their personal goals (Mosak, 2000). Both consciousness and unconsciousness worked together in

the manner decided by the striving towards the goal: “Consciousness and unconsciousness move together in the same direction and are not contradictions, as is so often believed” (Adler, 1930, p. 56).

Each person’s distinctive way they develop to strive for superiority forms their individuality (Adler, 1929; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005). All character traits that the individual develops are aimed at achieving their final goal. It is this final goal, and the way individuals strive towards it, which makes them unique.

2.4.3 The Unity of the Personality and the Style of Life

As explained, the person’s goals are set during childhood and he or she strive toward them in their own unique ways; the goal becomes the ruling principle of mental life (Adler, 1970, 1996a; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The subjective set of guidelines people develop and use to help them move toward their goals and approach the main tasks of life (which are discussed in Section 2.4.5.1) is called the *lifestyle* or the *style of life* (Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). One can thus consider the ‘style of life’ as Adler’s nomenclature for the personality (Watts, 2009, 2015). Adler (1930) stated, for example, that “individual psychology tries to see individual lives as a whole and regards each single reaction, each movement and impulse as an articulated part of an individual attitude towards life” (p. 31). In fact, seemingly contradictory behaviour is seen (when considered as a whole) to be an integrated, albeit possibly unhealthy, manner of pursuing goals (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Bottome, 1957; Carlson et al., 2006).

The style of life and the striving toward the goal are both evident early in life. Adler never staged the development of the lifestyle, but he regarded the child’s formative years as imperative (Chéze, 2009). According to Adler the lifestyle is approximately set by the age of six (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005; Mosak, 1984) and continues into later life,

rarely changing (Adler, 1927). The lifestyle contains the person's self-concept, social feeling, goal and attitude towards the world (Corey, 2005).

Adler did not apply permanent and unchangeable traits or conflicts to the individual (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Boeree, 2006; Strauch, 2003). Rather, he conceptualised the lifestyle as a way to expressively formulate values, rudimentary beliefs and personal meanings regarding life that leads the motion towards a goal of superiority (Chéze, 2009). According to Strauch (2003) the lifestyle is a central concept in Adler's theory, as it includes creativity, unity, constancy, subjectivity and a teleological orientation. The individual's lifestyle is unconscious, as the individual does not understand the core assumptions about themselves or about life (Christopher & Bickhard, 1992). "Man [and woman] understands nothing about his [or her] goal, but pursues it. He [or she] understands nothing about his [or her] lifestyle, yet is continually bound to it" (Adler, 1982, p. 6).

2.4.3.1 The Four Lifestyle Types

There are four lifestyle types that Adler (1982) identified in an attempt to classify the behaviour and attitude that people possess toward life tasks. These lifestyle types are grouped based on their degree of social interest (see Section 2.4.5) and the degree of movement towards superiority and success (Adler, 1982). Every style is the "creation of the child himself, who uses his inheritance and impression of the environment as bricks to build his particular avenue for success – success according to his own interpretation" (Adler, 1982, p. 5). The style created during childhood stays the same throughout the person's life and is used as an attitude towards reality and movement towards the person's perceived success (Adler, 1982). The four lifestyle types will be explained under their respective headings below.

2.4.3.1.1. Ruling Type

According to Adler (1982) people with the ruling lifestyle type, as those who possess a selfish strive for power (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). They do not show social interest but actively work to achieve their own goals and display power-hungry and antisocial behaviour (Adler, 1958). Individuals with an active display of this lifestyle type exhibits a standpoint of “since I cannot be a lover, I am determined to prove a villain” (Adler, 1982, p. 5) through acts of misconduct, sadism, manipulation and tyranny. A less active display of this lifestyle type would be those individuals who tend to hurt others by harming themselves through acts such as drug addiction, alcoholism or suicide (Adler, 1982; Boeree, 2006).

2.4.3.1.2. Getting or Leaning Type

The individual with the getting or leaning lifestyle type displays low activity, but high social interest and is the most common lifestyle type (Adler, 1982). Despite their adoption of community-oriented goals, their low activity means that they rely on others to take action (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Due to their lack of independence and undertaking they are prone to use their charm and manipulative skills to get others to assist them with their own life tasks (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

2.4.3.1.3. Avoiding Type

People with an avoiding lifestyle type display low social interest and low activity. They usually have antisocial goals, are passive-aggressive and lazy (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Their success is usually established through avoidance (such as avoiding social interaction). For this reason, they prefer to ‘side-step’ life’s difficulties in an attempt to avoid failure (Adler, 1982). They do this by retreating into their own worlds (Boeree, 2006). According to Adler (1982)

both the getting and avoiding lifestyle types exhibit their lifestyle through psychotic and neurotic symptoms (Adler, 1982).

Adler (1927, 1982) maintained that these three abovementioned lifestyle types display the useless side of life. People who employ these styles of life struggle to solve the three life tasks because they do not have the capability to contribute and cooperate to society (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

2.4.3.1.4. *Socially Useful Type*

Individuals with the socially useful lifestyle type are highly active and socially interested. These individuals face the tasks and challenges of life within an advanced framework of social interest (Adler, 1958, 1982) and with an optimistic view of the future. Their family environments often contain the elements of trust, social interest, cooperation and family values (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). These individuals have a deep concern for the well-being of others and they strive to solve the problems affecting their societies (Adler, 1982).

2.4.4. The Schema of Apperception

During the first four or five years of life people develop an opinion about themselves and the world and set their goals based on this opinion (Perry, 2012). According to Adler (1958) it is impossible to predict what this opinion will be or the nature of the goals that are made, as the child has complete freedom in this creative process.

With the goal set and the child's movement towards it, the style of life is created. The person's style of life has an influence on the way they view themselves and the world (Perry, 2012). The person's formulations of the world are their *schema of apperception*, which is the distinction between what the individual perceives and reality (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006; Orgler, 1963; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Adler (1930) maintained that it is

through their schema of apperception that every person lives in a subjective world and shape their behaviour and personality. This concept thus relates to the philosophical underpinning of social constructivism.

Adlerians believe that some people's formulations of the world are more accurate than others; some individuals may have a distorted view of reality (Perry, 2012). These faulty views usually arise from misinterpretations created in their childhood and are noteworthy as they influence the developmental course of the individual (Adler, 1927, 1958; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). While it is impossible to view the world with complete accuracy, the schema of apperception of some people is closer to the objective reality than others (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). This difference is comparatively small for psychologically well-adjusted individuals. However, for individuals who are psychologically maladjusted, this contrast becomes greater and the capability to handle the life tasks become less instinctive and less flexible. Thus, solving problems become more difficult and striving towards goals become hindered (Perry, 2012). Individuals with faulty schemata develop an idiosyncratic intelligence, which often differs from the wider well-adjusted society, while individual's whose schemata are less faulty are more consistent with common sense (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The concept of common sense is further explained in Section 2.4.5.

2.4.5. Social Interest

Adler's theory is relational in the sense that it maintains that people are socially embedded and that knowledge is relationally distributed (Watts, 2009, 2015). He maintained that the main feature in all actions is social interest (Adler, 1964). *Social interest* or *community feeling* is the term that Adler used to describe the natural ability of people to connect with their social surroundings (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; De Bruin, 2018), in other words, the cooperation

with and commitment to others. It is used by individuals in their striving for superiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Community feeling can be regarded as the affective and motivational aspects, while social interest can be regarded as the cognitive and behavioural aspects. Both of these taken together constitute a true community feeling (Watts, 2009, 2015).

Adler saw the true meaning of life as the person's ability to cooperate with other people and to constantly strive to contribute to society (Human, 2015). The individual's desire to feel part of a community, to contribute to the community and to strive towards creating an ideal society are essential motivating factors in behaviour. Their social commitments to their communities and their need to improve society are fundamental to their development (Corey, 2005).

The strive to manage feelings of inferiority applies to the group life of people as well (Adler, 1930). Compared to animals, humans are weak and defenceless and need each other to survive (Perry, 2012). According to Adler, human beings were inferior from nature's point of view. Their inability to survive alone and their realisation of this motivated them to create the particular conditions which would assure their survival (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The solution to this was the creation of group life and society offered a safe and prosperous environment (Adler, 1930; Orgler, 1963). Living in a group proved to be essential as it allowed people, through a division of labour, to solve problems that would have been impossible for the individual alone (Adler, 1927). Division of labour provided people with all the goods they needed to maintain themselves and formed the concept of culture (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Thus, human beings are only able to survive if they cooperate with each other (Adler, 1958; Orgler, 1963). In an attempt to guarantee their own survival and the possibility to develop, people had to be committed to the prosperity of the larger society. Possessing an attitude of social interest includes being able to empathise with, or understand, other people, as well as a concern for the well-being of others and actions which will benefit them (Perry, 2012). Social

interest can best be described as the capability to “see with the eyes of another, to hear with the ears of another, to feel with the heart of another” (Adler, 1964, p. 42). The concept of social interest might possibly be Adler’s most important concept (Ansbacher, 1992). It is associated with (a) recognising that one is a part of the human community, (b) identifying with, and feeling as if one belongs in the social world and (c) having an individual attitude to interact with the social world (Ansbacher, 1992).

The development of social interest offers people a sense of harmony with the universe and a realisation of the importance of interdependence between people (Perry, 2012). They will experience a connection to the past and will devote time and energy to the future, through making useful contributions to society (Adler, 1927, 1930, 1958; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Bottome, 1957; Carlson et al., 2006; Mansager, 2000; Nikelly, 2005; Penick, 2004). By possessing social interest these individuals may also show a concern for animals, plants and even inanimate objects, as well as recreation and spiritual development (Leak, 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998).

People’s degree of developing social interest is an estimate of their mental health (Adler, 1958, 1970). Following the goal of social interest constitutes healthy development, whereas maladjustment is displayed in the pursuit of narcissistic self-interest (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Watts, 2009, 2015). According to Adler (1930), psychologically well-adjusted individuals lived in such a way that the community benefitted from their work. Healthy individuals are those who’s strive to overcome inferiority lead to an attempt to obtain perfection of the self as well as contribute to their community (Adler, 1930).

Rarely do people have a lack of interest in others, or a need for others to some extent (Adler, 1927; Carlson et al., 2006). Personal fulfilment and social interest are recurrent processes that can have a positive impact on each other. The greater the person’s personal development, for example, the more they are able to impact others in a positive manner. Coincidentally, the

more people are involved in contributing to others, the more they are capable of learning from others and developing themselves (Stein & Edwards, 1998).

Healthy individuals have a heightened social interest and a schema of apperception that correlates with objective reality or *common sense* (Perry, 2012). While, individuals who are maladjusted develop a *private sense*. These individuals have a personal goal of superiority, which rarely contributes to society (Adler, 1927, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) and merely benefits themselves. Adler distinguished between private sense and common sense. *Common sense* refers to the sense that others share; all those forms of expression which people find beneficial to the community as it provides solutions to problems. In contrast, *private sense* involves a private and personal perception of the world. People who possess this private logic would constantly attempt to benefit themselves by disadvantaging others as a way to increase their own sense of superiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Adler considered social interest to be an inborn capability, which individuals had to develop consciously (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The development and expression of social interest depended upon how children perceived their environments (Perry, 2012). The development of social interest needs to develop in infancy and in the context of the mother-child relationship (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The mother's responsibility is to empathise with her children, to encourage them and to expand their interests in other people (Adler, 1958, 1970; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). If she fails to do this, the "... individual remains unprepared to meet the problems presented by social living" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 135).

As the measure of mental health, social interest is seen in the socially useful lifestyle (Adler, 1929, 1930; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). People who display this lifestyle type have empathy, courage and actively and cooperatively contribute to society (Adler, 1929; Leak & Leak, 2006). A lack of social interest, in contrast, may lead to egocentricity, self-absorption, and excessively

identifying with the self that may lead to intra- and interpersonal strains (Adler, 1930; Leak & Leak, 2006). These individuals are unprepared to manage the three main tasks of life and they are prone to abandon their obligations through self-destructive behaviours (Adler, 1929; Ansbacher, 1992).

2.4.5.1 The Three Tasks of Life

Adler (1927, 1949, 1958) maintained that people are faced with various challenges throughout their life spans. However, there are three main tasks that individuals have to face and overcome, namely the tasks of society, occupation and love (Bottome, 1957; Orgler, 1963). Adler was convinced that individuals who faced these challenges with the interest of other people in mind, would have been the most successful in overcoming these challenges, as well as enjoying a very fulfilling life (Human, 2015). These tasks emphasised the need for contribution, cooperation and social interest (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008; Mosak, 1984). Thus, the degree to which people are able to overcome these challenges successfully is a measure of their social interest (Adler, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Similarly, sufficient social interest is essential to overcome the three tasks of life (Barlow, Tobin, & Schmidt, 2009; De Bruin, 2018). These tasks are discussed below.

The task of society involves the connection of people to each other. People have to take each other into consideration in order to survive and prosper (Perry, 2012). Individuals have to be involved in the lives of others and cooperate with them. Feeling part of the community (i.e., having social interest) is essential to meet the challenges offered by the task of society (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Stein & Edwards, 1998). The most efficient way to solve this problem is through cooperation, friendship and social feeling (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; De Bruin, 2018).

As a solution to living on a planet with limited resources and harsh climatic conditions, people decided to create various occupations. Using the division of labour, each person was able to contribute to the common welfare and to increase opportunity for each member of society (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Communal living created the environment in which humans could safely function and flourish (De Bruin, 2018). The division of labour organised this structured context, thus stratifying the lives of individuals (Adler, 1927). Those who overcame the challenge presented by the problems of occupation are the ones who made themselves useful to others, through their work (Adler, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

In an effort to solve the problem of love, the previous two challenges had to have been successfully overcome first (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Adler was convinced that the best way to solve the problem of love was monogamous marriage. Love and marriage needed an extraordinary capability to empathise with others (Perry, 2012). According to Adler (1930), a successful love relationship led to marriage and required a degree of cooperation directed at benefitting the couple, as well as society since procreation ensured society's continued existence (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Thus, for Adler (1958), the person who is a friend to others, has learnt to be a good fellow worker and a true partner in love and marriage has found the meaning of life. These three life tasks have been extended by contemporary Adlerians, who added under social interest challenges such as spirituality, self-regulation, creativity and parenting (Carlson et al., 2006; Leak, 2006; Lemire, 1998; Mansager, 2000; Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). However, not all Adlerians recognised these areas as additional life tasks. In spite of this, though, spirituality is worth mentioning because Adler (1927) himself emphasised its significance. The concept of spirituality includes orthodox religious beliefs and a belief in the supernatural. From an Adlerian perspective, spirituality refers to the way people try to make sense of their existence in, and in relation to, the cosmos (Perry, 2012). Spirituality also alludes to transcendental

concepts such as social union and cosmic interconnectedness, both of which are related to Holism, which (as previously mentioned in Section 2.3) is an important component of individual psychology (Gold, 2005; Stein & Edwards, 1998).

2.4.6. Unhealthy Striving and Maladjustment

2.4.6.1. Inferiority Complex

Each individual feels a sense of being inferior and, as highlighted, this is usually not unhealthy. Indeed, it motivates individuals to grow and develop (Perry, 2012). However, psychological disturbance can arise from an intensified or exaggerated sense of inferiority (Adler, 1930, 1958, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Orgler, 1963). The individual's sense of inferiority becomes pathological when it increases to such an extent that the person feels overwhelmed by environmental demands. When this happens, it is called an *inferiority complex* (Perry, 2012).

This extreme sense of inadequacy causes discouragement and the belief that they are unable to handle life's tasks or make useful contributions to society (Adler, 1930, 1958). Individuals born into poverty or ethnic groups, and those subject to prejudice, as well as individuals with learning or physical disabilities may develop an increased sense of inferiority (Siedlecki, 2013). Successful compensation is not achieved by an inferiority complex, as it stunts further development (Dreikurs, 1967). This exaggerated sense of inferiority arises from how an individual interprets themselves and the environment, thus it is not driven by hereditary or environmental factors (Perry, 2012). However, there are real factors that may have an impact on an inferiority complex (Adler, 1996a; Orgler, 1963). These factors are grouped into three categories namely, physical handicaps, family dynamics and societal influences (Stein & Edwards, 1998), which are explored below.

2.4.6.1.1. *Physical Handicaps*

One of the most influential factors that can cause an inferiority complex at a young age is the presence of a physical defect or an *organ inferiority* in the child (Adler, 1927, 1958). Physical handicaps may be congenital or children may develop such handicaps in early childhood (Perry, 2012). Interestingly, Adler regarded the psychological influences of organ weakness as more important than physical ones. In this context, there are minor differences between real or imagined organ inferiorities (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008), once again depending on the individual's interpretation thereof. Children who are diseased or physically handicapped understandably have increased difficulties in meeting environmental demands in comparison to healthy children. In addition, these children may compare themselves to healthy individuals and come to the conclusion that they are inferior compared to them (Perry, 2012). "It is self-understood that those who come into the world with organ inferiorities feel an added burden of existence from their earliest days and as a result find themselves pessimistic as regards the whole matter of existence" (Adler, 1927, p. 78). These early intense feelings of inferiority, combined with feelings of isolation, can cause the child to avoid social interaction (Human, 2015). This can lead to the loss of social interest and the development of a pessimistic and even hostile view of the world (Adler, 1927).

Despite the negative impact that a physical problem might have, it can produce a normal striving for compensation. The degree to which an illness or physical defect influences development (and contribute to an inferiority complex) is decided by the person and their attitude towards the handicap (Adler, 1930).

Ways in which individuals can compensate for organ deficiencies include: (a) making the weak organ stronger than other organs; (b) developing another organ to an exceptional level; or (c) adapting psychologically through the development of supplementary skills (Boeree,

2006). These types of compensation can be achieved when the individual does not interpret the physical defect as taxing to their development.

2.4.6.1.2. Family Dynamics

Families comprise the primary social environment that children grow up in and they are the context in which children begin to learn the ways of society as well as form an opinion of themselves and the world (Adler, 1958; Mosak, 1984). There are two significant factors under family dynamics, namely parenting styles and a child's position in the family (Perry, 2012).

2.4.6.1.2.1. Parenting Styles

Adler (1958) maintained that the role of the parents is crucial in the development of cooperation, as the first cooperation which children experience, is the cooperation of their parents and, if the parents' cooperation is lacking, they cannot teach the children to be cooperative themselves. When the child grows up in a faulty family atmosphere it can lead to the development of a faulty lifestyle and a mistaken meaning given to life (Adler, 1930, 1958).

Two particular parenting styles that may lead to feeling inferior are *pampering* and *neglect* (Adler, 1927, 1970, 1996a). The primary task of a mother is to encourage her child to cooperate with others and to develop social interest (Adler, 1970; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Orgler, 1963). Adler regarded the mother's role as the main influence in the child's development of social interest (Stein & Edwards, 1998). In situations where the biological mother is either physically or emotionally absent, a substitute for a mother will play an equally important role in nurturing reciprocal love and cooperation with the child (Adler, 1958). If the primary caregiver fails in this task, difficulties may appear in later life. For example, mothers who are too clingy towards their children may cause their child to have difficulty learning how to cooperate with others. If the mother fulfils the child's every wish, the child will always expect

to be the centre of attention and will demand to receive always and never to give (Adler, 1958; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). Such pampered children lack initiative and independence and they may develop a parasitic attachment to the world (Adler, 1958). These children do not learn to function autonomously due to their dependence on others and they are unable master the skills needed to lead a healthy life (Adler, 1996a; Stein & Edwards, 1998). They will not be adapted for occupation, love and marriage, due to their preoccupation with their own welfare and lack of interest in other people (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Attitudes such as these may cause discouragement later in life when these people are placed in a demanding society that has little interest in gratifying all of their desires (Adler, 1996a; Perry, 2012; Stein & Edwards, 1998).

Children who are abused or neglected experience very little encouragement or empathy from their families and may feel discouraged and worthless (Adler, 1996a; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). In addition, if their primary caregivers are cruel or uncaring, children may develop a distrust towards society. Such an attitude is unsuitable for promoting cooperation. For this reason, neglect and abuse in early relationships discourage the child's development of social interest (Stein & Edwards, 1998; Wolfe, 1932). Such neglected or abused children who had their need for affection denied, turn upon themselves in self-love (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Individuals who are pampered, neglected or physically inferior are not properly prepared to handle the difficulties in life, as they only care about themselves (Adler, 1930). These individuals are usually criminals, neurotics or suicidal (Adler, 1929). They have little social interest and consequently, no self-confidence or courage (Adler, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Having a secure and positive family environment where the child receives encouragement and support, allows the child to develop the proper life skills needed to face the three major

tasks of life (Stein & Edwards, 1998). These children are more capable of pursuing optimal goals and overcoming difficulties, as well as pursuing cooperative goals and a feeling of community (Human, 2015).

2.4.6.1.2.2. The Child's Position in the Family

For Adler (1929, 1930), the birth order of the individual was very important in order to understand development properly, especially the person's psychological interpretation thereof (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005). This emphasis on children's interpretations of their situation was a decidedly existential-phenomenological orientation to child development (DeRobertis, 2011). Adler (1930) observed that each child's psychological situation differs because each child experiences the home environment differently. This belief corresponded with those of object relations theorists, especially Winnicott (1990) who said that "for the five children in a family there are five families. It does not require a psychoanalyst to see that these five families need not resemble each other, and are certainly not identical" (p. 132). Children who do not feel equal amongst themselves within the family may be unprepared to develop social interest (Adler, 1958). In addition, certain behavioural patterns can be associated with certain birth orders. First born children, for example, originally receive a great deal of attention before they are 'dethroned' from the birth of the second child (Adler, 1958; Corey, 2005). This changed situation can affect their prototypical life style and they may spend their whole lives trying to reclaim the privilege they once had (Perry, 2012).

Second-born children are usually competitive towards the eldest and are often determined achievers (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). They might react by striving to surpass and overthrow the eldest. However, if the second-born child perceives the older sibling as extraordinarily accomplished, the second child may become so discouraged that they withdraw from the competition. Discouragement such as this could form the foundation of an inferiority complex

later in life (Perry, 2012). Only children often remain at the centre of attention and are occasionally pampered and spoiled. However, because they never have to share with siblings, they may not learn how to cooperate with others (Perry, 2012). Youngest children tend to view themselves as inferior and this could arouse a strong motivation to prove to other people that they are capable of doing anything (Adler, 1927). The youngest child often has the strongest strive for power (Human, 2015). They may often develop a dependent lifestyle, due to being pampered, however, they tend to develop in remarkable ways (Adler, 1958).

Adler (1927) described two types of youngest children namely, (a) those who surpass all of their siblings in achievements and excel in everything they do and (b) those that strive to become the most competent family member but lack the ability and confidence, due to their relationships with their older siblings. Due to their lack of courage, this latter child will do anything to evade responsibilities, despite still being considerably ambitious. Fundamentally, both types of youngest children lack the selflessness that is needed to be a good fellow human being. The exceedingly ambitious type is highly competitive and pursues achievements at the cost of others, whilst the discouraged type feels inadequate throughout life and hides behind feelings of inferiority (Adler, 1927).

Adler (1958) emphasised that the impressions set in childhood and the “position in the family leaves an indelible stamp on lifestyle. Every difficulty of development is caused by rivalry and lack of cooperation in the family” (p. 154). As previously mentioned, birth order merely suggests the chance of certain traits developing, but does not act deterministically in this regard (Adler, 1930; Carlson et al., 2006; Orgler, 1963). For example, parents may be able alleviate the hardships associated with a particular sibling position and may foster cooperative climates among siblings. Such practises can prevent characteristics, which are often associated with birth order positions, from developing (Stein & Edwards, 1998).

2.4.6.1.3. Societal Influences

People are socially embedded and, for this reason, they cannot be understood separately from their social context (Adler, 1964; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005; Dreikurs, 1995; McAdams, 1994). Adlerians believe that societal factors can have an impact on peoples' views of themselves and the world (Perry, 2012). Social discrimination linked to gender, ethnicity, religion, poverty or educational level can worsen feelings of inferiority (Adler, 1927; Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Related to this, Adler was particularly concerned with his culture's overvaluation of masculinity and its devaluation of femininity (Adler, 1927, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). During the time that Adler lived, women were normally regarded as the inferior gender, which may have had detrimental effects on their development. In addition, the pressure placed on masculinity (being superior) may also be damaging to men (Perry, 2012). Excessive value placed on masculinity sets high expectations for boys and men and when they are unable to meet them, they experience increased feelings of inferiority (Stein & Edwards, 1998). The abovementioned factors (i.e., physical handicaps, family dynamics and/or societal influences) may lead people to assume a negative perception of themselves or the world (Perry, 2012).

As previously explained, feeling a sense of inferiority is a normal occurrence, however when the environment becomes hostile the sense of inferiority may increase and lead to an inferiority complex (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Orgler, 1963; Perry, 2012). The presence of an inferiority complex gives rise to an exaggerated striving for superiority (Adler, 1930, 1996a, 1996b), which is called a *superiority complex*. Both complexes occur together in the same individual (Perry, 2012). These two paradoxical complexes are able to exist together as they are merely inflated forms of the normal senses of inferiority and the strive for superiority (Adler, 1930, 1958).

2.4.6.2. The Goal of Personal Superiority

Social interest is used by healthy individuals to modify their striving for superiority. However, those with an exaggerated sense of inferiority (inferiority complex) are usually not socially interested (Perry, 2012). The superiority complex entails a personal goal of superiority, which does not contain a concern for other people. These individuals usually lack the courage needed to overcome difficulties and face the demands society places on them. Rather, they prefer to focus on building up their inferiority by chasing after a fictional goal to prove that they are superior to others (Adler, 1930, 1996a; Stein & Edwards, 1998). According to Adler (1958), some individuals exhibit their false sense of security and imagined power through prejudice or crime, while others use more subtle means, such as drugs or alcohol. These people stop being socially interested as they attempt to side-step life's problems instead of facing them.

Private sense (see Section 2.4.5), comprises of what Adlerians refer to as the *antithetical schema of apperception* (Perry, 2012). The schema of apperception (as explained in Section 2.4.4) refers to the way in which individuals view the world. It is almost as a lens that the individual develops in childhood and which consequently shapes their perceptions (Perry, 2012). The individual who is psychologically maladjusted uses the antithetical schema of apperception in pursuit of their personal, inflated goals of superiority (Adler, 1958; Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998).

A summary of the key theoretical concepts presented above is illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Key theoretical concepts of Individual Psychology

Concept	Definition
Sense of inferiority	A sense or feeling of being inferior.
Striving for superiority	The efforts made by people to attain their goals.
Life goal	A fictional goal of superiority created to relieve feelings of inferiority and which helps orientate people in the world.
Style of life	The way in which people strive for superiority in choosing their own goals and establishing their own ways of achieving them.
Schema of apperception	People's perceptions of themselves and the world. It acts as a lens through which individuals experience the world. In individuals who are maladjusted, this perspective is characterised by rigid perceptions and idiosyncratic logic and is referred to as an antithetical schema of apperception.
Social interest	An innate aspiration to serve the community, to cooperate with and commit to other people. It is based on a capability for empathy and entails handling the challenges presented by society, work and love.
Inferiority complex	An exaggerated sense of inferiority, idiosyncratic logic and decreased social interest.

Note. Adapted from “*The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography*” (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) (p. 35), by M. J. Perry, 2012, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

2.4.6.3. Safeguarding Mechanisms

Individuals create patterns of behaviour to protect their exaggerated self-esteem. These protective tools are called *safeguarding mechanisms*, which allow people to conceal their exaggerated self-image and keep their ongoing style of life (Adler, 1964). Adler regarded safeguarding mechanisms as the essential character trait of the neurotic. This is evoked by the oversensitivity of neurotics and their fear of criticism and disgrace. The safeguarding mechanism is used by the person to get rid of the feeling of inferiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Adler's concept of safeguarding mechanisms show similarities to Freud's concept of defence mechanisms (Griffith & Powers, 2007). The purpose of these symptoms as well as safeguarding through aggression and distancing, will be explored under their respective headings below.

2.4.6.3.1. The Purpose of Symptoms

Individuals who are psychologically maladjusted (those with an exaggerated sense of inferiority) set themselves goals that are so high that they need to protect themselves from them and from dangers to their already weak self-esteem (Perry, 2012). There are a number of safeguarding strategies that can be used (Adler, 1930, 1970; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010; Stein & Edwards, 1998) of which psychological symptoms are possibly the most important which, broadly speaking, provides two functions: (a) they act as excuses to protect the self and (b) they assist people in collecting influence and power (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Adler's insistence that maladjusted individuals' purpose and use of symptoms in creative ways, to assist in the upward striving, was a radical retreat from previous thinking, especially compared to Freud's (1949) meaning and motive of symptoms (Perry, 2012). According to Adlerians, symptoms were strategies used by people to achieve their goals, rather than the results of psychological disturbances (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Carlson et al., 2006; Lemire, 2007; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010; Rasmussen & Dover, 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). The existence of symptoms served as excuses for individuals to not obtain their goals or to avoid dealing with life's difficulties, while simultaneously protecting their self-esteem (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Symptoms make sense to discouraged individuals' private sense, in spite that they always form a retreat from challenges or responsibilities (Bottome, 1957; Carlson et al., 2006). Individuals also use symptoms to achieve superiority by manipulating others. For example, individuals with depression might receive a great deal of attention from their families (Perry, 2012).

Selecting and using symptoms are usually not done consciously (Perry, 2012). It must also be stressed that symptoms are debilitating and people really do suffer from them (Adler, 1930, 1996b). In this regard, Adler stated that individuals would rather experience this distress than

have their sense of worthlessness revealed “... we see now what a neurotic state really is. It is an attempt to avoid a greater evil, an attempt to maintain the semblance of value at any price, and paying the costs” (Adler, as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 266).

Psychopathological symptoms are not the only ones employed to safeguard against feelings of inferiority, as more general character traits, interpersonal styles and even physical symptoms can be used to pursue the life goal (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010; Perry, 2012). This is consistent with Adler’s emphasis on holism and the unity of the personality (Bottome, 1957; Fall, 2005; Perry, 2012; Sperry, 1999). As he asserted “... physical and psychic factors are always mixed together and influence each other reciprocally” (Adler, 1996b, p. 325).

2.4.6.3.2. Safeguarding through Aggression

Discouraged individuals with little social interest may employ aggression as a way to strive for superiority (Perry, 2012) and safeguard their self-esteem. Aggression may be displayed in a number of ways. Adlerians deem depreciation, accusation and self-accusation or guilt, as the most important (Carlson et al., 2006), which will subsequently be explained.

Depreciation occurs when an individual over-value their own achievements while undervaluing those of others to enhance their own self-esteem (Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). It usually manifests in two forms. The first is idealisation, which is when the individual sets such high standards for others that are impossible to meet (Perry, 2012). Idealisation allows one to constantly depreciate other people and allowing oneself to feel a little better by comparison. It can also serve as a reason to avoid life’s commitments (such as relationships) because no one is suitable or right (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). The second form that depreciation can take is solicitude, which is when the individual interferes in the lives of others, by treating them as if they are incapable of

managing on their own (Perry, 2012). Individuals who display this attitude constantly worry about others, repeatedly offer assistance and usually take charge of others' lives, thereby proving their superiority over others (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010).

Accusation occurs when discouraged individuals blame their failings on others or fate (Perry, 2012). This allows them to strengthen a weak self-esteem because the obligations for failure is relinquished (Carlson et al., 2006; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Adler believed that accusation was a form of aggression present in all mental disturbances to some degree (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Self-accusation or guilt is another form of aggression that discouraged individuals can display; it is when the aggressive drive turns upon the self (as in self-torture). It entails cursing oneself, reproaching oneself and suicide (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Paradoxically, self-accusation can produce a sense of virtue aimed at devaluing the environment (Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Such self-reproach is aimed at gaining attention or hurting others (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

2.4.6.3.3 Safeguarding through Distance

Individuals who are maladjusted are prone to safeguard their self-esteem by secluding themselves in order to avoid the challenges and demands of life (Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). This can be achieved in numerous ways, which all involve what Adler (1996a) referred to as an attitude of hesitation, created by the individual to isolate "... himself from the world and reality in various degrees" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 274). Individuals sidestep threats to their self-esteem and, thus, protect themselves from possible failure, by avoiding life's challenges and limiting their area of activity (Perry, 2012). This inclination, as well as the tendency of discouraged individuals to narrow their sphere of activity to those activities they

are sure of succeeding at, is known as the *exclusion tendency* (Adler, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Anxiety is a permanent feature of distancing and one that exists to some degree in all forms of psychological maladjustment (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956); it increases the habit of avoiding the difficulties of life and engaging in distancing strategies (Perry, 2012). Moving backwards, standing still, hesitation and the construction of obstacles are the most prominent of these distancing strategies and will be explained below (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Moving backwards (similar to regression) involves symptoms or disorders such as agoraphobia, anorexia, psychosis, conversion disorders, morphinism, suicidal ideation or suicide. These consist of retreating from the world and gives a reason for withdrawing from personal and social responsibilities (Adler, 1996a; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006).

Standing still includes a type of paralysis which hinders the individual "... from moving closer toward the reality of life, from facing the truth, from taking a stand, from permitting a test or a decision regarding his value" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 274). Compulsions, insomnia, impotence and memory loss are some examples of symptoms which may serve the purpose of standing still (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Hesitation includes an amount of indecision when faced with problematic situations (Perry, 2012). This strategy is regularly characterised by compulsions, which cause the delay of actions or decisions (procrastinating) until it is too late. People use hesitation to convince themselves that if they did not have this or that problem, they would be able to accomplish more (Adler, 1996a).

Constructing obstacles is a strategy used by individuals who often display an adequate amount of social interest and are quite functional (Perry, 2012). However, when people start feeling inferior, they use symptoms as an excuse for failures. People who construct obstacles

do not try to avoid the tasks of life, but they hold symptoms as a backup in case of failure. These are usually only minor symptoms and might include fatigue, headaches, insomnia or mild compulsions. When people with these symptoms succeed at life's tasks, their sense of superiority is enhanced, because they were able to overcome difficulties despite the symptoms (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

2.5 Psychopathology and Optimal Development

2.5.1 Psychopathology

Adler saw psychopathology as being rooted in an excessive preoccupation with the self and a lack of social interest (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). He believed that individuals who are criminals, neurotic, psychotic, drunkards, perverts, problem children and suicidal are all failures because they lack social interest (Adler, 1958). For Adler (1996b), psychological disturbance originated from a deep sense of inadequacy or inferiority, which developed early in life for numerous reasons (e.g., physical deficiencies). The foremost of these reasons are either an exaggerated feeling of inferiority and/or a poorly developed sense of community (De Bruin, 2018; Stein & Edwards, 1998). People who have little social interest are motivated by, and interpret events through, their idiosyncratic private logic (Adler, 1964). These discouraged individuals set their goals too high and these strivings are egocentric and lead in poor inter- and intrapersonal functioning (Adler, 1964). One can even say that, according to Adler, psychopathology is related to a lack of *Ubuntu*, specifically the absence of concern, compassion and understanding for fellow human beings (Human, 2015).

People with a concealed inferiority complex may function quite well at certain times and places, but when they perceive certain demands as threatening, they may resort to symptoms (see Section 2.4.6.3.1) to protect their unconscious ideals or fragile self-esteem (Ansbacher &

Ansbacher, 1956), thus they use symptoms to gain a false sense of superiority. Demands cause stress when it is taxing to the extent that people perceive themselves as unable to cope and also when it requires adjustment (Perry, 2012). As previously indicated (in Section 2.4.6.2), individuals who are psychologically maladjusted have rigid and inflexible antithetical schemas of apperception. They have difficulty adapting and they retreat to safeguarding mechanisms that protect their vulnerable self-images and avoid meeting life's challenges (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). As a result of their self-involvement, psychologically maladjusted individuals do not succeed in solving the three tasks of life (see Section 2.4.5.1). Rather, they develop inefficient coping strategies that usually appear as excuses (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Adler used the concept of neurotic safeguarding mechanisms in individuals who protect themselves against exaggerated feelings of inferiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; DiCaprio, 1983). The symptoms of neurotic safeguarding mechanisms become evident in safeguarding through aggression (see Section 2.4.6.3.2) or in safeguarding through distancing (see Section 2.4.6.3.3) (DiCaprio, 1983). It is worth repeating here that whether a situation is threatening or not depends on peoples' interpretations thereof (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). It all depends on whether the individuals perceive the situation as threatening to their self-esteem and as preventing them from achieving their goals (Carlson et al., 2006; Mosak, 1984).

2.5.2 Optimal development

According to Adler (1958), the optimally developed individual is the person whose life goal is to compensate for negative childhood experiences and personal weaknesses by pursuing and fulfilling socially meaningful and productive work (Human, 2015). These individuals are seen as continuously creative and courageous when faced with the inescapable social challenges of life (Adler, 1958, 1964; Massey, 1986). By living a socially useful lifestyle, these people

display high amounts of courage and social interest to strive for superiority over their own shortcomings in a way that is beneficial to society (Adler, 1927, 1930, 1958; Corey, 2005). True optimal development is realised only when the individual influences the lives of others in a positive manner (Adler, 1958; De Bruin, 2018). Adler (1964) regarded social interest as the essence of mental health and the ultimate necessity for human evolution (Chéze, 2009). Furthermore, he argued that only an individual with a well-developed social interest can truly be considered as mentally healthy (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). As stated by Adler (1929, 1930, 1958), the best setting for optimal development was a family environment that emphasises cooperation and trust and encourages a sense of social contribution (Chéze, 2009). According to Stein and Edwards (1998), Adler held that optimal development is achieved when children received proper love and attention from family members and they become encouraged to learn cooperation. Feelings of inferiority become less, courage is strengthened and attention is placed on becoming contributing members of society. This leads the child to become a cooperative and productive adult that is able to face life's challenges, develop intimate relationships and to improve themselves for the benefit of others (Stein & Edwards, 1998).

The optimally developed individual is more adaptive than the discouraged individual and their private logic correlates with common sense to function in a cooperative, productive, useful and task-oriented way (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005; Lemire, 1998; Mosak & Maniaci, 1989). Increased social interest decreases feelings of inferiority resulting in social interest aims that all strive towards healthy and socially useful goals (Corey, 2005). An increased connection with humanity leads to a decrease of self-created problems such as prejudice, persecution and war (Adler, 1929, 1930, 1958). Adler (1930, 1958) was convinced that social interest was crucial for human evolution because without it, humanity might be destroyed by its self-created problems.

2.6. Evaluation of the Theory

2.6.1 Value and Critique

Adlerian theory was progressive for the Freudian period (Mosak, 1984, 2000). The theory contributed to the view that the individual was socially embedded and stressed the need to evaluate the person within their socio-cultural and historical context (Chéze, 2009). Adler's work was widely influential in psychology, especially its integration into cognitive-behavioural (Watts, 2003), humanistic (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008) and existential-phenomenological perspectives (Corey, 2005). In addition, his theory contributed to the importance of birth order, family constellation, dreams and early memories in human development (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Adler's theory also has a strong international appeal, as the concepts of cooperation, social interest and striving to overcome problems appear relevant worldwide (Overholser, 2013).

Despite these contributions to psychology, Adler received criticism for his concepts being oversimplified (Corey, 2005; De Bruin, 2018). His common-sense theory was parsimonious, as Meyer and Viljoen (2008) stated that Adler's writing style was unreliable because he did not offer a clear explanation of his theory. According to Ansbacher and Ansbacher (1956), Adler's poor popularity was due to his writings being unsystematic which made them unsatisfactory reading. These shortcomings caused his theory to lack scientific rigour, as the basic concepts remained comparatively vague and difficult to empirically validate (Boeree, 2006; Corey, 2005). Thus, his theory failed when it came to consistency and reproducibility, as many of the used terms and definitions lacked comprehensive definitions (Feist & Feist, 2008). Even though transparency in Adler's theory was increased by the work of Ansbacher and Ansbacher (Ansbacher 1979; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956), his core concepts of compensation, striving

for superiority, feelings of inferiority and social interest are neither physical nor behavioural in nature, and thus makes their measurement impossible (Boeree, 2006; De Bruin, 2018).

However, when one assumes a strictly theoretical approach in evaluating the usefulness of Adler's theory, Feist and Feist (2008) asserted that a strong point of Adlerian theory is its research-generating potential, as well as its propensity for structuring patient information into a usable matrix. In addition, research into the usefulness of Adler's theory has increased (Corey, 2005; Watts & Shulman, 2003), which has especially been brought about by the *Journal of Individual Psychology* (Chéze, 2009). Also, Adlerian theory is clearly relevant for current psychological practise because it displays the characteristics of Positive Psychology (Mayer & May, 2019; Watts, 2015), such as Adler's concepts of social interest and striving for superiority (Strümpfer, 2005).

Adler's (1982) insistence that each child has the creative ability to develop themselves in the world and his minimisation of the deterministic effects of hereditary and environmental factors in this regard (Chéze, 2009), was an optimistic focus on health and cooperation through social interest and it emphasised free will in the teleological view of development (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008; Mosak, 2000, Watts, 2009, 2015). This also led Adler to be seen as the forerunner of the existentialist movement and the subjective approach to psychology (De Bruin, 2018), especially with regards to his belief that individuals possess the freedom to choose their own determinants of outcome (Corey, 2005). For Adler (1929, 1930), people had the freedom to choose their own responses to situations, which they viewed according to their subjective perceptions of reality. However, this teleological point of view holds criticism as well, as it takes the essentiality out of a decision, which problematises the idea of rational explanation (De Bruin, 2018). In essence, this causes Adler's theory (from an experimental point of view) to be illusionist and unscientific (Boeree, 2006).

Despite the lack of knowledge about Adler and his theory, his contributions have been central to psychology and psychotherapy for more than a century and his ideas and methods have appeared in the theory and practice of most psychologies and counselling approaches since at least 1902 (Herrmann-Keeling, 2010). In addition, Adlerian therapy has been characterised as well-suited for working with diverse populations in contemporary society (Dinkmeyer, Dinkmeyer, & Sperry, 1987; Watts, 2000, 2013). Given that Adlerians believe knowledge is relationally distributed and that people are socially embedded, the application of individual psychology principles in group and on systemic level is also a popular approach (Watts, 2009, 2013). According to Corey (2005), a wide range of therapeutic practises such as Gestalt therapy, learning theory, rational-emotive behaviour therapy, reality therapy, person-centred therapy, cognitive therapy, family systems approaches, existential therapy and the postmodern approaches to therapy had all included some basic Adlerian ideas.

Adler (1958) was an advocate for oppressed groups and he developed his theory to promote social awareness (Watts, 2000, 2013). He was interested in encouraging society to appreciate each person individually and equally (Adler, 1958; Watts, 2000). Adler noticed the view of his age concerning genders, which regarded women of less value (Karpati, 2012). This led Adler (1958) to advocate for the rights of everyone and dedicated some of his writings to encourage the equal treatment of women, as well as advocating the teaching of gender equality in schools (Ansbacher, 1990; Rattner, 1983). Adler warned that maladaptive behavioural patterns would develop if boys believed they were superior to girls, which would result in decreased social interest and increased feelings of inferiority (Ansbacher, 1990). In addition, Adler's approach is beneficial for people with disabilities and special needs, as its emphasis on the impact of organ inferiority, helps to provide a better understanding through identification of compensation methods, striving for superiority and style of life (Dinkmeyer et al., 1987).

2.6.2 Psychobiography

According to Fouché (2015), psychobiography is a valid and underutilised form of exploring lives which bridges the gap between psychology and biography (De Bruin, 2018). Personality theorists such as Alfred Adler (1870-1937) and Erik Erikson (1902-1980) proposed that a psychologically informed biography was probably the best way of capturing a human life situated in time (McAdams, 1994). The decision concerning which psychological theory to use in a psychobiography is a crucial one, as selecting an appropriate theory enables meaningful interpretation and the production of a high-quality study (Du Plessis & Stones, 2019). A psychobiography from an Adlerian perspective encourages understanding over explanation (Pozzuto, 1982). In addition, Adlerians have historically preferred an idiographic or case study method. Thus case-based research is preferred to “be included as a significant contributor to evidence-based practise and may be of particular interest to Adlerians” (Watts, 2013, p. 469). With the theory’s dynamism and flexibility, one can interpret the complexity of a constantly changing subject (Chéze, 2009), although it is a difficult task to understand an individual (Adler, 1958). Subjects must be understood within their socio-cultural and historical context and from a subjective view of reality (Adler, 1930, 1958) in order to emphasise the individual lifestyle within the confines of teleology (Pozzuto, 1982). Adler’s theory would thus approach life history by considering the broader context of society on the person’s development and all subsequent behavioural forces that motivated and formed the personality (De Bruin, 2018; Perry, 2012). For this reason, an Adlerian psychobiography promotes a proper understanding of the person because it explores the social context, genetic and environmental factors which have impacted individuals in their development (Pozzuto, 1982). Adlerian theory is valuable in psychobiography, as it views a life in light of its end (cf. Carlson, 1988), which is made possible by the fictional goal (Chéze, 2009).

In addition, the autobiographical nature of the Adlerian concept of the lifestyle may be considered a type of life script (Schneider & Stone, 1998). This also makes individual psychology well suited to use in psychobiographical research (Perry, 2012). One can formulate the lifestyle as a personal mythology that the person lives as if it were true (McAdams, 1996, 1997; Mosak, 1984, 2000). This myth is a story that warns and comforts, trains the individual on the fictional goal and prepares them to face the future through already tested lifestyles (Adler, 1958).

2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter Adler's theory of individual psychology as the theoretical perspective aimed to uncover the personality development of Eugène Marais was explored. According to Adler's theory, all individuals experience an inborn feeling of inferiority. In an attempt to overcome this inferior feeling, individuals strive for superiority, which is the fundamental dynamic force causing all human activity. This striving receives its specific direction from a unique goal created by the individual, which although influenced by environmental and genetic factors, is not determined by them and because the goal is an ideal, it is fictional. The goal, although largely unknown to the person, provides the key to understand the individual. All psychological processes form a self-consistent organisation from the point of view of the goal. This self-consistent personality structure is known as the style of life, which is firmly established at an early age. The person's schema of apperception is also developed at an early age, which influences all their psychological processes. In addition, individuals cannot be separated from their social situation. Socialisation is an inborn human ability, which needs to be developed. Adler termed this social interest and due to individuals being embedded in their social situations, social interest becomes crucial for their adaptation. Maladjustment is characterised by dependence on symptoms, increased feelings of inferiority, an excessive

unreasonable goal of personal superiority and an underdeveloped social interest. Subsequently, problems are solved in a self-centred “private sense” rather than a task-centred “common sense” manner. Despite Adler’s vague theoretical constructs, his theory holds an optimistic view of humans as free willed and having the ability to control their own lives. Lastly, individual psychology’s holistic approach to understanding human behaviour makes it an appropriate theory to use in psychobiographical research. In Chapter 3 an historical and biographical overview of Eugène Marais’s life is provided.

CHAPTER 3

THE LIFE OF EUGÈNE NIELEN MARAIS

3.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the reader is provided with a biographical and historical overview of Eugène Nielen Marais's life, starting from his birth in 1871 to his death in 1936. The chapter begins with a brief overview of Marais's socio-cultural and historical context in order to present an accurate understanding of Marais (Elms, 1994). Marais's biographical information is presented chronologically thereafter, with each heading focusing on a major time period of his life and subheadings added, where necessary. Since there are some facets of Marais's life that have been disagreed upon and debated by biographers (especially regarding his date of birth, as well as Marais's own tendency to lie about certain biographical facts), it was necessary to incorporate a certain amount of careful inference and interpretation. Visagie (2015) stated many contradictions are displayed by Marais in his life as an advocate, ethologist, poet, writer and editor of the newspaper *Land en Volk* (Heydenrych 2014; Swart 2004) and it continues to preoccupy his biographers (Du Toit, 1940; Hansen, 2013; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), including a growing number of creative writers (Barnard, 2012b; Fugard & Devenish, 1977; Van Reybrouck, 2001). The information from this chapter was drawn from an array of biographies (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 1998a, 1998b, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015) in an attempt to ensure both data triangulation and more accurate information regarding Marais's life. A summarised chronology of Marais's life is provided in Appendix A. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the text discussed herein.

3.2 Eugène Marais's socio-cultural and historical context

3.2.1 *The Anglo Boer Wars*

Two major historical events, which directly impacted Marais's life, were the two Boer Wars. Briefly, the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) arose from the conflict between the British colonisers and the Boers from the Transvaal Republic or the ZAR (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek). The Boers were assisted by the Orange Free State. There were numerous factors that led to the First Anglo-Boer War, which included: the expansion of the British Empire, problems within the Transvaal government, the British annexation of the Transvaal and the Boer opposition to British rule in the Transvaal. The Second Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) was also a war between the British Empire and the two Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. One of the main causes was President Kruger and his government's withholding of voting rights for the Uitlander population (Rousseau, 2005), as well as other interrelated factors such as the conflicting political ideologies of imperialism and republicanism, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, tension between political leaders, the Jameson Raid and the 'Uitlander'¹ (foreigner) franchise (Wessels, 2011).

After the Second Anglo-Boer War, Lord Alfred Milner (High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony) wanted to ensure that the majority of the South African population became English. In order to ensure that South Africa permanently and voluntarily stayed part of the British kingdom, the systematic Anglicisation of the Afrikaans population had to be implemented (Rousseau, 2005). Thus, Milner's post-war plans for the Transvaal included to anglicise the country, erode the Boer population to a

¹ Afrikaans for "foreigner" (lit. "outlander"), was the name given to foreign (primarily British) migrant workers during the Witwatersrand Gold Rush in the Transvaal Republic following the discovery of gold in 1886. The limited rights given to this group in the independent Boer Republics was one of the factors that contributed to the Second Anglo-Boer War (Rosenthal, 1972).

minority of the White population by encouraging large-scale immigration from Britain and to destroy Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.2.2 Pretoria and the Transvaal

At the time of Marais's birth and during his childhood, Pretoria was a small community. It consisted of a few dozen houses and hovels in the open field, with a population of about 60 000 White residents. Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877 and on 16 December 1879 (when Marais was a young boy), the siege of Pretoria began (Rousseau, 1998a).

Most of Pretoria's residents were the descendants of the original *Voortrekkers*² (pioneers); however, there were a small group of foreigners (especially Dutch people) who also lived in the Transvaal. Most of them had citizenship and voting rights and were largely accepted by the older population. The ZAR was still a relatively poor and undeveloped country with a predominantly rural population. However, with the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, their world suddenly and irrevocably changed. As the news spread throughout South Africa and the world, thousands of men travelled to the Transvaal to look for their fortunes (Evans, 2000). Johannesburg turned foreign for most of the longer-established *Transvalers* (people residing in the Transvaal region) (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.2.3 Transvaal politics

In the Transvaal, the word of old *Doppers* (Afrikaner Calvinists), especially President Paul Kruger, held the most weight. Kruger grew up with the Voortrekker ideal of getting rid of British rule and his greatest driving force as a politician was to protect the independence of the ZAR for his people. Similar to many other *Voortrekkers*, he saw similarities between the

² Voortrekker: any of the Boers (Dutch settlers or their descendants), or Afrikaners, who left the British Cape Colony in Southern Africa after 1834 and migrated into the Highveld north of the Orange River (Rosenthal, 1972).

history of the Boers and that of the Israelites and also regarded his people as the chosen people, a way of thinking that had a huge influence on his political views. Furthermore, his reading was largely confined to the Bible, which was his guiding principle in everything. There were conflicting opinions about President Kruger (Van der Merwe, 2015). His supporters saw him as a born statesman and an astute Diplomat with clear judgment and great natural intelligence, despite his lack of formal education, as well as a brave patriot with great vigour, energy and a national leader. But for others, he was a stubborn and close-minded autocrat, uneducated and a supreme crook whose religiosity was mere hypocrisy (Van der Merwe, 2015).

South Africa's politics during Marais's lifetime were Boer versus Brit and White versus non-White. By virtue of Marais's Afrikanership, he was a Nationalist (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). One of the factors that led to the establishment of the National Party in the Transvaal was the Afrikaner opposition to the proposed expansion of the non-White vote from the Cape to the other provinces (Rousseau, 2005).

3.2.4 Opium and morphine use during Marais's lifetime

It is important to understand that in the 19th century, the attitude towards opium and other narcotics was very different compared to that of the 21st century. The use of opium was legal and, within reason, it was even socially acceptable (Rousseau, 2005). In the year of Marais's birth (1871) and for many years thereafter, children's medicines that contained high opium content were freely available. In 1892, every adult in the Transvaal could buy opium without a prescription and it was found in a range of popular medicine against a variety of ailments (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

As early as 1806, opium was generally not considered a dangerous substance but rather regarded as a painkiller and sedative that should be in every home pharmacy. In London, one could easily obtain opium as the drug was also not banned in Britain. One could buy laudanum

(a tincture containing dissolved opium) at any chemist without prescription to treat a variety of ailments such as insomnia, colds, heart disease and menstrual cramps (Van der Merwe, 2015). Opium was not only used for medicinal purposes but was romanticised as well. In his book, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821), Thomas De Quincey romanticised the use of opium and elevated it to a cult-like status (Rousseau, 2005). The romanticising of opium led to it being consumed by those who saw themselves as bohemian intellectuals or innovative artists, small groups who deliberately wanted to challenge the conventional ideas of the middle class, as well as those fascinated by the occult (Berridge, 1978).

3.2.5 Victorian Spiritism

At the end of the 18th century, an Austrian doctor, Franz Anton Mesmer, had all of Paris talking about his ability to cure diseases through “animal magnetism” (Swart, 2004). However, this was nothing more than hypnosis (i.e., mesmerism). After a French royal commission discovered that Mesmer’s methods were dangerous, he disappeared from the scene. Regardless, his methods continued to be practised by others, while some were frauds and charlatans, others were serious investigators. By the middle of the 19th century, there was a new trend called spiritism. Many of the fraudsters who made their money from mesmerism, emerged overnight as psychics. Séances, telepathy, telekinesis, levitation and clairvoyance were very popular and Victorian spiritism reached its golden age in the late 1800s (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

In the 1880s, mesmerism was scientifically applied for the first time in the Salpêtrière (a Parisian hospital for the mentally ill) by the neurologist Dr Jean-Martin Charcot who used mesmerism to relieve or cure physical defects of a mental origin (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). In 1885, Sigmund Freud became one of Charcot’s students. After Freud’s return to Vienna, he began applying hypnosis in the treatment of mental disorders. He published a description of

this treatment in “*Studien über Hysterie*” (1893) (Studies of Hysteria) (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Swart, 2004).

The philosophical system of Theosophy also emerged during this time. Theosophy pursues direct knowledge about the mystery of life and nature, especially the nature of divinity. This study seeks to understand the powers that connect the universe, humanity and divinity in an attempt to provide a coherent explanation of the purpose and origin of everything (Washington, 1993). The objectives of the Theosophical Society were threefold: (a) to form a central part of the universal brotherhood of mankind, without distinguishing on the basis of race, creed or sex; (b) to urge the study of comparative religion, science and philosophy; and (c) to investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the latent power in humanity (Washington, 1993).

3.2.6 *The industrial revolution and modernisation*

In 1897, when Marais arrived in London, Queen Victoria had been on the throne for 60 years and under her reign, London became the largest and richest city on earth. The city was a magnet for immigrants and visitors from all over the world (Van der Merwe, 2015). For everyone with an English background (such as Marais), this was the capital of the world (Rousseau, 1998a). Not only was it overwhelmingly big but also new, modern, progressive and dynamic (Rousseau, 2005).

Britain where Marais settled in at the end of the 19th century had been undergoing many changes due to the industrial revolution (Marais, 2001). More than half of Britain’s population had already entered the cities and large parts of the countryside were depopulated. The changes took place gradually, but over time, it had a drastic economic shift from agriculture to industry (Marais, 2001). The consequences of the industrial revolution were visible everywhere. Mines, factories, railway lines and channels made their mark on the landscape. Housing was functional, but cramped (Marais, 2001). At the turn of the century, London already had 4.5

million inhabitants. The city showed signs of modernisation in many ways (e.g., the change from the use of horse carriages to cars, motor taxis, motor buses and the electric tram) (Hibbert, 1977).

It was also a time of intellectual revolution in England and there were fierce clashes between the old conservatives and the new progressives (Rousseau, 2005). The science since the Enlightenment in the 18th century had taken a prominent place in Western thinking. The industrial revolution further increased the prominence of science (Marais, 2001). This increasing status and authority of science and Charles Darwin's theory of evolution led to the established churches in Britain losing a tremendous amount of authority and attendance. Furthermore, textual and historical researchers had been trying for decades to systematically demythologise the Bible and humanise the figure of Christ (Washington, 1993). In South Africa, however, the socio-religious life of the Afrikaner, particularly those residing in the rural communities, was primarily described in terms of the strict refined Calvinism of their beliefs. This faith was both impenetrable and narrowly restricted (Swart, 2004).

The British census of 1851 testified an increasing secularisation of society (Matthew, 1989). In both this tendency, as well as the spirit of the time in general, liberalism, which considered the freedom of the individual as a natural law, played a considerable role. A further contributing factor to the changing world economy of the time was the publication of Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) *On the origin of species* (1859) (Marais, 2001). This work had a particular influence on Marais and his writing (Rousseau, 2005). As an artist, Marais was a product of his time. He displayed an obsession with the 20th century's interest in the mystery of human origin. Marais, thus, found himself in London in a time when dramatic shifts in beliefs occurred regarding humanity's place in both society and nature (Marais, 2001).

3.3. Historical periods in the life of Eugène Marais (1871-1936)

3.3.1 An image of youth (1871 – 1887)

Eugène Nielen Marais was born on 9 January 1871³ in Pretoria (Rousseau, 2005). He was the 13th and youngest child of Catharina Marais and Jan Marais and the first to be born in the ZAR (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). Before Eugène's birth, Jan and Catharina lived on the farm Nectar on Jonkershoek, Stellenbosch. In 1863 they moved to Bloemfontein where Jan Marais became State Secretary. However, in 1867 he was dismissed from civil service for "gross irregularity in connection with the holding of public accounts" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 2). After his insolvency, in late 1869, he was put to trial. It was at about this time that the family fled to the Transvaal, where they lived in a cottage on Jan's brother Piet Marais's farm. However, Jan later decided to return to Bloemfontein to receive his punishment. He was sentenced to a year in prison, of which he served only five months (Schoeman, 1980). By the time Eugène was born, his father, Jan Nielen, was considered a shame on the family name. These events resulted in Eugène growing up fatherless. Jan Marais was considered the "perfect invalid" by his daughters, the head of the household only by name and no father at all (Rousseau, 2005). By profession, Eugène's father was once a lawyer and in Bloemfontein a civil servant. In the Transvaal, he drove transport and peddled for a while, and then he did nothing. His daughters called him "genteelly poor" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 7).

³ While there is still debate and speculation on Marais's actual date of birth, for consistency purposes the researcher chose Rousseau's (1998a, 1998b, 2005) date of Marais's birth, due to him being Marais's primary biographer. As well as the fact that various researcher's (Du Toit, 1940; Swart, 2004; Marais, 2001; Mieny, 1984; Van Luijk, 2014) also support this date. It seems that when Marais dealt with official institutions in South Africa, such as the school, church and state, where there would be serious consequences if he was caught lying, he gave his correct age. But where the consequences were less serious, or the chance of being caught slim, as in the case of friends, biographers and institutions in Britain, he pretended to be younger (Van der Merwe, 2015). This likely caused the variations of his birth date some being 1870, 1872 and even 1873.

After Jan returned from Bloemfontein, the family moved to Pretoria. Their house was situated near the thickly forested Apies River (Rousseau, 1998a). This was Eugène's childhood home. The Marais's were completely English-minded and spoke predominantly English at home (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Van Luijk, 2014). Marais himself later acknowledged that "I am far more fluent and more at ease in English" (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 28).

While the Marais's welcomed the educated and refined President Burgers as a friend in their home (Mieny, 1984), they looked down on Paul Kruger and on what they saw as his uneducated Reformed supporters, the '*takhaarboere*' (i.e., hayseeds or hicks) of the outback (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). One of Marais's sisters recalled how President Kruger once visited them in Bloemfontein and because Mrs Marais did not recognise him due to his "simple appearance" she told him to wait on the porch until her husband arrived (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

With regards to his childhood and youth years, Marais left some autobiographical writings to give a glimpse into the world he grew up in. These especially focused on the natural landscape and wildlife of Pretoria, which made a particularly big impression on him as a child (Marais, 2001). These writings appear in "*'n Paradys van weleer en ander geskifte*" (A paradise of yesteryear and other writings) and "*Spore in die sand en ander vertellings*" (Tracks in the sand and other narratives) (Marais, 2001). Pretoria was teemed with snakes during the summer and Marais evidently had a lifelong fascination with snakes, which already started at an early age. As a young boy, he also kept scorpions and spiders. On the outskirts of town, where the Marais's lived, it was practically wilderness. Between the dense forests and patches of trees, it swarmed of birds. One of Marais's earliest memories was how his mother fed birds at their kitchen door. Marais recalled that "the possession of cages full of chickens and ducks gave me the feeling of inexhaustible wealth" (Marais, 1984, p. 253). As a child, Marais often disappeared on outings and picnics into the bush (Du Toit, 1940). Furthermore, he had an

interest in the supernatural from an early age. In 1879, when Marais was eight-years old, he and a friend draped themselves with sheets and not only frightened the neighbourhood children, but scared themselves and created more ruckus by tripping over roots and pursuing the children in bloodied sheets (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

Marais's schooling, as with all pupils in British South Africa, was in English and he was taught to view the world from an English perspective (Rousseau, 2005). When the Boer's rebelled in 1880 against the British annexation of the Transvaal and Pretoria's siege, most Pretorians were placed in camps. However, the Marais family, including young Marais, stayed with the British troops in their military camp under better conditions (Mieny, 1984; Van der Merwe, 2015). Although no one could leave the camp, Marais was an exception. He recalled (Rousseau, 2005):

Me and a Koranatjie (a member of a nomadic Khoi-San group) with whom I always played with, were on leave from the camp and playing on the river when the Boers under Henning Pretorius was scraping some cattle east of the Apies River in the present Sunnyside. The English shot at them from the fort and some of the bombs did not fall far from us in the bush along the river. Shortly afterwards the Koranatjie and I saw the battle at Skinners court from the bush, when Henning Pretorius was shot in the chest. (p. 13)

Several months after the Boers' victory, Marais was sent to Boshof in the Free State to live with his eldest brother, Charles (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Not too far from here, Marais's eldest sister Lizzie Niemeyer lived with her husband, Emil Niemeyer, and their eight children (Rousseau, 2005). The first Boer War was also a turning point in Marais's relationship with his father. Marais's brother, Charles, eventually fulfilled the father's role in Marais's life (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005) and Marais saw Lizzie as a mother rather than as a sister (Van der Merwe, 2015). His interest in nature and animals continued in Boshof. He later wrote "in rainy years, when the pans [shallow lakes] filled up, the district was transformed. It became

the sanctuary of millions of water birds, including numerous visitors from Central Africa and as far north as the Nile” (Marais, 1984, p. 256).

Marais was fond of English poets and writers (Van der Merwe, 2015). In Boshof, Byron’s poetry inspired the 12-year-old Marais to write his first poem, titled “*The Soldier’s Grave*”. It recalls an episode from the First Anglo-Boer War (Rousseau, 1998a). As a young boy, Marais appreciated the literary beauty of the Bible, and despite never being very religious, he seemed to have had considerable knowledge of the Bible (Du Toit, 1940).

At the end of 1884, Marais moved with his sister, Lizzie Niemeyer, and her younger children to the Paarl (Swart, 2004). Marais and his cousins attended the Paarl Public School. Shortly after his arrival in the Paarl, Marais visited the Cape for the first time. Together he and his cousins explored the farm of one of his uncles in the Jonkershoek Valley, which swarmed with birds. Using bird-lime, they brought home Cape canaries and a variety of starlings (Rousseau, 1998a).

While in the Paarl, Marais continued to write poetry. His “*Ode to the Paarl*” was published in the *Paarl District Advertiser* (Marais, 2001). He also submitted “*The Soldier’s Grave*”. Afterwards, he submitted another two, strongly patriotic poems, namely “*Majuba*” and “*South Africa*”. Marais’s poems five years after the First Boer War were particularly patriotic. In the course of 18 months, nine of his poems appeared in the *Paarl District Advertiser*. One of the poems was titled “*There Shall be no more sea*”. Drought (an interest that started in his youth) was a recurring theme in Marais’s writings throughout his life (Visagie, 2015).

Besides the publication of his first poems, Marais was also a journalist for the Union Debating Society and friends remember his wit and sagacity. In general, his school years in the Paarl were a time of success and strict moral discipline. One Saturday afternoon he and a friend walked to the banks of a river after heavy rainfall. While the boys observed the water,

Marais took out a tobacco pipe. After Marais's friend convinced him that it was bad for his health, Marais slung the pipe into the river (Rousseau, 2005).

In June 1887, the year after the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, Marais matriculated with a second-class exemption at the Paarl Public School for Boys and returned to his brother Charles in Boshof (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). During this time, Lizzie Niemeyer's husband committed suicide due to bankruptcy. After this incident, Marais returned with his sister Lizzie and her children to Pretoria (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.2 *Land and Volk* (1888 – 1896)

Arriving back in Pretoria, Marais exhibited a typical late Victorian outlook. He had the informed Victorian's passion for new scientific and intellectual theories and unlike most Boers, he was agnostic (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais started his career as a clerk at a law firm (Heydenrych, 2014; Van der Merwe, 2015). However, the work soon bored him and in 1888 he became a junior reporter ('cub reporter') at the anti-Kruger *Transvaal Advertiser* (Heydenrych, 2014; Marais, 2001; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a). Marais learnt the principles of the American yellow press as it was practised by some papers during the time. This kind of journalism included foul personal attacks in the editorial columns, the horse-whipping of editors by infuriated readers and an occasional duel between editors (Mieny, 1984; Swart, 2004). It was a lively kind of journalism and Marais soon became a very buoyant journalist (Rousseau, 1998a). However, Marais's later editorship was riddled with controversy. By far the main feature of Marais's editorship was his sharp criticism on the policies and actions of the Kruger regime and its officials (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

Shortly after becoming a journalist, he made headlines when he was prohibited from the press box by Kruger because he reported about a confidential conversation of the Chairman of

the Assembly (Du Toit, 1940; Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). This prohibition was the beginning of a long conflict between Marais and Kruger (Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984).

During Marais's journalistic years, he developed a considerable interest in minerals and prospecting (Mieny, 1984). This was reinforced by the discovery of gold a few years before on the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. The discovery of gold resulted in the rapid growth of Johannesburg (as well as the Uitlander population) (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 1998a). These developments also offered 'hot news' for journalists and soon Marais headed for Johannesburg as a reporter, where he became friends with some of the Uitlanders (Mieny, 1984). One of the places where they met socially was the Pretoria club of which Marais became a member (Van der Merwe, 2015).

At the age of 19, Marais's behaviour resembled that of a rebellious teenager (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). The pen-holder on his desk was a human skull and in the corner of his room, lived a family of spiders, whose behaviour he liked to study. He even had a python (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais was an agnostic pantheist (Du Toit, 1940; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015) and rejected the narrow dogma of his church. Due to his sisters' strong personalities and distinct ideas, clashes between him and some of them often occurred (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's interests were influenced by the outside world, particularly England (Rousseau, 2005), where it was a time of intellectual revolution and new ideas. There were fierce clashes between the old conservatives and the new progressives. Marais read about all the new Victorian theories and literary works. He was much more modern than the "old Boer world". He was a free thinker and a true product of his time. Despite being agnostic, he was extremely tolerant of the religious beliefs of other people. However, he loathed all forms of hypocritical transcendence (Du Toit, 1940). During this time, many people thought that Marais was asocial (Du Toit, 1940), as he was preoccupied with journalism, books and animals. His interest in

plants and animals had increased since his early childhood (Rousseau, 2005). Sometimes he went on picnics but mostly, as in his childhood, he disappeared into the bush (Rousseau, 2005).

Many old Pretorians (the Marais's included) displayed a natural distrust and resentment towards President Kruger. Their main objection was Kruger's concession policy and his policy to appoint mainly Dutch people in government jobs⁴ (Heydenrych, 2014). This made Marais and many other Transvalers, feel inferior towards the Dutch in the ZAR (Rousseau, 2005). Kruger's nepotism (Heydenrych, 2014), distrust towards the Uitlanders and Cape Afrikaners (Van der Merwe, 2015) and considering born Transvalers as not educated enough for government jobs, fuelled Marais's resentment towards Kruger from an early age (Rousseau, 1998b). This resentment towards Dutch people is significant as Marais, similarly to many of his colleagues, defined himself as an Afrikaner, not only as opposed to the English but also as opposed to the Dutch (Heydenrych, 2014). Swart (2004) saw this as Marais's way of displaying his sense of ethnic identity or 'Afrikanerdom'.

On 10 October 1890, Marais was formally appointed as the editor of *Land en Volk*, the only Dutch-Afrikaans opposition newspaper in the Transvaal (Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a; Van der Merwe, 2015) and in 1891, Ewald Esselen helped Marais and his friend Jimmy Roos to buy *Land en Volk* (Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). In 1892 Marais became the sole owner of *Land en Volk*. Having the forum he desired, led to further and greater clashes with Kruger. Almost every week, Marais launched blistering attacks on the government and Kruger. However, from Marais's side, it was not a personal vendetta, but took the form of loud and uncompromising criticism of Kruger's actions as president (Heydenrych, 2014). According to Heydenrych (2014),

⁴ The Dutch held an awkward position in the Transvaal. At this point there were not enough Transvaal born Boers with the necessary expertise to fill all the government posts of a fast-growing state. But rather than appointing qualified Cape Afrikaners, Kruger preferred to recruit Dutch people. Kruger did not trust the Cape Afrikaners as he suspected them of secretly supporting Cecil John Rhodes, who was elected, with the assistance of the Afrikaner Bond in 1890, as the first minister of the Cape colony. But the Dutch were unpopular among many Transvalers, Marais included. Furthermore, the Dutch supported Kruger in all political matters (Van der Merwe, 2015).

“openness, transparency and honesty were non-negotiable in Marais’s value system and he did not hesitate in the least to expose anything that did not conform to these values (p. 897). He had a “nose” for newsworthy events and exposed controversial issues in *Land en Volk* without hesitation. He also practised investigative journalism to a bigger degree than his contemporary editors (Heydenrych, 2014). There was also frequent inter-paper rivalry between Marais and the editors of Dutch newspapers (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005). He made enemies of the editors of *De Volksstem* or ‘*Volkssmet*’ (blemish of the people) as Marais nicknamed it, including the *Pers* (dubbed the ‘*Pest*’ by Marais) (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

Marais created a fictitious reader of *Land en Volk* called ‘Afrikanus Junior’, who frequently ganged up against Kruger (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005). Using ‘Afrikanus Junior’, Marais was free even under the censorship laws to use the ‘Americanised’ methods of personal attack (Swart, 2004). Marais often used letters by fictional readers to convey his own opinion (Van der Merwe, 2015). He also reported under other pseudonyms (e.g., ‘*Klein Joggum*’, ‘*Weerman*’ and ‘*Marker*’) (Heydenrych, 2014) and often used pseudonyms when he published poems in the papers as well. Furthermore, Marais created a column devoted entirely to political abuse, known as ‘*Swart Piletjies*’ (Little Black Pills) (Swart, 2004) and wrote under the pseudonym ‘*Apteker*’ (pharmacist) (Rousseau, 1998b; 2005). Marais started making a name for himself as the ‘*enfant terrible*’ of South African journalism (Marais, 2001; Swart, 2004).

Besides being the editor of *Land en Volk*, Marais became the assistant editor of *The Press* newspaper, as well as the assistant editor of the *Transvaal Observer* (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005). Due to financial problems, Marais decided to experiment with the use of Afrikaans in *Land en Volk*, which increased the paper’s circulation (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Discussions about the Afrikaans language soon became a recurring theme in *Land en Volk* (Swart, 2004). Marais made Afrikaans a language of the press in a society where the use of

Dutch was still the norm in the press and official circles (Heydenrych, 2014). Occasionally, Marais waxed arguments on those who opposed his use of Afrikaans (Swart, 2004). In spite of his sometimes brash editorial style in violation of the journalistic convention, Marais appealed to people's conscience by exposing injustice and political bungling. He undoubtedly influenced the political thinking of the populace. In this regard, his use of doggerel and satirical colloquies played an important role (Heydenrych, 2014).

Marais implemented a strategy similar to that employed by Joseph Pulitzer – using sensational stories, such as the attacks on Kruger and exposing state corruption in an attempt “to win a larger circulation, then having won an audience, propagating politics through the editorial columns” (Swart, 2004, p. 46). Marais's journalistic commentary played an important role in a conservative and largely agrarian community. Undoubtedly, *Land en Volk's* reporting made the citizens, including those in the rural areas, more critical of the government (Heydenrych, 2014). Marais used his newspaper as a powerful agent of progressive advocacy, helping to establish a public understanding of socio-political relations (Swart, 2004). His reprimands were indeed often emotionally charged and personal in nature, especially his criticism of Dutch government officials. However, through his opinion and critique, he was able to correctly interpret the opinions and feelings of much of the population (Heydenrych, 2014).

In April 1892, Marais became a member of the Transvaal Freemasons⁵ in Pretoria. Marais progressed swiftly in the organisation (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), probably because he lied about his age (Rousseau, 1998b). In May 1898, the Freemasons terminated Marais's membership due to unpaid fees to his Transvaal Lodge (Van der Merwe, 2015).

⁵ An international fraternal order established for mutual help and fellowship, known for their elaborate secret ceremonies (Cooper, 1980).

3.3.2.1. *Marais's influence on the 1893 presidential election*

President Kruger's fear that the Uitlanders would soon be a majority and thus be able to take over the country's elections led to him setting new requirements that made it almost impossible for the newcomers to acquire Transvaal citizenship or the right to vote (Van der Merwe, 2015). Some Transvalers feared that if these issues were not satisfactorily resolved, it would eventually lead to war with Britain. These men became known as the Progressives, of which Marais was a member (Swart, 2004). Kruger's supporters identified the progressives as traitors and "Britishers" (Van der Merwe, 2015). The progressives supported General Joubert (the commander-general of the Transvaal) for the presidency against Kruger (Mieny, 1984). Marais's vocal support for General Joubert as rival candidate nearly upset the old order and enabled Joubert to achieve by far his best performance in three elections (Heydenrych, 2014). Prior to 1893, the elections proceeded with little public attention. However, a dramatic change occurred in 1893 due to the influence of Marais's *Land en Volk*, as it was the first time that there were two main camps, 'Progressive' and 'Conservative' (Swart, 2004). However, after all Marais's efforts, Joubert lost the presidential election. Marais bitterly expressed his feelings about this in *Land en Volk* (Swart, 2004).

This great contrast between the young journalist and the elderly president is noteworthy. Marais was educated in English, a Victorian free-thinker with liberal views and the high ideals of youth and he detested corruption (Rousseau, 2005). Kruger, however, was a Reformer with almost no formal education who interpreted everything according to the Bible and in Marais's opinion, was ruling the country into the abyss. In Marais's severe opposition against Kruger, one sees the rebellion of youth against age and also the rebellion of son against father. Marais's father who was in prison for the theft of state funds when Marais was born, was about the same age as Kruger (Rousseau, 2005). Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais possibly made

a subconscious connection between his own jailbird father and the father figure of the country whom he also saw as sly.

Besides having Uitlander friends, Marais identified himself, emotionally, with the Transvalers' quest for independence and he detested British Imperialism. However, Marais and other "progressive Afrikaners" idea of an independent Transvaal differed vastly from Kruger's ideal. Marais believed that if the newcomers were welcomed as citizens, they would help to make the ZAR a fully independent country, which would place it in the modern world and protect it from British Imperialism (Van der Merwe, 2015). After Marais's judgment, Kruger and his followers stood in the way of this ideal. He believed that these men wanted to keep the Transvaal in the 18th century and wanted to rule the country to their own financial advantage. He was convinced that if the Uitlanders had the right to vote, they would join the progressive Boers, which would end Kruger's rule (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.2.2 *In the arms of Morpheus*

The presidential election, as well as Marais's multiple editorial responsibilities, were taxing on his health and he evidently started suffering from insomnia (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). In these tumultuous months, Marais's insomnia and nervous exhaustion had reached their peak and he started using morphine (Rousseau, 2005). During this period, *Land en Volk* received its first libel. It was also Marais's first libel case; the first of many (Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a; Van der Merwe, 2015). In the first four years of his editorship, he received 13 allegations of alleged defamation (Heydenrych, 2014).

Marais gave different answers to the reason why he started using morphine (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005), which probably was because he had overworked himself in his journalistic job and began suffering from neuritis (a painful inflammation of the nerve fibres). This might

be true, as during this time, Marais wrote that (Rousseau, 2005) “the only respite I have is in the arms of the divine drug” (p. 72).

Different types of people used opium in the 19th century for different reasons. Some used it purely for medicinal purposes and kept their usage strictly within limits. Others who used opium were reluctant to accept responsibility and desired to flee from their own humiliations and shortcomings. This type played an important role in Marais’s later addiction. Others also used it purely out of curiosity (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005). It is possible that Marais began using morphine for medicinal purposes against stress and insomnia. He could also have started using it experimentally on the basis of De Quincey, whose *Confessions* (1821) inspired untold young Victorians to experiment with opium. Marais owned a number of De Quincey’s books, which strengthens the suspicion that he was influenced by De Quincey to experiment with narcotics (Rousseau, 1998b, 2005). Marais’s peculiar interests, such as his Freemasons membership and the fact that he owned a python and used a human skull as a penholder may also have influenced him to experiment with morphine (Rousseau, 2005). Although Marais originally used morphine for medicinal purposes, he quickly began to use it as a stimulant and then as a method to escape from reality. In the early 1890s, Marais delivered a fiery eulogy of the joys of opium at the Society of Young South Africa. He shamelessly and proudly added (Rousseau, 2005) “I take it too. I have taken it – I am taking it still” (p. 65).

3.3.2.3 Lettie Beyers

On 2 March 1893, Marais’s parents celebrated their golden anniversary. During this time, he met Aletta Beyers (Lettie), whom he later married in 1894 (Rousseau, 1998a; 2005). On their return from their honeymoon in Natal Lettie bought a property, which she placed on her own name to protect it from possible financial problems at *Land en Volk*. She was also worried

about Marais's morphine use. *Land en Volks's* huge legal costs of the past few years, also swallowed all the newspapers profits (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.2.4 *Selling Land en Volk to the Uitlanders*

After the disappointing outcome of the 1893 presidential election, the mining magnates and their firms established a secret fund to support the Progressive Movement. A key element to achieve this was to have an Uitlander mouthpiece (Swart, 2004). Their eyes fell on *Land en Volk*, which already had a loyal reader base among the Boers and shared many of the same aims as the mining bosses. Marais sold *Land en Volk* to the Uitlanders (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). In exchange, he stayed on for two years at a salary of £50 per month (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Meanwhile, Marais could write what he wanted, and the consortium subsidised the newspaper in secret (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.2.5 *Eugène Charles Gerard Marais*

On 8 July 8 1895, Marais and Lettie's son [Eugène Charles Gerard Marais (1895-1977)] was born (Rousseau, 1998a; 2005); the same day that the Delagoa Bay railway formally opened. This track gave the Transvaal a way out to sea. The opening caused a great celebration in Pretoria. Due to all the revelry of the Delagoa Bay opening, the doctor responsible for the delivery of Lettie's son, arrived drunk. The childbirth was normal, but a few days later, Lettie's condition deteriorated and she died on 17 July 1895 of puerperal fever (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). The same doctor performed another delivery, which also ended in the mother succumbing of puerperal fever (Rousseau, 2005).

It was tradition during this time that the first son is named after the father's grandfather. However, Marais deviated from this and named his son, Eugène Charles Gerard, his own name and the names of his brother Charles of Boshof, whom he had accepted as his surrogate father

long ago. Marais was either unwilling or unable to care for his child and his sister, Sophie Ueckerman, adopted the baby as her own (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

The death of his wife had an immense effect on his morphine use (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). Marais fled to his brother Charles in Boshof, which he always did in times of great crisis (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). When Marais returned to Pretoria, he suspected that Commandant Tobias Smuts of Ermelo was the author of a threatening letter and set a defamation of £ 5,000 against him (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.2.6 *The Jameson Raid*

By December 1895, the Uitlander's plans were ready for the Johannesburg revolt⁶. In a special edition of *Land en Volk*, on 30 December 1895, the facts of the Raid were given and the manifesto of the National Union was published (Swart, 2004). It appears that General Joubert sent Marais and Joubert's son-in-law to Johannesburg to discuss the seriousness of the situation with the Uitlanders (Mieny, 1984; Swart, 2004). Marais met with several prominent Uitlanders in the Rand Club, where he suggested that they open channels of communication with the government to assert this position. From the Uitlander perspective, Marais was known as a 'liberal-minded Dutchman who sympathised with the Uitlanders'. He tried to convince the members of the Reform Committee of the pointlessness of their initiative and that the government would be just if negotiations were opened (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Later in his life, Marais gave conflicting versions of this meeting (Van der Merwe, 2015), such as that he was one of the 10 guards whom Jameson and his three main officers brought to Pretoria that same night. But there is no independent confirmation of this. Marais would later in his

⁶ The Jameson Raid (29 December 1895 – 2 January 1896) was an abortive attempt to overthrow the government of Paul Kruger carried out by British colonial statesman Leander Starr Jameson and his Company troops. Despite the raid being ineffective, it was a motivating determinant in the Second Anglo Boer War (Le Roux, 1946).

life, frequently attribute the actions of a friend or acquaintance to himself (Van der Merwe, 2015).

There were suspicions about Marais's role in the Jameson Raid, especially over *Land en Volk's* publication of the National Union's manifesto (Mieny, 1984; Swart, 2004). Marais defended his actions in an editorial on 9 January 1896, in which he said that he translated and published the manifesto to make the people aware of things and at the request of several high-ranking compatriots who were eager to find out what was going on in Johannesburg (Van der Merwe, 2015).

The Raid hardened both the Boers and the Uitlanders' attitudes, which made the chances of a peaceful solution much smaller and the Boers started preparing their military, while Britain consolidated their alliances (Van der Merwe, 2015). The Uitlander subsidies for *Land en Volk* discontinued during this time, which led to *Land en Volk's* circulation to decline and the paper suffered financially (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Adding to this, a new, more stringent press law came into effect the following month. Accordingly, the owner and editor of a newspaper could be held responsible for everything that appeared in it and any letter or article with a political intent by its author had to be signed with his full name and address (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005), which meant the end of Marais's pseudonyms (Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015).

The death of his wife and his father and mother passing away in quick succession (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Swart, 2004), were difficult for Marais. In addition, the limitations placed on him and *Land en Volk* by the new press law also impacted him. Furthermore, his rival, President Kruger's, hold on the government was stronger than ever after the Jameson Raid, in spite of Marais's fierce journalistic campaign in *Land en Volk*. There were also suspicions about Marais's exact role in the Jameson Raid (Van der Merwe, 2015). Adding to this, the Supreme Court ruled that there was no proof that Commandant Tobias

Smuts wrote the threatening letter the previous year, which Marais had him charged for defamation and Marais had to pay the law suit's legal costs of nearly £500 (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). He was also arrested in the Volksraad on the grounds of high treason, but found not guilty and was called a “litigation fanatic” by *De Volksstem* (Swart, 2004, p. 56). These allegations compelled Marais to rather study abroad. According to Marais, his friends advised him to qualify as an advocate in England at the Inner Temple⁷ (Du Toit, 1940; Swart, 2004). On 3 December 1896, Marais appointed James Younger O’Brien as editor of *Land en Volk* (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004) and departed to London to study Law at the Inner Temple (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a).

3.3.3 The wide world (1897 – 1901)

Marais arrived in London in 1897, where he lived in a boarding house in 24 Lewisham Park Crescent (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). His years abroad were a key period in Marais’s development (Rousseau, 2005), as his time in London provided him with huge intellectual gain and particularly influenced his scientific writings (Marais, 2001).

Nine days after his arrival, Marais filled in the Inner Temple application form. On the application form, he lied about certain information. He wrote that his father was an advocate (Mieny, 1984), although he was merely a lawyer. Prospective students had to write an entrance examination unless they already had a bachelor's degree. Marais, however, only obtained a matric. In an attempt to avoid the entrance examination, he filled in that he studied at the Cape University, which was a lie (Mieny, 1984). Interestingly, his friend and former partner Jimmy Roos obtained his bachelor's degree in law at the University of the Cape the previous year. This would not be the last time Marais attributed someone else’s achievements or actions to himself (Van der Merwe, 2015).

⁷ The institution where prospective lawyers trained in England (Rousseau, 2005).

Compared to Pretoria, London was very big in size and made a tremendous impression on Marais. Within these few weeks, Marais formed a definite opinion on the British Empire and his fellow students. In a letter to his friend, Charlie Pienaar, on 22 February 1897, Marais wrote (Van der Merwe, 2015):

... they are the heirs of centuries of power and wealth and vice and their ugly faces tell you that they are as impotent as they are unworthy of holding the reins of power which chance has placed in their feeble hands ... (p. 81)

At this point, Marais did not have a high opinion of his fellow British students. At the time a lot of educated British people were quite unfriendly and condescending toward strangers. In addition, they regarded the Boers as illiterate and barbaric (Van der Merwe, 2015). Furthermore, the humiliation of Majuba and the failed Jameson Raid was still fresh in their memory. The British student's treatment of Marais was, therefore cold and it clearly offended him (Van der Merwe, 2015). Several of his fellow students came from India. The Indian students were also regarded by the British students as members of a lesser nation. He and these students shared an aversion to British imperialism (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.1 *Progress with Law studies*

Marais severely underestimated the academic side of his course, but he decided to lie about his academic progress (Van der Merwe, 2015). He informed O'Brien at *Land en Volk* that he had successfully passed his first examination. In reality, he was to write it in October and with all but brilliant results. Much more serious misrepresentations of his academic progress soon appeared in *Land en Volk* (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). As the months passed, he wrote to *Land en Volk*, informing them that he had passed each of his examinations (Rousseau, 2005). In actuality, he would scrape his final examination five years after his arrival in London, and in between, there were periods of 18 months in which he wrote no examination at all

(Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005). The likely reason for these lies was his friend's and family's expectations of him (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's propensity to exaggerate was also evident in his stories he told years later. For example, Marais told his son that he met the famous actors and theatre managers, Henry Irving and Gerald du Maurier, as well as Marie Corelli, a popular novelist in London (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004), whether these were true is, however, unknown (Rousseau, 1998b). Marais even recalled that Marie Corelli wanted to marry him (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

The British Museum and Regent's Park zoo attracted Marais's attention the most (Rousseau, 1998a). He was especially attracted to the primate exhibition. Possibly through the mediation of the zoo (as he would claim later) or possibly from a pet store, he acquired a baby chimpanzee (named Sally), which he raised and studied. He kept her not as a pet but as a child in the house (Rousseau, 1998a). This was Marais's (1969, 1971) first experience with the behaviour of apes and possibly the origin of "*The Soul of the Ape*" (1969) and "*Burgers van die Berge*" (My friends the Baboons) (1971) (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 1998a). This event had a considerable influence on Marais, as he would repeatedly refer to it throughout his life (Rousseau, 1998a). In later years, Marais provided variations and add-ons to this event. For example, he told a neighbour of his in Heidelberg in the Transvaal that he had taught Sally to count to three and recalled that when he once had to leave, he had to take the ape back to the zoo, which is not consistent with his version in "*Burgers van die Berge*" (1971). Marais also claimed that the zoo asked him to take care of two chimpanzees, which he kept in his room (Van der Merwe, 2015). The British Museum also stimulated Marais's interest in ancient Egypt and he became interested in Egyptian hieroglyphs and the deciphering thereof (Rousseau, 1998a).

3.3.3.2 Marais's esoteric interests

Three of Marais's primary interests in Europe were medicine, psychology and the supernatural (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005); a trend which had already appeared before he joined the Freemasons (Van der Merwe, 2015). These interests were later reflected in his short stories dealing with unusual and often (ostensibly) supernatural and mysterious events [i.e., "*Die spookbul van Farellone*" (The ghost bull of Farellone), "*Die vlieënde Hollander*" (The flying Dutchman), "*Diep rivier*" (Deep river), "*Die man met die mantel*" (The man with the cloak) and "*Die pad van drome*" (The path of dreams) (Marais, 1984) all of which appeared in *Die Vaderland* newspaper]. In "*Laramie die Wonderwerker*" (1950) (Laramie, the Miracle Worker), one clearly notices autobiographical elements in his decrepit and eponymous protagonist (Marais, 1984) "I was always inclined to the study of the mystifying things in nature and in the human soul" (p. 854).

Marais's interests ranged from hieroglyphics and hypnosis to magic and spiritualism as well as Theosophy (see Section 3.2.5), which provides the key to his seemingly disparate esoteric interests (Van der Merwe, 2015). The Theosophical Society's primary objectives (see Section 3.2.5) were consistent with the principles of the Freemasons, an organisation which Marais still belonged to in 1897 and that also fit an inquiring mind such as his, although not adhering to more traditional faith. In Helen Blavatsky's book, *Isis Unveiled* (1877) emphasis is placed on ancient Egyptian esoteric knowledge, indicating that deciphering their hieroglyphics would reveal that knowledge (Blavatsky, 1877).

Marais would later tell people about his skill in deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. He also wrote articles on these topics [i.e., "*Die Egiptenare*" (The Egyptians)]. Marais later told Du Toit (1940) that he regularly met the famous Egyptologist E. A. Wallis Budge in the British Museum, where he apparently translated an original papyrus – "*The Travels of an Egyptian*" – into English. Furthermore, Marais claimed that he visited Egypt twice for long periods.

However, these claims were exaggerated (Van der Merwe, 2015), as Rousseau (2005) could find no indication in the attendance register of the British Museum's Reading Room that Marais had ever been there. Marais did, however, visit Egypt, but only for a few days at a time and not for long periods as he claimed. He did translate an Egyptian story in Afrikaans years later as "*Die storie van die twee broers*" (The story of the two brothers). But it was simply a translation of the British Museum's English version of the original papyrus (Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition, Du Toit (1940) observed, during his interviews with Marais, that the books on Marais's bedside table were Wallis Budge's "*Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics with Sign List and a Baedeker travel guide to Egypt*" (1899). Budge's book is an introductory text for beginners, which makes it doubtful that Marais was much more than an enthusiastic amateur. Marais's son, Eugène Charles Gerard, also admitted that his father's claims in these regards were exaggerated (Van der Merwe, 2015).

One of the most important influences in Marais's European period was that of the Parisian neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot, who used hypnosis to heal functional paralysis (Swart, 2004). Marais had a special talent in the field of hypnosis and became a great hypnotist (Rousseau, 2005). Theosophy also included hypnosis or "animal magnetism" as it was then known (Blavatsky, 1877). Marais probably learned this skill in London or Europe, because before his departure for London, there is no mention that he had ever hypnotised someone (Van der Merwe, 2015). In the years that Marais lived in London, hypnosis was a topical issue and various books were written about it (Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition to hypnosis, Marais was also very interested in the occult (Rousseau, 2005). Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais's interest in spiritualism was piqued by spiritualists' alleged abilities to summon undead spirits. A medium's keenest visitors are usually those who have recently lost a loved one and at this point, it was just barely a year and a half since Marais's wife, Lettie, died.

3.3.3.3 Marais's Bohemian lifestyle and literary influences

Rousseau (2005) argued that Marais followed a bohemian lifestyle, especially in London. Marais also had at least one girlfriend, 16-year-old Susanne. Their relationship was primarily sexual (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition, he also travelled to Europe and recalled in Germany (Du Toit, 1940):

I met a group of German students and together we visited all the major cities in Europe to study the issue of indecency commissioned by the Prussian government. Later I and a few of them returned to London where we rented a house together. (p. 14)

In London, Marais wrote several excerpts of English poems in his notebook. Among them is “*The Scorched Fly*” by Coventry Patmore. The poem, which describes a scorched fly which “spins in vain upon the axis of its pain” (Marais, 1969, p. 104), stuck with Marais, because many years later he would use the same metaphor to describe the suffering of a drug addict (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). The centrality of pain became a key theme in Marais's later writings, including his scientific works, such as “*Burgers van die Berge*” (1971), stories and poems such as “*Salas y Gomez*” and “*Die woestyn trek van die Herero's*” (The desert trek of the Herero's), “*Die Lied van Suid-Afrika*” (The song of South Africa), “*De boom in het midden van den hof*” (The tree in the middle of the court), “*Is daar nog tranen?*” (Are there still tears?) and “*Skoppensboer*” (Skoppens farmer) (Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition, especially regarding Marais's seemingly heavy morphine consumption in London, one can detect the influence of Omar Khayyam (FitzGerald, 1889) who declared that man must eat, drink and make love because his existence is fleeting. Marais later repeated these sentiments in his poem “*Skoppensboer*”, whose final stanza encourages people to enjoy the sensual and instantaneous (Van der Merwe, 2015). Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) was another book that also had a considerable influence on Marais's thinking and scientific studies. Hugo (2014) remarked about the two books (i.e., Khayyam and Darwin) that the two works

influenced the outlook of millions of people. Both were seized by liberal thinkers in rebellion against the oppressive Victorian morals of their time.

Further clues to Marais's struggle with pain are found in a bookplate (Ex Libris) (see Appendix B) that he designed in 1898 (Rousseau, 2005). His bookplate illustrates a kneeling prince at the gate of a garden or park or cemetery. In the foreground is an African *rinkhals*⁸. On the top right are the words *Dit of Dood* (This or Death). A literary critic confirmed that these words meant "This or Morphine" (Rousseau 1998b). Death seemed to preoccupy Marais's thoughts during this time (Rousseau, 2005). The Ex Libris also contains a multitude of minor secondary characters. Although psychologists would have various opinions about Marais's book plate when they attempt to decipher it, Marais later told his son that (Rousseau, 2005) "people will vainly seek symbolic meaning in my book plate" (p. 127). Marais's denial to his son that his Ex Libris had symbolic meaning makes one believe the contrary (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais also wrote in London and his first published short story was in English, as was the case with his first nine published poems. The story appeared as "*The Brand-Wacht*" in the March 1898 edition of *The Cape Illustrated Magazine*. Visagie (2015) advised that with any reading of Marais's work one needs to "take into account both the period when it was written and the geopolitical setting called up by the events it depicts" (p. 4). With this in mind, this story is unusual for the era, as Marais illustrated a Black man as very worthy and intelligent and in all respects an equal, even superior to a White man (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's friendships with Indian students at the Inner Temple probably contributed to the fact that his attitude towards other races at this stage was much more moderate than the vast majority of his people (Van der Merwe, 2015).

⁸ The *rinkhals* (*Hemachatus haemachatus*) is a venomous species of spitting cobra found in parts of southern Africa (Rosenthal, 1972).

3.3.3.4 *Reconsidering his Law studies*

Due to his poor performance at the Inner Temple, Marais decided to study medicine (Nienaber-Luitingh, 1962). Most of these allegations of studying medicine are based on what Marais told Du Toit (1940). However, research conducted by Rousseau (2005) and Van der Merwe (2015) could not confirm this. Nonetheless, Marais still gained a vast amount of medical knowledge, which enabled him to be called the “*wonderdokter*” (miracle doctor) in the Waterberg (see Section 3.3.5.2) years later (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). In addition, Marais never pretended to have qualified as a doctor and he only studied medicine for his own enjoyment (Du Toit, 1940). He owned a medical textbook, indicating that he may have attended lectures at the University of Bonn in 1898 (Mieny, 1984; Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.5 *Back to South Africa*

Van der Merwe (2015) discovered that Marais returned to South Africa and at the beginning of February 1899, he was back in Pretoria. However, it seems that he returned quietly as *Land en Volk* did not report about this. Strangely, no family member or friend of Marais mentioned this to any of his biographers (Van der Merwe, 2015). This could be because Marais’s return probably had something to do with his morphine addiction, as Marais’s family and acquaintances did not hesitate to withhold uncomfortable facts from his biographers (Van der Merwe, 2015). In fact, Eugène Charles Gerard (Marais and Lettie Beyer’s son) requested that Rousseau (2005) omit the information regarding him and his father, which gives one an indication of their complex relationship (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 1998b).

3.3.3.6 *The Second Anglo Boer War and Return to Europe*

It is unknown how long Marais spent in Pretoria before he returned to Europe. In 1900 and 1901, Marais lived in a boarding house at 28 Coleshill Road in Teddington (Van der Merwe,

2015). Marais spend most of the Second Anglo-Boer War in this quiet suburban neighbourhood (Van der Merwe, 2015).

When the Boer War broke out, Marais fabricated a story that he was on parole, which was one of the reasons why he could not return to South Africa to honour his war duties. He also greatly exaggerated his efforts to help the ZAR before and during the war, such as his more heroic version of his future expedition through Portuguese East Africa (see Section 3.3.3.12). Marais also became a British citizen the following year, which could not have happened if he was on parole (Van der Merwe, 2015). While the war continued in South Africa, Marais worked at a watchmaker (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005). Marais later said that he even managed the business when the owner was ill (Du Toit, 1940; Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.7 *Using Land en Volk to reconcile the Boers and British*

Marais was requested by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and Lord Alfred Milner to return to Pretoria and to re-issue *Land en Volk* (Van der Merwe, 2015). Fitzpatrick and Milner's plan was to persuade the Boers to abide by British rule. They believed the best way to do this was having *Land en Volk* follow an editorial policy of reconciliation between the Boers and British and acceptance of British rule (Van der Merwe, 2015). An Afrikaans-Dutch newspaper was allowed to reopen in the Transvaal only if the owner agreed to maintain the newspaper with a pro-British or at least neutral policy and editorials had to be submitted to the British military authorities for approval (Mieny, 1984; Swart, 2004). Marais agreed to this request; his goal was thus to persuade the Boers to surrender. Marais possibly agreed to this because he argued that the British takeover was a done deal, perhaps thinking to make the best of a bad situation. Thus, Marais did not believe in the continuation of the war, as he believed that further resistance was meaningless and would only lead to further suffering for his people (Van der Merwe,

2015). In addition, Marais also held Kruger accountable for the war, which might also have been a reason for Marais's reluctance to participate in the war (Van der Merwe, 2015).

This agreement by Marais to give the Boers the message of reconciliation put him in a troublesome position. At this point, the citizens who voluntarily laid down their weapons were known in the vernacular as "*hendsoppers*"⁹ (hands-upper). Although Marais did not literally lay down the weapon, he was clearly a kindred spirit of those *hendsoppers* who saw the continuation of the struggle as unrealistic and a threat to the survival of the people and country (Grundlingh, 1999). Interestingly, against the *hendsoppers* and especially the joiners, Marais developed the same hatred and resentment that he felt towards Kruger (Rousseau, 2005). Although Marais did not fall into the narrow definition of a joiner, his plan, if he followed it through, would have had the same effect as the joiners' actions; thus being involved in the active undermining of the Boer's war efforts. Several contemporary Afrikaans historians agree that actions of this nature were treason (Van der Merwe, 2015). The complex moral issue of individual conscience against the will of the state also comes into play. Marais saw it as his moral duty to try and prevent his people from suffering from further loss of property and life. On the other hand, there was the generally accepted view that a citizen committed treason if he undermined his government's war efforts, even if he did not agree with it (Van der Merwe, 2015).

In Marais's letter in which he agreed to promote reconciliation, he makes exaggerated statements to some degree, prophetic callings and shows absolute confidence that he would be able to achieve peace in the Boer republics (Van der Merwe, 2015):

⁹ A person who surrenders or gives up on something; specifically (derogatory) a Boer who surrendered to the British during the Boer War (1899–1902) (Rosenthal, 1972).

...I see it all before me like an inspiration – the right thing to do and say to bring about peace, and I have the utmost confidence in myself. It may seem egotistical but I say it in all simplicity and without the least self-exaltation. (p. 204)

3.3.3.8 *The Transvaal from Within* (1899)

Marais was also requested to translate Fitzpatrick's book *The Transvaal from Within* (1899) to Dutch. Fitzpatrick's aim was to distribute the book among the Boers in an attempt to explain to them the true causes of the war and to help convince the Boers that it was actually a good thing that Britain got rid of Kruger and his corrupt government. Marais's motive for translating the book was to help end the war as soon as possible in order to save his people from further loss of life and property (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.9 *Marais's morphine use in London*

Marais's morphine consumption seemed to have increased during his time in London. A son of Marais's uncle recalled "I believe that he [Marais] took drugs, trying everything in the Chinese part of London" (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 222). Marais apparently went through a difficult time at this stage. Despite being in a bad state, Marais was still able to engage in an exchange of letters about the translation of *The Transvaal from Within* (Van der Merwe, 2015) "I regret the delay sincerely; – the book itself has been ready for more than a month with the exception of a last revise, which I reserved for the day of its completion, and the wretched appendix" (p. 225). In the same letter he wrote about his opinion of the book (Van der Merwe, 2015):

...were I to take up the translation, knowing neither the author nor his motive I would cast it from me in hate and disgust before I had finished ten pages... Fitzpatrick writes our history from an enemy's point of view. Of all the questions historical touched on by him

we have our own account which, it is hardly necessary to say, does not tally with the English version, and no Boer, who is worth the trouble of converting would give heed to a writer who thus vilifies his race & people & all their doings at the very outset. (p. 226)

However, his objections were not so serious that he felt compelled to withdraw from the project. Marais was in a difficult situation, as Fitzpatrick gave (or borrowed) him £150 two months before, thus refusal to continue was a difficult option (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.10 *Marais's compulsive lying*

Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais displayed signs of compulsive lying. In 1891, Anton Delbrück, a German doctor, described the concept of pathological lying (also called *pseudologia fantastica*) as the behaviour of compulsive or habitual lying. While pathological lying is a controversial topic in psychiatry (Dike, Baranoski, & Griffith, 2005), Marais certainly showed signs thereof throughout his life (i.e., him lying about his age, his degree from the Cape University, his results at the Inner Temple, his medical training abroad, his parole in London, his propaganda on behalf of the ZAR and his supposed participation in the Anglo-Boer War to name a few) (Van der Merwe, 2015). People who suffer from compulsive lying prefer to look better in the eyes of others and their lies are usually based on something they want to be or want to own (Dike et al., 2005). Perhaps Marais' humble home, his father's imprisonment, the ramblings from his family when he was a teenager, his lack of higher education, as well as a sense of guilt about his political role before and during the war, helped to form and maintain an internal motive throughout his life (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.11 *Marais's correspondence with Joseph Chamberlain*

Although Marais hitherto wanted the Boers to surrender, he did not want to be ruled by *hendsoppers*, but rather sympathetic British (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais did not identify

himself with the *hendsoppers*, although he shared the outlook of the category *hendsoppers* who believed that continued defiance would only lead to further and unnecessary suffering for their people (Van der Merwe, 2015). While Marais was friends with British South Africans such as Fitzpatrick, he had an ambivalent attitude towards them. Joseph Chamberlain requested Marais to put his [Marais's] ideas on what to do with prisoners of war, including the future government of the Transvaal on paper as a memorandum. Marais agreed, provided that Chamberlain would not make it more widely known without his permission (Van der Merwe, 2015).

After much delay (Marais often used his poor health as a reason for not making deadlines or fulfilling obligations), Marais sent his memorandum on 5 July 1901 to Chamberlain (Van der Merwe, 2015). The memorandum appeared as the work of someone who was at their full positive and illustrated to what extent Marais could deliver quality work in spite of his morphine addiction. In the memorandum, apart from one exception, Marais consistently referred to his countrymen as “the Boers” and he used the third person pronoun “they” and “them” as if he were just an objective observer of them (Van der Merwe, 2015). A noteworthy observation is that later in the letter Marais used the pronouns “our” “us” and “we” to explain how humiliating it would be for the Boers to be governed by English South Africans (Van der Merwe, 2015).

In view of Marais being considered by some literary critics as one of the most important leaders of the later Second Afrikaans Language Movement¹⁰, it is interesting to note that he did not speak about the official languages in the new dispensation (Dekker, 1966; Swart, 2004). What is remarkable, however, is the attitude that Marais took towards Chamberlain regarding the independence of the Boer republics. He put it plainly to Chamberlain that British rule was

¹⁰ The Language Movement was a loosely associated, predominately male group, working after the South African War to foster a sense of Afrikaner identity, mainly through the promotion of the entrenchment of Afrikaans as an official language (Swart, 2004). It was a reaction to what was perceived as Alfred Milner's Anglicisation policy (Swart, 2004).

only a temporary situation, and if necessary, the Boers would take back their independence by force (Van der Merwe, 2015).

In October 1901, Marais passed his final examination. It did not matter that he only had a third-class exemption, as he could now apply at the Inner Temple to be admitted as an advocate to the English Bar. News of Marais finally passing his final examination, was received with great joy by his family and friends in Pretoria. Having qualified as an advocate, Marais could return to the Transvaal. However, it was almost impossible for Marais to return to South Africa at this time because he did not have the money and one needed a permit to travel to the Transvaal (Van der Merwe, 2015). Fitzpatrick borrowed Marais £200 to cover his travel expenses. However, Marais had to first complete the translation of *The Transvaal from Within* before he could leave (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.12 Expedition

On 28 February 1902, Milner was impatiently waiting for Marais to send him the translated *Transvaal from Within*. Milner and Fitzpatrick were also impatiently awaiting Marais's return to the Transvaal colony. However, Marais was dawdling. He eventually wrote to Milner a few days later with more excuses, such as having to undergo two operations, which accounted for the delay (Van der Merwe, 2015). After still not receiving Marais's translation or hearing anything from him again, Milner asked Jim Taylor whether he knew anything about Marais's actions. Taylor had established that (Van der Merwe, 2015):

[Marais]... went to Amsterdam or somewhere in Holland in a sailing vessel and very nearly went down all hands, they were blown out to sea and became waterlogged. I believe they had an awful experience and Marais has been in bed ever since. (p. 278)

In another letter dated 13 April 1902, Taylor wrote to Milner (Van der Merwe, 2015):

I really do not know what to make of Marais... I fear the man is a dreamer and applies himself to too many things – can't concentrate his thoughts on one thing long – it is a great pity as he has undoubted ability. (p. 288)

It is unknown whether Marais's story is true or whether it was just another excuse for why he did not keep his word. Therefore, the real reason why Marais might have travelled to the Netherlands is unknown. When Marais was informed that *Land en Volk* was allowed to reappear, he started making arrangements to travel from Antwerp on the next ship to South Africa. He also finally completed the index of the translated *The Transvaal from Within* and sent it to Milner (Van der Merwe, 2015).

During this time, the British completely refused to allow medical aid to the Boers. Dr Leyds (the Transvaal representative in Belgium) appointed Piet Burgers (a former law agent of Middelburg in the Transvaal, who recently moved to Europe) and Dr E. Schultz (from Germany) to undertake a secret medical mission through Portuguese East Africa to the Transvaal (Van der Merwe, 2015). While Marais was on his travels, he met Burgers and Dr Schultz. After hearing of their secret mission, Marais suddenly departed from his original intention to travel to Lourenço Marques and Pretoria and joined their company (Van der Merwe, 2015). This was an impulsive decision, as Marais's actions during the war had been aimed at persuading his people to put down the weapon, not to help them fight, which was the purpose of Burgers and Schultz's mission (Van der Merwe, 2015). However, this mission possibly offered him the perfect opportunity to return to Pretoria with honour and some respect in his own and others' eyes (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais mentioned to Schultz that he conversed with Chamberlain during the war. This is noteworthy as Marais had never made it known to anyone else. From the available information, however, it seems that he and Chamberlain only met once, not several times as he apparently told Schultz (Van der Merwe, 2015). During their expedition, the treaty of peace was signed

in Pretoria, marking the end of the war (Van der Merwe, 2015). The news hit Marais hard. Schultz later wrote: “It is seldom that a man so wept when peace was closed, of which I was an involuntary witness” (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 305). This reaction might have been because he realised that he had no share in the epic battle his people had been in for nearly three years (Van der Merwe, 2015). Despite the war being over, they still continued their expedition to avoid suspicion from authorities (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.3.13 *Machanga*

The expedition party stayed in Machanga (a town in Mozambique) for a while. Even in winter, the climate was unhealthy, as malaria was common in the region (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais and Dr Schultz both contracted malaria. For decades Marais would accuse malaria of being the reason why he used morphine (Marais, 2001), even though he started using it years before (Rousseau, 2005). Dr Schultz soon became popular with the local population because of his medical knowledge and medicines. He even performed operations and Marais helped him (Mieny, 1984). This experience was quite beneficial for Marais’s later work in the Waterberg (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005).

Schultz wrote in his 1902 expedition report that (Van der Merwe, 2015) “it was always striking to me that Marais was reluctant to return to the Transvaal. Eventually, he made the unwise decision to march on foot from Machanga to Pretoria, to appear suddenly among his fellow citizens” (p. 313). It seemed as if Marais wanted to make a dramatic appearance in Pretoria to prove that he was on a mission to help the Boers (Van der Merwe, 2015). This suspicion is strengthened by Marais’s later, more heroic, versions of the expedition. His reluctance to return to Pretoria was possibly because he did not know what to tell his family and friends when he had to explain what he did during the war to help his people. Furthermore,

Fitzpatrick was waiting for him to fulfil his business with *Land en Volk*, something he increasingly did not have the strength for as the day came closer (Van der Merwe, 2015).

As far as is known, Marais never told anyone about his war activities in Britain. But from his seemingly fake post-war allegations that he defended the ZAR's case in the British press shortly before the war and that supposed parole conditions subsequently trapped him in Britain, as well as his false versions of his expedition, makes it seem as if he realised how problematic his role was before and during the war. Perhaps his ambivalence about this played a role in his seemingly severe morphine use in London during these years (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.4 A new beginning (1902 – 1906)

Marais arrived in Pretoria and moved in at Jess Rex (one of Marais's sisters) as a boarder. It was during this time that Marais saw his son (whom he had left in the care of his sister Sophie Ueckerman after Lettie's death seven years ago before he departed to London) for the first time (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). Marais's natural love for children was evident during this time. Throughout his life, he sought the friendship of children, particularly young children (Rousseau, 2005).

During his 30s, Marais had an apparent pattern of doing things and used malaria as a scapegoat for his morphine use (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). During the year of the Treaty of Peace (1902) Marais felt safe in the boarding house of his sister Jess. When he had to spend a day or two in bed, perhaps due to overuse, he used the compelling reason that the fever was the cause, as indeed often happened. But Jess knew the whole truth. The fact that Jess and a few others knew was not the worst, but their nagging about it was unbearable to Marais. Eventually, it grieved him if people merely knew about his morphine dependence because they would judge everything about him based on this knowledge. Another theme that formed a considerable part of Marais's personality was his overwhelming need to flee from

people who knew of his dependence and disapproved of it (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.4.1 *Promoting reconciliation in Land en Volk*

Land en Volk was the only Afrikaans newspaper allowed to re-open (Swart, 2004). Due to malaria, Marais was too ill to manage the paper himself and he appointed Gustav Preller as editor (Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais explained to Preller that *Land en Volk* was allowed to appear only under strict conditions, of which no politics was one (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). However, Marais did not tell Preller about his undertaking with Milner and Fitzpatrick to promote reconciliation (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais tried, as far as possible, to comply with his agreement with Fitzpatrick and Milner, to use *Land en Volk* to proclaim reconciliation between the Boers and the British and to persuade his people to rather focus on rebuilding their material prosperity than to pursue political power. However, Marais's appointment of the stubborn Gustav Preller as editor, as well as the apparent malaria attacks regularly affected him negatively and made his job difficult (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais's first main article in *Land en Volk* after the war was titled "*Handsupper en Scouts*" (Handsuppers and Scouts). Herein Marais only opposed the National Scouts¹¹ and not the *hendsoppers*. Interestingly, Marais himself could be regarded as a *hendsopper*, because in 1900 he believed that the Boers should give up the fight (Van der Merwe, 2015). Furthermore, he expressed his admiration for the die-hards who remained faithful in spite of hunger and thirst and suffering, but exactly two years earlier he referred to these very die-hards' actions as criminal acts that must be strongly condemned (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's attitude had clearly undergone a change since his statement in 1900. However, over the National Scouts

¹¹ The joiners who fought against their own people (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais's statements were at least consistent, as he also vigorously opposed them (Van der Merwe, 2015). Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that this inexorable dislike might have arisen from his feelings of guilt over his own role in the war.

Marais continued to struggle with his supposed malaria. However, he was not sick every day, as he sometimes played with his son and the other children in the neighbourhood. Marais also gradually came back in touch with his own family. Some he saw, others he only heard of (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.4.2 *An offer to sell Land en Volk*

Marais was approached by his friend Ewald Esselen and two of the Boer generals, Smuts and Botha, who wanted to buy *Land en Volk* (Van der Merwe, 2015). He accidentally revealed the Boer leaders' offer to the Uitlanders who told him "not to sell on any account" (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 339). General Botha was very upset that word got out about the Boer leaders' secret conversation with Marais and Marais immediately tried to absolve himself from blame by denying that he leaked the information (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais never sold the newspaper to the Boer leaders, despite their high offer. In the end, *Land en Volk* belonged to the British government (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.4.3 *Milner's Anglicisation policy*

Marais was summoned to Johannesburg in March 1903 to recruit support for Milner's Anglicisation policy¹². Accordingly, Marais flatly refused to support Milner's policy (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Milner then asked him to write nothing about it and warned

¹² Milner's intention was to suppress Dutch and make the Boers loyal British subjects (Duminy & Guest, 1976). To achieve this, he proposed a new education law according to which English would be the primary language of instruction in public schools and Dutch will be limited to three hours per week (Swart, 2004; Symington, 1948). Milner therefore wanted to use the education system to anglicise the Boer's children. The proposed new Education Act immediately led to great resentment among Afrikaners (Symington, 1948).

him that it would have serious consequences for him and the newspaper if he did. According to Marais, he also refused this undertaking. However, Marais and *Land en Volk* made a sharp turnaround over Milner's education policy shortly afterwards and a remarkable friendship and correspondence arose between Marais and Milner (Van der Merwe, 2015). Their friendship ran deep. Marais even wrote a poem about him and Milner (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais worked diligently on his articles on Milner's education plans. On 26 June 1903, the first of three long articles appeared in consecutive editions of *Land en Volk* under the heading "Gaat Onse Taal Verdwynen?" (Will our language disappear?). Marais created an alter ego, an Afrikaner called "Onderzoeker" (investigator), whose language was precious to him and who believed that the only way in which his language and his people could stay standing was by educating his people's children. He did not believe that it was an English education system that produced traitors during the war and rather believed that Afrikaners should give the government a chance. Marais concluded his last article by stating that he did not, for a moment, undermine the importance of "our precious language" but did not perceive the urgent danger of Anglicisation of Afrikaner children in government education systems (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 367). Marais was clearly blind to Milner's true motives, as Milner not only wanted to anglicise Boer children but also make loyal British citizens of them (Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.4.4 *Brooklyn*

Marais went to Brooklyn in Pretoria to treat his morphine addiction, where he lived with his friend Charlie Pienaar (Rousseau, 1998a). Here, Marais made a vegetable garden and also kept a cow for a while. The chickens were so tame that they came to him to be petted (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). Marais's son, Eugène Charles, spent many weekends and all the long holidays with his father in Brooklyn. It was memorable visits, which Eugène Jr. remembered in detail

(Rousseau, 2005). The smaller animals of the veld were abundant. Marais also regularly added scorpions to his collection (Rousseau, 1998a).

3.3.4.5 *Milner's departure*

On 21 March 1905, Milner held an afternoon garden party at Sunnyside as part of his farewell function programme. Marais was one of the many guests and attended the function on his own. About a week later Marais wrote his last letter to Milner concluding with (Van der Merwe, 2015) “the memory of my acquaintance with you will always be honoured by me” (p. 380).

A letter from Milner to Lord Selborne describing his acquaintance with Marais reads as follows (Van der Merwe, 2015):

...to introduce a rather uncommon man – whom, by the way, you may have met in England – I mean Eugène Marais. He belongs to one of the best families in the Transvaal, but is a lonely eccentric sort of being, the victim of ill-health and, I fear, morphia, but a very cultivated and original creature all the same. He is the proprietor of an independent Boer newspaper, called “Land en Volk”, which before and since the war, has taken a line of its own, not by any means always friendly to the Government, in fact sometimes bitterly hostile, but never on the conventional Afrikaner lines, or with want of truthfulness or straightforwardness. We have given “Land en Volk” some considerable assistance out of Government funds, without which it would have gone under in competition with the heavily subsidised “Volksstem”, but I have never observed that it has in the slightest degree modified its tone in consequence. It is still absolutely independent in tone, alike of the Government and the Boer Leaders, and that no doubt represents Marais’s real mind. He is a genuinely independent Nationalist. (p. 426)

It is clear that, despite his morphine addiction, Marais had a remarkable personality that made a lasting impression on influential and sophisticated personalities. Milner and Chamberlain were powerful statesmen who listened to Marais's opinions earnestly and they had a high regard for him (Van der Merwe, 2015). Even President Kruger willingly became involved in disputes with Marais while he was a journalist barely out of his teens. When Marais was in Britain at a formal dinner, he impressed Natalie Hammond, whose husband John, was a possible candidate for the United States Vice-President in 1908. She remembered and recounted his intellect and charm enthusiastically many years later (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.4.6 Marais's pseudonyms and 'Winternag'

Marais continued to use pseudonyms when he published pieces for newspapers (Swart, 2004). Before the end of March 1905, Marais published an Afrikaans poem, "*Die Afrikaanse Pop*" (The Afrikaans Doll) by "*Janni*". He published the poem "*Piet van Snaar*" with the pseudonym "*Klaas Vakie*", which is insightful, as he later wrote a children's poem called "*Klaas Vakie*". "*Die Smid*" appeared the same month as "*Piet van Snaar*" also under the pseudonym "*Klaas Vakie*" (Rousseau, 2005).

On 23 June 1905, Marais's famous poem '*Winternag*' (Winter's night) appeared in *Land en Volk*. '*Winternag*' has come to be regarded as the first Afrikaans poem of any literary value, which prompts the "image of Marais as 'maverick genius' rather than simply as a member of a poetic movement" (Swart, 2004, p. 200). The poem, which is widely regarded as the first real indication of the literary heights to which Afrikaans is capable, thus ironically appeared due to the financial assistance of the British government. Interestingly, '*Winternag*' was only a fragment of a much longer epic poem he intended (Du Toit, 1940; Van der Merwe, 2015). Preller reprinted '*Winternag*' in *De Volksstem* and he published an article series in which he

advocated the promotion of Afrikaans as a written and spoken language (Kannemeyer, 1984). Marais endorsed this view with several articles in *Land en Volk* and offered readers rewards for the best Afrikaans stories (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005). The placement of ‘*Winternag*’ inaugurated the Second Afrikaans Language Movement on literary fields (Van der Merwe, 2015).

A nationwide poll was undertaken in 2011 and 2012 to determine the most popular Afrikaans poems. From the almost 1300 poems nominated, ‘*Winternag*’ won first place (Leserskring, 2013; Visagie, 2015), which is hardly surprising, as ‘*Winternag*’ routinely appears in nearly every anthology of Afrikaans poetry (Visagie, 2015). And if one considered how relatively meagre Marais’s oeuvre was, it is worth mentioning that five of his poems were included in this top 100 (Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015).

3.3.4.7 *The Afrikaans Language Society*

In August 1905, Marais and Preller were founding members of a Transvaal committee, which were preparing for the Afrikaans Language Society. However, Marais was not elected to the management of the society and was also not, as his friends and acquaintances, among the delegates at the event (Kritzinger, 1931). However, due to his positioning of Afrikaans articles, news reports, letters and versions in *Land en Volk* in 1891 and ‘*Winternag*’ being regarded by some as the most important precursor of the Second Afrikaans Language Movement, his active involvement in the movement’s work ended here (Brink, 1999; Du Toit, 1940; Morris, 2009).

3.3.4.8 *Land en Volk’s closure*

In spite of the government’s quarterly subsidy, *Land en Volk’s* financial affairs weakened to such an extent that Marais could no longer continue with the newspaper and he discontinued

the publication (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais was never too keen that his own and *Land en Volk*'s post-war journalistic role be closely examined. To Preller he wrote in a letter dated 11 May 1923 that "my history after my return to Pretoria you know more or less, and it is too modern to go in on" (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 391). Twelve years after this statement, in an interview with Du Toit (1940), Marais also sidestepped his own post-war involvement with *Land en Volk* (Van der Merwe, 2015) and was extremely obscure about the years that he spent in Europe (Rousseau, 2005).

In the meantime, Marais's friend, Charlie Pienaar, got engaged and was soon to marry. Despite being welcome to continue living with Charlie, Marais decided that it was best to leave and find another place to stay. In January 1906, Marais decided to practice in Johannesburg as a lawyer (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

3.3.4.9 Hillbrow

Neither Preller (1925), Du Toit (1940) nor Rousseau (2005) explained why Marais moved to Johannesburg shortly after selling his newspaper. In an interview Du Toit conducted with him in 1935, Marais ignored this period in his life, saying that he practiced in Pretoria for a while and then went to the Waterberg (Du Toit, 1940). Marais's failure to mention to Du Toit (1940) that he also spent almost two years in Johannesburg, is noteworthy because when Marais kept silent about something, he often wanted to hide something (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Rousseau (2005) believed that assignments for lawyers were scarce in Pretoria and that Marais was hoping to get more jobs in Johannesburg. He also speculated that Marais moved to Hillbrow because of a girl named Anne¹³. This was the first of the four or five major disruptive romantic relationships in Marais's life about which family and friends carefully spoke of in veiled terms (Rousseau, 2005). Marais's son recalled that Marais's romantic

¹³ Pseudonym that Eugène Charles gave her (Rousseau, 1998b).

relationships could be compared with those in Nabokov's novel *Lolita* (1955) with the young girl as the predator and the older man as her willing victim (Rousseau, 1998b). Marais stayed in Hillbrow for only a few months and late in 1907 moved to the Waterberg (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5 Waterberg (1907 – 1917)

Marais spent the following decade mostly in the Waterberg (a remote area about 200 kilometres north of Pretoria) (Van der Merwe, 2015). There were several reasons for Marais's drastic decision to leave the city and settle in the Waterberg. One was to escape, also from morphine, which was the only retreat that guaranteed his safety and his peace. This was similar to his retreat to London after Lettie's death, and to Brooklyn to treat his addiction (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). Marais's son recalled (Rousseau, 2005) "like his brother Hennie, my father had always been interested in minerals and prospecting. This was most likely the reason for his move" (p. 192). Marais's interest in the Waterberg goes back to an early age (Marais, 2001). In *The road to Waterberg and other essays* (1972), he wrote about the region with great passion, describing it as (Marais, 1984) "the mystery region of my boyhood" and a "wonderland" (p. 1203).

In the Waterberg, Marais lived on the farm Doornhoek where he prospected (Mieny, 1984; Myburgh, 2009; Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015). In the deep rift valley of the farm, Marais and Alec Austin (another prospector) built huts to observe a troop of chacma baboons (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). Marais wrote (1984): "...I do not think that I've ever lived a happier time in my life than the three years we [Marais and Austin] spent in the mountain of Doornhoek¹⁴" (p. 111). Due to the lack of people in the area after the Boer War, the troop of baboons that Marais observed was particularly tame (Van Luijk, 2014).

¹⁴ The original reads as follows: "... ek dink nie dat ek ooit in my lewe 'n gelukkiger tydperk deurleef het nie as die drie jaar wat ons [Marais en Austin] in die gebergte van Doornhoek deurgebring het" (Marais, 1984, p. 111).

Marais made the troop accustomed to him and Alec by feeding them bread and maize, but he always kept his shotgun within reach (Rousseau, 1998a). In these few months Marais gained the basic knowledge on which his books “*Burgers van die Berge*” (1971) and “*The Soul of the Ape*” (1969) were later based (Rousseau, 1998a). For the next eight years, he would study the baboons of the Waterberg, but this was the only time he did it so intensively and systematically (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5.1 *Rietfontein*

Early in 1908, a Johannesburg company acquired the mineral rights to Doornhoek (Mieny, 1984) and all prospecting by others had to be discontinued. Marais left Doornhoek and went to live on the farm Rietfontein (Swart, 2004), which belonged to Gys and Maria Van Rooyen (Mieny, 1984). Marais asked Maria (a midwife with knowledge in nursing) to keep his morphine for him and only to give him small doses when needed. Fortunately, on Rietfontein Marais found all the elements to make him happy. On this farm, he continued prospecting, kept cattle and practised as an unlicensed doctor free of charge (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Swart, 2004). However, the Boers practised the act of compensation and whether Marais asked for it or not, they would repay him with money or cattle or whatever they had to offer him (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5.2 ‘*Miracle doctor*’

In the Waterberg, Marais became known as the ‘*Wonderdokter*’ (miracle doctor) (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Social and environmental forces pressured the Boers to use unlicensed medical practitioners. Poor White farmers, already forced into arid regions, now faced an almost biblical series of plagues. Locust, stock disease and a five-year drought would soon appear in 1910 (Swart, 2004). Impoverished farming areas had to endure almost

inevitable malnutrition and disease (Swart, 2004). In addition, psychological problems were plentiful under the Boers after the war (Rousseau, 2005). Post-traumatic stress disorder may also have been a contributing factor of mental instability and puzzling neuroses (Swart, 2004). It was these deep psychological scars that Marais was able to heal or at least alleviate through a basic form of psychoanalysis, the rudiments of which he had learnt through his reading of Charcot and Freud. Furthermore, Marais spent several weeks at the house of a famous local interpreter of dreams (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

By using hypnosis, Marais healed Aunt Hessie from the Waterberg who was unable to walk after a considerable shock (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). He described this treatment carefully in his book “*Natuurkundige en Wetenskaplike Studies*” (1928) (Physical and Scientific Studies) (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). Aunt Hessie’s healing expanded the ‘*Wonderdokter*’s fame and filled the people with considerable awe (Mieny, 1984). However, some people were afraid of him. For the simple people of the Waterberg, there was something supernatural about his hypnotic abilities (Rousseau, 1998a). The Waterbergers were likely not familiar with Western medicine, which might have been the reason why they thought Marais possessed ‘supernatural’ abilities. According to Swart (2004), “it was this application of international developments in the rural Waterberg that helped Marais make a name for himself as a purveyor of ‘miracle cures’, mainly through the use of hypnotism” (p. 166).

3.3.5.3 *Marais’s naturalistic studies*

Marais started working at the tin mine on Doornhoek, where he worked for a while as a road builder, administrative staff member and unqualified mine doctor (Mieny, 1984; Myburgh, 2009; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015). Now that he regularly stayed in Doornhoek, he could continue his baboon studies. An intensive ongoing naturalist investigation had long been one of Marais’s ideals. He did not show much interest or put too

much effort in some of his short stories, even leaving some unfinished, however when it came to his scientific articles, he made numerous revisions and corrections (Du Toit, 1940). In a fragment of a short story, which he wrote before he moved to the Waterberg, the main character dreamed of a “long and absorbing term or investigation under ideal conditions” (Rousseau, 2005, p. 210). This was also Marais’s dream. However, because he always did half a dozen things at once, had limited finances and was addicted to morphine, this ideal remained unfulfilled to his death (Rousseau, 2005).

A large number of his naturalistic studies took place in the Waterberg (as well as those scientific and literary works that later made him famous) (Van der Merwe, 2015). Despite being an amateur naturalist (Rousseau, 1998a), Marais was a pioneer in the field of Ethology and one of the first people to intensively study baboons in their natural habitat, as well as in captivity (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais was able to contribute to scholarly intelligence in isolated conditions. In fact, many of his observations would not have been possible without such isolation (Olivier, 2015). He came to the conclusion that baboons and other wildlife suffered from what he called *Hesperian depression*. This refers to the sadness and anxiety that occurs in humans and animals when it becomes dusk (Myburgh, 2009; Van Luijk, 2014). He also conducted an experiment to what would happen when baboons and other animals ingested opium and alcohol (Rousseau, 1998a). Furthermore, Marais studied pain in animals, which had been a central theme in much of his writings (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). He was a lover of animals and became deeply attached to individual animals, but he was not sentimental at all (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

Besides baboons and termites, snakes also aroused his interest. This interest is illustrated in his articles entitled “*Snakes and Snake-poison*”, “*Slanggif*” (Snake poison) and “*’n Paradys van Weleer*” (A Paradise of Yesteryear) published in 1965 (Gray, 2013). In the Waterberg, a cobra once spat venom at him and Gys van Rooyen. Marais (1973) wrote in *The Soul of the*

White Ant “we both got it in the face, fortunately not in the eyes¹⁵” (p. 144). His interest in snakes started at an early age; as a boy he grew up in the untamed sub-tropical Pretoria which teemed of snakes and as a young man he kept them as pets (Rousseau, 1998a). In addition, a *rinkhals* snake was a prominent theme on Marais’s Ex Libris (see Section 3.3.3.3).

3.3.5.4 *Opium Prohibition Law*

From 1894 it was prohibited to buy opium or any derivative of opium, such as morphine, in the Transvaal without a doctor's prescription (Mieny, 1984). But no law prohibited anyone from importing it themselves. As a result, Marais became friends with an Indian of the Waterberg, named Ebrahim Ravat, who helped him to obtain opium (Rousseau, 2005). Marais was dependent on doctors for his stock and in an emergency he depended on generally available medicine that contained opium. He tried to counter the problems that came with addiction, by taking hot baths, eating strong curry or drinking alcohol, for example (Rousseau, 2005).

During a hunting trip, with Gys and a few young men, Marais miscalculated his stock of morphine for the trip and went into serious withdrawal. He asked one of the young men to get more pills from Aunt Maria on Riefontein and after taking the pills, he quickly recovered. This incident led to everyone in the district knowing about Marais’s morphine addiction. For most Waterbergers, morphine was a completely new concept. Marais lost esteem and respect and he felt exposed (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5.5 *Purekrans*

Marais and another doctor were sent to the farm Purekrans where Gys van Rooyen’s brother, Piet van Rooyen lived, as they had to perform an operation on him. After the operation, Marais

¹⁵ The original reads as follows: “Ons het dit altwee in die gesig gekry, maar gelukkig nie in die oë nie” (Marais, 1973, p. 144).

remained on the Palala-plateau (according to him to take care of Piet) (Rousseau, 2005). Marais stayed there for six months. These few months on Purekrans impacted him for the rest of his life (Myburgh, 2009), especially since he was elated by being in the field (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005). This environment brought Marais much peace and joy and inspired many of his later stories (Mieny, 1984). Here, he also wrote the poem “*Waar Tebes in die stil woestyn*” (Where Thebes in the quiet desert) (Myburgh, 2009). After Piet van Rooyen’s death, Marais left Purekrans and returned to Rietfontein. Disappearing into the wilderness caused many of Marais’s friends in Pretoria to become concerned about his long absence. In a letter from Charlie Pienaar to Gustav Preller, one finds the relentless commentary on such irresponsible escapism (Du Toit, 1940):

I’ve tried hard to get him interested in the world and humanity again, but he says that since life has no purpose, it is totally indifferent where or how long he lives and what he could do on earth or anywhere else. He would rather be where he saw people as little as possible – I understand he sometimes disappears into the bush with a donkey for six months or so without anyone ever hearing of him. (p. 260)

3.3.5.6 *Back to Boshof*

The endless struggle of getting enough morphine, but not taking too much, became very difficult for Marais and caused him to experience a crisis in May 1910. Marais returned to his older brother Charles in Boshof to recover and start anew (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 2005). One of Charles's daughters, Mrs. Kate Hurley, recalled that he often spoke about apparitions (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5.7 *Patterns*

Marais returned to Rietfontein early in 1911. He was full of newfound confidence, although he remained willing to continue his old pattern. It was a lifestyle which he had already adopted, but it consolidated in the Waterberg and continued with minor deviation for the rest of his life (Rousseau, 2005).

This pattern was as follows: he always lived with friends, and usually on the veranda, he was without a permanent job, worked very erratic or sometimes not at all, spent a lot of time observing nature, increasingly shied away from criticisms of his addiction and his social interaction was limited to those whom he had known for a long time, strangers who knew nothing about him, and in particular children. He also always had to find players to fill four key roles in his life: the supplier of his morphine, his host, an influential mediator and a protégé; a young person or animal whom he, in turn, loved and cared for. In the last 30 years of his life, this pattern seldom deviated and it seemed that he suffered the most when this pattern broke (Rousseau, 2005).

Charlie Pienaar had since managed to appoint Marais as Resident Justice of the Peace (Marais, 2001; Swart, 2004). He only made £7 a month but it was a steady income (Rousseau, 1998a). With his steady income, he bought compulsively, especially clothing. Within a month after his appointment, Marais wrote to his son asking him to visit him in the Waterberg (Rousseau, 1998a).

In November of the same year, Marais wrote to his son “if you can get any old magazines or novels you might send them to me occasionally, no matter how old they are. If they can be bought anywhere I shall send you the money” (Rousseau, 1998a, p. 30). Lack of money, next to isolation and loneliness had become a constant problem. Marais’s financial resources had been running low for some time. All his prospecting on Rietfontein had produced hardly a sign of tin, platinum or gold (Rousseau, 1998a). Sometimes he wrote to his son and occasionally to

Charlie Pienaar and Gustav Preller, but mostly only when they had to arrange something for him (Rousseau, 2005). Marais had already been living in the Waterberg for three or four years when his son, Eugène Charles, visited him for the first time (Rousseau, 2005).

During this time, Marais convinced the Waterbergers that a spectral figure on a horse appeared on a full moon near the police station (Swart, 2004). Years later Marais described this phenomenon in a lengthy article: “*Die Man te Perd: ‘n Ware spookstorie*” (The Man on Horseback: A true ghost story). However, he withheld the fact that he was behind the hoax and later reported that it was a supernatural phenomenon (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

3.3.5.8 *Attitude towards different races*

Marais’s attitude towards non-White races was very different from the average Waterberger and South African during the time. Many Whites and non-Whites always addressed one another derogatively. According to witnesses, Marais was never guilty of this. Although an Afrikaner patriot, Marais was sympathetic to the cultural values of the Black tribal people of the Transvaal; this is seen in poems such as “*Die Dans van die Reën*” (The Dance of the Rain) (Swart, 2004).

3.3.5.9 *Drought and natural phenomena*

Since the age of 19, Marais loved nature, although in the Waterberg, he realised that nature was cruel and ruthless. Marais’s writings, specifically “*Destruction of the Second World*”, which is “probably the earliest post-apocalyptic text written in Afrikaans”, reverberates with Marais’s view of the cruelty and indifference of nature (Visagie, 2015, p. 1). This is also expressed in his poem “*Lied van Suid-Afrika*” (Song of South Africa) that represents the land as a cruel and infanticidal mother who inflicts endless pain on her human inhabitants “I cast them away over the mountains / and smother them in a desert of sand” (Marais, 2005, p. 85).

Another article, “*Die verwoestingsgang van droogte*” (The Destructive Course of Drought) as well as “*’n Paradys van Weleer*” (A Paradise of Yesteryear) illustrates Marais’s interest, virtually obsession, with drought (Rousseau, 2005; Visagie, 2015). This interest in drought started early, as illustrated in his poem, “*There Shall Be No More Sea*” written as a school boy in Paarl (Visagie, 2015).

In many of his poems, nature and phenomena in nature are important factors (Marais, 2001). For Marais, drought was one of nature’s most terrible phenomena (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais personally experienced the five-year drought of the Waterberg, which practically turned the Northern Transvaal into a desert (Rousseau, 1998a). This led to him taking over a rainfall station in Rietfontein in October 1912. The rainfall figures, talking to Boers and personal observations provided him with the material for a long article he sent to the weather bureau in January 1914 (Rousseau, 2005). The article was titled “*Notes on some aspects of extreme drought in the Waterberg*”. He made a compelling case for the theory that the subcontinent was systematically drying up. Ironically, the drought broke at this point and the world was so wet that Marais could not go from Rietfontien to Naboomspruit. Regardless, American meteorologists considered the article as very important and it was published later that same year in the United States of America at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington (Swart, 2004). Marais always regarded this article as one of his main achievements (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5.10 *World War I*

On 28 July 1914, the First World War (28 July 1914 - 11 November 1918) broke out. In the Waterberg, Marais’s political thinking seemed to have moved closer to that of most of his people (Van der Merwe, 2015). He supported the Rebellion of the significant group of Afrikaners who were opposed to South Africa as entry into the First World War on the side of Britain (Rousseau, 2005).

With regards to his addiction, the year 1915 was pure misery for Marais. It had been going badly for months. He was now at Aunt Maria's mercy. When there was no more opium left, Maria told him that she had a bottle Chlorodyne¹⁶, which he bought from her and often used as a substitute for morphine. Marais even sold a seasoned horse (worth £60 to £70) to Maria in exchange for a bottle of Chlorodyne (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.5.11 *Boshof again*

In Pretoria, Charlie Pienaar heard that Marais was going through a difficult time and he decided to tell Marais's son; who was 20 years old when he heard about his father's addiction for the first time (Rousseau, 2005). Charlie tried to get Marais healthy by arranging a hunting trip with Marais and a friend. Marais's son put it very succinctly (Rousseau, 2005) "on that hunting trip Charlie Pienaar tried to get my father off morphine. It did not succeed" (p. 281). After the hunting trip, Marais again fled to Boshof where he recovered (Rousseau, 1998a).

The previous year, the Smithsonian Institution published his article about the drought in the Waterberg and in Boshof, in 1915, he began to write the great philosophical work that would make him world famous – "*The Soul of the Ape*" (1969). He had dreamt of creating a magnus opus that the world would marvel at since he was in London. This is also illustrated in "*Laramie*" (1950), where the main character (Marais in a sense) entertains a group of leading scientists and they marvel at what he says (Marais, 1984, p. 851). Marais's motive was to help understand human behaviour but at least one chapter in "*The Soul of the Ape*" suggests that it may have been Marais's own behavioural problems that he wished to understand (Morris, 2009; Van Luijk, 2014). This would explain Marais's psychological rather than ecological

¹⁶ Chlorodyne was a patent medicine, one of its principal ingredients was laudanum (an alcoholic solution of opium) (Parker, Cobb, & Connell, 1974).

focus in “*The Soul of the Ape*” (Morris, 2009). Glenn (2006) emphasised this point to indicate that much of Marais’s writing was more personal than scientific.

3.3.5.12 *Back to the Waterberg*

After recovering in Boshof, Marais returned to the Waterberg, but the prolonged treatment had not been successful. Less than two months after his return, Marais wrote to his son (Rousseau, 1998a):

I am writing almost at once, or rather scribbling to let you know that I am again supremely miserable. I must escape from here at once... the question of money is still what keeps me. I haven’t even a train fare. (p. 33)

There was a tremendous deterioration in Marais’s condition. Charlie Pienaar was notified and he sent a message to Marais’s son to pick up his father (Rousseau, 2005). Without a struggle, Marais agreed to return to Pretoria. While they drove off the farm Rietfontein, Marais told his son (Rousseau, 2005) “... I feel as if I’m escaping from prison” (p. 288).

It appears that Marais later returned to the Waterberg, as he discovered a cycad there, which was named after him (Rousseau, 1998b; Swart, 2004). Marais wrote in “*The Soul of the Ape*” (1969) that he was summoned to the plateau to treat three young children who ate the dates from a cycad (Rousseau, 1998b). Nine or ten years later, not long before his death, Marais told his niece, Dr Inez Verdoorn (who was a professional botanist), of the children on the Palala-plateau who were poisoned by the dates. Fortunately, he was able to treat them because he happened to be visiting. Inez named the plant *Encephelartos Eugène Maraisii* (Gray, 2013; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998b).

3.3.6 Interludes (1918 – 1921)

Marais's new physician, Dr Haylett, successfully put him on Chlorodyne to reduce his morphine dose. However, it was soon discovered that Marais was secretly supplementing his Chlorodyne. It was agreed that Marais would spend some months on the farm of his niece on the Springbok Flats (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's interest in the supernatural continued during this time. A brief paragraph in one of the letters to his son reads (Rousseau, 1998a) "the ghost appeared again last night – this time marching along the land, but it disappeared before we could make up our minds about going to see" (p. 34). Despite Marais's son's repeated assurances that his father scorned the idea of extrasensory perception or the supernatural, there is room for doubt about this (Rousseau, 1998a). Rousseau (1998b) speculated that Marais at least accepted the possibility of parapsychological phenomena. Mrs. Hannie Preller (Gustav Preller's wife) also acknowledged that he would talk about the afterlife (Rousseau, 1998b).

3.3.6.1 *Back in Pretoria*

After leaving the Springbok Flats, Marais returned to Pretoria, where he practised as an advocate. His eagerness to produce a work of scientific validity continued (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais also joined his son's circle of friends (Rousseau, 2005) and started dating Flossie Kay, an attractive young typist. Between her and Marais there developed a stormy relationship that ended in disaster (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais's son recalled (Rousseau, 2005):

My father was always seeking the love of a woman, and many of them became extremely fond of him or fell in love with him because he had so much charm. And then someone would write an anonymous letter to warn the girl and everything would come to an end. That terrible thing [his addiction to morphine] was always in the background. (p. 314)

Marais practically never went to church but often talked about religion with his son and friends. One night with little piety, they attended a very stormy service at the Apostolic Church. Later Marais told the young men (Rousseau, 2005) “they're all looking for a short-cut to salvation – and there isn't one” (p. 300). In the year 1918, the Waterberg remained in his thoughts and he frequently worked on “*The Soul of the Ape*”. During this time, Marais also became good friends with Tielman Roos (the leader of the Transvaal National Party and the Transvaal's leader).

Gustav Preller often sent Marais books to review. Sometimes Marais got completely stuck with his writing (Rousseau, 2005), working irregularly and sometimes too hard. As it often happened, he overestimated his strength and tried to overtax himself and then he relapsed. The most likely cause of his relapse in 1918 was burnout (Rousseau, 2005). Around this time, he moved into the boarding house of his sister Jess Rex again. Here, circumstances brought him in close contact with Jess's youngest daughter Mabel (39). “Mabel was about the only family member who was not critical of him” (Rousseau, 2005, p. 310) and Hannie Preller later shared that (Rousseau, 2005) “his family neglected him, except Mabel; she tried to draw him closer” (p. 310).

3.3.6.2 *The Soul of the Ape*

Near the end of 1918, Marais completed the draft manuscript of “*The Soul of the Ape*”. Marais was quite depended on his son's opinions and suggestions of his writing and did not intend proceeding with any manuscript with which his son disagreed (Rousseau, 1998a). This was a very different response compared to the incredible arrogance with which Marais had harassed the Kruger regime as a young editor years ago. Now, however, while working on his intended magnum opus (*The Soul of the Ape*), his self-esteem had suffered increasingly severe damage and he was a completely different person (Rousseau, 1998a).

Early in 1919, Marais gave the completed manuscript to his son, who carefully retyped it (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais almost immediately started altering and changing the typed version of the manuscript. Around this time, he experienced writer's block with "*The Soul of the Ape*". He even gave it to several of his colleagues at the bar for their advice and opinions. He changed the work so much that it became increasingly worse and more difficult to read (Rousseau, 1998a). As he wrote he began to doubt his own conclusions. In his attempt to substantiate his radical new theories he was merely succeeding in making the manuscript unreadable (Rousseau, 1998a). In the following seven years, Marais would still occasionally and sporadically work on "*The Soul of the Ape*", without any significant progress¹⁷ (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

3.3.6.3 *Sunnyside*

Marais's son was relocated from Pretoria to Ermelo due to work reasons, which coincided with a gradual deterioration of Marais and his son's relationship. When Tielman Roos's sickly wife died, he invited Marais to stay with him in Sunnyside. Most of Marais's family were strongly critical of him during this time; it seemed that Marais did not bother himself often with his cousins (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais was now spending a great deal of time with the grandchildren of his uncle 'Lang Piet' Marais. To them, he was the most wonderful uncle. His favourite was the five-year-old Yvonne (Rousseau, 1998a). His relationship with Yvonne and her friends was not unilateral. He always needed to have a child or an animal to whom he could give his love and one suspects that these children helped him through a very difficult time during his dependency (Rousseau, 2005).

¹⁷ In later years Marais's own frequently revised manuscript became lost and all that remained was the carbon copy of the 1919 draft, which his son managed to publish in later years. Unfortunately, despite it being a pioneer work in Ethology and revered by scientists, it was outdated upon its publication in 1969 (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

3.3.6.4. *Joan Harley*

In 1920, Marais fell madly in love with Joan Harley, the 16-year-old daughter of one of the most prominent Pretorians, Raymond Harley, who was the master of the High Court. Joan wore the permissive and provocative fashion of the 1920s. Perfume, defiant behaviour, trendy and modern ideas could perhaps have made her the predator and Marais the willing victim. This was how his son typified some of his father's relations with younger girls (Rousseau, 1998b). In addition, Tielman Roos was also in love with her (Rousseau, 2005).

However, the relationship ended in a dramatic climax. While Tielman Roos had a dinner party, Marais invited Joan to see something in his bedroom. There he turned off the lights, fell down on his knees in front of her and declared that he could not live without her. She eluded him nimbly and when they returned to the living room, Marais grabbed a pistol from a side table and shot a hole through the ceiling. Tielman Roos dived under the sofa and Marais started shooting at both sides of the sofa. After the shooting incident, Marais's son came to talk to him. When things went reasonably well, Marais refused to recognise the problem or discuss it with his son, but in his current state of disrepair he grabbed at any treatment opportunity (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.6.5 *Dwaalstories (Wandering Tales)*

The year 1921 was one of Marais's most fruitful years of writing. The production of this year presents a picture of Marais's versatility and his abilities as a storyteller. His colourful memories of the Waterberg and his journey to East Africa were now told for the first time. Marais's "*Dwaalstories*" also appeared in *Die Boerevrou* magazine. Herein Marais provided variants of the San's oral narratives as they occurred in the then Northern Transvaal (Van Vuuren, 2008). Marais claimed that he heard the stories from an elderly nomadic Bushman, named 'Outa Hendrik' (Van Vuuren, 2008; Visagie, 2015). Marais was not against the use of

fictional narrators in his writings and distanced himself from authorship through an invented character (Swart, 2004). “*Dwaalstories*” were the first to present the bushman in an aesthetically beautiful light. He also observed that Afrikaans children always had an affinity for these stories. This can also relate to his love for children in general (Swart, 2004).

The first publication of “*Dwaalstories en ander vertellings*” (Wandering tales and other stories) (1985) contains anthropological footnotes by Marais (Van Vuuren, 2008), which indicates his interest in science. In this time of strong personal revival, Marais crossed paths with Afrikaans poet C. Louis Leipoldt. Marais’s son recalled that they (Marais and Leipoldt) lived together for a while in 1921 (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). The reason they stopped living together is, however, unknown.

3.3.6.6 Erasmus

In September 1921, Marais moved to Erasmus (now Bronkhorstspuit) (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Similar to London, as often before, his attention was divided between numerous other interests. He took part in the town's social life and played a leading role in the establishment of the Afrikaans society (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais wrote the poem “*Mabalêl*” on Erasmus. It contains symbols of both his personality and his life: Dreams, drought, pain, snakes and “*Die Nag*” (The Night) (which was also the title of a drama that he completed a few weeks before his suicide). Marais’s writings provided a very clear view of his mental state and personality (Du Toit, 1940). His poems especially reflected him as a person (Du Toit, 1940). Marais’s son recalled (Rousseau, 2005) “in any piece of writing by my father you can always see at work the poet, the journalist and the morphine addict” (p. 52). Marais’s writing method closely accompanied the nature of his self-explained life existence (Du Toit, 1940) “a continual struggle against the deepest precipitation that makes work and conscience very difficult” (p. 232).

Marais was busy with a variety of activities throughout his life, which was why most of his writings were usually short stories and poems. His reason for never writing a lengthy novel was because his psychological and mental state made it difficult. Marais acknowledged this in Heidelberg (see Section 3.3.7) when he once wrote to Wilhelm Spilhaus that the reason why he had not yet put his naturalistic studies in book form was because (Du Toit, 1940) “one must have leisure and mental quietude for this part of the work and I have always lacked both” (p. 263). Despite this, Marais’s “output as a poet and short story writer, as well as the pioneer populariser of nature studies... have ensured him the status of a unique cultural icon” (Gray, 2013, p. 63). Marais was barely eight months in Erasmus when he moved to Heidelberg on 30 May 1922 (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.7 Heidelberg (1922 – 1926)

In Heidelberg, Marais lived with Mrs. Maria Swart. He never went to church and openly declared his belief that such a concept was childish. Marais’s free-thinking magazine articles did not go unnoticed in the ecclesiastical circles. The local parson was upset about Marais’s acceptance of the theory of evolution. In Heidelberg, Marais received immense help from Connie Pistorius. He wrote later in “*Lariamie die Wonderwerker*” about Pistorius, where he appears as “Skat Pretorius” (Marais, 1984, p. 847).

In his first months in Heidelberg, Marais put some of his termite studies from the Waterberg days in writing for the first time. The article “*Verskynsels van die Dieresiel*” (Phenomena of the Animal Soul) was published early in 1923 in *Die Burger*. It was the first time he revealed his theory about the unity of the ant colony. Later that year, the first six chapters of “*Die Siel van die Mier*” (*The Soul of the White Ant*) appeared intermittently in *Die Huisgenoot* magazine, which records his observations made especially during a Waterberg drought some decades before, proving to be the leading popular work of its kind in Afrikaans (Gray, 2013). The

English version, published in 1937, had taken Marais's reputation wider afield and included various reprints and translations (Gray, 2013; Swart, 2004). With his entomological writings, Marais promoted the image of Afrikaners as a nation capable of advanced research and part of the international scientific community. At the same time, he persistently undermined European expertise, criticising Fabre, Bugnion, Forel and European scientists in general (Swart, 2004). He "often resorted to cheap sensationalism in his science, with an element of the side show charlatan and gave a 'South African' flavour to his work" (Swart, 2004, p. 122). After the termite articles, Marais also adapted certain portions of "*The Soul of the Ape*" into popularised Afrikaans articles, published later in 1926 in *Die Huisgenoot* (Rousseau, 1998a).

Despite his literary productivity, he still found it difficult to keep his morphine use within limits. Before it went completely out of hand, he contacted Dr Frans Daubenton for assistance. When asked whether Marais really wanted to be healed, Dr Daubenton answered with conviction that he did (Rousseau, 2005). Marais's son, Eugène Charles, began collecting his father's poems for publication. Gustav Preller and Charlie Pienaar took the idea even further. Preller offered to provide the collected poems with biographical information on Marais, but Marais was very unwilling to provide such information. "All the bad things can wait until I'm dead," he wrote to Pienaar in April 1923 (Rousseau, 2005, p. 353). "It's always a little frightening to see my own name even in print," he said when he heard of the new plan. "So be merciful with the biography!" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 354). Marais eventually gave him all the information he requested in a long letter ending with the significant words (Rousseau, 2005) "so as you said, life is a mosaic of memories, - for me unfortunately mostly painful as I let my consciousness dive into the dark stream" (p. 354).

In May 1923 Marais's brother Charles died. Someone who knew Charles well, believed that he no longer wanted to live (Rousseau, 2005) "he got a fishbone stuck in his throat and choked. He did not want help. It was practically suicide" (p. 355). After this incident, Marais

ended his account at Dr Daubenton. In the middle of 1923, Dr A. G. Visser became Marais's physician. "With no other man did Marais have such a close friendship" (Fugard & Devenish, 1977, p. 9). Marais regularly visited Visser's house and soon became friends with Visser's children (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 2005). In the 1923 *Die Burger's* new spring issue, which was an important literary medium, Marais made several contributions. Just a few months after Marais became Visser's patient, a piece by Visser was published. In the last half of 1923, Visser succeeded in limiting Marais's average morphine use to a half grain per day and at precisely this stage Visser had an unexpected heart attack (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.7.1 *A holiday in Durban*

Visser was diagnosed with angina pectoris (Rousseau, 2005). After Visser's recovery, he returned and resumed his practice. During this time, Connie Pistorius invited Marais to visit Durban with him. Here, Marais immediately bought a large supply of morphine. The holiday turned into a fiasco, as rumours of the incident reached Heidelberg. After Marais's return from Durban, it was commonly known that he was dependent on morphine and in Durban he indulged and caused a scandal, which led to Marais completely abandoning his legal practice.

On 1 April 1924 Marais wrote to his son (Rousseau, 1998b):

I am in a financial corner & unless I can get out it will mean the end of the business here as far as I am concerned. I incurred a considerable amount of debt ... Now I am suddenly faced with an old liability which I cannot meet, or at least not all of it... I want £25 immediately. (p. 95)

Marais's son had to assist his father in times of financial distress. However, during Marais's last decade in Pretoria, there was an overall alienation between them (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais probably held his son responsible for Lettie's death, which might sound far-fetched, but it is not necessarily inconsistent with Marais's nature. His son, however, was also his first

born, his only child, his namesake and the only physical bond he retained with Lettie. His son helped him in times of need. But he also disapproved his father's addiction, something that Marais found unbearable (Rousseau, 1998b).

Early in 1925, it was decided that it would be best if Marais boarded near his doctors. Therefore, he took up residence at a widow where he lived in a single-chamber stone cottage behind the house. Close by lived another widow, Brenda Steyn, whom he regularly visited and sometimes he stayed the night (Rousseau, 2005). During this time, writing was his only source of income and Marais started to appear in worn and shabby clothes. He also received medical treatment and medicine from Visser, his food mostly from Brenda Steyn and his pocket money from Connie Pistorius. From his son, he only received financial assistance when he asked for it and when there was really no other option. Letters from this period indicate that Marais insisted that his son should visit him (Rousseau, 1998b).

Early in 1926, two important relationships arose in Marais's life, one being a love affair with Brenda Steyn. The second was a friendly relationship with an elderly man, Wilhelm Spilhaus, with whom Marais corresponded a number of years by letter. Spilhaus was completely unaware of Marais's addiction, which was one of the main reasons why Marais saw Spilhaus as an acceptable correspondent (Rousseau, 2005). Marais wrote to Spilhaus (Rousseau, 2005) "the interest you have expressed and your kindly consideration induces me to break a rule I was forced to adopt – not to reply through the post to any communication unless it was of direct value" (p. 370).

In these years, further deliveries from Marais appeared in *Die Huisgenoot*, some the results of his friendship with Visser. It is surprising that Marais, in spite of such strong inhibitory factors (such as morphine), was able to write poetry of such excellent quality (Du Toit, 1940). Despite some very well written pieces, Marais was never able to write full length novels or longer pieces, as his dependency on morphine very often left him unable to work for long

periods. It is, however, important to note that Marais was able to complete more elaborate literary pieces when he was in good mental health. The largest part of “*Die Siel van die Mier*” and a lot of his poems originated at the time when he received friendship and assistance from Visser (Du Toit, 1940). While Marais received both friendship and medical care from Visser, Marais spurred the four volumes of poetry that appeared in Visser’s last years of life (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

3.3.7.2 *Steenkampskraal*

In the winter of 1926, Marais had a severe relapse. Visser arranged that Marais should go through a withdrawal treatment on a farm called Steenkampskraal. The owner of the farm was Doors Meyer. Doors’s wife and their two sons Doorsie and Louis helped Marais with his treatment. The withdrawal treatment on Steenkampskraal was very difficult for Marais that he never even spoke of the farm again. At one occasion, Marais called the eldest brother and told him (Rousseau, 2005) “Doorsie, please. For God’s sake, take your gun and shoot me. I don’t want to live anymore, I cannot live anymore” (p. 375). However, Marais eventually got accustomed to his low dosage and started to recover (Rousseau, 2005).

On the farm he completed an article about euphoric poisoning, which he sent to *Die Huisgenoot* (Van Luijk, 2014). He mentioned all of the drugs and narcotics in the article except morphine. Nowhere in all of his writings, private or public, did the word ‘morphine’ ever appear. Only in the most intimate conversations, such as with his son, did he speak about it without hesitation (Rousseau, 2005). The article also discussed ‘pain’ and shortly before the end of the article Marais’s private philosophy of life appears, stating there is only one perfect medium: death. In Marais’s case, a surrogate for this was morphine. Marais’s philosophical justification for his morphine dependency was that certain individuals turn to “euphoric poisons” because merely existing is painful for them. Marais wrote in one of his manuscripts

(Rousseau, 1998b) “if a man has to live in Hell, he prefers to live there drunk rather than sober” (p. 68).

While Marais was recovering, he nevertheless wanted to get away (Rousseau, 2005). A letter to Preller gives the impression that Marais tried to, perhaps unconsciously, arouse sympathy (Du Toit, 1940) “everything has collapsed: hope, ambition, longing – under the shadow of fear and humiliating, struggle for an existence that is only suffering” (p. 260). Meanwhile, a small cloud of hope appeared on the horizon. The directorship of the Pretoria zoo became vacant. Marais went for an interview at the zoo and returned to Steenkampskraal. He also tried to befriend the Meyer’s ten-year-old daughter, Corrie. However, she was one of the few children who were afraid of him (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.7.3 *Back to Heidelberg*

While Marais’s morphine dose was within limits, he bumped into the Bushman worker who was responsible for bringing his weekly supply to the farm. Marais managed to obtain a few tablets and injected himself at the nearest pond. He barely made it to his room and laid in bed in a stupor for three days. After this incident, Dr Visser brought Marais back to Heidelberg. Here, Marais’s lack of proper clothing and shame kept him locked in during the day; only in the evening did he venture outside (Rousseau, 2005). Marais was also not appointed at the zoo. Preller decided that Marais could perhaps assist at *Ons Vaderland* (later *Die Vaderland*) where Preller was the editor (Swart, 2004). Marais wrote to Preller (Rousseau, 2005):

I think my time here has broken me so that I would never recover. I will be of little help to you... It’s going very difficult, more difficulty than I have ever had in my life. It is a constant fight against the deepest depression that makes work and concentration very difficult. I will wait however and do my best to keep up... I wanted to tell you that I entered into extreme misery. My clothes (I only have one or two pieces left) I cannot wash so that

I have to practically stay in my room during the day. On the letter I put my last postage stamp. (p. 387)

In some of these letters, there is a tone of self-pity that Marais sometimes revealed to his closest friends. Marais's view of his own life is illustrated in the letters he wrote in Heidelberg (Du Toit, 1940) "in the last while I've been plunged into a night of depression and nervousness, with increasing sleeplessness" (p. 258). The burden of living sometimes became so heavy that he would tell Preller that (Du Toit, 1940) "just the shimmer of hope you have created enabled me to avoid the easiest escape" (p. 258). In late April 1927, Marais wrote a letter to Preller that contained a thinly veiled threat: care for me or attach your approval to my suicide¹⁸ (Du Plessis, 1988, p. 359-360; Marais, 2001, p. 70). Preller did not hesitate and in May 1927, Marais moved to Pretoria and stayed with the Prellers in Blackwood Street (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.8 The last take (1927 – 1936)

At the Prellers, Marais was treated by Dr Gideon Nel and his partner. They succeeded in keeping him on a moderate dosage and reasonably healthy and happy for long periods of time. Marais soon arrived at *Ons Vaderland's* newspaper office to start working. For many people, Marais was still an object of admiration. It was a time of national pride and Marais was a pioneer for Afrikaans prose and language. The reason why Marais wrote in Afrikaans, even though he was more comfortable in English, was out of national loyalty and patriotism (Du Toit, 1940). However, it may also have been because it was markedly easier to sell articles to the Afrikaans language press. Marais's connections and the lower standards of these papers made them a more lucrative vehicle. He also "never resisted foreign language translations of his works, in fact he was delighted at the prospect" (Swart, 2004, p. 125).

¹⁸ The original reads as follows: "Waarde Gustav, ek het jou brief eergister ontvang. Net een ding het by my voortgeleef – dat jy geen woord sê van na Pretoria oorkom nie; in stede: my versoek om nog te skryf as of die saak nogmaals op die lange baan geskuiwe is. Gustav, ek bid jou, ek smee jou om my nie langer in die ellende te laat voortgaan nie. Ek kan nie meer nie!" (Du Plessis, 1988, p. 359-360; Marais, 2001, p. 70).

The general public was unaware of Marais's addiction at this time. However, his family saw his scandals as a nuisance and an embarrassment while his fame as an Afrikaans poet and writer meant little to them. Hannie Preller recalled (Rousseau, 2005) "his own people never understood him" (p. 392). She marvelled at how little one of Marais's sisters knew about him. And indeed, many of his family members were bitterly disapproving and hostile in these last years in Pretoria. Some did not even want to hear his name; one sister openly said that he was dead to her (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.8.1 *Marais vs. Maeterlinck*

Maurice Maeterlinck was a world-famous Nobel prize laureate who was accused of having used Marais's concept of the 'organic unity' of the termitary in his 1926 book "*La Vie des Termites*" (The Life of the White Ant). *Die Huisgenoot* magazine appeared in Dutch and Flemish in West Europe during this time (Myburgh, 2009; Van Reybrouck, 2001). This could be how Maeterlinck got hold of the articles, as being a Belgian he understood Dutch (Myburgh, 2009; Rousseau, 1998a; Van Luijk, 2014; Van Reybrouck, 2001).

Marais promoted his side of the story through the South African press and attempted an international lawsuit, but this proved to be financially impossible and the case was not pursued (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van Luijk, 2014). The plagiarism case was, however, highly exaggerated and whether Marais's theory was plagiarised is still debated on by many researchers (Olivier, 2015; Rousseau, 1998a; Van Luijk, 2014; Van Reybrouck, 2001). Marais was a journalist, poet and morphine addict and these three attributes often caused a lack of accuracy and a tendency to truth compaction (Myburgh, 2009). Despite this, Van Reybrouck (2001) discovered that Maeterlinck quite possibly took the term *nasicornis*¹⁹ from Marais

¹⁹ *Nasicornis* is a term Marais created to describe the needle-like shaped heads displayed by the soldiers of a certain South African species of termite (Myburgh, 2009).

without recognition (Van Luijk, 2014). Marais was adamant that Maeterlinck had borrowed the theory from *Die Siel van die Mier*, and he “wove this story into the fantasy he constructed of his own sense of biography; he made it part of the mythology surrounding his addiction to morphine” (Swart, 2004, p. 129). In addition, the scandal *boosted* Marais’s own book sales and helped increase his status within South Africa (Swart, 2004).

While Marais accused Maeterlinck of stealing his concept, the originator of Marais’s idea was actually a Harvard professor of entomology, William Morton Wheeler (1865 - 1937) (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van Luijk, 2014). Wheeler proposed the idea of the *superorganism* in his 1911 essay “*The Ant Colony as an Organism*”. However, being in the remote Waterberg, Marais probably did not know of Wheeler’s theory and came to his theory by himself (Rousseau, 2005). In addition, evidence indicates that Marais had copied from others and even later maintained that their theories derived from his work (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

Marais sought fame through his scientific prose. Throughout his life, his dream was to create a magnum opus. While Marais maintained that he was 'not concerned with publicity', even his translator and friend, Dr Winifred De Kok (see Section 3.3.8.5) noted that while Marais is remembered for his poetry, it is for his scientific writing, especially on termites, for which he would wish to be remembered. It is particularly in his scientific prose that he pertinently reports, reflects and theorises with great confidence (Marais, 2001). Marais “always longed to be remembered as a scientist, hoping his work would live on and he would be remembered for his work on animal behaviour” (Swart, 2004, p. 220). This was especially the case after 1927 when Marais attracted attention after the Maurice Maeterlinck episode. Marais won “a measure of renown as the aggrieved party and as an Afrikaner researcher who had opened himself up to plagiarism because he published in Afrikaans out of national loyalty” (Swart, 2004, p. 205).

3.3.8.2 *Edna Cross*

Marais informed Gustav Preller that he had decided to search for accommodation closer to the newspaper. He boarded in the house of Mrs. Jessie Cross, which was almost next to the newspaper office. Mrs. Cross's youngest daughter, Edna, became one of the most important persons in his life. They had a type of father-daughter-relationship (Marais, 2001).

In 1930, Marais saw the termite queen in her inner sanctum for the first time. Marais and a friend discovered the queen under the altar of a dilapidated old house in Pretoria, which had been infected by termites for years. This was a big moment for Marais and the observation of the queen enabled Marais to finish his series of articles after an interval of more than four years. Wilhelm Spilhaus later managed to get Marais's observations published in the British psychological journal, *Psyche*, where it appeared as an article under the heading "*The Termite Queen as the Brain of the Organism*" (Rousseau, 2005). In 1931, Spilhaus persuaded Marais to turn his series of *Huisgenoot* articles on the termites into a more ambitious form in English. In one letter after another, Marais gave updates that the progress of processing the articles in English was going well. However, Marais started to doubt his abilities and wrote to Spilhaus (Du Toit, 1940):

It [the article] is even now not quite what I would like it to be, - in fact, the entire article is lacking in many respects. But that is largely due to my existing environments. I could not command the necessary peace of mind, which is very necessary in work of this nature. (p. 263)

During this time, Fasia de Wet was appointed as head of *Ons Vaderland*. De Wet wanted Marais to write articles twice a week. He wanted another huge success series, similar to "*Die Siel van die Mier*". From this originated "*Burgers van die Berge*" (My friends the baboons), which appeared as a continued series for ten weeks (Rousseau, 2005). Without having to interrupt his weekly contributions, Marais became involved in one of the most sensational cases

of the 1930s. He was suddenly the focus of public attention not only in Pretoria but the whole country (Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.8.3 *The Lamont case*

An English lecturer named H. P. Lamont wrote a book under the pseudonym Wilfred Saint-Mandé, titled “*War wine and women*” published in 1932. The book caused an uproar under the Boers, as it contained anti-Afrikaner sentiments (Swart, 2004). When the book appeared, it was a time of strong patriotism. Four young men decided to punish Lamont themselves, by tarring (albeit with wagon grease) and feathering him. They dropped him off at the Town Square where he hid in a bookstore (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). The four were charged for assault and Marais and a local attorney, Dr Hjalmar Reitz, were hired to defend them. Interestingly, Marais was asked, not as an advocate but as a *great Afrikaner* (Swart, 2004).

However, during the case, Marais and Reitz’s defence did not help. At the end, the magistrate gave each of the four attackers a maximum sentence of a £50 fine or six months hard labour. One of Marais’s colleagues at *Die Vaderland* during the time said that the case was a complete fiasco (Rousseau, 2005):

I was in court, not as a reporter, but as a spectator. Everyone was there. We all wanted to hear what Eugène Marais would say. But the man was not up to the task. Which was understandable as he practiced so long ago. And then his voice, as long as I could remember him, he had a weak voice, a hoarse voice, and on this day his voice was almost completely gone. There the popular image of Eugène Marais crumbled. There he was more fallible than at any other place where people knew him. (p. 439)

A fund was soon opened and the fines paid for. The convicted felons were very grateful for Marais’s assistance, however, he refused to accept any money from them as means of their appreciation. After the trial, Marais never again made a public appearance or went to places

where he would attract attention. Later, despite the insistence of his newspaper colleagues, he even refused to attend one of his own plays (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005).

3.3.8.4 *The path of dreams*

After the Lamont case, Marais was emotionally and otherwise exhausted. The demands his colleagues set him were far beyond his abilities and they experienced serious problems to get Marais's deliveries on time (Swart, 2004). One of Marais's contributions to the newspaper was "*Salaz y Gomez*". The story portrays the world of dreams and nightmares brought on by extensive use of morphine. This probably provided a look at Marais's (1984) own state of mind at this time "it was as if he was moving in a dream – a horrible dream that he tried in vain to shake off. And with the anxiety there arose an unruly restlessness. He feels that he is locked up" (p. 556). One colleague recalled that in his [Marais's] waking hours he suffered from (Rousseau, 2005) "a frightful sense of impending doom" (p. 445). One of Marais's own dreams appears in "*Salas y Gomez*" a dream repeated night after night with variations. In the dream Marais is in an enormous cave at night. He boards a carriage and six black horses race with a thunderous pace through a series of endless, dark caves. The carriage is a hearse and Marais is on his way to his own funeral (Rousseau, 2005). The thought of death often preoccupied him, which is why he probably had recurring dreams of this nature (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's doctors brought him down from his present high dose to a minimum dose at which he could function normally. On 31 December 1932 there appeared, for the first time in nearly four months, a story under his name in *Die Vaderland*. In January 1933, after the deep slump of the previous year, the stories flowed out of his pen (Rousseau, 2005). His contributions to *Die Vaderland* continued month after month. Thirty articles and stories (some very long) appeared. While some of his finest poems dealt with the wonders of life and nature, he also wrote about inescapable death (Swart, 2004). It is also noteworthy that in several of Marais's

poems, the characters with which Marais can be identified with were, firstly, women, and, secondly, dark-skinned. Examples include “*Diep Rivier*” (Deep river), “*Die Townares*” (The sorceress), “*Mabalêl*” and the songs of the little Bushman girl Nampti. This connection with people of different races was also noted in London, the Waterberg and in Pretoria (Rousseau, 2005).

The changing subject material and quality of Marais’s writings during this period was undoubtedly associated with his morphine consumption. In some of the stories one seems to be able to see directly into the dark stream of Marais’s subconscious (Rousseau, 2005; Visagie, 2015). Rousseau (2005) attributed Marais’s sometimes cruel and morbid writings to his morphine addiction, especially Marais’s writings on drought. However, many of these stories (especially “*Destruction of the Second World*”) responds to the circumstances that Marais witnessed in South Africa in the 1930s (Visagie, 2015). Thus, Visagie (2015) argued that one should not readily assume that Marais’s writings were automatically influenced by his morphine addiction, something that Rousseau (2005) was prone to do. One should also consider the historical circumstances that prevailed during that time (Visagie, 2015).

During this time, Marais’s morphine stock was within limits, which might be because his doctors were his friends and probably contributed to his stable morphine use. However, in August 1933 Marais had to say goodbye to Edna as they moved to Clanwilliam in the Cape. It may be coincidence, but in this month, Marais delivered no contribution to *Die Vaderland* for four weeks. It was the longest break of the year (Rousseau, 2005). That same month Spilhaus send Gustav Preller a copy of *Psyche*, in which Marais’s article about the termite queen appeared. Spilhaus noted that his previous letter to Marais was unanswered or misplaced. It seemed that Marais felt no desire to resume the correspondence, as Spilhaus knew of his addiction. Gustav Preller invited Marais once again to take up residence in Blackwood Street (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais often accompanied the Prellers to their farm, Pelindaba, on weekends. Pelindaba became Marais's refuge for withdrawal treatment. Here, Marais also became friends with Lood Pretorius, one of Hannie's brothers, who lived about a mile from the bungalows where Marais stayed. On Pelindaba, Marais repeated old patterns, which included conducting studies of insects and hypnotising an old Bushman, for example. Furthermore, he had a girlfriend who was about twenty years old. However, 'it ended, just like everything else' (Rousseau, 2005, p. 481).

In 1935 Du Toit (1940) wrote his master's thesis on Marais, titled: "*Eugène N. Marais – sy bydrae tot die Afrikaanse letterkunde*" (Eugène Marais — his contribution to Afrikaans literature). Unfortunately, Du Toit wrote statements that would later lead to great misunderstanding and confusion (Swart, 2004). These included things such as Marais's date of birth. Marais also recalled that his mother was Sophia van Niekerk, although her real name was Catharina. He stated he was 15 years old in 1887 when he finished matric, but in 1887 Marais was 16. The reason why Marais's erroneously called his mother Sophia, might be because he had a close relationship with his sister Sophie Ueckerman (Rousseau, 1998b).

After the second interview with Du Toit, Marais wrote a short story "*Spore in die Sand*" (Tracks in the sand) and submitted it to *Die Vaderland*. But the story never appeared in the newspaper, as someone in the division doubted the quality of the contribution (Marais, 2001). This was the last time Marais submitted something to *Die Vaderland*. Preller persuaded Marais to have another withdrawal treatment in Pelindaba. In a less severe form, the nightmarish experience of Steenkampskraal was repeated here. A teacher of Broederstroom recalled that "He was very lonely, and mostly he just wanted company. He had this yellow boy, Koos, which he sent with a letter to my house "come and see me please, or something of the sort. He just never wanted me to bring my wife" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 489).

Marais started working at *Die Volksstem* where he befriended J. C. Vlok, who was the son of Marais's old friend A. C. Vlok. In these months, Marais's social circle languished. At one point friends managed to stop Marais from being arrested for debt (Mieny, 1984). Someone who worked as an articled clerk in Pretoria at the time recalled that:

There was a man who came in and asked for money. I gave him a half crown. When he left, one of the others said to me, 'Don't you know that's Eugène Marais? Don't give him money, give him food. (Rousseau, 2005, p. 491)

3.3.8.5 *Dr Winifred de Kok*

However, at the same time Marais experienced a sudden strong spiritual revival. This was caused by a correspondence Marais started near the end of 1935 with Dr Winifred de Kok. She was born in Bethlehem in the Orange Free State and was one of the first women to gain a doctorate overseas in Child Psychology (Gray, 2013). De Kok lived in Suffolk, England and wanted to translate Marais's books, particularly "*The Soul of the White Ant*" as she saw the publicity value in Maeterlinck's plagiarism. In Marais's first letter, he accepted her proposal and told her something about his life and his work. Here, Marais lied about his age, as he wrote that he participated in the war as a boy, which gives one the idea that he was younger than he really was (Rousseau, 2005):

As a boy, I took part in the last war against the English. You will perhaps be astonished to learn what my psychological reactions were to this jumble of circumstances. The most enduring result was that it made me far more bitter than men who took part in the war at a more advanced age and who had had less to do with the English before the war. It was for purely sentimental reasons that I refused to write in any language except Afrikaans and notwithstanding the fact that I am far more fluent and more at ease in English. (p. 493)

In another letter to Dr Winifred de Kok, Marais explained the plagiarism case, but put it much more strongly and more exaggerated. Van Reybrouck (2001) found that Maeterlinck did not copy ‘page after page’, despite there being overwhelming similarities. The last, untrue words may or may not have been underlined by Marais himself (Rousseau, 1998a):

...The famous author had paid me the left-handed compliment of cribbing the most important part of my work... He clearly desired his readers to infer that he had arrived at certain of my theories (the result of ten years of hard labour in the veld) by his own unaided reason, although he admits that he never saw a termite in his life. You must understand that it was not merely plagiarism of the spirit of the thing, so to speak. He has copied page after page verbally. (p. 43)

In January 1936, after his birthday, he wrote to Mrs Cross to say how much he missed them. For Edna he added a footnote saying that he would write a separate letter to her within a day or two, as he had a ‘little story’ he wanted to tell her (Rousseau, 2005). The story was about a dream he had the night after Edna moved. In the dream, Marais had to carry peculiar half-opened boxes up a winding path. Then he met an old woman who gave him a baby. In the dream the baby resembled a chimpanzee. However, Marais realised that it was Edna as a baby. Rousseau (2005) gave various interpretations of the dream (i.e., that Marais wanted Edna to belong to him) or that the baby in the dream may have been Marais’s son, as Marais never took care of him as a baby.

3.3.8.6 *Pelindaba*

Marais moved with the Prellers to Pelindaba in March 1936. His son later wrote (Rousseau, 2005):

I saw him frequently in Pretoria and noticed at the beginning of this year a shocking change for the worse. I personally formed the conclusion that the end of the year would not

see him alive and I have since heard that when my aunt, his sister [possibly Sophie Ueckerman], met him some time in January in the street and commented on the fact that he did not look well, he said he was feeling very bad and wished he could put an end to it all. (p. 505)

Mrs. Cross recalled that (Rousseau, 2005) “when he was with us, we occasionally discussed the issue of suicide, and he always said: ‘A person who kills himself, must be a complete coward’” (p. 505). J. C. Volk recalled (Rousseau, 2005):

almost every day at *Die Volkstem* he talked to me about suicide. I always said it was a cowardly way out; then he gave in, but he added: ‘Yes, Vlokkie, but there is truly one thing that justifies it, and it’s loneliness. It’s the most terrible thing in the world’. (p. 505)

In Pelindaba, Marais immediately moved into the bungalows. March was a rainy month and the miserable weather had a depressing effect on him. While Marais stayed in the bungalows, the Prellers were preoccupied with their own activities. Here, Marais had no stock of morphine. His son recalled seeing a few aspirins on the windowsill of the bungalow when he visited after Marais’s suicide (Rousseau, 1998b). Marais also refused to have meals with the Prellers in the farmhouse (Rousseau, 2005).

On the morning of 29 March, Marais walked to Lood Pretorius’s house and told him that he wanted to shoot a snake that was catching birds in a thorn tree. Lood gave him a shotgun and a few yards from the farmhouse Marais shot himself (Marais, 2001; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005, Van der Merwe, 2015; Van Reybrouck, 2001).

3.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter a broad overview of Marais’s historical life in chronological order was provided to the reader. The chapter firstly gave an understanding of Marais’s socio-cultural and historical context, as this is important if one wishes to have a holistically accurate

understanding of an individual. Secondly, Marais's biographical information was provided starting from his birth in 1871 to his death in 1936. In Chapter 4 a theoretical overview of psychobiographical research is explored.

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

4.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the researcher aims to provide the reader with an exploration of the development and practise of psychobiography as a case study approach within the areas of both qualitative and quantitative research. Firstly, the qualitative research approach is introduced and described. Particular attention is also given to the case study as a distinctive methodological approach. Thereafter, psychobiographical research is defined and distinguished from other related terms. An overview of the trends in psychobiography is provided, followed by a brief outline of its developmental history within the South African context. Lastly, the values, including the criticisms of employing the psychobiographical approach, are discussed.

4.2 Qualitative Research

4.2.1. Introduction

Research can be approached from either a *qualitative* or *quantitative* method or a combination thereof. A qualitative approach is used in numerous academic disciplines, including psychology, journalism, history, political sciences and sociology. The qualitative research approach is a flexible and exciting endeavour for the researcher, as it provides depth and variety (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Ponterotto, 2005; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013a, 2013b). The social sciences make a key distinction between quantitative and qualitative research methods (Bryman, 2012; Flick, 2006; Manning, 1982), as this is usually based on the type of philosophical paradigm the approach follows. *Positivism* is the primary philosophical

paradigm used in quantitative research approaches. It proposes that (a) reality can only be perceived through the senses and (b) knowledge is primarily empirical in nature (i.e., knowledge can only be gained from first-hand experience) (Hughes, 1990; Ponterotto, 2010).

In spite of a qualitative research endeavour being the primary methodology used during the psychology profession's early developmental stages as a discipline, psychology developed a preference for the positivist and post-positivist research paradigms (Ponterotto, 2010). This led to psychology attempting to follow the accuracy of a natural sciences model, focusing on developing standardised and quantitative methods of exploration (Flick, 2006; Martin, 1996). While the positivist approach has declined over the past three decades, its effect can still be seen in the number of instruments utilised in social science research (e.g., statistical models, surveys, questionnaires and the use of research as merely a process of hypothesis testing) (Hughes, 1990). Even though quantitative research is a popular approach in psychology, it is also quite limited. Despite the rigid methodological procedures, quantitative data rarely holds any intrinsic value, as "both the participants and the data they provide are merely the means to an end: the testing of nomothetic hypotheses about human thought, affect or behaviour" (Simonton, 2003, p. 618). Fortunately, the field of qualitative research provides a more in-depth understanding of the person, thus qualitative research providing greater value (Simonton, 2003). This has led to a gradual shift in research paradigms, with qualitative research in applied psychology becoming an increasingly popular and more accepted research approach (Ponterotto, 2010).

Qualitative research (in contrast to quantitative research) focuses on processes and meanings that are difficult to measure experimentally or to investigate with regards to amount, quantity, frequency or intensity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). It interconnects several terms, concepts and assumptions (Flick, 2006) and it is affixed in three research paradigms, namely: (a) *post-positivism*, which is the belief that one true reality exists, but it can only be observed

imperfectly, because of human fallibility. Therefore, the researcher is required to remain dualistic (being divided) and as objective as possible by taking up the stance of the *disinterested scientist* (Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2010), (b) the *constructivist-interpretivist* paradigm, which proposes that a multitude of socially constructed realities exist. In order to discover meaning in these realities, a very collaborative researcher-participant relationship is imperative (Ponterotto, 2010). The *passionate participant* stance is usually assumed by the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2010), and lastly, (c) the *critical-ideological perspective* that proposes that the individual's reality is shaped by his or her cultural, economic, political, gender, ethnic, social factors and values. In this perspective, the researcher generally assumes a *transformative intellectual* stance, which includes playing an interactive and proactive role in order to promote emancipation and transformation through research (Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2010). The quality of qualitative research is generally assessed based on to its paradigmatic underpinnings, along with the standards of the discipline in which it is conducted (Morrow, 2005; Nel, 2013).

The abovementioned philosophical paradigms allow the qualitative research approach multiple methodological and theoretical concepts (Flick, 2006) and offers the researcher a wide variety of investigative methods and procedures to analyse various individuals and explore human motivations, experiences, perceptions and behaviours in great depth (Manning, 1982; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010). For this reason, the qualitative research approach is able to focus on various aspects such as (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) (a) the socially constructed nature of reality, (b) the relationship between the researcher and subject, (c) the situational restraints that shape the analysis and (d) the value-laden nature of the analysis.

The qualitative researcher studies phenomena in their natural setting and strives to make sense of or interpret phenomena regarding the meanings that people attach to them. Qualitative

research is, therefore, considered a naturalistic and interpretive approach to understanding the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). This means that the researcher is usually placed within the environment they wish to study, which warrants attention to the concerns of researcher subjectivity and reflexivity. *Researcher subjectivity* or *bias* refers to the tendency of the researcher to idealise or criticise the subject because of counter-transference reactions that may arise during the course of a study (Fouché, 1999), which can negatively impact the results. *Reflexivity* refers to the method of critically reflecting on the self as researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 2008) and can be used to minimise researcher bias (Fouché, 1999). In comparison to quantitative methods (which aim toward researcher objectivity), the qualitative researcher willingly acknowledges their own subjectivity during the data gathering and analysis process (Morrow, 2005). Based on the paradigm used, the researcher may either try to control, limit and manage their own subjective reflections and reactions, or take these into account and use it as unique data (as will be done in the current study) (Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005). The psychobiographer should maintain some manner of objectivity and balance in profiling the inner psychological life of his or her subject (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

A qualitative approach holds various advantages for research. Ponterotto (2010, 2014) summarised these advantages characteristic to the discipline of psychology, across the array of research paradigms as follows:

- The constructivist qualitative methods often include the study of cognitive and emotive aspects of the subject's life experiences interpreted from within their socially constructed worldviews.
- Their discovery rather than confirmatory or explanatory goals makes qualitative methods especially helpful in exploratory phases of research.
- Qualitative research assists in adding descriptive depth to quantitative research.

- The inductive and interactive process of continuous data collection, analysis, and interpretation make the qualitative approach excellent to develop theory.
- It is especially useful in studying and comprehending the processes in counselling and psychotherapy.
- Intricate psychological phenomena can be effectively studied because qualitative research is not constrained by preselected or limited variables, but quite open to examining the variables as it develops during research.
- The qualitative approach is excellent for building clinical relevance of research, given that participants are actively involved in defining research questions and in the assessment and interpretation of data; therefore, increasing the clinical relevance.
- Qualitative research is thus participant friendly and can increase the public's understanding of and receptivity to research as well.
- Qualitative research can also bridge the gap between the objective hypothetico-deductive model of science and the subjective everyday experience of practitioners and clients.
- Lastly, the qualitative approach is effective in building procedural evidence (i.e., intelligible, credible and consistent findings become self-evident in the analysis procedure).

As previously mentioned, qualitative research utilises a wide range of methodological approaches to analyse data (Manning, 1982; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010). The case study method is one such approach. Psychobiography can be regarded as a type of case study, as it focuses on the psychological narration of an individual life (Edwards, 1998; Fouché, 1999; Saccaggi, 2015; Simonton, 2003). The following section focuses on briefly outlining the case study approach when qualitative methodology is applied. This will assist in contextualising psychobiography within the broader research domain.

4.2.2. Qualitative Approaches to Case Study Research

A *case study* is a methodological tool that entails a thorough investigation and systematic presentation of a single case, in which the variables studied are examined in depth (Edwards, 1998; Runyan, 1984; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). The structure of the case may vary, ranging from a person, family, group, clinical session, event, organisation, community or country, and it may focus on single (e.g., a study of Eugène Marais) or multiple cases (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Thus, while a case study approach is usually concerned with matters such as the complexity, distinctiveness and uniqueness of a single case, it may also focus on the commonalities and similarities between cases, as well as recognising agreements and contradictions within cases (Brown, 2010). A prototypical case study would consist of the following characteristics (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007):

- It involves a comprehensive study of a specific unit of analysis.
- Highly detailed and contextually rich descriptions are given.
- The research happens in a natural setting where there is limited control over the situations studied (i.e., behaviour, events or organisations).
- The case study is described as being time and context-bound, which assists in contextualising the unit being studied.
- Working hypotheses originate from what is constructed or uncovered during the data collection and analysis process.
- Using multiple sources of data allow lines of inquiry to correspond, which promotes triangulation that assists in creating accurate and convincing findings.
- Lastly, case studies can enhance and possibly expand our knowledge of a phenomenon by exploring it in an in-depth manner.

The case study approach has been reasoned to be valuable, as it (a) connects theory to practise, (b) utilises and capitalises on problematic or unique experiences, which allow the development of practise relevant theory and (c) it develops rich observations, which permit the productive adaptation or modification of existing theories (Kressel, 2009; Stiles, 2009). It is a context-bound research method which allows a holistic and comprehensive analysis (Brown, 2010; Runyan, 1983; Tellis, 1997). Therefore, it is a useful method to gain an in-depth understanding of problems, to understand the stages of research processes and to obtain a better comprehension of situations in the context which they occur (Gilgun, 1994).

A case study approach should be viewed as “transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary” (p. 2) because it enables subjects to be studied from various paradigms and disciplinary approaches (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). For example, case studies can produce and test hypotheses about the real world in the *post-positivist* paradigm. When conducting a case study from this angle, the researcher is able to discover the case, the variables or the units of interest in the case. However, from an *interpretivist* perspective the focus is rather on the specific reality which is applicable to the phenomenon being studied. The story-like delivery of the phenomenon is emphasised in the analysis, along with the repetitive process involved in building the case study. This allows the case study approach to create a reconstruction of the subject’s ‘reality’. Lastly, a case study approached from a *critical theory* paradigm will focus on the socio-historical context (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007).

The case study does not exclusively belong to the area of qualitative research, as quantitative or qualitative or a mixture of both can be used in a case study approach (Yin, 1981, 2018). For example, the practise of *historiometry* (i.e., the quantitative analysis of historical data) involves applying altered versions of standard psychometric measures to the data on historical persons, with the aim of measuring various characteristics such as personality, intelligence, interest, beliefs, motivation, values and psychopathology (Simonton, 2003). In addition, quantitative

Multivariate methods permit researchers to control and measure variables. However, such methods may be unable to recognise the unique characteristics of the case (Edwards, 1998).

Qualitative research is especially suited to develop innovative theories that are inclined to be testable and empirically valid (Eisenhardt, 1989). The case study method has always been essential to developing theories in areas such as psychotherapy, clinical psychology, developmental psychology, personality psychology, humanistic and transpersonal clinical methods (Edwards, 1998; Kressel, 2009). The literature has offered a range of case-based qualitative methodologies (Edwards, 1998; Runyan, 1984). Edwards (1998) summarised the assumptions that are shared by contrasting case-based research approaches as follows:

- Measuring human experience and behaviour concerning the variables from which predictions can be made, is not the fundamental task of the scientific enquiry. It must be remembered that the relationship between factor analytic models and existing psychological and interpersonal processes is not without its limits.
- Quantification is not a goal desired for its own sake.
- The quality of the scientific endeavour is determined by the data quality.
- The qualitative researcher is respectful towards research subjects and sees their narratives as worth exploring and understanding, the subjects may even become co-researchers or collaborative partners.
- In order for the case to be contextualised, an ample amount of qualitative data should be obtained.
- Research should be case-based and case-centred; this means that case data is used to develop theories, which may help to improve the researcher's understanding of future cases.

The case study is a popular and relevant approach in theory development due to its ability to connect qualitative evidence with deductive research (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). This

is demonstrated by the cyclical nature of research when building theory: the inductive process of theory development is based on data from case studies that contribute to the production of new theories (Ponterotto, Reynolds, Morel, & Cheung, 2015). In turn, these new theories can be exposed to deductive theory testing by utilising case data, to complete the cycle (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The case study approach could, therefore, be viewed as reciprocal to prevailing deductive reasoning as it creates accurate, interesting and testable theories (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

This cyclical approach to research is described by Edwards (1998) who also asserted that case study research plays a pivotal role throughout the whole research endeavour. He further explained that the different categories of case study work seem to correlate with the three phases of the research process, which he characterised as a descriptive phase, a theoretical-heuristic phase and a theory-testing phase. Edwards's (1998) suggestions are illustrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Research process phases corresponding with categories of case study work

Research Process Phases	Case Study Work Categories
Descriptive work	Exploratory-descriptive work Focused-descriptive work
Theoretical-heuristic work	Grounded theory building Hermeneutic work
Theory-testing work	Testing propositions within grounded theory Meta-theoretical deconstruction

Note. Adapted from "Types of case study work: a conceptual framework for case-based research," by D. J. A. Edwards, 1998, *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 28(3), pp. 36-70.

As depicted in Table 4.1, phase one (descriptive work), centres around the careful observation and unbiased description of the phenomenon under study, especially when it is a considerably new phenomenon being studied. A case study approach may, thus, provide to

exploratory-descriptive work, where a comparatively unfamiliar phenomenon is being analysed ideographically with the aim of generating an organised and understandable delivery of the phenomenon. After describing the phenomenon, it can be analysed more deeply during *focused-descriptive work*. In phase two (theoretical-heuristic work), the case study approach can also be of value in using the descriptions prompted during phase one as a basis for developing theory. In *grounded theory building*, the theory is built based on strongly justified observations. Grounded theory building entails: (a) categorisation, (b) statements of correlational relationships, (c) definition of psychological structure, (d) propositions about process and (e) propositions about causal relationships. The theory developed from *hermeneutic work* is recognised to have been historically and culturally constructed and not as an absolute truth. Theories can now be clarified through critical debate and disciplined investigation. During phase three (theory testing work), *testing propositions within grounded theory* may be accomplished through careful inspection of individual cases. Also, *meta-theoretical deconstruction*, where theories are radically reformulated based on the materials used from case studies to disclose the hidden suppositions on which a psychological theory is based, can be achieved during phase three as well (Edwards, 1998).

The researcher can use the case study in various ways. For example, a case may be better understood by applying theory to it or a case may be applied to a theory in order to assess and enhance the theory (Stiles, 2009). When a case study is used to build theory, the logical operations involved consist of (a) deduction (using theory to generate specific ideas that can be tested through research), (b) induction (applying observations to theory) and (c) abduction (the creation and modification of theories) (Stiles, 2009). The psychobiographical approach, as a type of case study research (Edwards, 1998), may use either deductive or inductive case research or a combination of both (Fouché, 1999). For this reason, psychobiography allows

the researcher to develop and/or test constructs of psychological theory (Coetsee, 2017; Nel, 2013).

In the following section, greater detail is given to the psychobiographical research approach. Firstly, the applicable definitions and descriptions are provided, followed by an outline of the area's developmental trends and its practice within the South African context. Afterwards, the values, including the criticisms of the case study design and the psychobiographical approach are provided.

4.3 Psychobiographical Research

Psychobiography has been described using many terms such as psychological biography, personology, narratology or life history (Cara, 2007). In recent years, methodologists have become more accepting of the qualitative and archival research methods that are usually employed in psychobiography (Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a). In addition, recent psychobiographies that published in a diverse array of psychological professions have been well-received by both the research community and the general public (Ponterotto, 2014; Schultz, 2005a). Psychobiography and its related concepts are explored and discussed next.

4.3.1. Psychobiography Defined

Psychobiography is “a qualitative, idiographic research method; it is the explicit and systematic application of psychological theories and models in writing biographies and analysing the life history, activity and personality of historically significant persons” (Kőváry, 2018, p. 1). It has also been defined as a biography that uses psychological theory (Ponterotto, 2015a). However, psychobiography is distinguished from biography, as the former utilises psychological theory in order to provide the basis for interpreting and understanding the life of the subject being studied (Ponterotto, 2017). Biography is, therefore, primarily descriptive and

more aimed at asking *what* questions, with psychobiography being more explanatory and interpretive, rather than aimed at asking *why* questions. Thus, both practises attempt to discover answers to questions such as (a) how can the life course of an individual be fully understood? (Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1984), (b) How does one explain the most effective methods to examine the development of a single life over time? (Howe, 1997; McAdams, 1988, 1994), and (c) how do some children develop into extremely competent, exceptionally resourceful and productive adults? (Howe, 1997; Simonton, 1994).

Scholars in both the disciplines of psychology and biography have been fascinated by the lives of enigmatic and contentious personalities (Howe, 1997; McAdams, 1988, 1994). Despite this, it was not until the early 20th century that psychological concepts were explicitly used in biographical writings with the aim of psychologically interpreting the subject's life. This created a symbiotic, although uneasy, unity between psychology and biography (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010). According to Simonton (2003) the psychobiographical approach usually contains (a) a qualitative analysis of a single case, (b) pursues an idiographic and longitudinal approach, (c) aims to confirm hypotheses being tested and (d) mostly consists of a micro-analytical unit (an individual) through indirect assessment.

Psychobiography is the “systematic use of psychological (especially personality) theory to transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story” (McAdams, 1988, p. 2), with the aim of making both scholarly and psychological sense of the individual (Schultz, 2001c). The psychobiographical approach aims to uncover aspects of a person's life (Schultz, 2001c) and to understand the life by using psychological assumptions, themes and methods (Kramer, 2002). Psychobiography is considered a longitudinal life history research method that examines the personality development of completed lives (Carlson, 1998).

The following universal characteristics that are typically found in psychobiography have been highlighted by Van Niekerk (2007): (a) the use of mostly qualitative data; (b) the

preference towards an all-inclusive approach to the study of a person's lifespan, rather than compartmentalised episodes; (c) the subjects of a psychobiography are always identified by name, as opposed to quantitative research where subjects are researched anonymously; (d) the use of biographical data that have primarily been collected by other researchers such as biographers and historians; (e) data is not necessarily collected with the goal of solving pre-arranged research problems, but rather because the information has historical and psychological significance and it is inherently interesting and valuable.

Ponterotto (2015a) provided a complete definition of psychobiography, describing it as "... the intensive life-span study of an individual of historic significance in [their] socio-cultural context using psychological and historiographic research methods and interpretations from established theories of psychology" (p. 2). In the next section the researcher aims to clarify some the concepts that are closely associated with psychobiography.

4.3.2 Psychobiography and Related Concepts

4.3.2.1 *Autobiography and Biography*

Bertaux (1981) and Bromley (1986) defined an *autobiography* as the story of a person's life, or a part of that life, as told by the individual themselves. Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005) described it as the documentation of a life, or an aspect thereof, told in the first person, in which the person is the author of their own life story (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010). It should be noted that there is always an amount of selection bias that exists in an autobiography, since the author may have picked the material in such a way that they can present a favoured image of themselves to the reader. The author, therefore, ignores that which is distasteful or trivial to them, even though the information may hold great interest to the reader (Becker, 2009). This selection bias, cause autobiographies to be marked by the individual's own subjective opinion

of what is important or interesting about their own lives (Bromley, 1986; Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Roberts, 2002), as well as that which they wish to portray to the reader.

A *biography* is defined as the story of an individual's life written by someone else (a second party or observer) (Lee, 2009) that may or may not involve the subject's cooperation (Fouché, 1999). In general, biographers (a) have minimal psychological training, (b) write from a literary viewpoint (Chéze, 2009) and (c) may or may not be scientifically comprehensive or accurate depending on whether the co-operation of the subject was gained (Fouché, 1999). A biographer records and interprets the lives of actual people (Hamilton, 2009) and thus share with a psychobiographer the attraction toward life stories. Both rely on an array of sources for biographical data, such as autobiographies, diaries, existing biographies and personal correspondence (Bertaux, 1981; Bromley, 1986; Chéze, 2009), but their interpretation of the data differs (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The main distinction between psychobiographies and biographies is that psychobiographies focus on providing scientific theory-based explanations (Cara, 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015a). Schultz (2001c) argued that a reciprocally beneficial relationship could be built on the similarities shared by both psychology and biography. However, this alliance can be uneasy (Elms, 1994). The main distinguishing factor between a biography and a psychobiography lies in the apparent use of psychological theory to interpret the subject. In a psychobiography the use of psychological theory is obvious, whereas in a biography there is a more historical, intuitive and subjective approach to try to make scholarly sense of the subject (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988; Ponterotto, 2015a). Biography and psychobiography also have important features in common, as both endeavours are concerned with the comprehensive study of a person's life and both rely on meticulous research procedures in an attempt to understand that life (Ponterotto, 2015a).

4.3.2.2 *Life Stories, Life Narratives and Life Histories*

Life stories can be defined as the stories that a person chooses to tell about their own lives and particular events in their life in their own words, thus, making life stories completely subjective (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). This research method focuses on gathering life narratives or stories with the aim of analysing these autobiographical accounts (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2005; Saccaggi, 2015). *Life narratives* refer to a way of sharing the experiences and stories of events in an individual's life told in the individual's own words. These narratives of life events provide psychologists with a unique chance to gather a holistic understanding of an individual's life and the social context in which it occur (Sandelowski, 1991). *Life histories* are fundamentally based upon life stories, however, additional information from other sources are added to build an objective layer of information to create a life history. Bromley (1986) defined life history as a "scientific reconstruction and interpretation, based on the best evidence available, or major formative, critical and cumulative episodes in a person's life" (p. 8). Life histories include the following distinguishing factors: (a) it aims to understand the similarities between various individuals, as opposed to a psychobiography that focuses on the uniqueness of a single life (Rosenwald, 1988), (b) both subjective and objective information are acquired and implemented from numerous sources (McAdams, 2006; Yin, 2018) and (c) life stories aim to recognise common patterns in order to achieve an understanding of the group by examining relationships, patterns and similarities across many lives (Bromley, 1986; McAdams, 1994).

According to McAdams (2010), a life story allows the author to explain "how I came to be, who I am today, where I am going in the future, and what I believe my life means within the psychosocial niche" (p. 179). Thus, the subjective stories of individuals regarding specific aspects of their lived experiences (Etherington, 2009) such as family, friends, society, work, cultural and ideological resources (McAdams, 2010) constitute life stories. Intentional

attempts to theoretically describe a persons' development within their cultural surroundings, with particular attention to the individual's experiences, is a requirement of the life history approach (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

In comparison with the biographical or autobiographical writer, the researcher who assembles a life history, is more concerned with a dependable interpretation of the subject's experiences, than with the artistic values of the world (Becker, 2009). A single case design is usually utilised when conducting a life history where comparative biographical studies of subjects are done (Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1988). From a sociological and social-psychological perspective, life history research has ordinarily given attention to the way in which cultural and societal narratives are portrayed in the stories of people's lives (McAdams, 1988). The life history method has the following three key strengths: (a) it describes the entire life course of the subject and permits the reader to indirectly enter the subject's experiences, (b) it generates hypotheses which can be tested in further studies and (c) it is able to conduct comparative studies on numerous life histories in which phenomena such as personality types or behavioural processes are pointed out (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Marshall and Rossman (1989) further explained the methodology of life history as emphasising the value of an individual's own story and providing pieces for a 'mosaic'. This method has noticeable multidisciplinary links and receives attention from researchers in fields where the two primary approaches to life history research are (a) psychobiography and (b) the therapeutic use of recollection as a method during the process of live-review writing (Bertaux & Kohli, 2009). Psychobiographical research and life narratives both use the biography, story and narrative as a guiding plan in an attempt to study human development (Fouché, 1999; McAdams 1988).

4.3.2.3 *Psychohistory, Historical Psychology and Historiography*

The concepts of psychohistory and psychobiography are often confused (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014) as a result of the tensions caused by the two disciplines involved, namely, psychology and history (Runyan, 1988b). *Psychohistory* can be defined as the application of psychological theory (e.g., psychological development and important cumulative and formative influences on the life course) in order to interpret historical events (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Nel, 2014; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a). Pozzuto (1982) argued that psychohistory matured in order for us to address the gap in our knowledge of the person and our understanding of socio-historical processes. Runyan (1984) expanded on this by dividing psychohistory into two major subsections, namely individual psychohistory (e.g., psychobiography) and group psychohistory (which researches the characteristics of groups). For this reason, psychobiography can be considered a subdivision of the broader psychohistory (Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto et al., 2015) and is currently the largest subfield of psychohistory (Fouché, 2015).

Historical psychology is the study of the history of ideas and theories in psychology or psychological phenomena, and/or the conceptualisation of psychology as a historical science (Fouché, 1999, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 2003). The concept *historiography* refers to the conceptualisation of historical explanations through the use of different sources of historical data (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Furthermore, it evaluates this data with the goal of exploring past events and recreating meaningful explanations thereof (Berg, 1995). Further differentiation includes explaining that psychohistory focuses on psychological rather than historical aspects of a situation (Itzkowitz & Volkan, 2003). However, psychohistory is still innately interdisciplinary and reflects a collaboration between psychology and history (Belzen, 2010).

4.3.2.4 Personality Assessment and Psychobiography

Psychobiographical research and personality assessment both include a broad view of personality within social contexts and during periods in a person's life, but the approaches differ (Alexander, 1988, 1990). *Personality assessment* is associated with the measurement and evaluation of lives in progress (Fouché, 1999). This important element separates the two disciplines, as psychobiography does not necessitate a notion of prediction (Alexander, 1990). Rather it prefers to be interested with the problem of comprehension and it permits the researcher to track human development in a way that surpasses the static personality assessment of clinical case study (Alexander, 1990; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). In psychobiography, the story of a subject's entire (and mostly completed) life is viewed by the researcher (Alexander, 1990; Van Os, 2006). However, personality assessments measure, evaluate and analyse the person through the use of psychological tests and measurements in order to understand the influences which shape behaviour. Influences could include unique psychological traits, moral standards, identity, worldview and thought processes (Aiken, 1997; Caprara & Cervone, 2004; Cohen & Swerdlik, 2005; Fouché, 1999). The psychobiographical approach is a constantly changing and developing research field (Kóváry, 2011). In the following section, the aim is to illuminate these trends to the reader.

4.3.3 Psychobiographical Research Trends

Humans are narrative beings. This is echoed by our various types of storytelling, which range from legends, myths and folk tales to pantomimes and films (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; McAdams, 1994). These stories indicate people's capacity for generating narratives in which they reflect on their past, as well as foresee their personal and societal futures (Elms, 1994). Throughout history, people's stories have reflected the inherent desire to create psychologically anchored life histories of compelling individuals.

This need to document psychological insights on lives dates back as far as the ancient Greeks Xenophon and Thucydides and later, Plutarch's profiles of Aristides and Themistocles (Schultz, 2001b), which can be regarded as important antecedents to contemporary psychobiography (Kőváry, 2011). The four Gospels, written on the life of Jesus, as well as the writings on the Buddha indicate the human need to produce psychological portraits of spectacular and compelling personalities (Schultz, 2001b). In the Middle Ages, the hagiographies of Christian saints were a continuous trend. *Hagiography* refers to records of individual lives which were aimed at moral edification and glorifying the subject studied (this was a tradition especially prominent in ancient Egypt, Babylonia and Syria) (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams, 1988; Meissner, 2003). During the Victorian era, the glorified testimonials commonly disregarded the weaknesses, fantasies, feelings and desires of the subject (McAdams, 1988).

McAdams (1988) regarded the biographer Lytton Strachey (who's works included prominent Victorian figures such as Cardinal Manning and Florence Nightingale) as the first biographer who endeavoured to move away from the 19th century trend of glorifying biographical subjects. Strachey made use of psychological concepts to explore and enlighten the concealed and often darker truths underneath the pretence of greatness in his biographical works (McAdams, 1988). He is often "credited (and blamed) for changing the biographer's aim from deferential eulogist to psychological surgeon" (McAdams, 1988, p. 3). McAdams, however, mentioned that Strachey's rebellion could be regarded as severe and stated that his work often edged on character assassinations.

Despite the documentations of earlier formal uses of psychology in historical works (Runyan, 2003), biography's affiliation with psychology was only formally established in the 20th century with Sigmund Freud's 1910 publication of *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood*, which has been recognised as being the first academic psychobiography

(Carlson, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Kóváry, 2018; McAdams, 1988; Schultz, 2001b, 2001c) and a monumental work in the advancement of qualitative analysis (Simonton, 2003). With his 1910 publication, Freud aimed to undertake a corrective endeavour to the existing trends of pathography and hagiography, stressing that one should be wary of idealising or demeaning one's subject (Schultz, 2001b, 2001c). In his work of *da Vinci*, Freud offered a series of guidelines concerning the methodology for psychological life writing; guidelines he ironically failed to comply with (Schultz, 2001c). The guidelines include, for example, that (a) one should not pathographise or idealise one's subject, (b) one should avoid arguments built upon a single cue and (c) one should be wary of conclusions based on insufficient data (Elms, 1988). Despite Freud's methodological errors and other earlier works in the field, his work is widely regarded as the most influential (Runyan, 1988a). *Da Vinci* was not his only psychobiographical subject. He also conducted psychobiographical studies of other historical figures, such as Moses and Fyodor Dostoevsky; however, the bulk of Freud's life writings were based on clinical case studies (Schultz, 2001b). Following Freud's work, numerous psychobiographies were published, generally focusing on artists and making use of psychoanalytic theory to understand the creative mind (Kóváry, 2011; Saccaggi, 2015). The Freudian era of psychobiography contributed to the discipline by emphasising (a) the value of comprehensive theoretical knowledge in psychology and its application to historical figures and (b) assisted in connecting the disciplines of history and psychology more firmly (Ponterotto, 2015a).

The growth of psychobiography throughout the 20th century following Freud's *da Vinci* essay is provided in an overview by Runyan (1988a). Early works during the 1910s and 1920s included analyses of Socrates, William Shakespeare, Giovanni Segantini, Richard Wagner, Margaret Fuller, Martin Luther, Edgar Allan Poe, Abraham Lincoln and Samuel Adams. In the 1930s, psychobiographies appeared of Alexander the Great, Moliere, Tolstoy, Goethe,

Sand, Coleridge, Rousseau, Poe, Nietzsche, Napoleon, Caesar and Darwin (Anderson, 1978). During the 1940s, due to the effects of the Second World War (1939-1945), there was a relative decline in the number of psychobiographies published (Kőváry, 2018), with a study of King George III appearing in 1941, as well as one of Adolf Hitler in 1943. This was due to research during this era moving to the nomothetic, experimental and quantitative methods, placing more emphasis on larger samples, generalisable data and deconstructing the individual into specific pieces of measurable attitudes, cognitions, behaviours and feelings (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2015a; Runyan, 2005). However, a shift in interest caused the production of psychobiographies to be revived in the 1950s, during which studies of Beethoven, Jonathan Swift, Woodrow Wilson and Lewis Carroll emerged (Kőváry, 2018; Runyan, 1988a). Erik Erikson's psychobiographical studies of Martin Luther (1958) and Mahatma Gandhi (1969) received much acclaim and are widely regarded as hugely influential in the field and became models of how the psychobiographical endeavour matured (McAdams, 1988; Pietikainen & Ihanus, 2003). Runyan (1988a) observed that from the 1960s, public figures such as artists, musicians, writers, scientists, religious and political leaders became the subjects of numerous psychobiographies. Social scientists, for example, favoured political or historical figures as their subjects, while humanistic scholars studied creative artists and psychologists analysed the forefathers of their own discipline (Carlson, 1988). Ponterotto (2014) suggested that this trend remains current, as psychobiographical subjects continue to be drawn from these categories. Publications on psychobiographies significantly increased during the early 1960s, which gained further impetus in the 1970s, with a total of 617 psychobiographies published in the United States and Europe (Runyan, 1988a). Psychobiography's popularity continued to increase and in 1988 the *Journal of Personality* dedicated an entire issue to articles on life narratives and psychobiography (Schultz, 2001c, 2005a). During the 1990s a dramatically renewed interest

in psychobiography was noted (Kőváry, 2011), with idiographic personality research becoming increasingly popular (Barenbaum & Winter, 2013).

After this array of publications various personality psychology textbooks started to include psychobiographical methodology. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of psychobiographical research (Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; Simonton, 2003), the contributions made in numerous fields (e.g., adult personality and lifespan development and life history research in psychopathology) also benefitted psychobiography in its study of lives (Fouché, 1999). In 2005 the *Handbook of Psychobiography*, edited by Schultz, was published. That same year, Schultz (2005a) also recounted that psychobiographical research had not progressed sufficiently due to (a) academic psychologists generally preferring rigorous methods and abstract universal problems and (b) a lack of formal training available to psychobiographers (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a). This caused a neglect on idiographic scholarship and led to a diminished amount of psychobiographical research done in institutionalised academic psychology during this time (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a), although this is starting to change (Schultz, 2013). Despite psychobiographies remaining minimal when compared to quantitative approaches, formal training has become increasingly common, especially in the United States, as both national and international researchers try to deliver more to the field (McAdams, 2006; Schultz, 2013).

During the first three decades of the 20th century, “Freudian psychoanalysis served as the chief theory underlying psychobiographical investigation” (Ponterotto, 2017, p. 255). The latter part of the 20th century brought change to psychobiographies anchored in single theoretical models and to the involvement of non-psychoanalytically-oriented psychologists. However, current practice in psychobiography points to the use of a range of psychological theories (Nel, 2013), with the use of psychoanalytic theory appearing to be one of the most noticeable trends throughout the field’s development. Because Freud and his followers

considered psychobiography as a form of applied psychoanalysis (Runyan, 2003), it has long been regarded as the standard theoretical framework for a psychobiography (Carlson, 1988; Schultz, 2001b). While psychobiographers continue to rely on Freud and Erikson's theories, they would profit from drawing on the works of Post-Freudian and Post-Eriksonian theorists, such as Otto Kernberg, Heinz Kohut and Donald Winnicott (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). Non-psychoanalytically oriented psychologists argue that the single theory focus of psychobiographical studies is limited (Ponterotto, 2015a; Schultz, 2005b). According to this group of researchers, humans are too multi-faceted and complex to be understood through a single theoretical lens (Ponterotto, 2015a; Schultz, 2014). This challenge is amplified when the subjects are historical figures who may have lived decades before the researcher, as theories are always bound to the context of the sociocultural-historical period of the theory's creator (Anderson, 1981; Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a, 2017). Employing multiple theories provides a more comprehensive understanding of a life and contemporary practises in psychobiography point to a broad use of a variety of psychological theories. These psychobiographies focus on enhancing the accuracy and comprehensive study of notable lives through integrated theoretical formulations. Psychobiography, as an interdisciplinary science (Mayer & Maree, 2017), has recently taken root as psychobiographers base their work on more validated psychological theories, rigorous historiographic research methods and enhanced ethical vigilance (Ponterotto, 2015a). This assists in increasing the quality and rigour of psychobiography, which is a limitation often experienced by the approach (Ponterotto, 2014). These works focus on enhancing the credibility and impact of psychobiography within psychology and across disciplines through enhanced scientific methods and emphasise ethical research practice (Ponterotto, 2015a).

Psychobiography's development has led to a "more eclectic and differentiated self-conception" (Runyan, 1988a, p. 296) as the approach became increasingly favoured by scholars

from a variety of disciplines (Carlson, 1988; Mayer & Maree, 2017). Psychobiographical researchers range from personality psychologists and psychoanalysts to historians, sociologists, anthropologists, occupational therapists, political scientists, psychohistorians, literary critics and those from the disciplines of religion, education, music, the arts and scientific history (Cara, 2007; Runyan, 1988a), thus making psychobiographers consisting of a vast group of researchers.

In the current decade, a trend towards increased methodological pluralism in counselling is apparent (Hays, Wood, Dahl, & Kirk-Jenkins, 2016), as reflected in the growing interest in qualitative research including case study and psychobiographical methods (Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2014, 2017; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Kőváry (2011) argued that the psychological profession is in the middle of “a renaissance of psychobiography” (p. 739). His claim is substantiated by Barenbaum and Winter (2013) who noted a current rebirth in the study of individual lives (Ponterotto, 2014). Ponterotto (2017) adds that Kőváry’s (2011) statement is also supported by the rapid international proliferation of psychobiographical research conducted by various mental health professionals in an array of fields (see Barenbaum and Winter 2013; Du Plessis 2017; Fouché 2015; Kasser 2017; Ponterotto 2014, 2015a; Schultz 2005c, 2014). Furthermore, any kind of systematic or formal psychological theory can be employed in contemporary psychobiography (Nel, 2013). In addition, psychobiography has begun to draw on theories from cognitive, developmental, social and abnormal psychology (Runyan, 1988a), thus the approach has spread across psychological subdisciplines (Ponterotto, 2014). The enthusiasm in narrative approaches has also become apparent in various fields within psychology (e.g., cognitive, social, developmental, cross-cultural theory, personology and psychotherapy) (Howard, 1991; McAdams, 1988). Elms (1994) argued that psychobiography could be very beneficial for psychology. For example, psychobiography could significantly remedy some of the problems faced by psychology by helping the discipline

“to study the personally significant instead of the statistically significant, and by understanding important single cases, it could provide ideas for new theories” (Kőváry, 2018, p. 7). Psychobiography should also incorporate more positive psychology theories, as this could positively impact people and societies to “provide guidance orientation by giving positive and constructive examples of role models and on how to conduct one’s life balanced with purpose and meaningfulness” (Mayer & May, 2019, p. 155). According to Mayer and May (2019), “psychobiography within the light of positive psychology frameworks and theories are a useful pair to understand positive human functioning” (p. 166). In addition, psychobiography can contribute not only to psychology, but also to other specific psychological sub-areas, such as career development (Mayer, 2019).

Psychobiography’s popularity is increasing among counsellors and psychologists in all specialty areas (Du Plessis 2017; Fouché 2015; Kőváry 2011; Ponterotto, 2017). Recent publications for example, a special section on psychobiography by the *American Psychologist* in 2017 prove this (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). Other publications include the special edition on psychobiography by Du Plessis and Du Plessis (2018) in the *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*. In addition, comprehensive works such as the recently published book *New Trends in Psychobiography* (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019) prove that the discipline is currently flourishing with new developments. The interest in psychobiography as a research field is not just an international trend (Fouché, 2015; Mayer & Maree, 2017; Van Niekerk, 2007), but it is also practised locally. In the following section psychobiography in the South African context will be explored.

4.3.4 Psychobiography in the South African Context

In South Africa, psychobiographical profiling is a well-established (Van Niekerk, Perry, & Fouché, 2016) theoretical approach and research method (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Van

Niekerk, 2007). The first South African academic psychobiographical study was conducted on the South African Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven in 1939 (Fouché, 2015; Van Niekerk, 2007). The author (Burgers) later completed another psychobiography, this time on the South African poet Louis Leipoldt in 1960. About two decades later a psychobiographical work on another South African poet Ingrid Jonker was completed in 1978, as part of a doctoral study by Van Der Merwe (Fouché, 2015; Van Niekerk, 2007).

About two decades after the work on Ingrid Jonker, a psychobiographical study on Gerard Sekoto (a famous South African painter) was published by Manganyi in 1996 (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). In 1999 a psychobiographical study on General Jan Smuts was conducted by Fouché as a doctoral research project; it served as a forerunner for numerous academic psychobiographies at tertiary education institutions, such as the Nelson Mandela University (NMU) and Rhodes University (RU) (Van Niekerk, 2007).

After slowly gathering momentum in South Africa, the psychobiographical research field started to flourish at the turn of the century. The lives of various individuals, including international personalities, became subjects for psychobiographical studies (Van Niekerk, 2007). Numerous local psychobiographies focused on the aspects of the lives of those who played varying roles in the apartheid-era of South Africa, for example, research on anti-apartheid activists Stephen Biko (Kotton, 2002), Alan Paton (Greeff, 2010) and Bram Fischer (Swart, 2010). In addition, the lives of apartheid-era statesmen such as B. J. Vorster (Vorster, 2003) and Hendrik Verwoerd (Claasen, 2007) have also been subjects of psychobiographical studies (Nel, 2013).

Fouché et al. (2007) conducted a systematic review of psychobiographical research in South Africa between 1995 and 2004, which highlighted local trends during that period. In the review, they reported that Levinson's model (Levinson, 1986) was the most popular theory, followed by the Five-Factor Model (Digman, 1990) and Erikson's theory of psychosocial

development (Erikson, 1963). In relation to the current study, by applying Adler's theory of individual psychology to Marais's life, new information and theoretical approaches may be added to psychobiographical studies in South Africa. The review also emphasised that the vast majority of subjects of psychobiographies were White men (the only Black subjects during the time were Sekoto and Biko). Also, the only women studied during that time were Mother Theresa and Helen Martins (Fouché et al., 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). In addition, the majority of the local psychobiographies during the period were done as part of postgraduate research projects and most of the subjects chosen were South African political personalities (Fouché et al., 2007).

The psychobiographical approach has been incorporated as a critical research focus area at various local psychology departments, which has led to it becoming more academically institutionalised (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The increase in completed postgraduate masters and doctoral degrees in this research area shows a revival of interest in psychobiography at South African academic institutions. Academic postgraduate psychobiographies are currently produced by numerous South African universities, such as the University of the Free State (UFS), University of Johannesburg (UJ), Nelson Mandela University (NMU) and Rhodes University (RU) (Fouché, 2015; Nel, 2013). Table 4.2 provides a list of South African Master's and Doctoral level psychobiographies. This list is by no means exhaustive and only provides a glimpse of some completed psychobiographies.

Table 4.2

South African Master's and Doctoral Level Psychobiographies

	Subject	Researcher	Degree	Year
1	Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Burgers, M.P.O.	M.A	1939
2	Louis Leipoldt	Burgers, M.P.O.	D.Litt	1960
3	Ingrid Jonker	Van der Merwe, L.M.	Ph.D	1978

4	Jan Christiaan Smuts	Fouché, J.P.	D.Phil	1999
5	Helen Martins	Bareira, L.	M.A	2001
6	Bantu Stephen Biko	Kotton, D.	M.A	2002
7	Balthazar John Vorster	Vorster, M.S.	M.A	2003
8	Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronjé	Warmenhoven, A.	M.A	2004
9	Mother Teresa	Stroud, L.	D.Phil	2004
10	Albert Schweitzer	Edwards, M. J.	M.A	2004
11	Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Jacobs, A.	M.A	2005
12	Karen Horney	Green. S.	M.A	2006
13	Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronjé	Warmenhoven, A.	Ph.D	2006
14	Chris Barnard	Van Niekerk, R.	M.A	2007
15	Ray Charles	Biggs, I.	M.A	2007
16	Hendrik Verwoerd	Claasen, M.	M.A	2007
17	Melanie Klein	Espinosa, M	M.A	2008
18	Herman Mashaba	McWalter, M.A.	M.A	2008
19	Isie Smuts	Smuts, C.	M.A	2009
20	Helen Keller	Van Genechten, D.	M.A	2009
21	Jeffrey Dahmer	Chéze. E.	M.A	2009
22	Emily Hobhouse	Welman, C.	M.A	2009
23	Mahatma Gandhi	Pillay, K.	M.A	2009
24	Kurt Cobain	Pieterse, C.	M.A	2009
25	Vincent van Gogh	R. Muller	M.A	2010
26	Ralph John Rabie	Uys, H.M.G.	M.A	2010
27	Ernesto "Che" Guevara	Kolesky, C.	M.A	2010
28	Frans Martin Claerhout	Roets, M.	M.A	2010
29	Alan Paton	Greeff, M.	M.A	2010
30	Paul Jackson Pollock	Muller, T.	M.A	2010
31	Christiaan de Wet	Henning, R.	Ph.D	2010
32	Bram Fischer	Swart, D.K.	M.A	2010
33	Desmond Tutu	Eliastam, L.M.	M.Soc.S ci	2010
34	Brenda Fassie	Gogo, O.	M.A	2011
35	Olive Schreiner	Perry, M.	PhD	2012
36	Winston Churchill	Moolman, B.A.	M.A	2012

37	Friedrich Nietzsche	Booyesen, D.D.	M.A	2012
38	John Wayne Gacy	Pieterse, J.	M.A	2012
39	John Winston Lennon	Kitching, P. H.	M.A	2012
40	Francis Bacon	Kerr, N.	M.A	2012
41	Josephine Baker	Eckley, S.	M.A	2012
42	Rev. James Warren 'Jim' Jones	Baldwin, G.A.	M.A	2013
43	Martin Luther King	Twaku, U.	M.A	2013
44	Ellen Kuzwayo	Arosi, Z.	M.A	2013
45	Helen Martins	Mitchell, D.	M.A	2013
46	William Wilberforce	Daubermann, B.P.	MA	2013
47	Helen Suzman	Nel, C.	PhD	2013
48	Beyers Naudé	Burnell, B.	PhD	2013
49	Steve Jobs	Ndoro, T.	MBA	2013
50	Antwone Fischer	Wannenburg, N.	M.A	2013
51	Michael Jackson	Ruiters, J.	M.A	2014
52	Richard Trenton Chase	Nel, H	MA	2014
53	Martin Luther King	Pietersen, S.	MA	2014
54	Steve Jobs	Moore, N.	M.A	2014
55	John Henry Newman	Mitchell, G. P.	M.A	2014
56	Dambudzo Marechera	Muchena, K. C.	M.A	2014
57	Christiaan Neethling Barnard	Lekhelebane, V. A.	MA	2014
58	Roald Dalh	Holz, T.	PhD	2014
59	Pope John Paul II	Pillay, K.	PhD	2014
60	Glenda Watson-Kahlenberg	Connelly, R. E.	PhD	2014
61	Wilford Woodruff and Gordon Bitner Hinckley	Saccaggi, C. F.	D.Litt.et. Phil	2015
62	Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill	Human, S.	M.A	2015
63	Charlize Theron	Prenter, T.	MA	2015
64	Marie Curie	Roets, E.	MA	2015
65	Bashar al-Assad	Kerrin, C.K.	MA	2015
66	Vuyiswa Mackonie	Baatjies, V. P.	M.Soc.S c.	2015
67	Margaret Hilda Thatcher	Marx, M.	MA	2015
68	Brand Pretorius	Harwood, C. S.	M.Comm	2016
69	Steve Jobs	Du Plessis, R.	MA	2016
70	John Lennon	Osorio, D.	MA	2016

71	Temple Grandin	Wannenburg, N.	PhD	2016
72	Paulo Coelho	Mayer, C.H.	PhD	2016
73	Milton Hyland Erickson	Ramasamy, K.	PhD	2017
74	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Manana, S.	M.Comm	2017
75	Coco Chanel	Verwey, L.	MA	2017
76	Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	Hoque, A.	MA	2017
77	Steve Jobs	Van Staden, D.	MA	2017
78	Gary Player	Futter, T.	MA	2017
79	Theodore Robert Bundy	McGivern K. B	MA	2017
80	Robert Nesta 'Bob' Marley	Willis, L. S	MA	2017
81	John Wayne Gacy	Coetsee, E.E.	PhD	2017
82	Sylvia Plath	Panelatti, A. F.	PhD	2018
83	Clive Staples Lewis	Oosthuizen, G. H.	MA	2018
84	Amy Jade Winehouse	Hoque, A.	MA	2018
85	Joan Rivers	Nell, W.	MA	2018
86	Margaret Thatcher	Winter, R.	MA	2019
87	Ingrid Jonker	Rust, B.	MA	2019

Note. Adapted from Van Niekerk, Prenter & Fouché (2019), with additions from Oosthuizen (2018) and Rust (2019).

This list indicates that the majority of academic psychobiographies in South Africa have only been conducted within the past decade. However, this list is merely tentative, as more South African psychobiographies may exist that the researcher is unaware of. This recent growth in popularity can be attributed to (a) the awareness of the logistical advantages that psychobiographical methodology possess in postgraduate degree programmes, (b) the migration of psychobiographical research supervisors to various local universities, (c) the academic institutionalisation of psychobiography as a focus area in research, (d) the call for more theory-driven research, (e) the recognition of exemplary South Africans, as well as (f) the inclusion of the Positive Psychology movement into psychobiography (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). However, academic psychobiography in South Africa is faced

with numerous challenges, which include the need to pursue and further develop postgraduate psychobiographical studies at Southern African universities, more women and Black personalities should be included as subjects, a larger range of psychological theories or models need to be used and finally, there is a need to enhance academic and public familiarity to academically institutionalised psychobiography through article publications and congress presentations (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The present psychobiography adds to the growing list of South African psychobiographies (specifically at the University of the Free State) by being conducted on an enigmatic and contentious South African historical figure, Eugène Marais. Growth in the field of psychobiography is important because “developing a better understanding of individual persons is one of the ultimate objectives of personality psychology, progress in psychobiography is intimately related to progress in personality psychology as a whole” (Runyan, 1988a, p. 296).

Considering the increase of both national and international curiosity in psychobiographical research, it is no surprise that various researchers have defended its value (e.g., Carlson 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988, 1994; Runyan, 1984, 1988a; Schultz, 2001c, 2005a). In the following section an overview of the values that the psychobiographical approach holds for research is explored.

4.3.5 Value of Psychobiographical Research

Psychobiography has advanced psychology in various ways (Schultz, 2005a). It is a well-designed and practical teaching instrument for psychology students in training and includes countless benefits (Kőváry, 2011; 2018). According to Kőváry (2018), it “could alleviate some major intellectual contradictions between university training and clinical practice, and it could also contribute to the development of psychology as a rigorous science” (p. 1). Through analysing life stories and gaining insight into behaviour (Kőváry, 2011), the case study

approach offers the advantage for psychology students to gain vivid insights into the people studied, as well as fostering their own empathetic skills and self-awareness (Kóváry, 2011), characteristics that are integral for being a good psychologist. In addition, psychobiography also serves as a good professional development tool for counsellors who are already engaged in their professional careers (Ponterotto, 2017). Psychobiographies should be able to provide a holistic and comprehensive discussion and explanation of the person in its entirety and in such a way bring valuable contributions to the understanding of human experience (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Nel, 2013; Saccaggi, 2015). In addition, psychobiography is theory-driven research that offers a vehicle for confirming, refuting and refining existing psychological theories (Carlson, 1988; Roberts, 2002; Schultz, 2005a). More specifically, the advantages and contributions of using the psychobiographical approach can be seen in the following five areas.

4.3.5.1 The Uniqueness of the Individual Case within the Whole

One of the primary values of psychobiographical research is its ability to provide rich understandings of individual lives (Saccaggi, 2015). This has been regarded as a huge benefit by a number of researchers in the field, as it stresses the individuality and uniqueness of the subject (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1988a).

Psychobiographical research has a *morphogenic* nature (the study of individualised patterning processes in personality) (Elms, 1994), which grants the researcher the opportunity to investigate and to offer a distinctive and holistic description of the subject (Human, 2015; Nel, 2013). Hugo Münsterberg is regarded as the provider of the idiographic/nomothetic distinction to psychology as early as 1898 (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006). The *idiographic* approach focuses on what is specific to an individual case, whereas the *nomothetic* approach searches for general laws with the goal of generalising psychological findings to the given

population, which is used by positivists and statisticians (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Hermans, 1988; Hevern, 1999). The idiographic approach emphasises (a) individuality, (b) the organisation of processes with the personal and (c) the identifiable patterns about individual lives that together change a case into an intelligent narrative (Chéze, 2009; Fouché, 2015; Runyan, 1982). However, the nomothetic-versus-idiographic discrepancy caused a great deal of criticism due to the inability of the dichotomous classification to offer a sufficient explanation of the uniqueness of the entire person (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Rosenwald, 1988). Münsterberg, Gordon Allport and William Stern all shared the notion that psychological science should include a balance of both the idiographic and the nomothetic (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006). Allport attempted to rectify this discrepancy by making use of the term morphogenic (Elms, 1994). He contributed by placing the idiographic/nomothetic distinction in the context of personality theory, specifically trait theory, and in substantially increasing the level of discourse about the distinction in general (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006).

Schultz (2001c) asserted that studying a single life history brings the individual back to psychology, as it highlights the complexities, richness and nuances of the life lived. He explains psychobiography to be a radical ‘antidote’ for psychology’s faults (e.g., reductionism, trivialness, irrelevance and scientism).

Psychobiography, therefore, provides the psychological theory with a more human form and it offers us a conceptual lens through which to understand each other better. By better understanding others, we are thus able to understand ourselves better (McCarron, 2017).

Schultz (2005c) stated that psychobiography gives us knowledge about the uniqueness of the subject (this is an important consideration, because the chosen subjects are often those individuals whom by knowing more about them, may be especially valuable) “these are the figures who define the limits and the architecture of the human mind, in all its horror or

magnificence. We must know them because to know them is to know ourselves” (Schultz, 2005c, p. 4).

Psychobiographical research is also regarded as the most favoured approach to study significant or important individuals (Simonton, 1999). In addition, the studying of what went amiss in individual lives is highlighted as a contributory factor of psychobiography. Interventions in education and psychology that advance human development and enhance life quality can be created through such studies (Kőváry, 2011). In conclusion, various researchers highlight the fact that by studying individual lives one learns more about the diversity of human personality and one advances the evolutionary and adaptability potentials of human beings (Howe, 1997; Ponterotto, 2015a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013a).

4.3.5.2 The Socio-Historical Context

Individuals cannot be separated from their context. Adding to the unique and holistic description of the individual, psychobiography also has the goal of understanding the subject within their gestalt context (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1984), which allows for a more holistic description of the subject and provides a comprehensive look at the impact that cultural influences have on the subject’s psychological development (Carlson, 1988; McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1984). For this reason, psychobiography is usually regarded as a type of cross-cultural, trans-historical research (Ponterotto, 2014). The psychobiographer must study the subject’s historical and social context in order to obtain a proper frame of reference for interpreting the meaning of particular behaviours and actions (Burnell, Nel, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019; Runyan, 1984). Using life history material allows the researcher to uncover and, also, better comprehend the subject’s socio-historical context and the influences it has caused (Fouché, 1999), because it highlights the cultural and subcultural effects on development (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1984). It also offers the researcher with

a wider contextual background from which to depict the subject's socio-historical family history and processes of socialisation (Coetsee, 2017). McAdams (1994) highlighted that theorists such as Alfred Adler (1870-1937), Erik Erikson (1902-1980) and Henry Murray (1893-1988) argued that the most efficient way of capturing a life is within its historical context. This challenge is, however, intensified when studying historical persons who may have lived decades or even centuries before the researcher, because theories are always bounded by the context of the socio-cultural-historical period in which it was created (Anderson, 1981; Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a, 2017). In essence, the psychobiographer must become a competent historian, cultural anthropologist, sociologist and political scientist of the era in question (Ponterotto, 2014). Future psychobiographers also benefit, since providing students with psychobiographical training secures them in history and traditional psychological theories, which advances the development of research skills and emphasises the importance of the socio-cultural-historical contexts in the understanding of individual lives (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015a). Thus, an understanding of the socio-cultural and historical context during Eugène Marais's life will allow for a more thorough understanding of the external factors that helped shape and influence his personality development and will provide a more holistic picture to understand his development from an Adlerian perspective better.

4.3.5.3 Process and Pattern over Time

Psychobiography is usually a non-invasive method of studying finished lives. The researcher possesses the entire life course of the subject and this allows the researcher to trace and describe patterns of human development and behaviour across a lifespan (Gronn, 1993). Thus, the psychobiographical approach is able to examine patterns and processes within the context of time (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1984). This is beneficial as the

researcher is not merely investigating fragments of the subject's existence (Carlson, 1988), but their entire life course. Such a longitudinal research approach gives an integrated and more complete picture of the personality in action (Fiske, 1988) and of the development of personality over time (Alexander, 1990). Therefore, psychobiography permits a broad description of behavioural processes and developmental patterns as they took place and unravelled over the lifespan, from birth to death (Carlson, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005).

4.3.5.4 Subjective Reality

The psychobiographical approach makes use of phenomenological and hermeneutical perspectives, which allows the researcher to describe and express the subjective reality and inner experiences, thoughts and feelings of the research subject more effectively (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Howe, 1997). This, in turn, assists in developing sympathy and empathy with the subject that results in the creation of an eloquent and fascinating life story (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2003). Such a deeper understanding forms the ground upon which to create an emotionally captivating and vivid story of the subject's life (Chéze, 2009). Lastly, a psychobiography adds more depth to the understanding of the subject, partly due to the considerable emphasis on highlighting their internal motives (Itzkowitz & Volkan, 2003).

4.3.5.5 Theory Testing and Development

Lastly, a psychobiographical study provides the researcher with a safer and more ethical way of creating hypotheses and testing novel theoretical instructions (Carlson, 1988; Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). While the development or critique of theory is not the primary goal of psychobiographical research, it is an inevitable by-product. Therefore, through

the application of Adler's theory, this study is able to comment regarding the usefulness of the theory and make suggestions regarding some hypotheses for future research (Saccaggi, 2015). Theory is an important component in case research as it (a) directs the identification of design and objectives in data collection, (b) guides the conceptualisation and (c) operationalisation of case data within the framework of theoretical ideas and serves as a template for generalisation (Yin, 2018). Speculations obtained from a single case study can lead to established hypotheses which could then be tested on a larger population (Schultz, 2005c). This is beneficial as it situates psychobiography within the larger field of personality research and may produce the development of theories for researchers interested in particular phenomena or themes (Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2014; Saccaggi, 2015). For example, Kramer (2002) stated that one area of study in which a psychobiography may be especially valuable is that of suicide. He argued that by psychobiographically studying the lives of people who have committed suicide, the researcher can create a comprehensible account of an unfinished life story and psychobiography is also a suitable research methodology choice because it is sensitive to the uniqueness of each case (Kramer, 2002). The primary responsibility of psychology is to advance basic personality theory and a psychobiography provides a much better option for studying individual personality development than is feasible through clinical, longitudinal research (Carlson, 1988; Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a). It is thus a valuable tool for knowledge production. Life history materials create an ideal setting for the development and testing of basic personality theory (Carlson, 1988). In addition, the sensible use of chosen material allows the researcher to consider an assortment of socio-historical contexts, avoid the burdens of informed consent and gain an amount of consensual validation way beyond clinical case studies (Carlson, 1988). The psychobiographical approach also offers the opportunity of testing the appropriateness of current psychological concepts and theories (Nel, 2013). *Theoretical generalisation* represents the process of generalising from the case to the theory (Yin, 2018).

Where a concept or theory does not sufficiently explain psychological phenomena, it can be reconsidered or adjusted and a psychobiographical study can be employed as a test to either temporarily disprove or approve certain constructs of a theory (Schultz, 2005c).

This section emphasised a few of the central arguments raised by advocates of psychobiography. Nonetheless, these views have received some criticism, as significant uncertainty exists in mainstream psychology about the study of lives (Mayer & Maree, 2017; Rosenwald, 1988). Critics have maintained that the entire psychobiographical undertaking has proved dissatisfying (Runyan, 1984, 2005). In the next section the focus will be on an exploration of the main criticisms that have been instigated against psychobiography.

4.3.6 Critical Analysis of the Psychobiographical Research Design

A considerable amount of writing has addressed the criticisms on research methods and assumptions usually found in existing psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2014; Schultz, 2005b). Most criticisms have been held against psychobiographies that were poorly conducted. Belzen (2010), however, argued that the existence of poor psychobiographies does not cancel out the contributions to research that good psychobiographies provide. Schultz (2005a, 2005b) highlighted that the existence of poor psychobiographies should simply be used to warn researchers of the pitfalls that should be avoided. Focusing on the challenges and limitations involved in psychobiographical research will evidently promote the “science of psychobiography” (Ponterotto, 2015a, p. 2).

Psychobiography’s advancement as a scientific endeavour has also been restricted by methodological limitations (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013a). For example, psychobiography is often criticised of having doubtful rigour (Houghton, Casey, Shaw, & Murphy, 2013). It has also been criticised for relying too much on qualitative research approaches (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013a), as well as relying too much on single theoretical models, particularly the

psychodynamic approach, which often conceals the complexity of the individual's life. The approach also emphasises 'originology' (Erikson, 1969) by attributing too much importance to specific early childhood experiences and it is often pathography oriented (the emphasis on mental illness and/or character flaws), which disregards the positive characteristics of subjects. Lastly, the idiographic nature of psychobiography has been criticised, because it prevents generalisability of the results (Burnell, 2013; Eisenhardt, 1989; Runyan, 1984; Winter, 2015; Yin, 2018). These criticisms are discussed in further detail below.

The first criticism relates to the generation of meaning from biographical data and the way in which this process is undertaken. The unstructured nature of data collection has been viewed as somewhat unscientific (Edwards, 1998). When there is a lack of meticulousness and when the researcher was careless and did not follow a systematic research procedure or has permitted ambiguous evidence or biased views to impact the outcomes and findings (Yin, 2018), multiple interpretations may be the outcome. This causes a noticeable inaccuracy and imprecision with regards to psychobiographical methodology (Schultz, 2003). There has, therefore, been questions raised concerning the internal and external validity of the research approach, because the existence of alternative explanations regarding the subject hinders the safe generalisation of the research findings (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Runyan, 1982, 1984). Runyan (2003) highlighted that over the years, the main arguments against psychobiographical or life history research was against its validity due to the fact that retrospective and introspective data and subjective reports are used. Criticism was also lodged against the method's inability to test the hypotheses it had created (Burnell, 2013; Nel, 2013; Runyan, 1984; Winter, 2015). For example, psychobiographical research is disadvantaged, due to its overreliance on historical data, which may have a lower reliability than data from more typical sources (Simonton, 2003). Simonton (2003) acknowledged this by stating that historical records may contain "informational gaps or errors that can contaminate any analysis, whether qualitative or

quantitative” (Simonton, 2003, p. 628). The sorting and analysing of the data, therefore, involves an additional step in the psychobiographical approach, thus making it a more complex research endeavour overall. Various authors (Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2013a, 2015a; Schultz, 2005b) provide specific guidelines in relation to this process and best methodological practices. The chosen method of analysis has an impact on the nature of the interpretation. Researchers must, therefore, be knowledgeable of the existence of various methods of data analysis.

Another point of criticism against the psychobiographical method is the high prevalence of researchers who rely on Freudian interpretations in their studies (Elms, 1994). Its popularity can be ascribed to the ability of psychoanalysis to provide possible explanations for a range of emotional issues central to many subject’s life stories (Nel, 2013). However, the basic components of psychoanalytic explanation have become simplified and outdated (Elms, 1994). This criticism was also highlighted by Ponterotto (2014, 2015a) in his article on best practices in psychobiographical research, as well as his article on psychobiography’s past, present and future progress, respectively. Psychoanalytic psychobiography, especially, has regularly been blamed for forming interpretations based on insufficient evidence, as well as theorising about or reconstructing childhood experiences where the evidence of such experiences are sometimes lacking. This faulty practise is referred to as *‘originology’* as termed by Erikson (1969), which means giving too much importance to select early childhood experiences. This can thus lead to reductionism, which is another major pitfall in psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2014). *Reductionism* refers to the tendency of explaining the character of the subject primarily in terms of childhood experiences and in this way places too much emphasis on the impact that childhood had on personality development and behaviour across the lifespan (Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1984). Even though childhood can set an emotional tone or leave behind certain dynamics that become somewhat determinative, childhood is not everything, but only a part of

the entire picture. Also, researchers who approach their subject from a clinical-diagnostic perspective with the aim of pathographising are also regarded as reductionistic; a criticism that has been raised against the psychoanalytically informed biography (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1988b). Even though the psychobiographer's aim is to reduce the complexity of a human life to simplified interpretations, it is often followed with too much excitement and not enough restraint (Elms, 1994). Psychobiography usually does not rely on diagnoses, thus researchers "can be stimulated to go beyond psychopathology, and focus on deeper existential questions" (Kőváry, 2018, p. 8).

Finally, the theory applied in the psychobiography may be exceedingly complex if the empirical data is used too extensively. Correct theory choice is essential in psychobiography. The interpretation of a historical figure's personality through a contemporary lens is a major criticism and a challenge faced by psychobiographers (Ponterotto, 2014). Due to the large volumes of rich data, the biographer might attempt the impossible and try to build an all-inclusive theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). In addition, researchers must also guard against the opposite, which is building theories on case study research that are too narrow and idiosyncratic. This may lead to a limited description of the phenomena or a low level of generalisability (Eisenhardt, 1989; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The idiographic nature of psychobiography has been criticised by researchers (Burnell, 2013; Winter, 2015) for making the generalisability of the results difficult, which is another major criticism of the approach (Eisenhardt, 1989; Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2018). Fortunately, this criticism can be defended because psychobiography usually makes use of analytical generalisation as opposed to statistical generalisation (Yin, 2018). Runyan (1988b) argued that the criticism against the generalisability of the results in psychobiography is irrelevant, as the biographer is drawn to subjects who had a remarkable influence on history or held a marked interest for the researcher. In addition, Runyan (1983) provided a summary of Allport's research methods that may be

described as idiographic, additionally providing supplementary methods to this list, such as (a) extensive interviewing or individualised questionnaires, (b) personal structure analysis or content analysis, (c) inverse factor analysis, search for major structural foci or essential characteristics, (d) the single-case method, (e) idiographic prediction and (f) methods such as free association and dream analysis. This list is regarded as evidence of the expansion and development of the idiographic approach to research. Methods specifically focused on psychobiographical research that included a single-case design, individualised questionnaires, extensive interviewing, the analysis of personal documents, theoretical anchoring and specification, interactive research and data triangulation (Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a; Winter, 2015).

Despite these criticisms, single case research in psychology has become increasingly popular over the past decades. Its benefit and value have been supported by a variety of scholars, many of whom have developed research procedures and structures to help ensure adequate psychobiographies (Elms, 1994; McAdams, 1988; Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a; Runyan, 1988a). The psychobiographical approach has also become increasingly popular among counsellors and psychologists in all specialty areas (Ponterotto, 2017). According to Elms (1994), the following ways for addressing the criticisms launched against the psychobiographical approach should include: Methodological restraints that are practiced in other areas of research psychology, especially pertaining to the criticism against methodological looseness, should also be used in the field of psychobiographical research. The criticism of theoretical narrowness should be addressed by using theories that are not psychoanalytically oriented. Contemporary researchers are also urged to combine as much eclectic diversity as possible. Accordingly, the focus of psychobiographical research should also change by avoiding the pathographic and hagiographic explanations of an individual life (Ponterotto, 2017) and rather focus on providing a eugraphic account in which the researcher

anticipates some unusualness in their subject, thus focusing on the subject's adaptation to life's demands. Lastly, the researcher is advised to move towards an approach in which the complexity of the individual and the psychological explanations and findings are accepted and preferably avoid a reductionistic approach (Elms, 1994).

Schultz (2001c) stated that a clear-headed, knowledgeable and cautious use of psychological theory in analysing a life history could result in a fuller, broader and more fulfilling biographical interpretation of the person's life. These kinds of results, he argued, are possible if the researcher has a sound understanding of psychobiographical methodology.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of qualitative research as a method and then reflected on case study research and its contributing factors. Case study research was found to be a systematic tool that focuses on a single unit and all the features common in all forms of case study were summarised. The different phases of the research process in case studies to delimit the process to be followed was also investigated. In addition, psychobiography, its placement as a form of case study research, was explained and it was determined that psychobiographies could make use of either inductive or deductive approaches to case research. This chapter also provided the definitions and descriptions of psychobiography and discussed related concepts in order to prevent confusion. The development of psychobiography and the trends in psychobiographical research were discussed. It was also highlighted that psychobiography is a research field practiced in South Africa, which is slowly gaining increased momentum locally. The value of the psychobiographical research endeavour showed that the advantages of the approach include, for example, allowing the study of the uniqueness of the individual, studying the subjective reality of the individual within their socio-historical context, as well as allowing a holistic view of processes and patterns of the individual's life. Furthermore,

psychobiography was shown to be beneficial to theory development and testing. Lastly, the criticisms launched against the approach was discussed, which included its doubtful rigour, the overreliance on qualitative data sources, the overuse of a single theory (mostly the psychoanalytic approach), the practice of reducing the individual's entire life to select childhood experiences or pathology and the inability to generalise findings to a larger population. In addition, suggestions to sidestep the most common criticisms were briefly mentioned. In Chapter 5 the reader is provided with the preliminary methodological and ethical considerations inherent to psychobiographical research.

CHAPTER 5

PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

5.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the researcher aims to provide the reader with an understanding of the methodological issues and challenges commonly found in psychobiographical research, as well as the suggestions the researcher adopted to minimise their effect. By acknowledging their existence and employing the correct strategies to reduce the effect of the methodological considerations, the quality of the research process and the validity and trustworthiness of the findings may increase. In the last part of this chapter an exploration of the ethical considerations involved in psychobiography and how these were managed in this study are provided.

5.2 Methodological Considerations in Psychobiography

Contemporary psychobiographers are requested to follow the best methodological and ethical practices when they conduct psychobiographical research (Kasser, 2017; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017, Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). Runyan (1984) asserted that psychobiographies should provide explanations that are (a) logically sound, (b) comprehensive, (c) consistent with all the available evidence, (d) credible compared to other hypotheses, (e) impervious to attempted falsifications and (f) in accordance with more general psychological knowledge about mental life or about the subject. In addition to these criteria, Schultz (2001c) added that a “good” psychobiography “makes the previously incoherent in a life, coherent” (p. 3). Nevertheless, trying to achieve this aim remains a challenge because psychobiographers are faced with a variety of constraints and obstacles (Nel, 2013; Schultz, 2005c). Despite the psychobiographical method having numerous advantages (see Chapter 4), the approach is not without its share of methodological difficulties (Anderson, 1981; Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto,

2014; Runyan, 1983, 1984). These criticisms are based on transgression of scientific psychology or history – or both (Anderson, 1981; Coetsee, 2017; Elms, 1994). Interestingly, many avid psychobiographical researchers have acknowledged that a number of these criticisms are justified (Anderson, 1981; Fouché, 1999; Ponterotto, 2014; 2015a). Carlson (1988) believed that despite criticisms concerning the lack of scientific rigour, “psychobiographical study is simply too important to remain an outsider in psychology” (p. 137) and offers an excellent chance to expand and strengthen our knowledge of individual behaviour and personality theory.

Sigmund Freud had initiated the methodological development of psychobiographical research by suggesting several guidelines in his analysis of Leonardo da Vinci (Elms, 1994). Despite Freud’s proposed guidelines to sidestep methodological difficulties, he violated some of these guidelines himself. This created a continual process aimed to refine and improve the art of psychobiography (Elms, 1994; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2014). Regardless of the methodological developments that happened over the following decades, disparity still seems to exist between psychobiography’s current execution and its potential. This is due to the many examples of narrow, reductionist and disparaging psychobiographies (Anderson, 1981; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1983, 1984). Runyan (1983, 1984) also stressed that a number of the criticisms against psychobiographical research are connected to it being an idiographic research method (Coetsee, 2017).

In an attempt to ensure that the quality of the psychobiography is not severely affected by the presence of methodological difficulties, the psychobiographer needs to be aware of the specific challenges and possible methodological drawbacks identified by both theorists and critics of the psychobiographical approach (Anderson, 1981; Burnell, Nel, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019; Runyan, 1984). Being knowledgeable about these difficulties is not enough, as the psychobiographer should consciously apply compensatory strategies to reduce the effects

of such difficulties. This awareness combines the psychological and biographical knowledge more effectively and is essential to the quality of the finished work (Howe, 1997; Nel, 2013).

In this chapter, these difficulties are discussed theoretically as major methodological considerations that need to be diminished in order to produce a good psychobiography (Coetsee, 2017). Since these considerations are also applicable to this psychobiographical study of Eugène Marais, special emphasis is placed on the compensatory strategies specifically used in this study to minimise the methodological challenges and lower the difference between the potential and the actual execution of psychobiographical research. As conceptualised by Fouché (1999) and constructed by Ponterotto (2014, 2015a), this chapter draws on a combination of the major obstacles and constraints built-in to psychobiographical methodology, which is based on the work of pioneers in modern psychobiography, namely Anderson (1981), Elms (1994, and Schultz (2005b).

The following methodological considerations and pitfalls are explained under their respective headings below, followed by an exploration of the methods used in an endeavour to control (or at least minimise) their effects on this study, namely (a) researcher bias, (b) reductionism, (c) cross-cultural and temporal differences between the researcher and the subject, (d) analysing an absent subject, (e) the view of psychobiography as an elitist and easy genre, (f) an infinite amount of biographical data, (g) possible inflated expectations by the researcher and (h) validity and reliability criticisms.

5.2.1 Researcher Bias

5.2.1.1 Explanation of Researcher Bias

Researcher bias is a limitation that often arises during subject selection (Burnell, Nel, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019). Psychobiographer's guilty of *researcher bias*, display

tendencies of either idealising or degrading their subjects (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1988, 1994). Freud warned researchers to not idealise or pathographise their subjects, a proposition he himself ironically disregarded in his Leonardo study (Elms, 1988; Fouché, 2015; Kóváry, 2011; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2015a). Psychobiographers should not assume that they are less likely to error than Freud had been (Elms, 1988), as these counter-transference reactions are often unconscious and unintentional (Anderson, 1981; Meissner, 2003). One of the main and unique characteristics of psychobiographical research is that it is sometimes a highly personal endeavour for researchers. According to Ponterotto and Moncayo (2018), “psychobiographers often spend many months, if not years, studying a single historic personality and learning the various intricacies of his or her life” (p. 1), and may develop a deep and personal connection to their research subjects. In some cases, researchers are drawn to their research subjects because of long-standing fascination with a chosen figure or field of interest (Coetsee, 2017; Ponterotto, 2014), which makes complete objectivity and unbiased engagement in the life of any psychobiographical subject impossible (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Meissner, 2003; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019; Schultz, 2005b). This is often due to the reflecting, long-term and in-depth nature of psychobiography, as this can cause the researcher to develop complicated or intense emotional responses to their subject (Chéze, 2009; Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004), and it may even result in the subject becoming a projection of the researcher and not of the subjects themselves (Meissner, 2003).

Counter-transference also occurs in psychotherapy, where it is referred to as the redirection of a psychotherapist’s unconscious feelings and attitudes towards a client; or as a therapist’s emotional involvement with a client (Arlow, 2005). In addition, it can interfere with the development of an accurate understanding of the subject and limit the researcher’s objectivity (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). This can also occur between psychobiographers and their subjects. Ponterotto and Moncayo (2018) stressed that issues of counter-transference should

be integrated into the training of psychobiographers. Despite the fact that the majority of psychobiographers conduct research on deceased historical personalities, they are nevertheless subject to feelings of counter-transference, especially given the length and intensity of their studies. Similar to counter-transference in psychotherapy relationships, counter-transference in the researcher-subject relationship can hinder the development of an accurate understanding of the subject (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). As a solution, Erikson (1974) advised that psychobiographers apply a level of controlled subjectivity to recognise the subjective nature of interpretations. In this way, researchers would acknowledge that they are self-reflective regarding the effect of emotions, perceptions and personal history, which are connected inevitably to qualitative psychobiographical research (Erikson, 1974). Elovitz (2003) also suggested data immersion and the de-emphasis of pathological terminology in order to address this problem. Ponterotto (2014) summarised the ideal psychobiography as “one that is comprehensive, exhaustively researched, holistic in coverage, and balanced in assessing and interpreting the subject’s strengths and failings” (p. 83).

Occasionally, psychobiographers may idealise or find flaws with their subjects as a means to convince themselves that they are in some way better than their subjects (Anderson, 1981; Schultz, 2005c). Anderson (1981) warned that it might be difficult for psychobiographers to prevent their inner conflicts and concerns from causing altered psychological interpretations. Levels of bias in psychobiographies can fluctuate between *idealizations* (e.g., hagiographies discussed in Section 4.3.3) to *degradation*, which relies predominantly on degrading gossip or insinuations of shameful behaviour in the life of the subject (Manis, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto & Reynolds 2017; Schultz, 2005a). In selecting the subject and committing to the psychobiographical endeavour, the researcher must try to maintain a level of objectivity and openness to learning about the subject (Burnell, Nel, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019), even if it is a person whom they have had previous interest in learning about. “Objectivity and

scholarship of a psychobiography can be placed on a continuum, from degradeography and simple pathography on the negative end, to idolography and hagiography on the positive end” (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018, p. 5). In the middle of this continuum is appropriate psychobiography, which is characterised by a controlled empathy for the research subject and an openness to uncover, interpret and report whatever information emerges that clarifies the studied personality, even if it disappoints the researcher (Ponterotto, 2014). Related to these biases is *pathography* (discussed in Chapter 4), which is the reduction of an individual’s life to a series of diagnostic labels aimed at capturing and explaining the subjects’ mental capacity (Ponterotto, 2014). This type of psychobiography may have a diagnostic perspective that obscures the complexity and diversity of the human inner experience (Schultz, 2005b).

Selection bias should also be guarded against. It entails the omission of data, which might happen during the data selection and data reduction phases of research. This form of bias may be troublesome for the researcher’s preferred inferences (Edwards, 1998). Regarding this, Edwards (1998) stated “enthusiasm for a particular interpretation, or desire to make a particular point can lead to writing case synopses which are distorted by the aims and assumptions of the writer” (p. 18). Researchers should also be wary of *confirmatory bias*, which occurs when researchers seek and report only on the evidence that supports their preliminary impressions or hypotheses concerning their research questions (Ponterotto, 2017).

The researchers’ abilities to explore their own feelings and uncertainties about their subjects are the key to succeeding in their particular psychobiographies (Elovitz, 2003). Ponterotto (2014) warned that due to their strong personal interests in their subjects, psychobiographers are expected to describe their relationships to the subject and bracket out their biases and expectations (also referred to as the epochal process of refraining from judgement). Morrow (2005) provided strategies for bracketing one’s subjective stance and relayed it back to qualitative research literature. Bracketing is described as the activity of becoming aware of

one's inferred assumptions and predispositions and putting them aside in order to avoid having them unnecessarily impact the study (Husserl, 1931). Ponterotto (2014) suggested that researchers write down their feelings about their subjects and include them in the methodology section or as an appendix. This bracketed material can then turn into a form of triangulation in data interpretation. Morrow (2005) also suggested that the researcher can present summaries of findings and interpretations to interviewees in order to comment on the accuracy and possible bias, a procedure referred to as "member checks" (Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014).

The non-judgmental stance practised by psychoanalysts towards patients could be particularly useful in psychobiographical research, as the practice could also be approached with controlled subjectivity (Elovitz, 2003). However, Elovitz (2003) warned that in cases where the subject is idealised or disliked, the psychobiographer may be unlikely to conduct a critical self-examination and more likely to act on counter-transferring feelings without analysing these feelings. Anderson (1981) also discussed the propensity of psychobiographers to become judgmental regarding their subjects and stated "pathologically oriented theory offers a ready conduit for an author who wishes to denigrate his subject" (p. 461). He cautioned that psychobiographers may even unconsciously vent their dislike of their subjects by emphasising more on the pathology of their subject's personality. However, Anderson stated that this counter-transference could be turned into an asset. When researchers recognise counter-transference, they could use this knowledge to indicate how others might have felt about or reacted towards the subject (Anderson, 1981; Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Müller, 2010).

These arguments correspond with the attitudes of many in the field of qualitative research, which is that researchers should freely admit the influence that their subjectivity may have on the data gathering and analysis processes and may seize their own subjective reflections and reactions as unique data (Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005; Nel, 2013). *Reflexivity*, which is the process of critical self-reflection by the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 2008), is therefore of

considerable importance to psychobiographers. The following strategies have been suggested as a way to address the consequences of possible researcher bias on the quality of a psychobiographical study:

1. Researchers should choose subjects about whom they feel ambivalent as a way to avoid writing about an abhorred or idealised figure. This assures that researchers would be open to learning more about a subject's faults, along with accepting the human worth of a disliked subject (Elms, 1994; Elms & Song, 2005).

2. Psychobiographers should carefully examine their own feelings concerning their subjects (Anderson, 1981). This reflective writing may be accomplished by including a section in which researchers explore their motivations to analyse their subjects as well as their emotional reactions and biases towards their subjects throughout the study (Anderson, 1981; Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Cara, 2007; Fouché, 1999).

3. Also, psychobiographers should develop empathy for their subjects, by considering numerous aspects, such as the subject's experiences during their lives, attitudes, defences, fantasies, unique characteristics and values (Anderson, 1981). This may guard against assuming a derogative attitude towards their research subjects (Anderson, 1981; Elovitz, 2003; Fouché, 1999).

4. Lastly, various researchers (Anderson, 1981; Fouché, 1999; Schurinck, 1988) have acknowledged the possible usefulness of acquiring comments on their researcher-subject relationships. This can be achieved through a variety of sources, such as the subject themselves (in the form of auto-critique, if the subject is still living), as well as the subject's intimate acquaintances, scholars who specialise in the study of lives and biographical specialists, as this can help to maintain objectivity (Fouché, 1999; Schurinck, 1988; Ponterotto, 2017; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). This strategy corresponds with Yin (2018) and Morrow's (2005) proposal

of having subjects and informants review the case study draft, as a way of enhancing the validity of the case data.

5.2.1.2 Application

As suggested by Elms (1994), the researcher chose a subject about whom she had an ambivalent attitude. While the researcher was drawn to Marais based on his literary outputs, the researcher had little biographical knowledge of Marais before the commencement of the study, which prevented the researcher from forming a preliminary opinion of him. This was due to him being a somewhat obscure literary figure. This lack of prior knowledge prevented the researcher from approaching Marais with either an idealised or denigrating attitude. By selecting a subject relatively unknown to the researcher the objectivity, rigour, quality and clarity of the study was enhanced (Burnell, Nel, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019). However, selecting such a subject also poses additional challenges to the researcher. These include (a) gathering a subject pool from which to select a suitable subject and (b) judging if a potential subject's life story would fit the eugraphic approach by representing optimal functioning. Burnell et al., (2019) suggested "addressing these challenges through the application of suitability guidelines to ensure that sampling is more objective and replicable during the pilot phase of any psychobiographical research project" (p. 175). While these are valuable suggestions, Burnell et al's., (2019), work was published after the researcher had selected Marais as a subject. The researcher was thus unable to employ the suitability guidelines during subject selection, however were it published earlier the researcher would have undoubtedly made use thereof.

Anderson (1981) believed that the best way to overcome the likelihood of idealising or denigrating the subject is for researchers to examine their own feelings towards the subject critically. The researcher should openly analyse and recognise these feelings and biases as a

conscious part of the research process, thus to “deliberately try to cope with them” (Anderson, 1981, p. 464). Following Anderson’s (1981) advice, throughout the course of the research process and upon learning more about the subject, the researcher continuously diarised her personal reactions and attitudes towards Marais in an attempt to remain aware of her own counter-transference reactions to him, as well as maintain a sceptic attitude towards the data. In order to develop empathy (as a way to avoid making distorted psychological interpretations of Marais), the researcher embarked on an in-depth investigation of the following:

1. An enhanced understanding of the socio-cultural forces that formed part of Marais’s historical context.
2. Reflecting on Marais’s developmental years, as well as his relationship with his family members and the broader community.
3. Timely investment in order to obtain a sense of Marais’s unique life experiences (e.g., internal and external forces) and how they could have interacted to develop this unique person with his distinct characteristics.
4. Using various resources (e.g., books, letters, photographs and documents) offered sufficient information for the researcher to assist in developing an attitude with the least amount of bias towards Marais.

5.2.2 Reductionism

5.2.2.1 Explanation of Reductionism

Reductionism is the practise of reducing complex systems or problems to simple components (Dafermos, 2014). It is regarded as the opposite of holism and accepts the view that all objects or systems are reducible to lower levels in the hierarchy of their composition (Dafermos, 2014). A reductionist interpretation is usually not wrong, however, the problem

with such an interpretation is the implied claim that such an interpretation explains all that we need to know about the subject (Anderson, 1981). Schultz (2005c) argued that a psychobiography is successful when it does the opposite, namely “tracing mysterious gestalts of thought and action back to a variety of biographical sectors” (p. 12). Reductionism is, thus, an important consideration in psychobiography, as the approach’s aim is a more holistic analysis of human development in all its intricacies (Coetsee, 2017; Ponterotto, 2014).

Martin and Dawda (2002) asserted that the reduction of psychological phenomena “to fit the demands of psychological laboratories, measures, models and explanations” is still a debatable topic in present-day psychology (p. 38). They argued that this practice influences psychology due to the success with which the natural sciences could produce predictions and explanations. In addition, Elms (1994) highlighted that contemporary Western psychology, fixed in positivism, has a goal of “reducing human complexities of thought and emotion to simplicities of cognition and neurology” (p. 11).

However, in order to achieve these explanations in psychology, the application of natural science methods necessitates “a reduction of psychological phenomena (e.g., recollection, imagination, self, thinking and experience) to presumably more basic, constitutive phenomena agreeable to the methods of natural science” (Martin & Dawda, 2002, p. 38). Reduction is only an acceptable practise when researchers are familiar with the particular characteristics of their research subject, the conditions and the limitations of reduction (Dafermos, 2014). Martin and Dawda (2002) stressed the importance of finding epistemological, methodological and ontological alternatives to reductionist and positivist methods in psychology. Reductionism can be noticed in the following ways:

Firstly, by explaining adult behaviour mainly in terms of early childhood experiences at the expense of later ones (Anderson, 1981; Capps, 2004; Runyan, 1984, 1988b). This process was termed by Erikson as “*originology*” (Elms, 1994). Runyan (1984) also warned against putting

too much importance on early childhood experiences as a means to explain a subject's later personality and behaviour. This can lead to a '*critical period fallacy*', which involves reducing the study of a person's life around a specific 'key' period of development (Runyan, 1984). While childhood experiences are a distinctive factor in understanding the subject, they should never be a sole factor in a good psychobiographical study (Schultz, 2005a; Ponterotto, 2014).

Secondly, psychobiographers should also avoid attaching too much emphasis on a single event in a subject's life (Howe, 1997). This practice in biography is known as *eventism*. It occurs when the researcher regards certain events in a subject's life as turning points from which all future behaviour originates (Runyan, 1984). The consistency and continuity of personality from childhood into adulthood is a controversial topic in psychology and psychobiographers should, therefore, recognise that early experiences involve complex (but not necessarily deterministic) choices and processes (Alter, 2002). Thus, psychobiographers should acknowledge that events are usually not the result from a single psychological cause, but that it is created by many causes (Anderson, 1981).

Thirdly, owing to psychological theories' excessive psychopathological focus, psychobiographers may focus more on their subject's psychological problems than their health, normality and creativity (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1988; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1988b). McAdams (1994) referred to this as *overpathologising*, while Schultz (2005a) regarded such an inclination as "psychobiography by diagnosis" (p. 10) or *pathography*, where the entire complexity of the personality is reduced to psychopathological categories or symptoms. A focus on pathography usually clouds the inner psychological strengths and resources of the research subject (Ponterotto, 2014). Runyan (1984) also cautioned researchers to avoid overemphasising psychological variables, as this can lead to external historical and social factors being excluded from the study.

Researchers should also be wary of using a single theory to understand the subject because the complexity of the life experience (specifically as it is understood in a socio-historical-cultural context) is difficult to understand and to accurately interpret through a single lens (Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2014). This is because when researchers view the subject's personality development through a single psychological lens, they tend to negate the influence of external elements such as historical and socio-cultural factors (Human, 2015). However, Ponterotto (2014) stated that it is important to remember that, regardless of the number of theories researchers may use, the answer to strong theoretical anchoring in psychobiography lies in a comprehensive and in-depth theoretical coverage of the chosen subject and the chosen theories. Consequently, he warned against the loose or superficial application of theories. As a solution, Ponterotto (2014, 2017) suggested that psychobiographers should be theoretically pragmatic and open to mending the possible shift of theoretical anchors as the available data are interpreted and integrated.

In addition, an overreliance on a psychodynamic approach (despite psychobiography being historically anchored in psychoanalytic formulations) is also a reductionist practice (Dooley, 1916). There are two concerns with over-relying on psychodynamic (or any other singular) formulations in supporting psychobiography (Ponterotto, 2014). Firstly, such formulations may and have been improperly applied to historical and public figures through researcher bias and methodological flaws. Secondly, relying on psychodynamic theory is limiting, as it is a single theory model. Given how complex life experiences are, especially when it is understood within an adequate socio-historical-cultural context, it is challenging to properly interpret and understand a life through a single theoretical lens (Ponterotto, 2014).

5.2.2.2 Application

The difficulties related to reductionism can be minimised by triangulating data sources during data collection and analysis (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). The researcher must acknowledge the complexity of his or her subject's personality and abstain from presuming that any psychological analysis would be able to capture it completely. One can consider using a *eugraphic approach*, as it minimises the chances of reductionist errors such as overpathology and originology (Elms, 1994; Burnell, Nel, Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2019; Fouché, 1999). Elms (1994) asserted that eugraphic approaches focus on how chosen subjects developed into psychologically healthy individuals and he suggested that psychobiographers use a eugraphic research approach as a means to emphasise normalcy and health. This encourages a holistic view of subjects as complex entities (Howe, 1997) who have been influenced by a variety of factors in their socio-historical contexts.

Anderson (1981) suggested that researchers should develop complex understandings of their subject, use primary materials as much as possible and conduct thorough research (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). While a reductionist interpretation may not necessarily be incorrect, it would certainly be inadequate for creating a proper understanding of the individual's life (Anderson, 1981). Having in-depth research based on a variety of sources not only enhances the accuracy of information but also supplies the researcher with the historical and social context of the subject's life (Fouché, 1999). Anderson (1981) and Elovitz (2003) also cautioned against the unsystematic use of psychological jargon, advising researchers to give their terminology "force" by reassuring that there is enough data as a foundation. This would also minimise the likelihood that the researcher would explain all aspects of a person's life solely in reductionist terms.

Researchers need to acknowledge the fact that humans are active agents with a level of reasoned self-determination in the societies in which they are embedded and they are active

participants, as this explanation and understanding of human action and experience is imperative knowledge for the researcher (Danziger, 1990). The results of human agency are that all human experiences and actions are authentic, rational, intentional, meaningful and normative (Martin & Dawda, 2002). Elms (1994) recommended that researchers refrain from assuming that a reductionist psychological analysis can encapsulate personality and that they rather move away from reductionism towards complexity. In order to avoid a reductionist psychological perspective of Marais, the researcher considered Elms' (1994) warning that ignoring the context can alter psychological interpretations. The researcher attempted to reduce reductionist errors by using the following strategies:

1. The researcher investigated Marais's life holistically and throughout the study, reflected on how his socio-historical context impacted his life. In order to achieve these goals, the researcher had to do a thorough, extensive literature study, which included socio-historical literature related to the historical and cultural surroundings of Marais's life. The theoretical framework used in this study also stresses the importance of historical and social factors in the development of a person, as Adler believed both biological and environmental conditions restricts a person's capability to choose and create (Corey, 2005). This further minimised a reductionist portrayal of Marais in which only psychological aspects were explored.
2. Investigating Marais's personality development across his lifespan, allowed the researcher to understand the complexity, multi-dimensional and context-dependent nature thereof better. Therefore, the researcher argues that the lifespan perspective minimised the criticisms of originology by emphasising the complex and conditional nature of personality development that continues beyond childhood (Coetsee, 2017; Nel, 2013). The study was, therefore, not limited to any particular developmental period, but rather followed a lifespan approach. The chosen theory also assisted in this aim, as

individual psychology contends that people create themselves rather than being merely shaped by their childhood experiences (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

3. Care was also taken to avoid the ‘critical period fallacy’ and ‘eventism’ which Runyan (1984) had cautioned against. Consequently, periods and events in Marais’s life were seen as prototypical of his behaviour, rather than being interpreted as ‘turning points’ in his life.
4. Instead of pathologising Marais, the researcher made a conscious effort to convey a developmental psychological understanding and explanation of Marais’s actions and experiences. This was quite challenging given Marais’s lifelong dependency on morphine. Fortunately, Adler’s theory provides a holistic, non-pathological approach to understanding an individual because Adler viewed psychologically maladjusted individuals as discouraged (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Moreover, the theory provides a framework for conceptualising healthy development and for defining operationally healthy behaviour and attitudes (Adler, 1930, 1958; Perry, 2012). The theory views the individual as socially embedded, thus one cannot understand the individual without acknowledging the effects of their context. Adler’s theory is also relational in that it places considerable emphasis on the individual’s social relationships (Watts, 2009, 2015). Furthermore, while the researcher did discuss the pathologies related to Marais, she also focused on and acknowledged the positive achievements and comments received regarding the subject. This ensured a holistic and balanced assessment and interpretation of both Marais’s strengths and weaknesses.
5. In order to address the methodological concern of overreliance on psychodynamic approaches, the researcher, although she acknowledges the value of psychodynamic formulations, did not make use of a psychodynamic theory. Rather, the researcher used Adler’s theory of individual psychology and, as stated in Chapter 2, Adler held very

different theoretical views compared to Freud's psychodynamic theory because Adler's theory was based on a goal-oriented and less deterministic view of human nature (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008).

6. Despite the researcher only applying one theoretical lens in this study, it still offers a new and different perspective in understanding Marais's personality development. Ponterotto (2014) acknowledged that single-anchoring models have value as they can be understood comprehensively, if (a) the researcher's biases are in check and (b) the methodology is comprehensive and rigorous. Ideal single-theory applications include Erikson's (1958, 1969) psychobiographies of Martin Luther and Mahatma Gandhi, respectively. The researcher acknowledges that relying on a single theory can jeopardise the capability of the researcher to portray the intricacy of the life experience of the subject, specifically as it must also be understood in a socio-historical-cultural context. For this reason, the researcher attempted to provide an in-depth and comprehensive theoretical coverage of Marais's life in relation to Adler's theory.
7. The researcher also employed Anderson's (1981) suggestion to reduce the use of psychological jargon by explaining terminology with which readers from outside the psychology discipline might be unfamiliar.

5.2.3 Cross-Cultural and Temporal Differences

5.2.3.1 Explanation of Cross-Cultural and Temporal Differences

According to Ponterotto et al. (2015), psychobiography focuses on the intensive study of an individual life in socio-cultural-historic context, and thus, cross-cultural criticism accordingly has been aimed against psychobiography for applying psychological concepts or theories that were developed for a particular culture and historical period to a subject who may belong to

another culture or historical period (Anderson, 1981; Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Fouché, 1999).

Consequently, some concepts might be inapplicable to the life of the subject or might be insensitive to the subject's culture (Anderson, 1981; Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Ponterotto, 2014). Runyan (1984) found that this is a common criticism of all biographical and historical writing. He warned that psychobiographers need to recognise that psychological concepts are context-bound and it should be explored which theoretical concepts may be universally applicable across cultures and periods (Runyan, 1984). In order to consider the temporal cultural differences, the study must include a consideration for the cultural, historical, social, political and even religious context in which the subjects lived (Anderson, 1981; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). According to Ponterotto (2014), "when writing about historic figures many years removed from their own life-space, psychologists must become competent historians, cultural anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists of the era in question" (p. 84). Runyan (1984) admitted that, at times, psychobiographers have neglected to consider cultural and historical differences during their interpretations. However, he argued that avoiding *ethnocentrism* (evaluating other cultures according to preconceptions from the standards and customs of one's own culture) and *temporocentrism* (believing that one's own time is more important than the past or future) does not pose an unsolvable problem. As a solution, psychobiographers need to learn enough about the socio-historical context of their subjects to develop a sufficient frame of reference (Runyan, 1984).

Having an in-depth understanding of the cultural and historical context within which the subject lived allows the researcher to develop knowledge and familiarity with the culture of the times, as well as empathy for the subject's cultural environment and subsequent influences and constraints (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1988b). Developing in-depth knowledge of the relevant culture from the subject's viewpoint will help to create a truly

empathic relationship with the subject (Human, 2015). In addition, considering the subject within a social, cultural, economic and political setting adds validity to the psychological interpretations of individual motives and behaviours (Elms, 1994; Erikson, 1968).

In addition to the cross-cultural differences, another related challenge of a psychobiography is for the researcher to accurately understand the character, life experience and personality of their subject who lived sometime in the past (Ponterotto, 2014). Ponterotto (2014) warned that the challenge is magnified as the temporal distance between the lives of psychobiographers and their historic subjects increases. Thus, trying to interpret the personality of a historical figure through a contemporary lens is a controversial and risky endeavour. Although it is commonplace for researchers to interpret the lives of others through their own worldviews and life experiences, it is important to remember that different historical periods and different cultures may have different values and operating principles, compared to those of contemporary psychobiographers (Anderson, 1981).

Psychobiographers should undertake an in-depth historical investigation of the particular time and social culture of the subject in order to gain familiarity and to develop a culturally empathic understanding of their subject's culture (Anderson, 1981; Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). In this regard, Neuman (2003) acknowledged that researchers should understand the culture from the viewpoint of their subjects to interpret the meanings of specific statements or actions. Consequently, literature reviews should include information about the cultural and historical context of subjects. For example, Hiller's (2011) multi-layered chronological chart (MLCC) is a useful tool to assist researchers in considering their subject's in their socio-cultural-historical contexts (Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013b). Lastly, Runyan (1984, 2003) emphasised that psychobiographical interpretations are intellectual endeavours which must draw on theories that embrace

universally, on group- and context-specific generalisations, including in-depth idiographic studies of individuals.

5.2.3.2 Application

In this study, both the researcher and the subject shared a South African nationality. Nevertheless, there were differences regarding religious beliefs and gender. The subject also lived in a considerably different historical period (1871-1936) compared to when the research was conducted (2018-2020). In an attempt to be sensitive to the inherent cultural considerations of the study, the researcher did a thorough and extensive literature study concerning the historical and cultural context in which Marais had lived (see Chapter 3). This was achieved through extensive readings to improve the researcher's understanding of the era in which Marais lived even further. Some of the sources include Du Toit (1940), Rousseau (2005), Van der Merwe (2015) and Marais (2001).

Adler's (1958, 1970) theory also takes the individual's social context into consideration, as it emphasises the importance of cultural, historical and social factors in the development of a person. Since his theory stresses the importance of the person's cultural context, it is often used in counselling diverse populations (Dinkmeyer et al., 1987; Watts, 2000, 2013). This makes Adler's theory culturally sensitive and, thus, an applicable theory to understand individuals from different cultures. Adler also highlighted the individualistic and unique nature of human development through emphasising the roles of the individual's early memories, family, striving for superiority and achievement of the social feeling, which are concepts that are culturally unbiased and thus applicable to all cultures (Human, 2015). In addition, Adler's theory was selected since it was developed during the same historical period that Marais lived in. The use of a theory that was developed during the same time and similar milieu as the subject enhances the study's trustworthiness (Kagitcibasi, 1992; Ponterotto, 2014).

5.2.4 Analysing an Absent Subject

5.2.4.1 *Explanation of Analysing an Absent Subject*

Traditionally, in psychobiography, the researcher must build a portrait of the absent subject by utilising mainly written sources (Anderson, 1981; Izenberg, 2003; Schultz, 2005b). This poses a significant challenge for psychobiographers as the information available from historical sources may be substantially less compared to direct contact with the subject (Anderson, 1981; Chéze, 2009; Runyan, 1988b). Because a completed life of a person who has died is studied, the information needed cannot be obtained from directly questioning the subject and hypotheses cannot be improved by giving them to the subject for scrutiny (Anderson, 1981; Nel, 2013).

Meissner (2003) stated that psychotherapists are used to working with living, talking and immediate responding subjects. However, psychobiographers do have advantages over psychotherapists when it comes to analysing an absent subject as they (a) have access to informants other than the subject, such as friends, family and colleagues, and thus have a greater variety of available information (Anderson, 1981; Izenberg, 2003; Runyan, 1982); (b) are able to investigate the behavioural patterns of the entire lifespan (i.e., longitudinally) from a distant viewpoint (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1988b); (c) are not limited by therapeutic considerations and may provide a more balanced description of the subject as the focus is not just on maladaptive behaviour (Anderson, 1981); (d) have access to the subject's creations, which would include an array of creative materials when studying creative or literary individuals (Runyan, 1988b); (e) are not restricted by informed consent or the need to uphold a continuous therapeutic atmosphere (Carlson, 1988); (f) do not need to hide the subject's identity, as the main point of most psychobiographies are to offer a clearer understanding of the psychology of a public figure (Elms, 1994).

Schultz (2005a) stated that a successful psychobiography is achieved when interpretations have been based on firm evidence from a variety of sources and when multiple motives for establishing behaviour can be tabled. In the end, the data should present compellingly persuasive reasons and drivers for the subject's behaviour. "The best psychobiography leaves the reader feeling ineffably 'won over' " (Schultz, 2005a, p. 7).

5.2.4.2 Application

The researcher undertook an extensive literature study in order to compensate for an absent subject. Some of the works the researcher consulted were those produced by Marais (1984, 2005) himself (e.g., his poetry, short stories, newspaper articles, letters and ethological books), as well as those produced by others such as Du Toit's (1940) *Eugène N. Marais: Sy Bydrae tot the Afrikaanse Letterkunde*, Rousseau's (1974/2005) biography on Eugène Marais (*Die Groot Verlange*), including Rousseau's (1998a, 1998b) books, *Eugène Marais and the Darwin Syndrome* and *Die Dowwe Spoor van Eugène Marais*, respectively, which contains additional and revised information on Marais, many of which surfaced after the publication of Marais's biography. Another valuable source was the recently published book, *Donker Stroom: Eugène Marais en die Anglo-Boereoorlog* by historian Van der Merwe (2015). Other sources on Marais included academic papers written by Heydenrych (2014), Myburgh (2009), Swart (2004) and Mieny (1984), as well as papers that focused on his writings written by Olivier (2015), Van Luijk (2014), Gray (2013), Morris (2009), Van Vuuren (2008) and Marais (2001). These provided base interpretations and more of a complete view of Marais as a whole.

5.2.5 Elitism and Easy Genre

5.2.5.1 *Explanation of Elitism and Easy Genre*

Psychobiographical studies have been criticised for being elitist as it focuses on the leaders, rulers and privileged members of society while ignoring the lives of ordinary people (Runyan, 1988b). This focus on individuals is criticised for ignoring the experience of the masses (Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2005b). Nevertheless, Runyan (1988b) argued that psychobiography is suitable to study individuals from any social class and that the subject should be chosen based on personal characteristics, rather than social stratum. In addition, classing a study as elitist does not only depend on the chosen subject, but also on the interpretations provided by the researcher and “how the individual is related to his or her social, political and historical context” (Runyan, 1988b, p. 38). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) emphasised that subjects are generally chosen because their life stories are psychologically and historically significant. The subject choice is based on the exceptional contribution of the individual (Howe, 1997; McAdams, 2006; Van Niekerk, 2007).

Psychobiographical studies have also been criticised for being an easy genre, as such studies take on a predictable shape based on the subject’s lifespan (i.e., birth, development, death) (Runyan, 1988b). Both Runyan (1988b) and Elms (1994) agreed that a superficial biography would be easily and quickly written, however, they stated that a comprehensive biography would demand considerable effort from the biographer. Biographers need to consult a wide array of sources, obtain extensive knowledge of the subject’s socio-historical context and arena of professional activity, as well as exhibit literary skill and psychological insight in their interpretations and descriptions of their subject’s life (Du Plessis, 2017; McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1988b). These obligations make a psychobiographical study a complex undertaking.

Furthermore, the extensive body of knowledge that exists on the “art and science of biography” (Runyan, 1988b, p. 39), serves as an indicator of how complex the biographic endeavour is.

Ponterotto (2014) highlighted that psychobiographies written with ample thick descriptions provide a sense of authenticity (i.e., as if one is present) and transport readers back in history as if they were actually witnessing the subject’s life experiences. Thick descriptions are provided by the psychobiographer’s attention to detail, context and triangulation of evidence, as well as by indicating the researcher’s relationship with their subjects. Providing striking quotes or scenes which describe the subject and recreating dialogue from available evidence at times further promote thick descriptions (Ponterotto, 2014). Lastly, Schultz (2005c) asserted that a good psychobiography is a convincing and all-inclusive narrative of consistent and applicable data that illuminates the obscurity of a person’s life. Therefore, a good psychobiography requires substantial research of various sources in order to understand the subject’s socio-historical context, as well as thorough psychological knowledge and considerable literary skill (McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1988b).

5.2.5.2 Application

The researcher would like to argue that a psychobiographical study of Marais’s life is not elitist due to the significant relevance of this study within the South African context. A noteworthy contribution of psychobiographical studies is that they offer knowledge about the uniqueness of a subject (Schultz, 2005a), which makes psychobiography a popular approach in studying eminent or significant individuals (Simonton, 1999).

The subject was thus chosen based on his eligibility to be a subject of a psychobiographical study and not based on his social status or popularity among the public. As stated by Runyan (1988b), one is often interested in studying those individuals “who because of position, chance,

or personal characteristics have unusual interest for use or had an unusually great influence on the course of history” (p. 39).

Marais was chosen as a subject based on various potential areas of value, for example, his dependency on morphine can be analysed using Adler’s concept of an inferiority complex. Furthermore, his alienation with his family, particularly his son, can be analysed using Adler’s concept of social interest. In addition, studying a South African individual makes this study particularly relevant to the South African context. Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) asserted that in order for psychobiography to maintain its momentum and ‘popularity’ as a credible research field in South Africa, and Africa as a whole, it needs to remain ‘relevant’ and ‘topical’, especially if the intention is to attract younger researchers to the field (Human, 2015). Given that Marais is still a relevant and studied figure in South Africa, especially based on recent publications, for example that of Van der Merwe (2015), by studying Marais psychologically will add to the existing body of knowledge about him, while simultaneously offering a new (i.e., psychological) perspective of him. Marais is also an internationally recognised figure due to his scientific works, particularly those on primates and termites being translated and published by American, British and European publishers (Marais, 2001). Furthermore, a database search (EBSCOhost) conducted during December 2019 found that to date no psychobiography on Marais had been conducted. Therefore, this is the first study to focus specifically on Marais from a psychological perspective, and to employ a psychobiographical method to understand Marais’s personality. Lastly, Adler’s theory is relevant to the South Africans context, as it is culturally sensitive.

In addition, the researcher disagrees with the criticism of psychobiography being an easy genre, as creating a holistic portrait of Marais’s multi-dimensional life and personality made this study a very complex undertaking, as Marais and his socio-cultural and historical context had to be studied and understood. The multiple sources of data also had to be explored in terms

of the individual psychological perspectives, which increased the amount of salient data that were collected and analysed. The broad literature study that was needed in order to become familiar with the subject's cultural and socio-historical context further increased the complexity of this study. An in-depth understanding of Adler's theory was also a requirement to complete this study, which also demanded additional collection and analysis of data on the theory. Lastly, psychobiography is not yet a research method being studied as part of the curriculum. Thus, the researcher had little academic training (apart from her supervisors' assistance) to prepare her for commencing with the study, which further made it a complex research endeavour. The lack of resources for conducting psychobiography on a tertiary level is not limited to the South African context, as Ponterotto et al. (2015) published a study about psychobiographical courses in the United States. Very few psychology courses, specifically in psychobiography, was found (Kóváry, 2018).

The researcher's aim was to produce a psychobiography written with ample thick descriptions that provided a sense of authenticity and that transported readers back in history as if they were a living witness to Marais's life experiences (Coetsee, 2017; Ponterotto, 2014). This is also a challenge as providing thick descriptions requires the researcher to focus on context, detail and triangulating evidence, as well as outlining the researcher's own relationship with the chosen subject.

5.2.6 Infinite Amount of Biographical Data

5.2.6.1 Explanation of Infinite Amount of Biographical Data

Psychobiographers usually have access to a "large volume of life history data of varying quality and thus require strategies for reducing the material and rendering it manageable" (Van Niekerk, Prenter, & Fouché, 2019, p. 171). They frequently encounter problems with

extracting relevant data from the “vast profusion of information” (Elms, 1994, p. 245), with which they are confronted (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché, 1999). This was highlighted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.6), as various authors (Alexander, 1988, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a; Schultz, 2005b) provided specific guidelines in relation to this process and best methodological practices. The quality of a psychobiography is “dependent on the quality of the data collection, manipulation and analysis” (Du Plessis, 2017, p. 231). Since it has been established that the specific method of analysis affects the nature of the interpretation, it is important for the researcher to be aware of the existence of various methods of data analysis. Thus, psychobiographers face the challenge of how to treat the data so that the required information surfaces (Alexander, 1988; Nel, 2013). Because most psychobiographies are almost completely qualitative, an important methodological concern is “whether the psychologist has handled the biographical materials in a competent, scholarly fashion” (Simonton, 1999, p. 438).

Alexander (1988) provided a way of managing biographical data, which would reduce the amount of data by identifying the salient material the researcher should focus on. Firstly, the psychobiographer present questions to the data as a way to structure the manner in which large amounts of data are sorted. Questioning the data, requires the use of a theoretical framework to guide the extraction and categorisation of data into thematic areas (Alexander, 1988, 1990), thus the specific questions asked may relate to the selected theory (Du Plessis, 2017). This enables the researcher to sort vast amounts of data and answer specific questions (Chéze, 2009), evidently specifying guidelines and rules to access the categorisation of information. For example, a researcher interested in assessing family constellation would extract all occasions where subjects interact with their families – and then identify the guidelines by which these interactions would be assessed (Chéze, 2009).

The raw data can also be sorted according to nine identifiers of saliency as a means of allowing the data reveal itself (Alexander, 1988). These nine identifiers of salience include:

(a) primacy, (b) frequency, (c) uniqueness, (d) negation, (e) emphasis, (f) omission, (g) error or distortion, (h) isolation and (i) incompleteness (Alexander, 1988). These salience identifiers are comprehensively discussed in Chapter 6.

5.2.6.2 Application

There is considerable information available on Marais. The researcher mainly used published documents, which guaranteed that the researcher had constant access to the information. This allowed the researcher to cross-check and engage with the data over the entire course of the study. Archival data were not included because biographers (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 1998a, 1998b, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015) had examined and incorporated the majority of these materials into their published works. During the data collection process, the researcher used the methods proposed by Alexander (1988) as a way to reduce the biographical data to a manageable amount and complied with Simonton's (1999) call for the scholarly and competent management of biographical data. These strategies and methods were used to enhance the quality of the study, as opposed to merely unsystematically and indiscriminately excluding or including data. Firstly, the researcher sorted the data by searching for answers to specific questions related to Adler's theory of individual psychology. Secondly, all the available information was sorted using the guidelines of salience as a way to identify relevant information eligible for further scrutiny. These data reduction methods are comprehensively discussed in Chapter 6.

5.2.7 Inflated Expectations

5.2.7.1 *Explanation of Inflated Expectations*

Inflated expectations are not common in the psychobiographical paradigm; it is rather a fear of critics that is a common concern (Anderson, 1981; Fouché, 1999). Nonetheless, Anderson (1981) warned psychobiographers to not only focus on psychological factors and to keep two specific limitations of psychobiographical research in mind: firstly, psychobiographers need to recognise that psychological interpretations cannot replace other types of explanations, such as economic, historical and political forces but it can only add to them. Secondly, all explanations should be regarded as merely speculative (Anderson, 1981; Elovitz, 2003). By only focusing on psychological factors and disregarding the influence of other external factors such as social, historical and political, the researcher risks limiting the interpretation of a subject's life. Psychological factors should extend and complement other types of explanations (Human, 2015). Runyan (1988a) emphasised that in order to develop a truly holistic explanation of a subject's life and properly complement the psychological theorising in a psychobiography, the researcher needs to acknowledge the importance of social, political and cultural analyses (Human, 2015).

Anderson (1981) recommended that psychobiographers need to be aware of the limitations of the approach and acknowledge that they cannot claim to have interpreted and reported the entire complexity of a person's life. Their interpretations are merely an estimation of a historical figure, which remains uncertain and heuristic – rather than definitely factual (Meissner, 2003).

5.2.7.2 Application

In this study the researcher applied Anderson's (1981) and Meissner's (2003) suggestions by firstly, acknowledging that psychological explanations only enhance other explanations and cannot replace them and, secondly, accepting psychological explanations as being merely speculative. Consequently, the researcher recognises and admits that this study of Marais was conducted primarily from a psychological vantage point and acknowledges the limitations of studying a person's life mainly from a psychological perspective. In order to address these limitations, various historical, social, cultural and political factors were acknowledged as having exerted considerable influence on Marais's development over his lifespan. Individual psychology is also sensitive to the influence of social forces in the person's environmental and psychological functioning.

This study's focus was specifically on Marais's personality development throughout his lifespan, specifically from an Adlerian perspective. This main objective provided clear boundaries of exactly what the study explored, without being unrealistic in its objectives. Accordingly, the researcher limited the discussion to the framework given by Adler's theory, as discussed in Chapter 2. The researcher considers this study to have realistic expectations, as the study does not attempt to analyse aspects of Marais's life that fall outside of this framework of Adler's theory. Furthermore, the researcher acknowledges that as no psychological theory can ever be seen as undoubtedly true, this study's aim was solely to sketch a plausible psychological profile (based on Adler's theory) of Marais in a way that has internal consistency rather than suggesting any definite conclusions about his life.

5.2.8 Validity and Reliability Criticisms

5.2.8.1 Explanation of Validity and Reliability Criticisms

Issues concerning psychobiography's validity and reliability is a widespread criticism against the approach's research design and methodology (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1983; Yin, 2018). Questions have been raised about the following: (a) how valid retrospective and introspective data, as well as subjective reports are; (b) the method's capability to test the hypotheses it has created; (c) how internally valid the approach is, as alternative explanations can often exist; and (d) the external validity of the research method, as the information collected from the individual case cannot be safely generalised. In qualitative research, validity refers to the trustworthiness and truthfulness of a study, while reliability relates to consistency (Creswell, 2013; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008).

In addition, qualitative research is also criticised for (a) its lack of scientific rigour, being overly subjective or biased and creating difficulties with regards to generalisation and reproducibility (Mays & Pope, 1995; Simonton, 2003); (b) questionable trustworthiness of such studies as the process of judging logic and truth are shaped by the knowledge-generating process (Krefting, 1991; Morrow, 2005); and (c) the lack of control and difficulties with generalisation, specifically against case studies (Runyan, 1983, 1984; Yin, 2018).

Yin (2018) stated that the quality of any research design can be judged on how it performs on the four tests common to all social sciences research methods, namely (a) internal validity, (b) external validity, (c) construct validity and (d) reliability. When conducting qualitative research, these tests are often called (a) credibility, (b) transferability, (c) confirmability and (d) dependability, respectively (Krefting, 1991; Perry, 2012). The researcher needs to address issues pertaining to validity and reliability since it affects the credibility and objectivity of the

research (Perakyla, 2004). These tests, as well as its applicability to the case study method, are explored below.

1. Internal validity and credibility

Internal validity is primarily a concern in explanatory case studies in which the researcher's aim is to explain causal relationships (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2018) and, according to Gilgun (1994) and Yin and Heald (1975), raises the question of whether the research is sufficient to support the conclusions. In order to counteract this problem, the researcher needs to ask questions pertaining to the accuracy of the assumptions, whether all alternative explanations have been considered and whether the evidence is undeniable and concurrent (Yin, 2018). Similarly, psychobiographers need to remain aware of one of Freud's earlier guidelines, which was to avoid building arguments based upon a single clue (Elms, 1988; Ponterotto, 2014). Freud warned that researchers cannot use a single reference convincingly in a psychobiographical analysis and he cautioned against drawing strong conclusions from insufficient or possible faulty data (Elms, 1988; Ponterotto, 2014), as this can lead to doubtful conclusions, poor reliability and the inability to generalise the findings (McAdams, 1988; McAdams & West, 1997; Runyan, 1988a). Another method was proposed by Krefting (1991) and Morrow (2005) who stated that enough submersion in, and engagement with, the data is a strategy in order to assure the credibility of research, as it allows researchers to identify and validate recurring patterns.

Subjectivity and researcher bias also present a potential threat to a qualitative study's credibility (Fouché, 1999; Krefting, 1991; Nel, 2013). Bias may originate from the researcher's attitude towards the subject (Elms, 1988), as well as their eagerness to apply a particular theoretical approach (Edwards, 1998). The researcher can avoid this threat (as described in Section 5.2.1) through practising reflexivity (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Krefting, 1991).

Since psychobiography is a discovery-oriented research process, the psychobiographer is guided by emerging data as they plan subsequent stages of the research (Ponterotto, 2014). According to Ponterotto (2014), “as part of the iterative research process, the astute psychobiographer works to triangulate both data sources and research methods” (p. 86). Triangulation has been identified as a method to address the issue of internal validity (Mays & Pope, 1995; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008; Sokolovsky, 1996) by using various sources of data (Barbour, 2001; Creswell, 2013) to clarify meaning and to verify repeatability of observations or interpretations (Stake, 2005). Facts can be considered strong when three or more data sources all agree (Yin, 2018). Despite this, the researcher should limit the positive impact of triangulation on internal validity to the formation of simple facts and it should be used with caution when it comes to comparing different interpretations from different sources of data (Richards, 2005).

Patton (2002) maintained that testing consistency between sources is also important to consider in triangulation, as acknowledging any inconsistent findings across different sources of data could be quite valuable. Inconsistencies do not necessarily weaken the credibility of the data or results but could yield “opportunities for deeper insights into the relationship between the inquiry approach and the phenomenon under study” (Patton, 2002, p. 556). Strong psychobiographies always work to triangulate data sources in an attempt to enhance the accuracy and reliability of the collective data set (Ponterotto, 2017). Denzin (1978) identified four types of triangulation that could be used in case study research, namely (a) data triangulation (i.e., asking the same question to different data sources); (b) investigator triangulation (i.e., using different evaluators); (c) methodological triangulation (i.e., using multiple methods of enquiry); and (d) theory triangulation (i.e., using different theories to interpret the same data set). Using triangulation, as a way to enhance the validity and

trustworthiness of a study, also has a positive impact on confirmability and dependability (Krefting, 1991; Nel, 2013).

2. External validity and transferability

External validity pertains to whether the study's findings can be generalised beyond the immediate case study (Yin, 2018). As discussed in Chapter 4 Section 4.3.6, Runyan (1988b) mentioned that one argument against the case study approach relates to whether a single individual is representative of a population. Both Runyan (1988b) and Yin (2018) acknowledged this problem and cautioned researchers to avoid aiming to generalise their findings to other cases or a population. When data has inherent descriptive worth the transferability of findings becomes a less important research goal (Krefting, 1991), such as in psychobiographies (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). Yin (2018) suggested that instead of trying to generalise the results to other case studies or the larger population (referred to as *statistical generalisation*), the researcher should rather aim for *analytic generalisation*, where a particular set of results are generalised to a theory (Yin, 2018).

3. Construct validity and confirmability

Construct validity refers to properly explaining and defining the concepts under study (Gilgun, 1994; Yin, 2018). It ensures that the correct operational measures or theories are applied to the concepts being studied, (i.e., that the intended concepts are measured in line with the objectives of the study) (Human, 2015). In qualitative research, this is also referred to as *confirmability* (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which can be explained as neutrality in research and it is obtained when interpretations are confirmable and unbiased (Chéze, 2009; Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Construct validity is seen as a challenge in case study research (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2018), as it is difficult to create an acceptable operational set of

measures, since the researcher's subjective judgments are used in data collection (Yin, 2018). The following three strategies can be used to increase the construct validity by (a) using multiple data sources and evidence, which is called data triangulation; (b) creating a chain of evidence; and (c) having key informants review or audit the draft case study (Yin, 2018).

Gilgun (1994) also suggested the use of multiple sources of data as it assists in increasing or ensuring construct validity, which incorporates ideas such as thick descriptions. Creswell (2013) highlighted that the accuracy of findings is increased by using rich and thick descriptions of data to convey findings and it allows the readers to decide upon their own interpretation of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Triangulation and reflexive analysis can also be employed to increase the construct validity and confirmability (Krefting, 1991). Using a conceptual matrix is also a valuable method to provide a clear presentation of the operational definitions and the variables of the study (Fouché, 1999; Huberman & Miles, 2002; Yin, 2018). Matrices assist researchers "to focus on appropriate data; make careful comparisons; highlight gaps, discrepancies and themes in the existing data; and also facilitate the drawing and verifying of conclusions" (Van Niekerk et al., 2019, p. 172).

The 'constructs' under study (the concepts or ideas being explored) have to be contextualised and studied within an established theoretical framework in order to ensure that the constructs intended for study are in fact those being investigated and that the correct theories are applied to the concepts being studied (Yin, 2018). Also, the methods undertaken should be fully disclosed, along with the preference for certain methods over others and the limitations that the chosen methodologies have should also be disclosed (Shenton, 2004). This continuous 'reflective commentary' helps to improve the transparency of the researcher's subjectivity and it enhances confirmability (Human, 2015).

4. *Reliability and dependability*

Reliability refers to the degree to which the operations of a study can be replicated with the same results, with the goal to minimise errors and biases (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2018). This will enable another researcher to conduct the same case study and follow the same procedures in order to obtain the same findings (Nel, 2013). In qualitative research, this is referred to as *dependability* (Chéze, 2009; Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Due to the qualitative and subjective nature of psychobiographical research, it is difficult to replicate the same results, but Yin (2018) counteracts this challenge by proposing that the data collection process and analysis should be well documented and that the data collected should be based on credible sources (Human, 2015). Yin (2018) also proposed using a case study protocol and developing a case study database, which would allow future researchers to replicate the study, thus enabling external reviewers to confirm its reliability. He also suggested conducting the research so that an auditor could in principle replicate the procedure and arrive at the same results (Yin, 2018).

The following methods are advised to assist in research reliability and help enable future researchers to repeat a study namely, (a) using a coding system during data collection that is consistent, transparent and well-documented in the examination, categorisation and storing of data (Richards, 2005; Stake, 2005); (b) use a case study protocol that provides a comprehensive and detailed description of the steps involved in the data collection strategy and thus ensures auditability (Flick, 2006; Mays & Pope, 1995; Yin, 2018); and (c) develop a case study database (Yin, 2018).

5.2.8.2 Application

1. *Internal validity and credibility*

Internal validity is not a major concern to descriptive and exploratory studies (Yin, 2018) and, therefore, posed less concern for this psychobiography. Despite this, the researcher acknowledged Yin's (2018) application of this validity concern during the process of making assumptions and aimed at maintaining a high level of credibility. The researcher aimed to maintain internal validity through extensive and long-term engagement with the biographical data on Marais. This entailed an in-depth exploration and analysis of all the examined data sources. The researcher also employed triangulation by consulting multiple sources of data, which were examined and cross-referenced (i.e., data triangulation) (Nel, 2013). However, the researcher only utilised one theoretical perspective in the study, which limited the ability to theory triangulate. In addition, investigator triangulation was employed, as the researcher interacted with two study promoters. Lastly, as proposed by Fouché (1999), the researcher employed reflexivity (see Section 5.2.1) to minimise researcher bias by obtaining comments on the researcher-subject relationship. Furthermore, the researcher carefully examined her own counter-transference reactions to the subject. This was achieved through brief reflective diarising of her personal reactions towards Marais throughout the research process, which also served as data in its own right. Developing empathy for the subject also received attention, which helped to prevent making distorted psychological interpretations. This was achieved by improving the researcher's own understanding of the socio-cultural forces that formed part of Marais's historical context.

2. *External validity and transferability*

External validity was not a major concern, as the aim of this study was not to generalise the findings to a larger population (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). Instead, the study's findings were generalised to Adler's theory of individual psychology (Chapter 2). This is referred to as *analytic generalisation* in which the aim is to confirm or refute aspects or further develop facets of a theory (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004; Yin, 2018).

3. *Construct validity and confirmability*

Clear and unambiguous identification of the concepts under study and their operational measures were done to ensure construct validity (Nel, 2013). The available literature on the theoretical framework of individual psychology (Chapter 2) informed this conceptualisation. As previously discussed, the strategy of triangulation was applied in this study as well. Also, multiple data sources were used to obtain the necessary information because relying on limited sources can decrease an in-depth understanding of a historical figure (Ponterotto, 2014). The use of a conceptual matrix was also found to be a useful strategy, as it helped to provide a clear presentation of the operational definitions of the study and its variables (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2018). The conceptual framework for this theory and the data analysis matrix are discussed in further detail in Chapter 6.

4. *Reliability and dependability*

By following a consistent approach to data selection and analysis and using a consistent coding scheme for the raw data, the researcher was able to ensure reliability. Alexander's (1988) nine guidelines were used to select evidence for analysis. The coding scheme consisted of a conceptual and operational matrix of categories in which the evidence was placed. The matrix was assembled from significant historical-chronological periods in Marais's life and

according to the constructs of Adler's theory of individual psychology. This coding scheme, therefore, allowed the researcher to categorise the data according to the constructs of individual psychology and thus ensured that the study can be audited and replicated. Despite the fact that establishing a presentable database, as proposed by Yin (2018), may not be possible within a psychobiographical approach (Perry, 2012), the researcher focused on published information on Marais to achieve the same effect as having the evidence available for review by an external observer and replication by another researcher.

In addition to the abovementioned methodological considerations, the psychobiographer is also faced with ethical dilemmas, which are inherent to a psychobiographical study (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). These ethical dilemmas are outlined in the following section. The section also provides the approaches that the researcher followed to ensure that the study was ethically conducted.

5.3 Ethics in Psychobiographical Research

5.3.1 Overview of Ethical Considerations

Psychobiographers are bound by the ethical rules, standards and guidelines that apply to other research genres (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). The ethical risks associated with psychobiographical research include privacy threats, embarrassment, reputation damage and issues regarding consent (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Fouché, 1999; Prenter, 2015). Experienced psychobiographers emphasise that the best methodological and best ethical practices in psychobiographical research are intertwined (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1984). McAdams (1988) stated that "Psychobiography is a delicate and treacherous pursuit that can go wrong for even the most well-meaning investigator" (p. 4). Pertaining to the domain of qualitative research, Ponterotto (2010, 2013a,

2013b) highlighted the importance of accepting that qualitative research methods provide some unique ethical challenges “given the researcher’s often intense, personal, and prolonged interaction with participants in their own community environments” (Ponterotto, 2010, p. 587). Ponterotto (2014) also asserted that psychobiographical research is a multidisciplinary endeavour; therefore, the psychobiographer needs to understand the ethical principles and standards of research that emanate from the multidisciplinary web of influences underpinning psychobiography.

Historically, psychobiography has not emphasised or even properly addressed, ethical considerations in the research process (Kasser, 2017; Ponterotto, 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The reason for this may be that over 95% of psychobiographies focus on deceased historical figures (Ponterotto et al., 2015; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019) and also since the perception exist that a researcher cannot denigrate or harm a dead person. However, counsellors, including other mental health professionals, should conduct research on the highest ethical levels due to the impact of their impressions and assessments on the general public (Ponterotto, 2013a) and also because confidentiality and privacy survive the life of the research subject (Ponterotto, 2017).

Haverkamp (2005), an ethical theorist, warned that case study research, in particular, includes unique ethical issues due to the (a) emergent nature of the research; (b) the methodology used; and (c) the unique nature of the researcher-subject relationship. Ethical practice is also important because of the fluid, open-ended and discovery-oriented nature of qualitative research. Pertaining to ethics in psychobiography, Haverkamp (2005) stated “what makes research ‘ethical’ is not a characteristic of the design or procedures, but of our individual decisions, actions, relationships and commitments” (p. 147). Haverkamp (2005) further added that the dilemmas that are likely to surface in qualitative research include confidentiality, competence, informed consent and multiple relationships.

Regarding psychobiographical research, specifically, limited ethical guidelines are available (Elms, 1994), as federal research guidelines and the ethical principles of the American Psychological Association (APA) concern themselves mainly with research on living subjects and are usually silent regarding the ethical practises on deceased historic and public figures (Ponterotto, 2015b). In 1976, the APA established a team to design ethical guidelines. The guidelines that were drawn up determined that psychobiographical studies may only be conducted on (a) deceased subjects, preferably with no surviving relatives who could likely be embarrassed by any revelations; and (b) living subjects who gave informed consent (Elms, 1994). Elms (1994) highlighted that the guidelines still have to be refined, as a minimum period after a person has died before a psychobiography could be conducted has not been determined and what kind of data is acceptable to use has not been specified. According to Runyan (1984), psychobiographical studies raise issues of potential embarrassment and/or harm to the subject, relatives and associates, as well as invasion of privacy. The major guideline advised by Runyan (1984) and Elms (1994) pertains to obtaining informed consent from subjects (if they are still living) or from the subject's family or relatives. However, it would be preferable to rather conduct a psychobiography on long-deceased individuals with no living relatives in order to avoid the risk of embarrassment by potential undesirable disclosures and findings (Elms 1994).

After Ponterotto (2013a, 2013b, 2014) examined the ethical principles of professional organisations in psychology, psychiatry, history (including biography), oral history and journalism to assess their relevance to the psychobiographical research endeavour and highlighted the APA's (2002) lack of attention to psychobiographical ethics, he introduced a set of rights and responsibilities of the psychobiographer as a guideline in this regard. The set of rights applicable includes that the psychobiographer must act responsibly regarding the possible surviving family (if deceased) of the subject and be responsible in deciding whether

possible sensitive information that may be uncovered in the course of the research should be included in the psychobiography. He stated that the relationship between the temporal frame of a psychobiographical study and its potential effect (e.g., causing harm) on the research subject, is influenced by (a) whether the subject is still living or deceased; and (b) the amount of time that has passed since the subject passed away. The potential for levels of distress or harm is controlled by the temporal space of the historical figure's life. For example, there is a greater risk of harm for still-living or recently deceased figures than there is for historical figures who lived a century ago (Berg, 2001). In addition, an ample amount of psychobiographical research is based on publicly available "archival" information and the reporting of this information poses minimal "new" risk of criminal or civil liability brought against the subject, even if the subject is still living (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The more recently the subject passed away or if the subject is still living, the greater the level of ethical vigilance that is required throughout the research process. Ponterotto (2013b) defined 'recent' as within the last 25 years.

Ethical issues in psychobiographical research, specifically informed consent, were directly addressed by a special task force of the American Psychiatric Association (1976). The task force offered recommendations for research on both long-deceased and recently deceased historical figures (Ponterotto, 2015b; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). Regarding long-deceased subjects, the task force of the American Psychiatric Association (1976, pp. 13-14) stated "there can be no question about the ethics of publishing psycho-historical studies or biographies of deceased persons when there is no problem about invading the privacy of surviving relatives though this fact must be meticulously determined."

The majority of psychobiographers do not seek informed consent from anyone when conducting their research (Ponterotto, 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). However, the APA standards allow this exception when:

... research would not reasonably be assumed to create distress or harm and involves ... only anonymous questionnaires, naturalistic observations, or archival research for which disclosure of responses would not place participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or damage their financial standing, employability, or reputation, and confidentiality is protected. (APA, 2002, 8.05 Dispensing with Informed Consent for Research, pp. 1069–1070)

This provision of the APA Ethical Principles is applicable to psychobiographical research on long-deceased subjects, as the research is archival in nature, cannot damage the financial standing or employability of the deceased person and is unlikely to damage the subject's reputation (Ponterotto, 2015b; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). Elms (1994) emphasised how important it is for psychobiographers to treat all information on a subject with respect and to reflect on the ethics of their work, including an ethical evaluation of their study aims. He maintained that psychobiographers should not merely avoid unethical practice, but should aim at making meaningful contributions to the understanding of others and themselves (Nel, 2013). Ponterotto (2014) highlighted that during the course of a psychobiography, it is not uncommon for researchers to uncover previously unknown, highly sensitive information about their subjects. The risks may involve some measure of harm (e.g., embarrassment, psychological upset and/or re-traumatisation) to the subject's surviving family and associates.

5.3.2 Application of Ethical Considerations

As a result of the academic nature of this study, it posed fewer ethical problems. The data that was collected for this study existed in the public domain (e.g., biographies, books and academic articles) and for this reason, the chances of potential embarrassment or privacy violations for any of Marais's surviving relatives, friends or colleagues, were minimal. Throughout the study, the researcher treated all gathered information with respect, according

to the guidelines of Elms (1994) and Ponterotto (2014). Furthermore, the researcher aimed to uphold the general ethical obligations relevant to any psychologist conducting research as specified by the governing body of the medical and allied health professions (including psychology) in South Africa, namely the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA). These specifically include the principles of (a) non-maleficence; and (b) respect for research participants (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2017).

Marais has been deceased for more than 82 years (he died on 30 March 1936), and according to the guidelines of Ponterotto (2013b, 2015b) and Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017), the research is identified as not recent, enabling the researcher to apply a lower level of ethical vigilance to the study. Regardless of this, the researcher felt obligated to treat all the information on the subject with the utmost respect. This is because the researcher is still required to conduct rigorous, balanced and unbiased profiling of the individual (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Hofling, 1976; Ponterotto, 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). As mentioned, only information that was already available in the public domain was used in the study; this diminished the possibility of uncovering potentially sensitive information or invading the privacy of the subject or his family members and friends. A thorough literature study on ethics in psychobiography was also conducted by the researcher in order to assist her when confronted with ethically important moments. The researcher also took special care to treat the data with respect, empathy and prudence. The data were also interpreted in a transparent manner. In addition, this study's proposal was tabled at the Committee for Title Registrations and the Faculty Board of the Faculty of the Humanities (UFS) and approval was granted to conduct the study.

5.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the researcher provided an overview of the principal methodological difficulties inherent to psychobiography. These methodological considerations included researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural and temporal differences, analysing an absent subject, elitism and psychobiography as an easy genre, the organisation of an infinite amount of biographical data, the possible development of inflated expectations of the researcher and lastly, the possible problems regarding validity and reliability. After explaining each concept, the researcher provided and discussed the strategies applied to overcome or at least lower the impact of these considerations on this study. The researcher also provided a brief exploration of the most prominent ethical considerations encountered when conducting psychobiographical research and how these were managed in this study. Some ethical issues include informed consent, privacy violations and embarrassment, as well as treating all data with respect. The researcher incorporated the most current ethical research practices as identified in the research studies conducted by Ponterotto (2014, 2017) and Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) over the last few years. Chapter 6 entails a comprehensive exploration of the psychobiographical research design and methodology as it applies to this study.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

6.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter, a description of the study's design, method and aim are provided. This is followed by biographical information regarding Eugène Marais, including the reason for selecting him as the research subject. The data collection, extraction and analysis procedures are discussed as well. A brief overview of how trustworthiness and rigour were managed in this study is also included. The ethical considerations that were utilised in this study are briefly explained and the chapter concludes with how the researcher practised reflexivity.

6.2 Research Design

This psychobiographical study on Marais's life and psychological functioning can be described as a qualitative, single-case, idiographic research design (Burnell, 2013; Chéze, 2009; Flick, 2006; Runyan, 1994; Yin, 2018). It can thus be regarded as a form of longitudinal life-history research (Cara, 2007; Chéze, 2009; Plummer, 1983; Runyan, 1984), as it documents the life experiences that created the individual's unique personality (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Burnell, 2013; Runyan, 1982, 1983, 1984). By applying a single-case research design, the researcher is able to assess and clarify the theoretical propositions, especially against a unique, individual case (Yin, 2018). The design incorporates a psychological theory, in this case Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology, systematically in order to reconstruct the life of a single subject, in this case Eugène Marais, into a coherent psycho-historical sketch. Furthermore, this study can be described as being both exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic in nature (Edwards, 1990) (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion). The study's exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic nature refer to the

fact that the study entailed an in-depth exploration and description of the triangulated evidence of the subject's life experience, interpersonal relationships and socio-historical context, which is termed "thick description" (Denzin, 1989; Geertz, 1973; Ponterotto, 2006, 2014; Ryle, 1971).

6.3 Research Methodology

Psychobiography can be defined as "the intense lifespan study of an individual of historic significance in socio-cultural context using psychological and historiographic research methods and interpreted from established theories of psychology" (Ponterotto, 2015a, p. 379). This qualitative study used a psychobiographical research methodology. It is based on a research design which is centred on a person-centred single case (Elms, 2007; Mayer & Maree, 2017; Yin, 2018). The research method used in a psychobiography can be regarded as qualitative-morphogenic in nature, as this method allows the composition of individuality within both the nomothetic (i.e., the general) and idiographic (i.e., the particular) paradigms (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1983). This qualitative-morphogenic approach to a single case focuses specifically on the individuality of the entire person, as it allows researchers to develop rich, holistic descriptions of single cases within their socio-historical context (Edwards, 1998; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Sufficient information about the subject's context is important, as it could have had a determining impact on the subject's life. It may include attributes such as religious, socio-political, historical and cultural contexts (Du Plessis, 2017). While this research method appears straightforward, it poses numerous challenges to the psychobiographer. In the previous chapter (Chapter 5), these potential obstacles were discussed as preliminary methodological considerations, along with explanations of how the researcher attempted to overcome it or at least reduce its negative effects on this study.

6.4 Research Aim

The primary aim of the study was to explore and describe Eugène Marais's individual psychological development throughout his lifespan. In order to achieve this aim, the researcher utilised a case study approach, which is generally employed when conducting a psychobiography, as it allows for both inductive and deductive approaches and it can be described as exploratory-descriptive as well as descriptive-dialogic in nature (Edwards, 1998; Yin, 2018), with exploratory-descriptive being the primary aim of this dissertation. The current study entailed the analysis of Marais's life in terms of the theoretical propositions of individual psychology and also carefully constructed an argument to link Marais's life to the theory. This aim demonstrates the descriptive-dialogic nature of the deductive approach taken in this study, as it involved the confirmation or refutation of existing theoretical propositions by comparing the research findings to the expected outcomes of the theoretical framework (Chéze, 2009; Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999). While the development or critique of theory is not the primary goal of psychobiographical research, it is an inevitable by-product. Thus, through the application of Adler's (1958, 1970) theory, this study is able to comment regarding the usefulness of the theory and make suggestions concerning some hypotheses for future research (Saccaggi, 2015). Utilising a descriptive-dialogic approach thus enabled the researcher to create a dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive findings and the theoretical propositions of the applied framework (Burnell, 2013; Chéze, 2009; Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999). The researcher, therefore, aimed to provide a detailed exploratory-descriptive case study of Marais in which theoretical propositions of the psychological theory of Adler (1958, 1970) were utilised. In order to reach this aim, the research required a comprehensive exploration and rich description of Marais within his socio-historical context. The reason for choosing Marais as the subject for this psychobiography is explained next.

6.5 The Psychobiographical Subject

The first step in a psychobiographical study is to select a suitable subject, a process referred to as sampling in more conventional research approaches (Du Plessis, 2017). In contrast to the more conventional quantitative research approaches that rely on large, anonymous and preferably random samples of subjects, psychobiography involves a singular subject that is purposely named (Kóváry, 2011; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). Psychobiographical subjects are purposefully chosen based on the psychobiographer's personal interest in the life and works of the subject (Mayer & Maree, 2017). They may have various reasons for selecting their subjects such as the interest that the researcher has for the subject (Howe, 1997), the possible ambivalence felt towards the subject, and the researcher's interest in understanding the subject's life (Falk, 2010). Suitable subjects must be of historical significance and there must be sufficient data available concerning them in order to form the basis for a psychobiographical analysis (Elms, 1994; Saccaggi, 2015; Schultz, 2005b). In psychobiographical research, subjects are purposely selected based on their contemporary, historical or theoretical significance (Flick, 2006; Mayer & Maree, 2017; Simonton, 1999). Thus, when selecting a subject, the researcher should consider their relationship with the subject, the subject's historical importance, whether the subject is living or deceased (an ethical consideration) and the amount of information available on the subject (Du Plessis, 2017; Elms 1994; Ponterotto 2014; Schultz 2005b). Ensuring that there is sufficient data on the subject to enable a study, "forms part of the sampling process, because in psychobiographical research the data about the subject constitutes the sample used in the research process" (Du Plessis, 2017, p. 223).

Researchers should be cautious about their reasons for choosing their subjects and not choose a subject purely aimed at idolising or demonising them. Ponterotto and Moncayo (2018) cautioned that psychobiographers should possess a stance of controlled empathy for their subjects, neither idolising nor demonising them to avoid the resultant psychobiography

being riddled with bias. Preferably, according to Elms (1994, p. 21), the psychobiographer should choose a “subject about whom you feel considerable ambivalence.” A majority of psychobiographers are drawn to historical figures they greatly admire on some level. However, some researchers purposely focus on profiles of evil, hate and aggression, such as Langer’s (1972) study on Hitler, which aimed to advance the study of abnormal and forensic psychology (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018).

In choosing their subjects, psychobiographers must reflect on and process why the particular person was selected. Overall, it may be particularly useful to discuss this with colleagues who may be able to assist in exploring the researcher’s connection and thought process, regarding the potential subject from an outside perspective, which is referred to as researcher triangulation (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018).

Eugène Nielen Marais (1871-1936), a renowned South African writer, journalist, poet, lawyer and naturalist who was dependent on morphine for more than 40 years of his life (Rousseau, 2005) was chosen as the subject of this study through non-probability purposive sampling (Flick, 2006). This type of sampling relies on the researcher’s judgement in order to determine if a subject has the desired characteristic traits and whether sufficient information is available to ensure rich data (Strydom & Delport, 2005). Neuman (2003) explained purposive sampling (in regards to case study research) as an effective approach if (a) the case is particularly unique, (b) the subject is part of a specialised population or (c) when the purpose of the study is to gain a deeper understanding of a specific individual. Marais was an eligible subject for a psychobiography for the following reasons:

1. A literature review (through an EBSCOhost and University of the Free State Library catalogue search conducted during December 2019 revealed that a sufficient amount of information exists on Marais, which allows for a comprehensive and in-depth investigation into various facets of his life. Offline sources that were consulted, included the biographical books

on Marais authored by Du Toit (1940), Rousseau (1998a, 1998b, 2005) and Van der Merwe (2015) and revealed that no psychobiographical or psychological study on Marais had yet been conducted. This research gap indicates that a psychobiographical study would not amount to a replication of existing research on Marais.

2. The study of greatness and the illumination of the lives of exceptional and exemplary figures is a valuable endeavour that has been emphasised by various researchers and theorists in the field of psychobiography (Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1984; Ponterotto, 2015a; Simonton, 1999, 2003). The available information on Marais's life and work made it clear to the researcher that Marais was (and still is) an influential figure in South Africa's literary history and a unique and eligible subject for a psychobiographical study.

3. The theory that the researcher selects should best explain the aspects of an individual's life that are especially prominent for the psychobiography (Du Plessis, 2017). For this reason, the researcher chose Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology as this theory seemed applicable to Marais's life. For example, Adler's personality constructs, especially a sense of inferiority, are applicable to Marais's life, as was evidenced in his misuse of morphine. Adler's (1958, 1970) personality construct of social interest is also applicable to Marais's life due to his alienation with his son and family members and his isolation from society during his naturalistic studies (Rousseau, 2005). Marais's interest in Victorian spiritualism (see Chapter 3) also offers a glimpse of his schema of apperception and style of life. In addition, Adler developed his theory during the same historical period that Marais lived in, which enhances the trustworthiness of a psychobiographical study (Kagitcibasi, 1992; Ponterotto, 2014).

4. As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 5, the researcher chose Marais due to his significance of being a psychobiographical subject and not for predetermined reasons such as idealisation or denigration. While the researcher was drawn to Marais based on his literary outputs, the researcher had little biographical knowledge of Marais before the commencement of the study.

This prevented the researcher from forming a preliminary opinion of him. The following section explores the data collection process of the study.

6.6 Data Collection

A psychobiography can be no better than the research on which it is based. An interpretation, no matter how persuasive, is simply wrong if the information on which it rests is mistaken (Anderson, 1981). Identifying adequate data related to the subject of the study is essential to the sampling process of qualitative data analysis in psychobiography (Du Plessis, 2017). The researcher searched for and collected the data sources through the worldwide web, as well as the information system services at the Library of the University of the Free State. A database search (EBSCOhost) conducted during December 2019 found that to date no psychobiography on Marais had been undertaken, which justified a psycho-historical study of Marais. Generally, there are two sources of historical data, these are, primary sources (i.e., documents produced by the subject) and secondary sources (i.e., works produced by others which focus on the subject) (Simonton, 2003; Strydom & Delpont, 2005; Van Wyk, 2012; Woolums, 2011). The collected data should preferably consist of both primary and secondary sources and should be of such a nature that it is able to offer insight into various psychological aspects of the subject's functioning (Du Plessis, 2017; Saccaggi, 2015). For this reason, both primary and secondary data sources were collected for this study. More specifically, autobiographical and biographical material relevant to the primary aim of the study comprised as the main units of the analysis. Another important aspect of data collection, which relates to the trustworthiness of a study, is the collection of information concerning the contextual factors that could potentially impact on the psychological understanding of the subject (Du Plessis, 2017). Various social, political and historical factors can potentially impact the subject's functioning, and failing to take these into consideration may lead to the construction of a poor

psychobiography (Schultz, 2005b). Thus, it was important to include the data that also contained the contextual factors that may have played determining roles in Marais's life.

Only published data sources were used in this study because published material is stable data sources as these data sources can be reviewed repeatedly (Perry, 2012). Furthermore, published data is relatively easy to access and retrieve, and thus offers researchers the convenience of studying these in their own time. These data sources are useful for verifying details such as the correct spelling of names and titles. They also make specific details available to confirm information from other sources (Perry, 2012). While the objectivity of published materials is often questioned, there are established benefits of their use. These include accessibility, convenience, stability and ease of verifiability (Yin, 2018). From a methodological perspective, published material can be accessed by any researcher who is interested in the study. Thus, its use comes as closely as possible to the database concept used in case studies, which is an important step in establishing trustworthiness (Fouché, 1999; Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster, 2000; Yin, 2018). From an ethical perspective, published sources of data are available to the public (e.g., biographies, books and newspaper articles) and, therefore, reduces the chances of potential embarrassment or privacy violations for any of Marais's surviving relatives, friends or colleagues.

The truth becomes distorted as soon as it is discovered (Myburgh, 2009). This is exactly what happens when author bias, which is one of the disadvantages of relying on written or published materials, occurs (Yin, 2018). Author bias occurs when a researcher reports or documents the data in a biased manner, which means that psychobiographers who rely on published material such as biographies do not have access to the raw data but to interpretations of the data (Perry, 2012). The researcher must clearly highlight the possible biases in the collected material (Du Plessis, 2017). In order to minimise the influence of author bias and to enhance credibility and confirmability, the researcher utilised data triangulation. This method

entails the use of multiple sources of evidence, which assists in reaching conclusions with greater confidence (Perry, 2012). In addition, to the danger of using biased material, researchers themselves should avoid biased approaches in collecting and interpreting the data to maintain the principles of integrity and justice (APA, 2002, 2010, 2016; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

Alexander (1990, p. 12) stated that “adequate samples of the written or recorded oral productions of the subject constitute a major vein of source material” in psychobiographical studies. For this reason, it was important to incorporate primary sources in this study. Some of the primary sources from which data were collected for analysis included various letters written by Marais, his literary works (Marais, 1984), as well as his poetry (Marais, 2005). His ethological books such as *The Soul of the Ape* (1969), *Burgers van die Berge* (1971) and *The Soul of the White Ant* (1973), as well as his story *Laramie die Wonderwerker* (1950) also contain autobiographical information, which had been incorporated as well. Creative works are useful sources of information about the author’s psychological state, as it offers the expression of projective material (Alexander, 1990; McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1988b). In terms of an Adlerian approach, it is believed that the goal and the lifestyle are the ruling principles of mental life and in terms of the underlying dynamic unity of psychic life, it will be expressed in everything a person does (Adler, 1930, 1970, 1996a; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Perry, 2012). Therefore, an analysis of Marais’s creative works is consistent with an Adlerian approach.

The secondary sources used in this study included the following: Du Toit’s (1940) *Eugène N. Marais: Sy Bydrae tot the Afrikaanse Letterkunde*, which focused specifically on Marais’s literary contributions and contains an array of biographical information that Du Toit obtained through interviewing Marais shortly before Marais’s suicide; Leon Rousseau’s biography of Marais *Die Groot Verlangte: Die verhaal van Eugène N. Marais* (1975/2005) in which

Rousseau obtained much of his information from Marais's son, family members and close friends; also Rousseau's books: *Eugène Marais and the Darwin Syndrome* (1998a) and *Die Dowwe Spoor van Eugène Marais* (1998b), which contain additional and revised information on Marais, many of which surfaced after the publication of Marais's biography. Another notable secondary source was Van der Merwe's book *Donker Stroom: Eugène Marais en die Anglo-Boereoorlog* (2015), which contains recent (i.e., more accurate) information on Marais, especially regarding his journalistic and political roles during and after the Anglo Boer War. In addition, various academic articles such as those by Heydenrych (2014), Myburgh (2009), Swart (2004) and Mieny (1984), as well as papers that focused on his writings such as Visagie (2015), Olivier (2015), Van Luijk (2014), Gray (2013), Morris (2009), Van Vuuren (2008) and Marais (2001) were consulted. Contemporary psychobiographers are equipped with internet sources and a variety of translation tools and they have access to significantly more accurate biographical and historical data (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). However, "it remains the psychobiographer's responsibility to seek the most accurate sources about their subjects and about the time period and culture in which they lived" (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018, p. 9). In order to enhance the trustworthiness of the study during the data collection phase and to provide other researchers with a database that can be accessed and retrieved for later scrutiny, the researcher fully documented all the data sources in the reference list (Saccaggi, 2015). In addition, Table 6.1 provides a list of the most important primary and secondary sources that were consulted during the course of this study.

Table 6.1

Primary and secondary sources utilised in this study of Eugène Marais

Title	Author	Publication Date	Publisher	Genre	Source
<i>Eugène Marais: Versamelde Werke</i>	Marais, E.N.	1984	Van Schaik	Collected works (Various)	Primary
<i>Eugène N. Marais: Die Volledige Versamelde Gedigte</i>	Marais, E.N.	2005	Protea Boekhuis	Collected works (Poetry)	Primary
<i>The Soul of the Ape</i>	Marais, E.N.	1969	Penguin	Literary non-fiction	Primary
<i>Burgers van die Berge</i>	Marais, E.N.	1971	Van Schaik	Literary non-fiction	Primary
<i>The Soul of the White Ant</i>	Marais, E.N.	1973	Penguin	Literary non-fiction	Primary
<i>Laramie die Wonderwerker</i>	Marais, E.N.	1950	Afrikaanse Pers-boekhandel	Semi-autobiographical	Primary
<i>Eugène N. Marais: Sy Bydrae tot the Afrikaanse Letterkunde</i>	Du Toit, F.G.M.	1940	Swets and Zeitlinger	Master's thesis	Secondary
<i>Die Groot Verlange: Die verhaal van Eugène N. Marais</i>	Rousseau, L.	1975, 2005	Pretoria Boekhuis	Biography	Secondary
<i>Eugène Marais and the Darwin Syndrome</i>	Rousseau, L.	1988a	Pretoria Boekhuis	Biography	Secondary
<i>Die Dowwe Spoor van Eugène Marais</i>	Rousseau, L.	1988b	Pretoria Boekhuis	Biography	Secondary
<i>Donker Stroom: Eugène Marais en die Anglo-Boereoorlog</i>	Van der Merwe, C.	2015	Tafelberg	Biography	Secondary

After collecting the data on the subject, the researcher had to examine, extract, categorise and analyse the collected material (Alexander, 1990; Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). The procedures that the researcher employed in order to extract and analyse the data are discussed in the following section.

6.7 Data Extraction and Analysis

The data used in qualitative analysis typically takes the form of a textual narrative that can be analysed by extracting emergent themes or constructs (Creswell, 1994; Schurink, 1988). Once the data are gathered, one of the main difficulty's researchers face is organising the information in a way that shows the data in a coherent thematic manner (Alexander, 1990). This is especially challenging due to the large amount of data that is sometimes needed in order to achieve data saturation (i.e., when no new data is obtained during data collection).

Determining which of the sources to include in the study is a difficult task, as a variety of sources should be included to provide a wide range of information regarding the subject. This serves as a type of triangulation referred to as data triangulation (Patton 2002; Willig 2008; Yin 2018). A specific challenge involves deciding what information from the various sources is psychologically relevant (Saccaggi, 2015). The researcher should also provide clear reasons for why certain data sources were included and/or excluded from the study, as the decision concerning what data to include/exclude is crucial in determining the type of psychobiography that can be produced (Du Plessis, 2017).

When conducting a psychobiographical study, the researcher needs to work through large amounts of data in order to clearly demarcate which information is relevant to the study and which information may be set aside (Schultz, 2005b). In this study, the researcher often wanted to incorporate everything written about Marais in order to properly understand him. However, this is unnecessary as there are various strategies to employ so as to extract the most important data needed to understand the subject properly. The researcher applied two general strategies in the data extraction and analysis process. The first strategy included the development of a case description (Yin, 2018) by means of specific operational measures. Alexander's (1988, 1990) principal identifiers of salience were used, which assisted in the identification of significant themes within the datasets. Secondly, the researcher relied on the theoretical

conceptualisation of Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology, which helped to maintain the focus on the original aim, this is referred to as *theoretical anchoring* (Ponterotto, 2014). Using these strategies assisted the researcher in identifying psychologically salient data from the vast amount of collected source materials (Saccaggi, 2015).

The first data extraction strategy of Alexander (1988, 1990) is known as *letting the data reveal itself* or speak for itself, a process in which the most meaningful data becomes apparent to the researcher (Human, 2015). For this purpose, Alexander suggested nine indicators of salience (1988, 1990). These indicators were used in this study to determine which of the events in the biographical data deserve closer examination, thus supplying the psychobiographer with a means to organise and prioritise the biographical data (Alexander 1988, 1990). Alexander (1988; 1990) based these indicators on strategies that are used in psychotherapy and psychoanalysis to extract core identifying units which, when examined more meticulously, lead to a better understanding of the central elements of a subject's personality (Schultz, 2005b). This strategy of data selection specifically applies to data produced by the subject and marking it for further investigation of possible underlying conscious and unconscious intent (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Using this strategy required the researcher to focus specifically on Marais's primary sources (i.e., that which Marais wrote or said himself). Information regarding events and the subject's experiences are evaluated in this way in order to gain insight into psychologically relevant aspects such as conflicts, relationships and schemas (Alexander, 1988, 1990). The researcher used Alexander's (1988, 1990) indicators of salience as a guide to identify psychologically significant experiences, incidents or themes relating to Marais's life. Utilising these nine indicators enabled the researcher to approach the collected data with the awareness of the different ways in which content could contain salient information. These nine indicators entail the following:

1. *Primacy*: Information appearing first in a text can be revealing of something psychologically salient and, therefore, warrants closer inspection (Schultz, 2005b). The importance of primacy is seen by the way in which therapists consider the opening discussions in a therapeutic hour as a key for what will follow (Alexander, 1990). Elms (1994) also acknowledged that such information requires the most attention. Thus, in practice, closer attention would be given to information such as introductory comments, first experiences and early memories (Elms, 1994). One of Marais's earliest memories was how his mother fed sparrows, waxbills, wagtails and other birds at their kitchen door (Rousseau, 2005).

2. *Frequency*: Refers to repeated communications, events, themes, scenes, patterns, obsessions or symbols (Schultz, 2005b). According to Alexander (1988), the repetition of a theme indicates that it is important (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994) and could be an expression of "powerful conscious value schemas" (Alexander, 1990, p. 15). Paradoxically, Elms (1994) highlighted that monotony might reduce the awareness or perceived importance of a message, although he still warned that one should not underestimate the significance thereof. Marais had a lifelong hatred for President Paul Kruger and his government. He frequently targeted President Kruger in his newspaper *Land en Volk* even to the point of being arrested for criminal slander (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Another example of frequency is that Marais often fled to his brother, Charles, in Boshof in times of crisis (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition, Marais was also a wanderer who constantly moved between places, mostly residing with friends and lacked a permanent home (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). On a literary level, 'drought' was a recurring theme in Marais's writings throughout his life (Marais, 1984; Rousseau, 2005).

3. *Uniqueness*: This is material that is regarded by the subject as novel or somehow especially singular or unusual and worth closer inspection (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). The subject may mark information as being unique or unusual and may include events such as unique memories or specific singular events (Schultz, 2005b). According to Alexander (1988), the researcher must also be aware of more subtle signs of uniqueness such as those originating from departures of generally accepted language or cultural expectations. In this regard, an unexpected or unexplained outcome in an event sequence also points to uniqueness and requires further examination (Alexander, 1990). Marais's attitude towards other races was much more liberal than the vast majority of Transvalers²⁰ (Marais, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). For example, Marais's short story "The Brand-Wacht", which appeared in the March 1898 edition of *The Cape Illustrated Magazine*, is unusual for a story of the time that Marais lived in, because in the story Marais illustrates a Black man as very worthy and intelligent and in all respects an equal, even superior to a White man (Van der Merwe, 2015).

4. *Negation*: Occurs when there is a "strenuous disavowal, especially in the absence of any positive assertion to the contrary" (Schultz, 2005b, p. 44). Alexander (1988) and Elms (1994) stated that negation is a phenomenon which is denied or turned into its opposite. This Freudian marker of salience points to repressed material which comes into consciousness "thinly disguised by the cover of unlikelihood or impossibility" (Alexander 1988, p. 272). According to Alexander (1990) what is phrased in the negative should be further investigated, noting that entertaining the likelihood of the statement without the negative component is not the only possibility. The negative statement should only be labelled for further study without immediately "assuming the exact nature of its importance" (Alexander, 1990, p. 17).

²⁰ *Transvalers* refer to the people who resided in the province of the Transvaal. In South Africa from 1910 until the end of apartheid in 1994, the Transvaal was the province located on the north of the Vaal River. Its capital was Pretoria (Rosenthal, 1972).

According to Elms (1994), “when the subject tells you who she or he *isn't*, you should pay at least as much attention, and sometimes even more” (p. 246). For example, Marais designed a bookplate (*Ex Libris*) in 1898 and denied that it contained any symbolic meaning, telling his son that “people will vainly seek symbolic meaning in my book plate” (Rousseau, 2005, p. 127). Marais’s denial to his son that his *Ex Libris* had symbolic meaning makes one believe the contrary (Rousseau, 2005).

5. *Emphasis*: Events which the subject has emphasised should be regarded as psychologically salient (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). However, Alexander (1988, 1990) warned that what a subject emphasises might not necessarily be material worthy of closer inspection, thus the psychobiographer should refrain from making automatic assumptions based on a subject’s highlighted disclosures. Alexander (1988) identified three forms of emphasis, namely, over-, under-, and misplaced emphasis. In overemphasis the attention is disproportionately focused on an event or information which is likely considered ordinary. Underemphasis, in contrast, occurs when seemingly important information, such as a major life experience, is clearly underscored. In the case of misplaced emphasis, irrelevant information is unnecessarily stressed due to the outcome not being credibly linked to the implied means (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). Alexander (1988) further added that a subject might have their own motives for emphasising certain information and though many indicators can be emphasised by the subject, it may not necessarily reveal significant psychological information. He also suggested that more subtle forms of emphasis may have greater value to the psychobiographer. For example, in none of Marais’s writing did he ever mention morphine, he rarely used the word ‘morphine’ or talked about his addiction to morphine (Rousseau, 2005) and thus it was underemphasised.

6. *Omission*: Refers to what is missing, specifically the omission of expected content (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005b). Elms (1994) referred to this as the “Sherlock Holmes” rule, which states that we “ask more questions when a dog doesn’t bark than when it does” (p. 246). A prominent form of omission is a lack of information regarding the subject’s affect when the author favours rich descriptions of events (Alexander, 1988). Omission is evident in the biographers’ failure to include in-depth descriptions and explorations of the subject’s affective experiences and inner dynamics. For example, Marais sometimes kept silent about certain things, especially to biographers (Van der Merwe, 2015) and he was especially secretive about his war activities in Britain during the Anglo-Boer war (Van der Merwe, 2015).

7. *Error or distortion*: This principle of psychological salience involves the presence of mistakes as indicated by the subject, most often concerning people, places and time (Schultz, 2005b). Alexander (1988) stated that this marker of salience is based on the work of Freud who regarded errors, distortions and slips to be indicative of important hidden motives, which might often go by undetected. Marais was particularly susceptible to errors or distortions, for example, he was prone to provide incorrect dates, particularly his date of birth. He acknowledged this when he wrote to a friend in 1923: “I will tell you in short everything you want to know, just do not ask me dates. That has always been my weak point”²¹ (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 10). Another indicator of error or distortion was that Marais lied about his progress at the Inner Temple in London where he studied Law (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). He also gave false information on his application form, such as that he studied at the University of the Cape and that his father was an “Advocate” which were both untrue (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). A particularly noteworthy error was Marais

²¹ The original reads as follows: “Ek sal jou in kort alles vertel wat jy wens te weet, net datums moet jy my nie vra nie. Dit is altyd my swak punt gewees.” (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 10).

incorrectly telling Du Toit (1940) that his mother's name was Sophia when it was actually Catharina (Van der Merwe, 2015; Rousseau, 2005).

8. *Isolation*: This signifies incidents in the collected material that stands out from the surrounding text and thus seems not to fit at all (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Schultz, 2005b). Isolated information leads to the question of how this information logically makes sense within the presented context (Elms, 1994). These seemingly out of place associations or separate commentaries may help uncover the deeper meaning of the isolated fragment of the unconscious (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005b). Elms (1994, p. 247) referred to this indicator as the "Come again?" criterion. Marais was in love with a young girl named Joan in 1920; from his collection of knives he gave her a very sharp, 14 inches long knife with a handle made of bone (Rousseau, 2005).

9. *Incompletion*: Refers to a story that the subject neglects to finish, in effect trailing off without adding the necessary details, almost as if the subject avoids to reach conclusions. This is essentially a display of a topic that is introduced but dismissed, without a proper closure (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). Incompletion may manifest in a number of ways, such as starting a story, but stopping in the middle, starting a story and then changing the subject or starting and finishing a story, but omitting something significant from the middle of the story (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b, Panelatti, 2018). The subject may abruptly stop verbal discourse because it may be too painful to continue (Alexander, 1988, 1990). In such cases, incompletion serves as a way for the subject to avoid anxiety or guilt (Schultz, 2005b). Other examples of incompletion may entail subtle changes such as distraction where the story is interrupted and the subject fails to return to the original storyline (Alexander, 1988, 1990, Panelatti, 2018). Incompletion may also occur when completed sequences lack means-end

relationships (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Failure to complete an artistic work and even episodes of writer's block could, depending on context though, illustrate a type of incompleteness which warrants closer inspection (Schultz, 2005b). For example, Marais was never too keen to talk about his own and his newspaper's (*Land en Volk*) post-war journalistic roles, as the newspaper was financed by the British Government. To biographers such as Preller (1925) and Du Toit (1940), he would sidestep these conversations or talk about something else, as a way to avoid the topic (Van der Merwe, 2015). Also, Marais never completed *The Soul of the Ape*, as he was still working on it before his suicide and it was only published posthumously in 1969 (Rousseau, 2005).

Using these markers of psychological salience assisted in identifying components of the subject's life that appeared to be psychologically significant. Alexander's (1988, 1990) second strategy entails asking the data specific questions by which it can be sorted. The researcher does this by approaching the data with specific questions in mind that will result in answering the study's aims. The purpose of this strategy is to manage the increasing amount of data by identifying specific questions relevant to the research objectives of the study (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Nel, 2013). Du Plessis (2017) emphasised that the questions posed by the researcher should always relate to specific aspects of the subject's life. In addition, the researcher should note that the question asked pertaining to the data is influenced by the psychological theory that the researcher chose, since the questions posed may relate to specific aspects of the chosen theory (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1994, 2005). In this study, the researcher asked the data questions applicable to Adler's (1958, 1970) theory. This proposed guideline of Alexander (1988, 1990) helped the researcher to sort through the data by means of answering questions that were operationalised within the theory and also applied in revealing critical information about the subject under study (Alexander, 1988, 1990).

The researcher approached the collected data on the life of Marais with the following general questions in mind:

Question 1: “Which of the data sources contained in the collected material would enable and facilitate the exploration and description of Marais’s individual psychological development throughout his lifespan?” In order to answer this question, the researcher conceptualised Marais’s life history in terms of Adler’s theory of individual psychology (as discussed in Chapter 2). The researcher thus extracted data pertaining to the selected theoretical framework, thereby affirming the exploratory-descriptive nature of the research.

Question 2: “How will the researcher create a dialogue or comparison between the extracted socio-historical and biographical data on Marais and particularly prominent historical events over his lifespan, anchored within Adler’s theory?” In order to answer this question, the researcher applied analytical generalisation by critically comparing the extracted data on Marais with aspects of the theoretical propositions of Adler’s theory. By employing this descriptive-dialogic approach, the researcher was able to informally test content features of Adler’s (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology.

The above questions enabled an interaction between the data of the study and the selected psychological theory and thus offered insight into the objectives of the research and the content of the theoretical approach which was used in this study (Fouché, 1999; Nel, 2013; Saccaggi, 2015; Yin, 2018). Alexander’s proposed strategies supplied the researcher with guidelines for the consistent and systematic reflection on the collected data (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché, 1999). The researcher used Alexander’s model as one of the case study analyses strategies Yin (2018) suggested in order to examine, extract, categorise and recombine evidence. The following two strategies that Yin (2018) proposed were applied: (a) data analysis guided by the theoretical propositions, approaches and objectives and (b) a case description. In the first strategy, the psychobiographer relied on the theoretical orientation (Adler’s theory) and

research aim to identify and selectively focus attention on salient data that was collected. This required the researcher to ask questions that would bring insight into the aim of the study and the content of the theoretical approach used (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2018). The researcher used Alexander's model in order to methodically employ such a strategy.

Yin's (2018) second strategy is to develop a descriptive framework to organise and integrate case information as a way to formulate a case description. Developing a conceptual psycho-historical matrix that helps in the categorisation and analysis of the significant themes is a suitable descriptive method for this strategy (Fouché, 1999).

6.8 Conceptual Framework and Matrix

In this study, the researcher established and applied a psycho-historical matrix, as a data analysis matrix is commonly used in psychobiographical research (Fouché, 1999). The psycho-historical matrix was developed to categorise the collected data, which was used as a screening grid during the data analysis procedure. This matrix comprises a data coding and reduction system which facilitates data analysis and the conceptualisation of the case (Perry, 2012; Yin, 2018). The matrix assisted the researcher in rearranging and structuring the biographical and archival material gathered, as well as allowing the emergence of psychologically salient information, which further allowed the researcher to interpret the data in a systematic and meaningful manner (Du Plessis, 2017; Morrow, 2005).

The psycho-historical matrix (see Chapter 7, Table 7.1) was designed to categorise data in the framework, as proposed by Adler's theory of individual psychology. In Table 7.1 (see Chapter 7, page 259, the theoretical constructs of individual psychology (displayed on the vertical columns) are schematically represented in relation to the historical periods in Marais's lifespan (displayed on the horizontal rows). The individual psychology constructs include sense of inferiority, the life goal, striving for superiority, style of life, schema of apperception,

social interest and inferiority complex. These theoretical constructs were discussed in Chapter 2. Marais's historical periods include all eight historical periods in his life from his birth in 1871 to his death in 1936. Each of Marais's historical periods is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. These include: His birth and childhood years (An image of youth: 1871 – 1887), his journalistic role at *Land en Volk* (*Land en Volk*: 1888 – 1896), his years abroad (The wide world: 1897 – 1901), his return to Pretoria (A new beginning: 1902 – 1906), his move to the Waterberg (1907 – 1917), his brief stay on the Springbok Flats, his return to Pretoria and his brief stay in Erasmus (Interludes: 1918 – 1921), his move to Heidelberg (Heidelberg: 1922 – 1926) and the last years of his life (The last take: 1927 – 1936). Marais's biographers, especially Rousseau (2005, 1998a, 1998b and Van der Merwe (2015), made use of these particular periods. For consistency purposes, the researcher felt it appropriate to also use these historical periods for Marais's life.

During the data collection, extraction and analysis procedures of this study, the researcher focused on salient biographical data related to Adler's theoretical constructs as represented throughout Marais's eight historical periods in his life. The matrix enabled the researcher to construct a longitudinal representation of each of the constructs of individual psychology, as well as Marais's most important life events. The psycho-historical matrix also assisted the researcher in the systematic and consistent analysis and categorisation of the biographical data collected on Marais's life (Fouché, 1999). The next section briefly explains how trustworthiness and rigour were established in the study

6.9 Ensuring Trustworthiness and Rigour

The validity and reliability of the psychobiographical research design and methodology are often criticised (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1983; Yin, 2018). Rigour and trustworthiness are the way of demonstrating the plausibility, credibility and integrity of the qualitative research

process. A study's rigour may be established if the reader is able to audit the actions and developments of the researcher (Koch, 2006). It is the researcher's responsibility to address issues pertaining to the validity and reliability, as it affects the credibility and objectivity of the study (Perakyla, 2004). The researcher can choose from a number of strategies to minimise the possible threats to credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability. These were discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Briefly, credibility refers to the ability to show that a true picture of the phenomenon being studied is presented (Koch & Harrington, 1998; Shenton, 2004). It addresses the issue of whether there is consistency between the subjects' view and the researcher's representation thereof (Ryan, Coughlan, & Cronin, 2007). Koch (2006) maintained that credibility may be improved by researchers interpreting and describing their experiences as researchers. Credibility may also be demonstrated by prolonged engagement, observation and audit trails.

Transferability refers to whether or not findings can be applied outside the context of the study situation (Yin, 2018). A study has transferability when the findings can 'fit' into other contexts and readers can apply the findings to their own experiences (Yin, 2018). Transferability is also enhanced when the results are meaningful to individuals that are not involved in the study (Ryan et al., 2007). As a means to achieve transferability, researchers need to give enough detail of the context of the fieldwork to enable a reader to decide whether the prevailing environment is similar to another situation and whether the findings can be fairly applied to the other setting (Shenton, 2004).

Confirmability requires researchers to take steps to show that findings arise from the data and not from their own predispositions (Shenton, 2004). It is concerned with establishing that findings are clearly derived from the data (Tobin & Begley, 2004), and "is usually established when credibility, transferability and dependability are achieved" (Ryan et al., 2007, p. 743).

Dependability is difficult to achieve in qualitative research, as it entails the ability to replicate the study (Shenton, 2004). It involves the researcher providing “the reader sufficient information to determine how dependable the study and the researcher are” (Ryan et al., 2007, p. 743). Thus, researchers should be very detailed in their descriptions of how the research was conducted. A study may be deemed dependable when another researcher can clearly follow the trail used by the original researcher and arrive at the same or comparable conclusions. In addition, a dependable study produces evidence of a decision trail at each stage of the research process (Ryan et al., 2007). This provides the reader with evidence of the decisions and choices made concerning methodological and theoretical issues throughout the research and involves discussing the reasons for such decisions (Koch, 2006). Each stage of the research process should also be traceable and clearly documented.

In addition, the specific threats to the integrity of the psychobiographical study also received careful attention. In summary, the following strategies were used to ensure the study’s trustworthiness:

1. Prolonged and in-depth engagement with the biographical data on the chosen subject (Edwards, 1990; Yin, 2018) to enhance credibility and confirmability.
2. Applying data triangulation and researcher triangulation (Flick, 2006; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2018) to enhance credibility and confirmability.
3. Employing a eugraphic focus through also paying attention to healthy individual psychological development in Marais’s personality (Elms, 1994).
4. Practising reflexivity as a way to monitor and explore the researcher’s reactions to the subject and minimise researcher bias (Fouché, 1999). This entailed reflecting on how the researcher’s experiences, values, interests, political orientation, beliefs, social identities and life goals have influenced the research and how the researcher was

affected or even changed by the research (Willig, 2008), which also enhances credibility.

5. Striving for analytical generalisation rather than statistical generalisation, as proposed by Yin (2018), as a means to achieve transferability.
6. Aiming for procedural rigour by applying established guidelines for organising data and incorporating clear operational measures, coding schemes and a conceptual matrix (Ponterotto, 2010) to enhance confirmability and dependability.
7. Enhancing the psychobiographer's knowledge and understanding of the subject's socio-historical and cultural contexts (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Schultz, 2005a). This was achieved through the prolonged and extensive study of Marais's social, cultural and historical contexts as a way to establish a contextual frame of reference for the interpretation of his life story, which also assists in enhancing credibility.
8. Using a lifespan approach in which all historical periods of the subject's life is included (Newman & Newman, 2006).
9. Recognising all findings as non-conclusive and merely speculative (Anderson, 1981; Elovitz, 2003; Meissner, 2003), as qualitative research does not aim to establish or reveal supposedly authentic elements of a specific truth about a subject (Medico & Santiago-Delefosse, 2014).
10. Recognising the intimate connection between methodological competence and ethical considerations in psychobiography as proposed by Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017).

The trustworthiness of a qualitative research study is further enhanced by the researcher's ethical vigilance (Barbour, 2001; Du Plessis, 2017; Haverkamp, 2005; Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010, 2014; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The preliminary ethical considerations related to the psychobiographical method were explored in Chapter 5. These ethical

considerations are briefly revisited in the next section, as well as remarks on how the researcher managed these considerations in this study.

6.10 Ethical Considerations

In the last decade, the importance of best ethical practise throughout the research process has been highlighted (Ponterotto, 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). Psychobiographers need to acknowledge the ethical rules, standards and guidelines that apply to other research genres (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). Ethical issues include privacy threats, embarrassment, reputation damage and issues regarding consent (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Fouché, 1999; Prenter, 2015). Methodological and ethical practices in psychobiography go hand in hand (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1984), thus good methodological practises will lead to good ethical practises and vice versa.

Throughout the study, the researcher treated all gathered information with respect, according to Elms's (1994) and Ponterotto's (2014) guidelines. The researcher aimed to uphold the general ethical responsibilities relevant to any psychologist conducting research as specified by the governing body of the medical and allied health professions (including psychology) in South Africa, namely the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA). These include the principles of (a) non-maleficence and (b) respect for research participants (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2017).

Although psychobiographical subjects are often deceased, researching their lives still evokes ethical dilemmas (Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto 2015b), as deceased subjects should also have their confidentiality and privacy respected (Ponterotto, 2017). In addition, Elms (1994) stressed that psychobiographical research should not just avoid unethical practice, but aim to make a meaningful contribution to the understanding of others and ourselves (Nel,

2013). Only information that was already available in the public domain was used in this study; it diminished the possibility of uncovering potentially sensitive information or invading the privacy of Marais or his family members and friends. The researcher also took special care to treat the data with respect, empathy, prudence and aimed to interpret the data in a transparent manner. In addition, by applying data triangulation to this study the researcher ensured that the data used and the inferences made from such data, were more credible.

Ponterotto (2013a, 2013b, 2014) introduced a set of rights and responsibilities that the psychobiographer should adhere to. These rights and responsibilities include that the psychobiographer must act responsibly to the possible surviving family (if deceased) of the subject and be responsible in deciding whether possible sensitive information discovered should be included in the psychobiography. He also added that the potential for levels of distress or harm be controlled by the temporal space of the historical figure's life. This means that there is a greater risk of harm for still-living or recently deceased figures than there is for historical figures who may have lived a century ago (Berg, 2001). As previously mentioned, Marais died on 30 March 1936. His son, Eugène Charles Marais, died in 1977 (Rousseau, 2005). Thus, Marais has been deceased for more than 82 years and according to Ponterotto's (2013b, 2015b) and Ponterotto and Reynolds's (2017) guidelines, the research is identified as not recent, meaning that the researcher was able to apply a lower level of ethical vigilance to the study. Regardless of this, the researcher treated all the information on the subject with respect, as the researcher is still required to conduct rigorous, unbiased and balanced profiling of the individual (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Hofling, 1976; Ponterotto 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds 2017).

Most psychobiographers are at times able to conduct research without obtaining informed consent (Ponterotto, 2013a). The American Psychological Association (APA) allows this, as psychobiographical research "is archival in nature, cannot damage the financial standing or

employability of the deceased person, and is not likely to damage the subject's reputation" (Ponterotto, 2015b, p. 5). In addition, most psychobiographies are based on publicly available "archival" information, which poses minimal risks to the subject as the information used in the research is already public (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). In addition, the data that was gathered for this study existed only in the public domain (e.g., biographies, books and newspaper articles) and, therefore, the chances of finding new, controversial or potentially embarrassing information or violating privacy rights of Marais's or any of his surviving relatives, friends or colleagues, were minimal.

It is important that a research proposal is submitted to an institutional review board (IRB) in order to reflect on possible ethical problems that may arise during the study (Ponterotto, 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The researcher adhered to this and submitted a research proposal to the institutional review board, namely the Departmental Research Committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Free State. The Departmental Research Committee accepted the proposal, approved the study and accordingly gave permission to proceed with the research. The proposal was also tabled and approved by the Committee for Title Registrations (CTR) of the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State.

6.11 Reflexivity

While psychobiographical analysis is work of an intellectual nature, researchers cannot avoid getting emotionally involved during the investigation. According to Kővary (2018), "this is a very important motivational factor and psychologists have to learn how to handle these situations" (p. 7). A qualitative researcher is no longer a neutral observer who is affectively and politically detached but an instrument in the research process (Medico & Santiago-Delefosse, 2014). Qualitative epistemology acknowledges the distinct involvement of the researcher. For this reason, "the qualitative perspective requires a reflection on the techniques

and inextricable biases that researchers bring into their work, which in turn implies important questions about subjectivity and interpretation” (Medico & Santiago-Delefosse, 2014, p. 350). However, similar to the historian and scientist, the psychobiographer must still maintain some sense of objectivity and balance in profiling the inner psychological life of the research subject in order to accurately interpret the subject (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). In theory, researchers have to adopt a reflexive stance to become aware of their own biases. Reflexivity has been described as being of cardinal importance for the quality and rigour of qualitative approaches (Cooper & Burnett 2006; Davies & Dodd 2002).

The researcher employed reflexivity by obtaining external comments on the researcher-subject relationship. This entailed reflecting on how the researcher’s experiences, values, interests, political orientation, beliefs, social identities and life goals have influenced the research and how the researcher was affected or even changed by the research (Willig, 2008), which also enhances credibility. In addition, the researcher examined her own counter-transference reactions to Marais. This was achieved through brief reflective diarising of her personal reactions towards Marais throughout the research process, which also served as a form of data.

Reflexivity is a construct that originated from qualitative research methods rooted in the constructivist-interpretivist epistemology (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The researcher practised reflexivity in this study, which required the researcher to be a self-conscious, participatory analysts who is able to distance herself from the methods, procedures and goals of the research as a means to critically reflect on the impact the research has on her subject and his socio-cultural settings (Fine, 1992; Haverkamp, 2005; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). In personal reflexivity, researchers are urged to reflect on the impact which their personal beliefs, assumptions, values, interests, goals, political perspectives and life experiences may have on the research process, in an attempt to manage their bias and subjectivity on the study (Creswell

& Miller, 2000; Malterud, 2001; Morrow, 2005; Willig, 2008), as these can impact on an accurate understanding of the subject.

Consulting with knowledgeable colleagues who can reflect on the researcher's responses to the research process and suggest alternative interpretations to those of the researcher is a valuable reflexive strategy (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997; Hill et al., 2005; Morrow, 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000; Rossman & Rallis, 2003) that the researcher employed in this study. This provided the opportunity to re-analyse material and assist in developing alternative explanations and interpretations (Tindall, 1999).

6.12 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the researcher aimed to provide an overview of the research design, research method and overall aim of this study. The chapter included a discussion regarding the reason for selecting Marais as the research subject and the procedures of how the data pertaining to his life was collected, extracted and analysed. Furthermore, the researcher explained how Alexander's (1988, 1990) model and its proposed strategies were employed and how the extracted, salient data were categorised by means of a conceptual psycho-historical matrix. A brief summary of the trustworthiness, rigour and ethical research practices utilised in this psychobiography were also provided. Lastly, reflexivity and how it was practiced by the researcher was briefly explained. In Chapter 7 the research findings pertaining to the individual psychological development of Marais are discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:

THE ADLERIAN DEVELOPMENT OF EUGÈNE NIELEN MARAIS

7.1.1 Chapter Preview

The primary aim of this chapter was to explore and describe Eugène Marais's individual psychological development throughout his lifespan. While Adler's theory includes an array of constructs and explanations of human behaviour, Adler's theoretical constructs, as discussed in Chapter 2, will be the main focus point in exploring Marais's individual psychological development. The researcher made use of a conceptual matrix (see Table 7.1) in order to facilitate the categorisation of the data. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of Marais's birth order and familial relations. Next, all of Marais's historical periods (e.g., An image of youth: 1871-1887) was analysed using each of Adler's theoretical constructs as discussed in Chapter 2 (i.e., the sense of inferiority, the striving for superiority, the life goal, the style of life, schema of apperception, social interest and inferiority complex). This was carried out with all of Marais's major developmental periods. The researcher also provided additional commentary on the relevance of Adler's theory in understanding a psychobiographical subject's life. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the most prominent Adlerian constructs during Marais's lifetime provided in Table 7.2.

7.1.2 Brief review of Adlerian constructs

The main tenets of Adlerian theory are as follows: (a) The one dynamic force behind people's behaviour is the striving for superiority; (b) people's subjective perceptions shape their behaviour and personality; (c) personality is unified and self-consistent; (d) the value of all human activity must be seen from the viewpoint of social interest; (e) the self-consistent

personality structure develops into a person's style of life and (f) the style of life is moulded by people's creative power (Adler, 1964).

As previously noted, Adlerian theory is a holistic, phenomenological, socially oriented and teleological (i.e., goal-directed) approach to understanding and working with people (Siedlecki, 2013; Watts, 2009). Adlerian theory maintains that people construct means of perceiving and experiencing the world and then regard these fictions as the truth. Adler applied the term *finalism* to the idea that people have an ultimate goal and a need to move towards it. However, the goals for which people strive are merely potentialities. In other words, these goals are fictional or imagined and are created subjectively. People's most important fiction is the goal of superiority or success, a goal that is created early in life. This subjective, fictional final goal directs their style of life and provides unity to their personality. People are motivated not by what is true, but by their subjective perceptions of what is true (i.e., their fictions). Adler's theory affirms that humans are not determined by merely hereditary factors or the environment. Instead, they are creative, proactive, meaning-making beings, with the ability to choose and be responsible for their choices (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006; Watts, 2009, 2013, 2015; Watts & Eckstein, 2009). People can use this creative power (i.e., their free will) cognitively, emotionally or behaviourally and focus it in a socially positive or negative direction, resulting in useful achievements or useless conflict, exploitation and destruction.

7.2 Research findings and discussion

7.2.1 Marais's birth order and familial relationships

7.2.1.1 Marais's birth order

In order to discuss Marais's life from an individual psychological perspective, the researcher felt it necessary to firstly explain Adler's perspective of birth order and how Marais's birth order possibly affected his personality development throughout his life. For Adler (1929, 1930), the birth order of the individual was very important in order to understand development properly, as birth order affects the individual's personality (Eckstein & Kaufman, 2012). However, the birth order itself is less important than the person's psychological interpretation thereof (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005). In addition, Adlerians believe that certain behavioural patterns can be associated with particular birth orders. Marais was the youngest child in his family (Rousseau, 2005). Youngest children view themselves as smaller and inferior and this arouses a strong desire to prove to other people that they can do anything (Adler, 1927). The youngest child often has the strongest striving for power (Human, 2015). They may often develop a dependent lifestyle, due to being pampered. However, they tend to develop in remarkable ways (Adler, 1958).

Adler (1927) described two types of youngest children namely, (a) those who surpass all of their siblings in achievements and excel in everything they do, and (b) those that strive to become the most competent family member but lack the ability and confidence, due to their relationships with their older siblings. Due to a lack of courage, this latter child will do anything to avoid duties and responsibilities, despite still being considerably ambitious. Fundamentally, both types of youngest children lack the selflessness that is needed to be a good fellow human being. The exceedingly ambitious type is highly competitive and seeks

achievements at the cost of others, whilst the discouraged type feels inadequate throughout life and hides behind feelings of inferiority (Adler, 1927). The researcher is of the opinion that Marais exhibited the second type (i.e., those that strive to become the most competent family member but lack the ability and confidence due to their relationships with their older siblings). Marais was considerably ambitious, especially with his journalism and scientific writings. However, he lacked confidence and courage, and through his use of morphine, he avoided his duties and responsibilities. This is evident in the fact that he started using morphine during his time at *Land en Volk* where he worked as a young man (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Despite his use of morphine, he was still a very ambitious individual, as he wrote many literary and political pieces (Du Toit, 1940; Gray, 2013).

Marais also appeared to have had a lack of selflessness/altruism, which is illustrated in his unwillingness to take care of his own son (before he departed to London) and thus may indicate a lack of social interest. Marais's poor relationship with his own father (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015) can also be a possible reason why he himself was unwilling to care for his own son. Being the discouraged type, Marais possibly felt inadequate throughout his life and hid behind feelings of inferiority. He did this by misusing morphine, which was his way of coping with his feelings of inferiority. Problems or misfortunes that people experience in their lives are considered test situations to prove whether people are ready to cooperate or not (Dreikurs, 1991). By choosing to use morphine, Marais showed that he was not ready to cooperate or endure the challenges that life brings. He chose a poor coping mechanism for life's challenges, which was not socially beneficial to his community or himself. According to Adler (1946), "The selection of certain symptoms is occasioned by defective upbringing" (p. 73). Adler was convinced that youngest children are often the most pampered and, as a result, run a high risk of being problem children. They are likely to have strong feelings of inferiority

and to lack a sense of independence. However, they possess many advantages. For example, they are often highly motivated to exceed older siblings (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008).

Eckstein et al. (2010) found that youngest children typically display the highest social interest, agreeableness, and empathy. They are also more artistic and are the highest portrayal among writers. However, they are also the most rebellious and most likely to abuse alcohol. In addition, their numbers are also overrepresented among the psychiatric populations (Eckstein et al. 2010). Given that Marais was the youngest in the family, it is interesting to note that he seemed to have possessed some of the characteristics that Eckstein et al. (2010) found. For example, his acts of keeping a python, accepting an agnostic religion in a predominantly Christian community, and his repeated confrontations with President Kruger, are examples that he may have displayed rebellious tendencies due to him being the youngest child. Marais's later choice to misuse morphine can also possibly be attributed to his birth order amongst other reasons. In addition, Eckstein et al. (2010) found that most writers are the youngest siblings. Adler predicted that last-born children who were excessively pampered, would have adjustment problems in adulthood (Schultz & Schultz, 2010). One frequently suggested reason for alcoholism is that some individuals cannot cope with the demands of everyday life (Laird & Shelton, 2006).

Unaccustomed to striving and struggling because he is used to being cared for by others, the youngest child will find it challenging to cope with the problems and adjustments of adulthood. Marais started using morphine during the period when he started working at *Land en Volk* (i.e., when he entered adulthood) and he started to use it as a means to cope with the burdens of overworking (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005). Thus, he used morphine, which is a poor coping mechanism, due to the problems and adjustments that adulthood presents. According to Adlerian theory, this was most probably caused by Marais's birth order position, as his birth order led to his dependence on others and being unprepared to cope with life's challenges. This

is also evident in Marais's fleeing to London when his son was born (Rousseau, 2005). The researcher is of the opinion that Marais was unprepared for the adult responsibility of raising a child.

While birth order is not a deterministic concept, it does increase a person's probability of having a certain set of experiences (Corey, 2005). What is important is the person's interpretation of his or her place in the family. Youngest children tend to be pampered. Being pampered and spoiled can lead to adopting a helplessness role (Corey, 2005). Marais was often dependent on others (e.g., he always lived with friends and never had his own home) and sometimes used others to his own benefit [e.g., asking his son for financial assistance, as well as being depended on his son's suggestions for *The Soul of the Ape* (1969)]. In addition, he was also dependent on others to obtain his morphine (e.g., Abraham Ravat and Aunt Maria) (Rousseau, 2005). Furthermore, youngest children tend to go their own way and often develop in ways no other family member have attempted and as a result, may outshine everyone. Marais seemed to have developed in a different way compared to his family, he was particularly rebellious in his youth and a lot of conflict came from this with his siblings. Birth order is regarded to have a considerable effect on how adults interact in the world. People develop a certain style of interacting or how they relate to others and they pass this on to their adult interactions (Corey, 2005).

7.2.1.2 Marais's familial relationships

According to Adler's standards, both the mother and father can contribute to their children's developing social interest (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). If the father contributes poorly to the child's development, it may prevent the growth and spread of social interest in a child. A father's emotional detachment may influence the child to develop a distorted sense of social interest, a feeling of neglect and possibly a parasitic attachment to the mother (or a surrogate).

A child who experiences paternal detachment creates a goal of personal superiority rather than one based on social interest. Marais had a closer bond with his mother (Rousseau, 2005) and his father was quite detached from their family (Rousseau, 2005). In addition, Marais personally decided to look for a father figure elsewhere, which he found in his eldest brother, Charles. These observations suggest that Marais had a poor relationship with his biological father. Charles possibly presented caretaking behaviour towards Marais, something which is often exhibited in older siblings (Eckstein & Kaufman, 2012). The fact that Marais made Charles his surrogate father indicates that Marais and his biological father's relationship was lacking in some respects. Based on Adler's (1928) theory, Marais appeared to have practised the act of de-identification with his older siblings. This is illustrated by the contrasting religious views and interests that he had, which often led to clashes between him and some of his siblings, especially his sisters (Rousseau, 2005).

Adler (1958) maintained that the role of both parents is crucial in the development of cooperation of their children. This is because the first cooperation that children experience, is the cooperation of their parents and if the parents' cooperation is poor, they cannot expect to teach the children to be cooperative themselves. A faulty lifestyle and a mistaken meaning given to life happens when the child grows up in a faulty family atmosphere (Adler, 1930, 1958). Marais's estranged relationship with his father and his possible pampering by his mother (as Marais noted that he had a close relationship with her) (Rousseau, 2005), may have led to him always expecting to be the centre of attention, thus demanding to always receive and never to give (Adler, 1958; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). Such pampered children are robbed of initiative and independence and may develop a parasitic impression of the world (Adler, 1958). These children do not learn to function autonomously due to their dependence on others and evidently do not master the skills needed to lead a healthy life (Adler, 1996a; Stein & Edwards, 1998). They will not be adapted to occupation, love and

marriage, because they consider only their own welfare as important and ignore the interests of others (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Such attitudes may cause discouragement later in life when these people are placed in a demanding society that has little interest in gratifying all of their desires (Adler, 1996a; Stein & Edwards, 1998; Perry, 2012).

Table 7.1 presents the psycho-historical conceptual matrix regarding Marais's lifespan. The matrix was designed to categorise data in the framework, as proposed by Adler's theory of individual psychology. In Table 7.1, the theoretical constructs of individual psychology (displayed on the vertical columns) are schematically represented in relation to the historical periods in Marais's lifespan (displayed on the horizontal rows). The individual psychology constructs include the sense of inferiority, the life goal, striving for superiority, style of life, schema of apperception, social interest and inferiority complex. These theoretical constructs were discussed in Chapter 2. Marais's historical periods include all eight historical periods (as discussed in Chapter 3) in his life from his birth in 1871 to his death in 1936. These include: His birth and childhood years (An image of youth: 1871 – 1887), his journalistic role at *Land en Volk* (*Land en Volk*: 1888 – 1896), his years abroad (The wide world: 1897 – 1901), his return to Pretoria (A new beginning: 1902 – 1906), his move to the Waterberg (1907 – 1917), his brief stay on the Springbok Flats, his return to Pretoria and his brief stay in Erasmus (Interludes: 1918 – 1921), his move to Heidelberg (Heidelberg: 1922 – 1926) and the last years of his life (The last take: 1927 – 1936). The section numbers inside the matrix (e.g., 7.2.2.1) represent to the reader where to find the Adlerian discussions of Marais's historical periods. For example, in section 7.2.2.1 the reader will find the part where Marais's sense of inferiority during the years 1871-1887 (i.e., An image of youth) is discussed

Table 7.1:

Psycho-historical conceptual matrix over the lifespan of Eugène Marais

	Historical periods over the life of Eugène Marais								
Individual Psychology: Theoretical constructs		An image of youth (1871-1887)	<i>Land and Volk</i> (1888-1896)	The wide world (1897-1901)	A new beginning (1902-1906)	Waterberg (1907-1917)	Interludes (1918-1921)	Heidelberg (1922-1926)	The last take (1927-1936)
	Sense of inferiority	7.2.2.1	7.2.3.1	7.2.4.1	7.2.5.1	7.2.6.1	7.2.7.1	7.2.8.1	7.2.9.1
	Life goal	7.2.2.2	7.2.3.2	7.2.4.2	7.2.5.2	7.2.6.2	7.2.7.2	7.2.8.2	7.2.9.2
	Striving for superiority	7.2.2.3	7.2.3.3	7.2.4.3	7.2.5.3	7.2.6.3	7.2.7.3	7.2.8.3	7.2.9.3
	Style of life	7.2.2.4	7.2.3.4	7.2.4.4	7.2.5.4	7.2.6.4	7.2.7.4	7.2.8.4	7.2.9.4
	Schema of apperception	7.2.2.5	7.2.3.5	7.2.4.5	7.2.5.5	7.2.6.5	7.2.7.5	7.2.8.5	7.2.9.5
	Social interest	7.2.2.6	7.2.3.6	7.2.4.6	7.2.5.6	7.2.6.6	7.2.7.6	7.2.8.6	7.2.9.6
	Inferiority complex	7.2.2.7	7.2.3.7	7.2.4.7	7.2.5.7	7.2.6.7	7.2.7.7	7.2.8.7	7.2.9.7

7.2.2. An image of youth (1871-1887)**7.2.2.1 Sense of inferiority**

The individual's sense of inferiority manifests itself firstly when the infant notices that he or she is inferior towards adults and need adults in order to survive (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). This feeling of inferiority motivates the person to strive towards superiority. The person's goal throughout life is thus to compensate for the feeling of inferiority. However, this inferior feeling would not exist unless a child possessed a basic tendency towards completion (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The inferiority feeling can display itself in many ways, for instance, as a striving for superiority. Adler identified two general avenues of striving. The first type of people are those who creatively respond with courage and social interest to the challenges of life and the concomitant feelings of inferiority, thus being regarded as well-functioning (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The second type is those who do not respond

with courage and if they respond without social interest, they are discouraged and may develop an inferiority complex (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.6.1) (Watts, 2013). Thus, some individuals use their inferiorities and move toward psychological health and a useful style of life, while others overcompensate and are driven to suppress or retreat from other people, which may lead to an inferiority complex (Feist & Feist, 2008).

The sense of inferiority is a normal human experience that is the source of all human striving. It is not a sign of weakness or abnormality, but rather the source of creativity. Inferiority motivates the individual to strive for success (superiority), mastery and completion. This striving is a way to turn a negative position into a positive position. Humans are driven to overcome their sense of inferiority and to strive for increasingly higher levels of development (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005).

Marais wrote his first poem at the age of 12, titled “*The Soldier’s Grave*” (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). This attempt at creating a literary piece indicates Marais’s attempt to mitigate his sense of inferiority. In addition, it was a patriotic poem, which may indicate his social interest as well. Marais’s sense of inferiority, including his strive to overcome this feeling during this specific period, is illustrated in the poetry that he wrote, as well as him subsequently becoming a journalist at the Union Debating Society (Rousseau, 2005).

7.2.2.2 The life goal

The only way to understand an individual is through understanding their life goals (Corey, 2005). According to Adler, people strive toward a final goal of either personal superiority or the goal of success for all humankind (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Despite the final goal being fictional, it has great significance because it unifies the personality and renders all behaviour comprehensible (Siedlecki, 2013). Each person has the power to create a personalised fictional goal which is constructed out of the raw materials provided by genetics

and the environment. However, the goal is neither genetically nor environmentally determined. Rather, it is the product of the individual's creative power (i.e., people's ability to freely shape their behaviour and create their own personality). A person's thoughts, feelings, beliefs, convictions, attitudes, character and actions are expressions of this uniqueness and it all reflects a plan of life that allows for movement towards a self-selected life goal (Siedlecki, 2013). By the time children reach the age of four or five, their creative power has advanced to the point where they can set their final goal, determining the way in which to overcome their problems. Even infants have an inherent drive toward growth (Feist & Feist, 2008). The moment they discover that they themselves are small, incomplete and weak, they set a fictional goal to be big, complete and strong. Thus, a person's final goal reduces the pain of feelings of inferiority and points that person in the direction of either personal superiority or success (Feist & Feist, 2008).

The fictional goal gives the individual's life meaning, purpose and direction, which the individual acts upon as if it were real. Without the feeling of a goal (irrespective of whether it is unattainable or unrealistic), the person's activities would become meaningless (Adler, 1929). When one knows the goal of the person, one knows more or less what will follow (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Thus, an individual's goal allows one to comprehend the hidden meaning behind various acts and to see them as parts of a whole (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais's way of overcoming his feeling of inferiority is exhibited in the goals he pursued. During his youth, Marais wrote poetry (Rousseau, 2005), which can be seen as a type of goal that he created, albeit unconsciously, to overcome his feelings of inferiority and feel superior.

7.2.2.3 Striving for superiority

The central aim of all human striving is towards ability or self-mastery, which Adler termed striving for superiority (Angioli & Kruger, 2015; Watts, 2015). Adler's understanding of

“striving” describes how people desire to move from “the present situation, as observed and interpreted, to a better one, one that was superior to the present status” (Manaster & Corsini, 1982, p. 41). This is the individual’s creative and compensatory answer to the normal and universal feelings of inferiority. Striving for superiority is the natural human desire to move from a perceived negative position to a perceived positive one (Watts, 2009). Adler emphasised that striving for superiority occurs in a relational context and this striving may occur in either a socially useful or a socially useless manner. How one strives, including the manifested behaviours, are predicated on one’s community feeling or social interest. Thus, in Adler’s theoretical formulation, striving for superiority means that one is striving towards greater competence, both for oneself and the common good of humanity. The manner one chooses to strive constitutes the Adlerian criterion for mental health namely, healthy development follows the goal of community feeling and social interest; maladjustment is the outcome of pursuing narcissistic self-interest (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Watts, 2009, 2015).

Marais’s striving for superiority during his youth is illustrated most prominently in his writing of an array of poems, nine of which were published in the *Transvaal District Advertiser* (Marais, 2001). These poems were especially patriotic, which indicates that his striving for superiority seemed to have been positively aligned with social interest. Besides the publication of his first poems, Marais was also a journalist for the Union Debating Society (Rousseau, 2005), which can be seen as a striving for superiority.

7.2.2.4 The style of life

Lifestyle or style of life is the Adlerian nomenclature for personality (Watts, 2009, 2015). The style of life refers to how a person lives his or her life, how he or she handles problems and his or her interpersonal relations (Boeree, 2006). It also includes a person’s goal, self-

concept, feelings for others and attitude towards the world. In other words, the unique way in which an individual develops a style of striving for competence is what constitutes the style of life (Siedlecki, 2013). Individual psychology insists on the notion that inconsistent behaviour does not exist. Thoughts, feelings and actions are all directed toward a single goal and it serves a single purpose (Siedlecki, 2013). Thus, everything that Marais did in his life had a purpose and was meaningful to him. Everything he did was aimed at achieving a specific goal. Thus, the way he aimed to achieve this self-created goal refers to his style of life.

Marais moved around a lot during his childhood; he moved from Bloemfontein to Pretoria with his family, then he was sent to Boshof to live with his older brother Charles, then he moved with his sister Lizzie and her children to the Paarl, and back to Pretoria again (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). This moving around constitutes a possible aspect of Marais's style of life, as Marais constantly moved around later in his life as well (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015).

Adler believed that the person begins to form an approach to life somewhere in the first six years of living (Corey, 2005). All people are responsible for who they are and how they behave (Watts, 2009, 2015; Watts & Shulman, 2003). People create their own goals and methods, an ability which makes human behaviour unpredictable in principle unless one has a thorough knowledge of the person's self-chosen goals and the means he or she uses to attain them (i.e., the person's lifestyle). Genetics and the environment do not have determining effects on the person someone turns out to be. However, it is the person's interpretation of his or her environment and heredity that has an effect on who he or she becomes. This interpretation leads to the person choosing either to live a socially useful or a useless style of life. Marais willingly chose his own style of life, and it was his choice to use morphine later in his life. However, he did try to stop using it (Rousseau, 2005). On their own, individuals rarely recognise and correct their own mistakes, although they and others may suffer significantly

from their consequences. They may cleverly rationalise their actions, intoxicate themselves with feelings and emotions and point the finger of responsibility toward others or life (Ansbacher, 1976).

As mentioned in Section 7.2.1.1, the researcher is of the opinion that Marais exhibited a pampered style of life, which developed during his childhood. The pampered lifestyle lies at the heart of most neuroses (Adler, 1927, 1964). People with such a lifestyle lack social interest because they want to perpetuate their parasitic, pampered relationships. They are discouraged, indecisive, oversensitive, impatient and have exaggerated emotions. They also encourage feelings of being unable to solve their own problems (Adler, 1927, 1964).

One of Marais's earliest memories was of how his mother fed various wild birds at their kitchen door (Rousseau, 2005). According to individual psychology, "early memories are seen as invented, selected and altered by the individual to reflect current attitudes and perspectives" (Watts, 2009, p. 282). Early recollections display the primary interest of the person's life (Schultz & Schultz, 2010). Marais had a considerable interest in animals and nature during his childhood years. Thus, animals were an important aspect of his childhood, which Marais wished to represent. In Adlerian counselling, early memories are often projections. What people "selectively attend to from the past is reflective of what they believe and how they behave in the present and what they anticipate for the future" (Watts, 2009, p. 283). In addition, Adler was convinced that the mother's role was essential in developing the child's social interest, as well as other aspects of the personality (Schultz & Schultz, 2010). Social interest also entails an interest in animals, thus this early memory of his mother also illustrates how she fostered Marais's social interest.

7.2.2.5 The schema of apperception

Adler saw a construction of patterns of belief and behaviour, which he identified by the term “schema of apperception” (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1979, p. 181). Schemata, along with a fictional goal of superiority, comprises the lifestyle of the individual. “The lifestyle is the aggregate of apperceptions and beliefs, all oriented holistically toward a particular guiding goal of superiority” (Angioli & Kruger, 2015, p. 238). Marais’s interest in the supernatural manifested at an early age. One early recollection recalled how he (at the age of eight) and a friend draped themselves with sheets and not only frightened the neighbourhood children, but scared themselves and created more tumult by tripping over roots and pursuing the children in bloodied sheets (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004).

7.2.2.6 Social interest

Adlerian theory is relational. It postulates that humans are socially embedded and that knowledge is relationally distributed (Watts, 2013). Social interest refers to the person’s awareness of being part of the human community and to the person’s attitude of dealing with the social world (Corey, 2005). It involves a concern for others and the capacity to cooperate and contribute. Social interest begins in childhood and although it is innate, it must still be learned, developed and used (Corey, 2005). According to Adler, social interest is the central indicator of psychological maturity (Corey, 2005).

Social interest is conveyed as cooperation with others for social advancement rather than for personal gain (Adler, 1964). As mentioned, it was Adler’s (1927) benchmark for measuring psychological health and is thus “the sole criterion of human values” (p. 167). To Adler, social interest is the only measure to be used in judging the worth of a person. As the barometer of normality, it is the standard to be used in determining the usefulness of a life. To the degree that people possess social interest, they are psychologically mature. Immature people lack

social interest, are self-centred and strive for personal power and superiority over others. In contrast, healthy individuals are genuinely concerned about people and have a goal of success that encompasses the well-being of all people (Feist & Feist, 2008).

When one considers Marais's intent to retreat into the wilderness when others were socialising (Rousseau, 2005), it is assumed that he may have practised a poor style of life and lacked a sense of social interest. However, he did show an interest in animals and nature, which also constitutes social interest. Marais's social interest during this period was primarily manifested in his interest in animals and nature. Social interest implies more than just empathy with other people. It can extend in space and time and include nature, animals, plants, lifeless objects, one's country and even the whole cosmos (Leak, 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). Adler sometimes describes this as a 'cosmic interest' and a feeling of harmony with the universe (Perry, 2012). Marais's social interest is illustrated in his almost lifelong interest in animals that already started in his youth. He thus exhibited a type of cosmic interest, to an extent, especially with regards to animals and his immense interest and affinity for nature. In addition, Marais developed friendships with African people from an early age as well. Marais recalled from his time at the camps (Rousseau, 2005) "me and a Koranatjie (a member of a nomadic Khoi-San group) whom I always played with, were on leave from the camp and playing on the river when the Boers under Henning Pretorius was scraping some cattle east..." (p. 13). His favourable views of African people started at an early age and continued throughout his life (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004) and indicates a degree of social interest as well.

Marais's social interest may also have been negatively influenced by a number of early childhood experiences. For example, due to Marais being the youngest sibling, he may have been pampered by his mother, as he did have a close relationship with her (Rousseau, 2005). However, if one considers his father's lack of interest in his own family and the time he spent in jail (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1), one can assume that this made Marais possibly perceive

the world as a hostile place (Ansbacher, 1976). In addition, Marais's early recollection of dressing up as a ghost with a friend when he was eight years old (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1) also illustrates Marais's possible perception of the world as a hostile place. Marais seeing the battle of Skinners court, as well as experiencing the First Anglo Boer War during his youth (Rousseau, 2005) may also have contributed to a perception of the world as being hostile. All of these experiences could have led to him lacking a degree of social interest towards people during this period of his life.

7.2.2.7 Inferiority complex

When people creatively respond to their feelings of inferiority with courage and community feeling/social interest, they are considered to be functioning well (Watts, 2009). When they do not or if they respond without community feeling/social interest, they are discouraged and may have what Adler called an inferiority complex (Watts, 2009). People with an inferiority complex are more concerned with how others perceive them than they are with finding solutions to problems. When an individual displays an inferiority complex, a superiority complex automatically manifests as well. The superiority complex is a socially useless attempt to overcome an inferiority complex. Persons with an inferiority complex tend to be passive and withdrawn; something Marais seemed to have exhibited later in his life (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.8.4). People who compensate for inferiority feelings by displaying a superiority complex tend to be arrogant and boastful (Watts, 2009, 2013). Marais was prone to lie and exaggerate his own achievements, possibly in order to appear superior (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.10). All failures (e.g., problem children, neurotics, psychotics, drunkards, sexual perverts, suicides, criminals) result from inadequate preparation in social feeling (Adler, 1929). As non-cooperative, solitary beings, asocial if not antisocial, they run counter to the rest of the

world. They have little social interest and consequently, no self-confidence or courage (Adler, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

During his school years in the Paarl, Marais wanted to smoke a tobacco pipe out of curiosity, however, a friend convinced him otherwise (Rousseau, 2005). This incident might have set the stage for his later experimentation and eventual dependence to morphine. Children are prone to replicate adult behaviour as a means to compensate for feeling inferior (Boeree, 2006). As a child, Marais may have witnessed an adult smoking tobacco and he may have wanted to do the same in order to feel superior. While it is ill-advised to make such a claim from only one incident, it is still a noteworthy occurrence to acknowledge, as it might indicate that Marais wanted to use drugs as a means to compensate for inferiority feelings from an early age.

7.2.3 Land and Volk (1888-1896)

7.2.3.1 Sense of inferiority

As a young adult, Marais worked at the newspaper *Land en Volk* (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's sharp criticism of the policies and actions of the Kruger regime and its officials (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), may indicate his way of compensating for his sense of inferiority. Many old Pretorians (including Marais and his family) displayed a natural distrust and resentment towards Kruger. Their main objection was Kruger's concession policy and the second was Kruger's policy to appoint predominantly Dutch people in government jobs (Heydenrych, 2014). This made Marais, and many other Transvalers, feel inferior towards the Dutch in the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) (Rousseau, 2005). Marais also started using morphine during this period of his life. The researcher is of the opinion that Marais used morphine to compensate for feeling inferior. Marais's estranged relationship with his own father might

have had an influence on his later encounters with men such as President Kruger. Marais possibly vented his feelings about his own father to Kruger (Rousseau, 2005). Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais possibly made a subconscious connection between his own father and the father figure of the country.

After Marais and his late wife, Lettie's son (Eugène Charles Gerard) was born, Marais was either unwilling or unable to care for his child and his sister, Sophie Ueckerman, adopted the baby as her own (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). This event is also a possible indication of Marais's sense of inferiority, as he did not feel up to the task of raising his own child, which may have been influenced by his own father's negligence at raising him (Rousseau, 2005). The reason why he would not approach this task of raising a child was probably due to feeling incompetent. In addition, he was already using morphine as a coping mechanism (compensation for feeling inferior) after his son was born (Rousseau, 2005) and this also may have had an influence on his unwillingness to raise his own child.

After Lettie's death, he used morphine as a way to cope with the grief (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). There may also have been the possibility that he felt guilty about her death, which could have led to increased morphine use as well. After her death, Marais went to his brother Charles in Boshof, something he always seemed to do in times of crisis (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Individuals cope with their weaknesses and feelings of inferiority in three ways, namely *compensation, sensitivity and overcompensation* (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Compensation is a healthy reaction to feeling inferior, as it is an attempt by the individual to make up for their weaknesses. The negative situation is turned into a positive situation. Sensitivity refers to people's preoccupations with their weaknesses, to the extent that they are easily hurt if any reference is made to them (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). This type of compensation seemed to have been particularly evident in Marais's use of morphine (Rousseau, 2005). Overcompensation is an overemphasis of strengths in an attempt to hide weaknesses

(Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Marais was particularly sensitive towards any remarks made about his morphine use (see Section 7.2.5.4). This sensitivity was so severe that it may have prompted him to constantly flee to his brother in Boshof in an attempt to cope with his inferiority. Therefore, he did not practise a healthy compensation to handle his sense of inferiority but chose to literally run away from his problems. This act of escaping to his brother in times of crisis can be seen as the safeguarding technique of withdrawal, which is halting personality development by running away from difficulties through distance. Withdrawal also includes constructing obstacles. Marais's overuse of morphine in times of crisis may have been a type of obstacle he constructed to prevent himself from achieving his goals.

Safeguarding mechanisms are protective devices that allow people to hide their inflated self-image and keep their current style of life (Adler, 1964). Marais appeared to have made use of safeguarding mechanisms to protect his exaggerated sense of self-esteem. For example, Marais was very sensitive to the criticism he might have received from his morphine use. The safeguarding mechanism is used by the individual to get rid of the feeling of inferiority. Individuals who are psychologically maladjusted (i.e., those with an exaggerated sense of inferiority) set themselves compensatory goals that are so high that they need to protect themselves from them, as well as from dangers to their already weak sense of self-esteem (Perry, 2012). Marais did seem to set himself high compensatory goals, such as when he overtaxed himself during his journalistic era, which coincidentally coincided with him starting to use morphine.

7.2.3.2 The life goal

Marais continued to strive towards his self-created life goal, which can be seen in his continued writings. He also pursued the life tasks of love (marrying Lettie and having a son) and occupation (working in journalism) during this period of his life (see Chapter 3, Section

3.3.2). In addition, his work was beneficial to his community and when work benefits people, it is an indication of a community feeling (Stone, 2007).

7.2.3.3 Striving for superiority

Marais started his career as a clerk at a law firm (Heydenrych, 2014; Van der Merwe, 2015). However, the work soon bored him and in 1888 he became a junior reporter at the anti-Kruger *Transvaal Advertiser*, where Hennie, another older brother of his, was a journalist (Heydenrych, 2014; Marais, 2001; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a). This illustrates Marais pursuing the life task of occupation. During his journalistic career, he pursued a journalistic style that included foul personal attacks in the editorial columns and an occasional duel between editors (Mieny, 1984; Swart, 2004). His striving for superiority is evident in him accepting the request of being the assistant editor of *The Press* newspaper (Rousseau, 2005). Besides being the editor of *Land en Volk* and the assistant editor of *The Press*, he also became assistant editor of the *Transvaal Observer* (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's vocal support for General Joubert as a rival candidate of President Kruger (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.1) nearly upset the old order and enabled Joubert to achieve his best performance in three elections (Heydenrych, 2014). By supporting Joubert, Marais was possibly able to feel superior over Kruger. Marais's strong striving for superiority is also illustrated in how good Joubert's performance was. Marais also made numerous libel cases during his time at *Land en Volk* (Heydenrych, 2014; Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a; Van der Merwe, 2015). These libel cases may also have been a way that he tried to achieve a sense of superiority.

Marais's decision of not naming his first-born son after his own father (Rousseau, 2005), possibly indicates his rebellion against his father. The fact that he named his son after himself can also indicate his strive towards superiority and possibly a superiority complex.

7.2.3.4 The style of life

The style of life refers to how a person lives his or her life, how he or she deal with problems and his or her interpersonal relations (Boeree, 2006). During this time, Marais's behaviour was that of a rebellious teenager (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). He used a human skull as a pen-holder and studied a family of spiders in the corner of his room, also keeping a python (Rousseau, 1998a). His interest in animals started in his youth and it continued during this period of his life as well, thus possibly indicating Marais's style of life.

During this period, Marais already started to display a proneness to lie or to provide misinformation (Van der Merwe, 2015). This is seen in the incident where he gave a false name for the identity of one of his pseudonyms 'Afrikanus Junior' (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). Marais's tendency to lie or to provide the wrong information appears to have started during this period and continued throughout his life; it was thus a part of his style of life. Marais also lied about his age when he joined the Freemasons, possibly in order to quickly progress in the organisation (Rousseau, 1998b, 2005).

Marais started using morphine during this time. He rationalised his use of morphine by claiming that it was for medicinal purposes. However, he later used it to avoid responsibility and as a way to flee from his own humiliations and shortcomings (Rousseau, 2005) (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.2.5; 3.3.5.6; 3.3.5.11). "Addictive behaviours are chosen, repetitious, developing behaviours rather than behaviours that have no control" (Shifron, 1999, p. 114). The goal of addiction is to escape (Linden, 1993). Individuals who started taking morphine during illness and continued to take it afterwards are pampered individuals who cannot stand any hardship and who also particularly cannot stand any pain (Adler, 2015). Such individuals have the conception that any burden is unbearable. They are not able to stand pain, therefore, they take morphine in order to relieve the pain. Morphine also puts them in a kind of semi-conscious condition and if they continue their addiction to the drug, they will in time lose

interest in everything (Adler, 2015). They are also unable to take any special interest in their job. They destroy their relation to the other sex. The friends of these individuals often try for a long time to help them to cure themselves of this habit, but as a rule they do not succeed (Adler, 2015). An alcoholic, for example, seeks relief from his problems. He learns to solve them in a cowardly way by getting relief from the bottle of alcohol or the drug (Adler, 1998). According to Bauer (2010), “neurosis is what one uses to announce one’s helplessness and it serves as an excuse for not participating in common tasks of life” (p. 12). In all cases of addiction, people are seeking to alleviate life’s circumstances (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). These circumstances include perceived stress, anxiety and inferiority feelings, resulting in the abuse of alcohol and drugs in an attempt to help them feel better about themselves (Bauer, 2010).

Marais’s decision to start using morphine indicates that he chose a socially useless way in confronting life’s problems. Becoming addicted to morphine gradually became a part of his style of life and he used it as a possible way to flee from his own responsibilities. Thus, rather than following a socially useful style of life, Marais seemed to have chosen a socially useless one. Nikelly (1979) comments on the pampered lifestyle saying:

If life pattern is based on pampering he may have an unrealistic sense of personal worth and expect to receive without giving and to rule others through his demands. The drug he or she uses is totally directed to the socially ‘useless’ side of life and his or her behaviour becomes compulsively drug centred. (p. 167)

After Lettie’s death, Marais used morphine as a way to cope with the grief that he experienced (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). He also fled to his brother Charles in Boshof, which he always seemed to do in times of great crisis (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). It seems that Marais developed a type of parasitic relationship with his brother, which was most likely due to his pampered lifestyle. Fleeing from life’s difficulties became a recurring theme

throughout Marais's life. After an array of stressful events that occurred during this period of his life (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.6), he decided to study Law at the Inner Temple in London (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 1998a). Marais's decision to study abroad is another example of his proneness to flee when life became too difficult for him to handle. In terms of his decision to use morphine, the drug likely corresponded with his bizarre interests, such as his Freemasons membership and the fact that he owned a python and used a human skull as a penholder, which possibly fuelled his curiosity to start using the drug (Rousseau, 2005). Using morphine for medicinal reasons eventually led to his dependence and he perhaps decided that it was a good way to handle life's difficulties, as morphine fit with his style of life (i.e., his personality). Criminals, alcoholics and addicts are found to have a pampered lifestyle (Bauer, 2010). They feel the world has refused to honour their claim for pampering, "but have found a solution that is quite satisfactory" (Bauer, 2010, p. 15). Adler believed addiction was an acute feeling of inferiority marked by being shy, having a preference for isolation, being oversensitive, irritable and impatient (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Nikelly (1979) remarked:

The opiate user seeks to escape from conditions of human misery and hopelessness. He has feelings of incompetence and despair in dealing with the three basic tasks of life, sexual, social and occupational relations. If married, he is unconcerned about being in a role as a parent and/or provider when high. (p. 166)

This excerpt corresponds with how Marais reacted with the realisation that he had to take care of his son after his wife died. Marais probably did not feel competent enough for the task of raising a child and decided to flee to London, leaving the boy in his sister, Sophie's, care. The researcher is of opinion that Marais likely incorporated his biological father's poor caretaking behaviour into his own style of life. This is especially plausible as the style of life

consolidates from early childhood experiences (Adler, 1927; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Corey, 2005; Mosak, 1984).

7.2.3.5 The schema of apperception

Marais's schema (subjective view) was especially apparent with his hatred towards Kruger. Marais likely developed an antithetical schema of apperception which he used to pursue his own inflated goals. However, Marais's contributions to *Land en Volk* presented a degree of social interest, as well as a concern for his people. Therefore, despite his hostile attitude towards Kruger, he still seemed to show a concern toward his readers. However, the researcher is of the opinion that Marais possibly had an antithetical schema of apperception, as many of his journalistic writings were quite subjective (Heydenrych, 2014).

The most likely reason why Marais resented Kruger could have been because Marais's entire family resented Kruger. Therefore, Marais's hatred was possibly learned. Adler (1978) explained that "All thinking and acting can be traced back to childhood experiences" (p. 51). Furthermore, Adler (1976) explained:

When parents complain of bad times and bad circumstances before their children, they can conduce to a block in the development of social interest. The same thing can happen if they are always making accusations about their relatives or neighbours, always criticising others and showing bad feelings and prejudice. It would be no wonder if the children grew up with a distorted view of what their fellow men were like. (p. 138)

This is especially applicable to Marais's resentment towards Kruger, which possibly started in his youth and continued when he was a young adult. During this time, Marais had a typical late Victorian outlook, which was possibly formed in part by his English-speaking family background and English education. He had the informed Victorian's passion for new scientific and intellectual theories and unlike most Boers, he was agnostic (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau,

2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015) and rejected the narrow dogma of his church. Due to his sisters' strong personalities and distinct ideas, clashes between him and some of them often occurred (Rousseau, 2005).

As mentioned above, Marais frequently attacked Kruger and his government in *Land en Volk*. His attacks on Kruger were not personal vendettas but took the form of loud and uncompromising criticism of Kruger's actions as president (Heydenrych, 2014). According to Heydenrych (2014), "openness, transparency and honesty were non-negotiable in Marais's value system and he did not hesitate in the least to expose anything that did not conform to these values (p. 897). Marais, being a "progressive" Afrikaner believed that if the *Uitlanders* (i.e., foreigners) were welcomed as citizens, they would help to make the ZAR a fully independent country, which would place it in the modern world and protect it from British Imperialism (Van der Merwe, 2015). After Marais's judgment, Kruger and his followers stood in the way of this ideal (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais believed these narrow-minded men, with their archaic outlook, wanted to keep the Transvaal in the 18th century and wanted to rule the country to their own financial advantage. He was convinced that if the *Uitlanders* had the right to vote, they would obviously have joined the progressive Boers, which would have ended Kruger's rule (Van der Merwe, 2015). Before departing to London, Marais sold *Land en Volk* to the *Uitlanders* (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004;). The likely reason why he sold the newspaper to the British was because of his friendship with some of them (Mieny, 1984) and their mutual dislike of Kruger.

7.2.3.6 Social interest

As stated earlier, it was during this period of his life that Marais became friends with some of the *Uitlander* population (Mieny, 1984). This, in itself, is an indication that Marais possessed a degree of social interest. Marais also became a member of the Pretoria club as

well as a member of the Freemasons (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). The need to be a member of a particular group also constitutes social interest (Dreikurs, 1991). Despite being agnostic, he was tolerant of the religious beliefs of other people (Du Toit, 1940). During this time many people thought that Marais was asocial (Du Toit, 1940), as he was preoccupied with journalism, books and animals. His interest in plants and animals had increased since his early childhood (Rousseau, 2005). Sometimes he went on picnics but mostly, as in his childhood, he disappeared into the wilderness (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais presented a sense of community feeling through his contributions in *Land en Volk*. He was a patriot and a nationalist and seemed to have deeply cared for the Afrikaner ideal and his people. His articles and stories in the newspaper were particularly patriotic and Afrikaner oriented. Marais was very rigid in his Afrikaner ideals and presented aggressiveness towards Kruger who stood in the way of this ideal. Marais's aggressive remarks in *Land en Volk* about Kruger was likely a display of neurotic behaviour.

Marais developed a resentment towards Dutch people and defined himself as an Afrikaner, not only as opposed to the English but also as opposed to the Dutch (Heydenrych, 2014). Swart (2004) saw this as Marais's way of displaying his sense of ethnic identity or 'Afrikanerdom', another possible indication of social interest. Besides having *Uitlander* friends, Marais identified himself, emotionally, with the Transvalers quest for independence and detested British Imperialism (Van der Merwe, 2015).

In spite of his sometimes brash editorial style in violation of journalistic convention, Marais appealed to people's conscience by exposing injustice and political bungling. He undoubtedly influenced the political thinking of the populace. In this regard, his use of doggerel and satirical colloquies played an important role (Heydenrych, 2014). This was particularly aimed at enlightening his own people. Thus, he was considerate of his people, which indicates that he possessed a degree of social interest.

As mentioned, during this period of his life, he met Aletta Beyers (Lettie), whom he married in 1894 (Rousseau, 1998a; 2005). They also had a son together, Eugène Charles Gerard Marais (1895-1977) (Rousseau, 1998a; 2005). Marais's marriage indicates that he pursued the life task of love, despite losing his wife during childbirth. During this period of his life, he also pursued the life task of occupation. His occupation was also of community value, as his writings were aimed at informing his people about the corrupt Kruger government. His occupation also assisted in the development of the Afrikaans language, especially his poetry and short stories that he published in his newspaper (Heydenrych, 2014; Swart, 2004). Both of these illustrate a possible degree of social interest that Marais pursued in his own unique way.

7.2.3.7 Inferiority complex

Marais made enemies of the editors of various Dutch newspapers and often gave them crude nicknames (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). His rivalry towards Kruger and his government as well as other newspapers (Heydenrych, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015) may indicate that he had an inferiority complex. In addition, Marais's use of pseudonyms (e.g., 'Afrikanus Junior', '*Klein Joggum*', '*Weerman*' and '*Marker*', '*Apteker*') may also indicate a possible inferiority complex. His use of pseudonyms was likely a way to avoid exposure and an attempt to pursue his goals (i.e., pursuing journalism and ganging up against Kruger) without interruption, as the use of pseudonyms gave Marais the freedom to pursue his goals anonymously. Some of these pseudonyms were presented as fictional readers and used to convey Marais's own opinion (Van der Merwe, 2015). It is also worth noting that the use of pseudonyms to convey his own opinion was a frequent occurrence (Van der Merwe, 2015), thus indicating his style of life as well.

As previously mentioned, it was during this period of his life that Marais started using morphine. His reason was that his multiple editorial responsibilities were taxing on his health and insomnia started to bother him (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). Therefore, he used morphine as a compensatory means to manage his feelings of inferiority (i.e., he used it to cope with life's problems). Despite claiming that poor health was the cause of him turning to morphine, Marais often gave different answers for the reason why he started using it (Miény, 1984; Rousseau, 2005). This rationalisation of using morphine illustrates that he possibly felt embarrassed about his dependence. In addition, lying was a prominent aspect of his life during this time and thus formed a part of his style of life. The researcher is of opinion that Marais used lying as a way to justify his morphine dependence. While he claimed that he used morphine for medicinal purposes, he later used it as a way to avoid responsibility and as a mechanism to flee from his own humiliations and shortcomings (Rousseau, 2005), which became especially prominent later in his life (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.2.5; 3.3.5.6; 3.3.5.11). From an Adlerian perspective, this indicates that Marais chose a socially useless way in confronting life's problems (i.e., taking morphine as a way to avoid responsibility and a way to flee from his own humiliation and shortcomings).

While morphine use during Marais's lifetime was socially acceptable to some degree (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), Marais's use of it was not. His physical dependence thereof led to it having a detrimental effect on many (if not all) areas of his life.

7.2.4 The wide world (1897-1901)

7.2.4.1 Sense of inferiority

Marais's sense of inferiority is noticeable when he lied on the application form of the Inner Temple (the institution where prospective lawyers trained in England). For example, he wrote

that his late father was an Advocate, despite his father only being a lawyer (Mieny, 1984). In addition, Marais also wrote that he studied at the Cape University, however he only obtained a second class matric. It is speculated that societal influences, for example, educational level, may worsen feelings of inferiority. These examples illustrate that Marais likely experienced a sense of inferiority and decided to lie in an attempt to appear superior compared to others. Marais's later claims of studying medicine abroad might also have been his way of dealing with inferiority. In addition, later in his life Marais would frequently attribute the actions of a friend or acquaintance to himself (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's constant need to lie about his own achievements may illustrate an inferiority complex. In addition, the pressure placed on men to excel during Marais's (as well as Adler's) lifetime was particularly high. Adler referred to this as the masculine protest (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The researcher is of opinion that Marais's lying may likely have been influenced by the societal expectations placed on men during his lifetime.

Marais severely underestimated the academic side of his course and decided to lie about his academic progress (Van der Merwe, 2015). As the months passed, he wrote to *Land en Volk*, informing them that he had passed each of his examinations (Rousseau, 2005). He possibly felt ashamed about his poor academic progress and this increased his sense of inferiority. Lying about his progress was likely his way of compensating for his feelings of inferiority. This was possibly fuelled by the high expectations his family and friends back in South Africa had of him (Van der Merwe, 2015). For example, his friend Ewald Esselen also studied at the Inner Temple and obtained his degree within three years (Van der Merwe, 2015), which was possibly an added motivation for Marais to lie about his progress. In London, Marais's sense of inferiority may also have led him to lay claims that he met Henry Irving and Gerald du Maurier. He even grandiosely claimed that Marie Corelli, a popular novelist (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004), wanted to marry him (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

One also sees Marais's strive for superiority with his esoteric interests. He claimed that he was skilled at deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. Marais later told Du Toit (1940) that he regularly met the famous Egyptologist, E. A. Wallis Budge in the British Museum, and claimed that he translated an original papyrus – "*The Travels of an Egyptian*" - into English. Marais also claimed that he visited Egypt twice for long periods. However, Marais exaggerated these claims (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's translation of an Egyptian story into Afrikaans years later, was simply a translation of the English version, not the original Egyptian version as he claimed to Du Toit (Van der Merwe, 2015). He was likely an enthusiastic amateur when it came to Egyptology, however, he seemed to have felt compelled to make it appear that he was an expert. In addition to Marais's lying and exaggerating about his skills and experiences, he continued to use morphine in increasing amounts as a possible way to compensate for inferior feelings during his time in London (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

When the Second Anglo Boer War broke out, Marais fabricated a story that he was on parole, which was one of the reasons why he could not return to South Africa to honour his war duties (Van der Merwe, 2015). He also greatly exaggerated his efforts to help the ZAR before and during the war. This shows that Marais possibly exhibited an inferiority complex. He willingly sidestepped his duty of helping others (indicating a lack of social interest/community feeling), although he still tried to make it appear as if he helped them (e.g., claiming he was on parole), which was probably his way of trying to mitigate feelings of inferiority. Marais never told anyone about his war activities in Britain. His seemingly fake post-war allegations stating that he defended the ZAR's case in the British press shortly before the war, supposedly being trapped in Britain due to his parole conditions and his varying versions of his expedition (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.12), makes it seem as if he realised

how problematic his role before and during the war was. This may also have led to his severe morphine use in London during the war years (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Symptoms are strategies employed by people to obtain their goals, rather than the results of psychological disturbances (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Carlson et al., 2006; Lemire, 2007; Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010; Rasmussen & Dover, 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). These symptoms serve as excuses for people to not obtain their goals or to avoid dealing with life's problems, while simultaneously protecting their self-esteem (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). In essence, symptoms allow individuals to convince themselves and others that they would be able to achieve a specific goal if this burdensome problem (the symptom) had not existed (Perry, 2012). Marais was prone to ascribe morphine (which he referred to as his 'ill health') as the cause of his unfinished deadlines, especially during his time in London when he blamed his use of morphine 'ill health' for not writing examinations (Van der Merwe, 2015). Selecting and using symptoms are usually done unconsciously (Perry, 2012). It must also be stressed that symptoms are debilitating and people really do suffer from it (Adler, 1930, 1996b). Marais did suffer from his morphine use and he tried multiple times to stop using it. Adler (1930, 1996b) explained that people would rather experience the suffering of symptoms than have their sense of worthlessness revealed. This fits well with Marais's own words, which he wrote in one of his manuscripts (Rousseau, 1998b) "if a man has to live in Hell, he prefers to live there drunk rather than sober" (p. 68). The researcher interprets these words as Marais believing that being 'drunk' (i.e., in a morphine stupor) was more promising than acknowledging his own sense of worthlessness (in the form of sobriety).

7.2.4.2 The life goal

Marais seemed to have pursued his goal of superiority during this period by lying and making exaggerated claims. It is important to note that most of his lies and exaggerations were

aimed at making him appear superior (i.e., lying about his progress at the Inner Temple and meeting famous people). Lying is compensation from keeping the inferiority feeling from showing itself. One principal form of lying is lying in order to appear greater than one considers oneself to be (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Marais's interest in the supernatural also possibly contributed to his life goal. In "*Laramie die Wonderwerker*" (1950), Marais (1984) wrote: "I was always inclined to the study of the mystifying things in nature and in the human soul" (p. 854). Marais's interests ranged from hieroglyphics and hypnosis to magic and spiritualism, including Theosophy (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5). These unconventional interests illustrate that he likely viewed the world (i.e., his schema of apperception) as a mysterious place and he felt compelled to decipher it.

There is speculation that Marais had a girlfriend during this time, however, their relationship was primarily sexual (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). The researcher is of the opinion that this was Marais's attempt to try and re-achieve the life task of love, after his wife's death. Interestingly, his alleged girlfriend (named Susanne) was closely the same age as Lettie was before her death (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). The narrow age gap between the two women supports the researcher's opinion that Marais probably dated Susanne in an attempt to fill the gap that Lettie left after her death.

In Marais's poem "*Skoppensboer*", the final stanza encourages people to enjoy the sensual and instantaneous (Van der Merwe, 2015). This might indicate that Marais pursued hedonistic interests during his time in London, which makes sense considering his heavy morphine use, possible sexual relations with Susanne and lack of interest in his Law studies. Marais also wrote in London (Van der Merwe, 2015), which was one of the possible ways he tried to overcome feeling inferior.

His attempt to reconcile the Boers and the British through *Land en Volk* also displays his attempt to overcome feeling inferior. This decision to reconcile the Boers and the British was

possibly fuelled by his own guilt feelings from not returning to South Africa to fulfil his war duties. He also accepted the request of translating Fitzpatrick's book *The Transvaal from Within* (1899) to Dutch. Marais's motive for translating the book was to help end the war as soon as possible in order to save his people from further loss of life and property, thus it formed part of his goal. He probably wanted to translate the book as he believed it would help his people and in effect, decrease his sense of inferiority. Therefore, Marais's goal of reconciling his people with Britain after the war was positively aligned with social interest. The act of attempting to reconcile the Boers and the British benefitted both Marais's feelings of superiority, while also assisting his community.

7.2.4.3 Striving for superiority

Marais tried to appear superior by lying on the application form of the Inner Temple. Furthermore, Marais claimed that his late father was an advocate (Mieny, 1984) and that he studied at the Cape University (Van der Merwe, 2015). This false information was possibly an attempt to appear superior compared to other applicants and a way to mask his own sense of inferiority. The academic side of Marais's course at the Inner Temple was challenging. In a further attempt to appear superior, he decided to lie about his progress (Van der Merwe, 2015). As the months passed, he wrote to *Land en Volk* informing them that he had passed each of his examinations (Rousseau, 2005). The researcher is of opinion that this was a striving for superiority fuelled by feeling inferior to others. Marais continued to lay claims that would make him appear superior. These included claiming that he met Henry Irving and Gerald du Maurier. He even claimed that Marie Corelli, a popular novelist in London (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004), wanted to marry him (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais's striving for superiority is also represented in his esoteric interests. He claimed that he was skilled at deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. Marais later told Du Toit (1940) that he

regularly met the famous Egyptologist E. A. Wallis Budge in the British Museum and claimed that he translated an original papyrus – “*The Travels of an Egyptian*” - into English. Marais also claimed that he visited Egypt twice for long periods. However, Marais exaggerated these claims (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais was likely merely an enthusiastic amateur when it came to Egyptology, however, he seemed to have felt compelled to make it appear that he was an expert.

It is interesting to note that with regards to Marais’s interest in Medicine, he never pretended to have qualified as a doctor and only studied it for his own enjoyment (Du Toit, 1940). Despite this, he later claimed that he did a three-year course in Neurology and Psychiatry, which was probably exaggerated (Mieny, 1984). This again illustrates his propensity to exaggerate in an attempt to possibly appear superior. However, he likely attended lectures at the University of Bonn in 1898 (Mieny, 1984; Van der Merwe, 2015). After much delay, Marais qualified as an advocate at the Inner Temple (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) stated “a child’s idea of superiority is, of course, very often influenced by the desire to surpass the father in his occupation” (p. 430). Marais’s late father was only a lawyer and Marais became an advocate (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), thus supporting Adler’s claim that the child desired to surpass the father in his occupation.

Upon his return to South Africa, Marais decided to join an expedition (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.12), which he believed would provide him with the perfect opportunity to return to Pretoria with honour and some respect in his own and others’ eyes (Van der Merwe, 2015). Again, Marais’s desire to appear superior is prominent. However, on their expedition the Treaty of Peace was signed in Pretoria, which marked the end of the war (Van der Merwe, 2015). The news was a hard blow for Marais, as he now had no share in the epic battle his people had been in for nearly three years (Van der Merwe, 2015), thus his plan to feel superior was unattainable. One of the expedition members, Dr Schultz, later wrote “it is seldom that a

man so wept when peace was closed, of which I was an involuntary witness” (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 305). According to Schultz’s report, it seemed that Marais wanted to make a dramatic appearance in Pretoria to prove that he was on a mission to help the Boers. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that Marais later told more heroic versions of the expedition (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais possibly made use of exaggerated claims to achieve superiority. These claims included his seemingly fake post-war allegations that he defended the ZAR’s case in the British press shortly before the war and that supposed parole conditions subsequently trapped him in Britain, as well as his varying versions of the Portuguese East Africa expedition. All these strivings to achieve a sense of superiority possibly led to his severe morphine use in London during the war years (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais never told anyone about his war activities in Britain (Van der Merwe, 2015). This could be because he felt guilty and knew that some might question his motives (especially of reconciliation), which might have led to more severe feelings of inferiority.

7.2.4.4 The style of life

The style of life is the person’s unique way of being, coping and operating in the world that supports the individual’s private logic for the best way to achieve his or her desired goals. (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Lifestyle refers to all the behavioural strategies and protections that leads to one’s successes and failures (Yang, Milliren, & Blagen, 2010). Adler believed that each individual has a unique lifestyle and it is sometimes linked to one’s personality (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) or personality in action (Lombardi & Melchior, 1996).

Lying and exaggeration was part of Marais’s style of life and was especially evident during this period of his life. His acceptance of different races continued during his time in London,

as he was friends with the Indian students who studied with him at the Inner Temple (Rousseau, 2005). In addition, his interest in animals continued during this period as well. For example, he took care of a chimpanzee ('Sally') and a marmoset (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais's interest in the supernatural continued during his time in London (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005), a trend which already appeared before he joined the Freemasons (Van der Merwe, 2015). During this period of his life, he also learned hypnosis (Van der Merwe, 2015). It is also clear that Marais was considerably interested in the occult (Rousseau, 2005). Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais's interest in spiritualism was piqued by spiritualists' alleged abilities to summon undead spirits. The medium's keenest visitors are usually those who have recently lost a loved one; it was barely a year and a half since Marais's wife, Lettie, died.

Rousseau (2005) stated that Marais followed a bohemian lifestyle in London. Marais travelled to Europe and recalled in Germany (Du Toit, 1940): "I met a group of German students and together we visited all the major cities... Later I and a few of them returned to London where we rented a house together" (p. 14). A bohemian lifestyle is consistent with Marais's style of life as he was a vagabond throughout most of his life (Rousseau, 2005). Marais's style of life is also illustrated in his literary interests during this time. He was especially influenced by Omar Khayyam and Charles Darwin; their works influenced the outlook of millions of people. Both were seized by liberal thinkers in rebellion against the oppressive Victorian morals of their time (Hugo, 2014).

The likely origin of Marais's more welcoming attitude towards the British was that he was predominantly English speaking, was taught in English and when the siege of Pretoria occurred in December 1880, Marais's family were put in military camps in better conditions and he was also allowed to leave the camp (Rousseau, 2005). He was also allowed to leave the camp.

These occurrences might have led to his favourable attitude towards British people, which continued throughout his life and was especially prominent when he willingly decided to help reconcile the Boers and the British after the Second Anglo Boer War (Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition, he was also friends with many British individuals. It is interesting that Marais was unwilling to help his people in the fight in the War, but he rather decided to reconcile his people after the War. This choice of action shows Marais's style of life and how he approached obstacles. Marais preferred to use pen and paper rather than weapons to get his point across. He saw it as his moral duty to try and prevent his people from suffering from further loss of property and life. During the Second Anglo Boer War these added life challenges led to increased inferiority and he tried to compensate for these inferiority feelings by using morphine (Rousseau, 2005).

Joseph Chamberlain asked Marais to put his [Marais's] ideas on what to do with prisoners of war and the future government of the Transvaal on paper in the form of a memorandum. In the memorandum, apart from one exception, Marais consistently referred to his countrymen as "the Boers" and he used the third person pronoun "they" and "them" as if he were just an objective observer of them (Van der Merwe, 2015). A noteworthy observation is that later in the letter Marais used pronouns such as "our", "us" and "we" when explaining how humiliating it would be for the Boers to be governed by English South Africans (Van der Merwe, 2015). While these observations possibly illustrate Marais's degree of social interest/community feeling, it also probably illustrates his pampered style of life; he only referred to himself as a Boer when he wrote about the humiliation of being governed by English South Africans. This possibly indicates his dependence on others and need for other's assistance or sympathy.

7.2.4.5 The schema of apperception

Marais's belief in the paranormal and his esoteric interests were not based on objective reality, although it was real to him. It was a fiction that he had created and made it a part of his schema of apperception. In some instances, paranormal beliefs may be a component of a complex defensive framework created from the perceived uncontrollability of life (Irwin, 1994). Spirituality is regarded as the fifth life task (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000), the fourth one being 'getting along with oneself' (Mosak, 1977). Marais's interest in the paranormal and Victorian spiritualism might have been his way of giving meaning to his existence. In addition, this interest in spiritualism might have also been Marais's attempt to make sense of life. It is interesting to note that Marais's interest in spiritualism seemed to have been more prominent after Lettie's untimely death. Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais's interest in spiritualism was piqued by spiritualists' alleged abilities to summon undead spirits. As previously mentioned, the medium's keenest visitors are usually those who have recently lost a loved one. While the life task of spirituality is more oriented towards teleological and philosophical beliefs, it may help explain Marais's esoteric interests, especially Victorian spiritualism. Furthermore, while Victorian spiritualism was a trend during Marais's lifetime, one should not readily assume that Marais was merely following the trend, because Adler stressed that humans are free willed beings, capable of making their own decisions. Thus, Marais chose to embrace spiritualism. His interest in esotericism does not seem that unusual when one considers the fact that Marais was a liberal, open-minded, free-thinker (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015).

Marais's agreement to give the Boers the message of reconciliation put him in a troublesome position, as many of his own people would have regarded him as a joiner. Ironically, Marais developed a hatred and resentment towards the joiners (Rousseau, 2005). This possibly illustrates an idiosyncratic logic and an antithetical schema of apperception. Marais did not

identify himself with the *hendsoppers*, although he shared the outlook of the category *hendsoppers* who believed that continued defiance would only lead to further and unnecessary suffering for their people (Van der Merwe, 2015). The researcher is of opinion that one of the reasons why Marais considered further fighting in the War as a lost cause may have been because he lived in London for a few years and he likely knew what the British were capable of and how powerless the Boers were compared to the British.

7.2.4.6 Social interest

Marais was friends with British people before and during the Boer War. While this may be regarded as treason by Afrikaners (Van der Merwe, 2015), the researcher is of the opinion that Marais seemed to practice a considerable amount of social interest during this period of his life. His style of life showed that he had an unconventional way of displaying social interest. His choice to reconcile the Boers and the British to prevent further loss of life during the War was an indication that he possessed a degree of social interest. For Adler, the ultimate and highest form of group formation includes all of humanity, instead of only those people who are racially, ethnically or culturally similar (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais's decision to reconcile the Boers and the British was achieved through a type of prosocial moral reasoning, which is associated with social interest (Leak & Leak, 2006).

However, in London Marais did not have a high opinion of his fellow British students (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3). Considering the socio-cultural context of the time, a lot of educated British people regarded the Boers as illiterate and even barbaric (Van der Merwe, 2015). Furthermore, the humiliation of Majuba and the failed Jameson Raid was still fresh in their memory, which explains why the British student's treatment of Marais was likely cold (Van der Merwe, 2015). This treatment clearly offended Marais, as he wrote in a letter (Van der Merwe, 2015):

...They [the British] are the heirs of centuries of power and wealth and vice and their ugly faces tell you that they are as impotent as they are unworthy of holding the reins of power which chance has placed in their feeble hands... (p. 81)

His acceptance of different races continued during his time in London, as he was friends with the Indian students who studied with him at the Inner Temple (Rousseau, 2005). Marais's friendships with Indian students at the Inner Temple probably contributed to the fact that his attitude towards other races at this stage was much more liberal than the vast majority of his people (Van der Merwe, 2015). During this time Marais also wrote a short story "*The Brand-Wacht*" which was unusual for the era, as Marais illustrated a Black man as very worthy and intelligent and, in all respects, an equal and even superior to a White man (Van der Merwe, 2015). He cared for the chimpanzee (Sally) and nursed her back to health when she contracted pneumonia (Rousseau, 2005), which also illustrates a degree of social interest.

There is speculation that Marais had a girlfriend during this time, although their relationship was primarily sexual (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). The researcher assumes that this was the beginning of Marais trying to re-achieve the life task of love, after Lettie's death. It is interesting to note that his speculated girlfriend (Susanne) was close to Lettie's age (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais probably tried to fill the gap that Lettie left after her death.

Marais also presented a lack of social interest/community feeling during this period. When the Second Anglo Boer War broke out, he decided not to return to South Africa to help his people. He fabricated a story that he was on parole, which was one of the reasons why he could not return to South Africa to honour his war duties (Van der Merwe, 2015). While the war waged on, Marais accepted the request (by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and Lord Alfred Milner) to return to Pretoria and re-issue *Land en Volk* and to follow an editorial policy of reconciliation between the Boers and the British and acceptance of British rule (Van der Merwe, 2015). The

most probable reason for this was that he felt guilty for not returning to South Africa to fulfil his war duties. Marais's goal was thus to persuade the warring Boers to surrender (Van der Merwe, 2015). His friendship with some British individuals (Mieny, 1984) was also perhaps the reason why he wanted to reconcile with his people rather than go to war. He likely exhibited a degree of social interest towards some British who were his friends and did not want to appear as if he betrayed their friendships. It seemed that he not only thought of the safety of his own people but his British friends as well.

7.2.4.7 Inferiority complex

People who compensate for inferiority feelings with a superiority complex tend to be arrogant and boastful (Watts, 2013). Marais seemed to have been particularly guilty of this, especially when one notes his lying in *Land en Volk* about his studies. He deliberately lied and said that he passed his examinations, which he in reality failed. Another example of Marais's possible superiority complex was when he informed Dr Schultz that he (Marais) had met and personally dealt with high-ranking persons such as Chamberlain and Leyds (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais possibly wanted to impress his travel companions this way. He also exaggerated his skills in deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics, which also indicate that he likely suffered from an inferiority complex. Marais's inferiority/superiority complex thus manifested itself in his compulsive lying and exaggerations to make himself appear superior compared to other people.

In Marais's letter, in which he agreed to promote reconciliation, he made somewhat exaggerated statements, prophetic callings and showed absolute confidence that he would be able to achieve peace in the Boer republics (Van der Merwe, 2015):

...I see it all before me like an inspiration – the right thing to do and say to bring about peace, and I have the utmost confidence in myself. It may seem egotistical but I say it in all simplicity & without the least self-exaltation. (p. 204)

His absolute confidence in his abilities illustrates a possible superiority complex, which exists paradoxically alongside an inferiority complex. The inferiority he felt from not returning to South Africa to fulfil his war duties, possibly fuelled this superiority complex that he would be able to reconcile his own people. In the letter, he also exaggerated on his role in the establishment of *Land en Volk*. Accordingly, exaggeration and boastfulness are signs of a superiority complex (Boeree, 2006).

Marais seemed to have used various safeguarding techniques throughout his life. One that was particularly apparent during this period was his use of hesitation. It includes an amount of indecision when faced with problematic situations (Perry, 2012), which leads to delaying actions or decisions (procrastinating) until it is too late. People use hesitation to convince themselves that if they did not have a particular problem, they would be able to accomplish more (Adler, 1996a). The researcher is of opinion that Marais may have used hesitation when he was reluctant to return to South Africa after the war to reconcile the Boers and the British as well as hesitating to return to South Africa to fight in the war. Marais's morphine consumption increased due to the war and the added stressors that came with it. In an exchange of letters about the translation of *The Transvaal from Within* one sees his tendency to put obstacles in the way of his goals (Van der Merwe, 2015):

I regret the delay sincerely; – the book itself has been ready for more than a month with the exception of a last revise, which I reserved for the day of its completion, and the wretched appendix. And in the end all the waiting proved vain, for with one insignificant exception in the body of the book ... (pp. 225-226)

Marais's use of safeguarding mechanisms is apparent in this letter. Safeguarding mechanisms serve as excuses for people to not obtain their goals or to avoid dealing with life's problems, while simultaneously protecting their self-esteem (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). It is usually individuals with low self-esteem who make use of safeguarding mechanisms (Meunier, 1990). Delaying the finishing of the book was probably Marais's way of trying to safeguard his sense of self-worth. He often wrote to Milner with more excuses, such as having to undergo "two operations" which accounted for the delay (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 273). After still not receiving Marais's translation or hearing anything from him again, Milner asked Jim Taylor whether he knew anything about Marais's actions. Taylor had established that (Van der Merwe, 2015):

[Marais]... went to Amsterdam or somewhere in Holland in a sailing vessel and very nearly went down all hands, they were blown out to sea and became waterlogged. I believe they had an awful experience and Marais has been in bed ever since. (p. 278)

It appears that Marais again used safeguarding mechanisms when Joseph Chamberlain asked him to write a memorandum regarding his [Marais's] ideas on what to do with prisoners of war and the future government of the Transvaal. Marais undertook to do so (Van der Merwe, 2015). However, there were many delays. Marais often used his poor health as a reason for not making deadlines or fulfilling obligations (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.3.11 and 3.3.3.12).

Van der Merwe (2015) speculated that Marais showed signs of compulsive lying, especially during his stay in London. This is supported by examples such as when Marais lied about his age, his degree from the Cape University, his results at the Inner Temple, his medical training abroad, his parole in London, his propaganda on behalf of the ZAR and his supposed participation in the Anglo Boer War. People who suffer from compulsive lying would rather want to look better in the eyes of others and their lies are usually based on something they want to be or want to own (Dike et al., 2005). This is consistent with what Adler regarded as an

inferiority/superiority complex (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). According to Adler, lying is compensation for keeping the inferiority feeling from manifesting itself. There are two principal forms of lies, namely lying out of fear and lying in order to appear greater than one considers oneself in reality. The propensity towards imagination results from considerable weakness (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais seemed to have wanted to appear superior compared to others. His lack of higher education, as well as a sense of guilt about his political role before and during the war, may have precipitated his feeling of inferiority and prompted him to lie even more during this time of his life as a way to compensate for increased inferiority feelings.

Marais and Schultz both contracted malaria on their expedition. For decades, Marais blamed malaria as the reason why he used morphine (Marais, 2001), even though he started using morphine years before he contracted malaria (Rousseau, 2005). While morphine use was not shunned during Marais's lifetime, overuse was still socially unacceptable. Marais possibly decided that malaria was a socially acceptable reason for using morphine and thus a way for him to gain acceptance from others and maintain his pampered style of life.

Marais's possible inferiority/superiority complex was also prominent on his expedition through Portuguese East Africa. According to Schultz's report, it seemed that Marais wanted to make a dramatic appearance in Pretoria to prove that he was there to help the Boers (Van der Merwe, 2015). This suspicion is strengthened by Marais's later, more heroic, versions of the expedition.

Marais seemed to have displayed neurotic tendencies, especially during his time abroad. He developed various inefficient coping strategies (i.e., safeguarding tendencies) that were, as a rule, characterised by the habit of offering excuses for his failures. The typical response of a neurotic person, according to Adler, is "Yes... but", which was particularly evident in Marais's constant excuses for not achieving deadlines as illustrated in his letters. It is also seen in

Marais's excuses for not writing examinations. Neurotic people try to create the impression that they could have resolved their problems if circumstances had been more favourable or if other people had not somehow prevented them from doing so. These excuses protect a weak, but artificially inflated, sense of self-worth and deceive people into believing that they are more superior than they actually are (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

7.2.5 A new beginning (1902-1906)

7.2.5.1 Sense of inferiority

After returning to South Africa, Marais reopened *Land en Volk* in an attempt to promote reconciliation. However, due to his supposed case of malaria, he appointed Gustav Preller for assistance. Interestingly, he did not tell Gustav about his aim of reconciling the Boers and the British, which possibly stemmed from his own guilt feelings and perception that he committed treason. In addition, Gustav was a very patriotic Afrikaner and did not approve of the British government at all (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015), which also possibly precipitated Marais's reluctance to reveal his true intentions with the newspaper.

Marais's sense of inferiority is presented by his aim to achieve reconciliation between the Boers and the British. By aiming to achieve this, he probably believed that he would gain a sense of superiority and a feeling that he contributed to the safety of his people after the war. This aim was perhaps a way for him to diminish his sense of guilt (inferiority) over his lack of participation in the war and evidently justified his good intentions. It is also interesting to note that with the articles he wrote in *Land en Volk* about reconciliation and Milner's Anglicisation policy, he again created an alter ego, an Afrikaner called "Onderzoeker" (investigator). This use of a pseudonym also possibly indicates his own sense of guilt (i.e., inferiority) about his actions and intentions, although his use of pseudonyms was not only limited to his pieces on

politics. He also used pseudonyms when he published poems (Swart, 2004) which again may have indicated a sense of inferiority.

Marais was never too keen that his own and *Land en Volk's* post-war journalistic role be closely examined. When Gustav Preller wanted to obtain biographical information on Marais, he (Marais) wrote in a letter: “My history after my return to Pretoria you know more or less, and it is too recent to go in on” (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 391). Twelve years after this statement, in an interview with Du Toit (1940), Marais also eluded his own post-war involvement with *Land en Volk* (Van der Merwe, 2015) and was extremely obscure about the years that he spent abroad (Rousseau, 2005). The researcher argues that this reluctance to reveal information about his life indicates his own guilt feelings and thus his sense of inferiority.

7.2.5.2 The life goal

Marais's possible life goal during this time was aimed at reconciling his people with the British. By aiming to achieve this, he probably believed that he would gain a sense of superiority and a feeling that he contributed to the safety of his people after the war. He likely wanted to achieve this goal as a way to diminish his own sense of guilt over his lack of participation in the war and to justify his good intentions. Another possible goal he wanted to achieve was to reconnect with his son (Eugène Charles). He left the boy in his sister, Sophie's, care before he left for London earlier. After his return, he regularly interacted with his son (Rousseau, 2005).

In addition, Marais continued to write during this time. He wrote both political and literary pieces for *Land en Volk*. One of his most noteworthy contributions was the poem “*Winternag*” (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015).

7.2.5.3 *Striving for superiority*

In order to strive for superiority, Marais aimed to reconcile the Boers and the British. By aiming to achieve this goal, he possibly believed that he would achieve a sense of superiority in the feeling that he contributed to the safety of his own people after the war. The researcher is of opinion that Marais wanted to achieve this goal, as it would have diminished his feelings of guilt over his lack of participation in the war and justify his good intentions, as previously mentioned. Furthermore, as mentioned, Marais continued to write during this time, especially for *Land en Volk*. One of his most noteworthy contributions was the poem “*Winternag*” (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015). It is the researcher’s opinion that writing was one of Marais’s ways to diminish inferiority feelings and an attempt to feel superior.

7.2.5.4 *The style of life*

Marais’s natural love for children, which formed part of his style of life, continued during this period of his life. Rousseau (2005) asserted that Marais had an apparent pattern of doing things, for example, he used malaria as a scapegoat for his morphine use (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). When he had to spend a day or two in bed, perhaps due to overuse, he used the compelling reason that the fever was the cause. It became unbearable for Marais when people found out the true reason why he stayed in bed (i.e., overuse of morphine). Eventually, it grieved him if people merely knew about the fact that he used morphine. Another theme that formed a considerable part of Marais’s style of life was his overwhelming need to flee from people who knew of his dependence and disapproved of it (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). This indicates that Marais possibly coped sometimes through sensitivity. *Sensitivity* refers to people’s preoccupations with their weaknesses, to such an extent that they are easily hurt if any reference is made to them (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Marais’s interest in nature and

animals continued during this period of his life as well. This is evident from when he moved to Brooklyn in Pretoria to treat his morphine addiction (Rousseau, 1998a). Here, Marais made a vegetable garden and also had a cow for a while (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005). The smaller animals of the *veld* (field) were abundant. Marais regularly added scorpions to his collection (Rousseau, 1998a). His dependence on others also continued during this period. One notes that he boarded with his sister, Jess, and afterwards he went to Brooklyn where he lived with his friend Charlie Pienaar (Rousseau, 2005). He practically never lived on his own, which illustrates his need for others, which signifies a possible dependent/pampered style of life. In addition, his tendency to move from one place to another was also evident during this period (Rousseau, 2005). He moved three times during this period of his life; from Pretoria to Brooklyn and then to Hillbrow for a few months.

As mentioned, Marais's writing continued for *Land en Volk* during this time. One of his most noteworthy contributions was the poem "Winternag" (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015). The researcher is of the opinion that writing was a style of life that Marais pursued as a way to overcome feelings of inferiority and an attempt to achieve superiority.

7.2.5.5 The schema of apperception

Marais was regarded as "an independent Nationalist" (Van der Merwe, 2015, p. 426). His possible idiosyncratic logic is seen in his first main article in *Land en Volk* after the war. In the article titled "*Handsupper en Scouts*" (Handsuppers and Scouts) Marais only opposed the National Scouts and not the *hendsoppers*. Interestingly, Marais himself could be regarded as a *hendsopper*, because in 1900 he believed that the Boers should give up the fight (Van der Merwe, 2015). Even more interesting, was that he expressed his admiration for the die-hards who remained faithful, but exactly two years before he referred to the actions of these very die-

hards as criminal acts that must be strongly condemned (Van der Merwe, 2015). Marais's attitude seemed to have undergone a change since 1900. This inexorable dislike of the National Scouts may have arisen from his feelings of guilt over his own role during the war (Van der Merwe, 2015).

Another interesting example of Marais's schema of apperception was that Marais initially refused to support Milner's Anglicisation policy (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.4.3) (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004;). However, Marais made a sudden turnaround over Milner's education policy shortly afterwards. It seems that a strong friendship and correspondence began between Marais and Milner (Van der Merwe, 2015), which possibly caused Marais to support Milner's policies. Marais still used morphine during this time. According to Adler, people who resort to addiction display a sense of private logic, which is not beneficial to society and only focuses on the individual (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

7.2.5.6 Social interest

Throughout Marais's life, he sought the friendship of children, particularly young children. Marais's love for children was also evident during this time. His son recalled (Rousseau, 2005) "he immediately taught me and Sonny [Eugène Charles's cousin] how to play chess and on Sundays we sometimes played in Mrs. Rex's garden path. And every night he told or read us stories..." (p. 159). His need to reconnect with his son after his return abroad also indicates a degree of social interest. Marais had left his son in the care of his sister, Sophie, as an infant, and reunited with him when he was already seven years old. He appeared to have longed for a sense of community feeling, which he possibly sought from his son and the neighbourhood children. Rousseau (2005) speculated that the reason why Marais had such an affinity for children was that they would not have judged him on his morphine dependence the way adults

would have done. This may also indicate that he used children as a way to satisfy his need to belong.

Despite struggling with his supposed case of malaria, he sometimes played with his son and the other children in the neighbourhood. Marais also gradually got back in touch with his own family. Some he saw, others he only heard of (Rousseau, 2005). These examples indicate that despite his morphine use (a sign of inferiority), he still seemed to have exhibited a degree of social interest.

The poem “*Winternag*” was an influential contribution to the Afrikaans literature. The poem itself was a contribution to the Afrikaans society and helped in connecting the Afrikaners as a community (Swart, 2004). Thus, by writing his literary pieces (especially “*Winternag*”) Marais presented a degree of social interest and a need to contribute to his community. Adler (1964) stated:

A man of genius is primarily a man of supreme usefulness... If we apply the social measure to artists and poets, we note that they serve a social function more than anyone else. They have taught us how to see, how to think, and how to feel... Thus we attribute to them the greatest dignity, that of being the friends and leaders of mankind (p. 153).

Marais’s work is still widely read and revered under Afrikaners, indicating that his contributions to Afrikaans still holds merit (Leserskring, 2013; Visagie, 2015). Marais never really wanted his own and *Land en Volk*’s post-war journalistic roles to be closely examined. He avoided talking about his own post-war involvement with *Land en Volk* (Van der Merwe, 2015) and was extremely vague about the years that he spent abroad (Rousseau, 2005). The researcher speculates that this illustrated his guilt feelings about his actions. Marais possibly questioned the choices he made during the war years and was likely fearful that revealing what he did would lead to ostracisation from his peers. Ostracisation would have led to lower social interest (Adler, 1958, 1970), which would have had detrimental effects on Marais’s

mental health. If Marais revealed that he wanted to reconcile his people with their enemies, it would have led to him being ostracised. When one considers how dependent Marais was of others (e.g., always living with others and using others to obtain his morphine), it becomes quite clear why he did not wish to reveal his war activities. The Boers would have possibly shunned him, which would mean that he would have had to change his entire lifestyle, something that is quite difficult for a discouraged individual (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

7.2.5.7 Inferiority complex

While Marais probably suffered from the aftermath of severe malaria, the researcher is of the opinion that Marais used malaria as the reason why he used morphine. Suffering from malaria offered him the perfect (i.e., socially acceptable) excuse to continue using morphine.

Adler (1930, 1996b) stated that while individuals choose their safeguarding mechanisms (i.e., symptoms), they at times also suffer thereof. In this regard, Adler commented that people would rather experience this suffering than have their sense of worthlessness revealed "... we see now what a neurotic state really is. It is an attempt to avoid a greater evil, an attempt to maintain the semblance of value at any price, and paying the costs" (Adler, as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 266). This is illustrated by Marais going to Brooklyn in Pretoria during this period of his life in an attempt to treat his morphine addiction (Rousseau, 1998a). While Marais chose to use morphine years before and continued to use it, he did seem to suffer from its effects, despite his attempts to stop using it. However, being discouraged and following a rigid style of life made treatment very difficult.

The researcher assumes that Marais felt guilty about his actions during the war years, questioning his choices and was most probably fearful that revealing what he did would lead to exclusion from his peers. Marais's revelation to reconcile his people with their enemies,

could have led to social isolation. His dependency on others (e.g., always living with others and using others to obtain his morphine) indicates the possible reason why he did not reveal his war activities. Furthermore, there was the possibility that the Boers would have excluded him, meaning that he would have had to change his entire style of life in order to continue his dependency on others. However, this probably would have probably been difficult for Marais, because discouraged individuals often struggle with changing their lifestyles (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

7.2.6 Waterberg (1907-1917)

7.2.6.1 Sense of inferiority

During this period of his life, Marais studied animals, specifically baboons and termites and he also prospected on the farms where he lived (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). In addition, Marais practiced as an unlicensed medical doctor, performed hypnosis, as well as exercised a simple form of psychoanalysis. One of Marais's most striking indication of his sense of inferiority in the Waterberg was his wish to write a literary masterpiece in the form of a naturalistic study (Rousseau, 2005).

During a hunting trip, Marais went through a serious withdrawal episode after miscalculating his stock of morphine. This incident resulted in everyone in the Waterberg district knowing about his addiction, which possibly increased his feelings of inferiority, as Marais lost esteem, respect and he felt exposed (Rousseau, 2005). This also illustrates his tendency to use sensitivity as a coping mechanism, which refers to people's preoccupations with their weaknesses, to the extent that they are easily hurt if any reference is made to them (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008).

Marais's near obsession with the natural phenomena of drought, which had started as early as his school years in the Paarl (Visagie, 2015), continued in the Waterberg. This was possibly incited by his personal experience with the five-year drought that occurred in the Waterberg (Rousseau, 1998a). The researcher is of the opinion that Marais's personal experience with drought made him feel that he had a lack of control and this lack of control subsequently increased his sense of inferiority. It is worth noting that the Waterberg's agriculture during this time was completely dependent on rainfall, thus people were powerless to prevent the drought. Marais decided to take over a rainfall station in Rietfontein in October 1912 (Rousseau, 2005). The researcher argues that this was perhaps a way for him to compensate for the lack of control he had over the drought and its devastating effects. The rainfall figures, talking to Boers and his personal observations provided him with the material for a lengthy article he sent to the weather bureau in January 1914 (Rousseau, 2005). American meteorologists deemed the article as very important and published it later that same year in the United States of America at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington (Swart, 2004). Marais always regarded this article as one of his main achievements (Rousseau, 2005), which supports the researcher's belief that Marais used writing in an attempt to overcome his sense of inferiority. In addition, his articles also contributed to the scientific community, thus indicating a degree of social interest.

7.2.6.2 The life goal

During this period, Marais studied baboons and termites. His interest in nature and animals were especially prominent during the period he spent in the Waterberg region. After briefly prospecting on the farm Doornhoek, he moved to the farm Rietfontein, which belonged to Gys and Maria Van Rooyen (Mieny, 1984; Swart, 2004). Here, he prospected, kept cattle and practised as an unlicensed doctor free of charge (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Swart, 2004), as

impoverished rural areas suffered from inescapable malnutrition and disease (Swart, 2004). In addition, psychological problems were plentiful under the Boers after the war (Rousseau, 2005). Marais was able to heal or at least ameliorate this through a simple form of psychoanalysis, the rudiments of which he had learned through his reading of Charcot and Freud. In addition, he also practised dream analysis and hypnosis in his unlicensed medical practises in the Waterberg (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). After healing Aunt Hessie, who was unable to walk after a traumatic experience (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004), his fame expanded and filled the people with considerable awe (Mieny, 1984). He became known as the '*Wonderdokter*' (i.e., miracle doctor) (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Marais, 2001). From a socio-cultural perspective, one should note that the Waterbergers were likely unfamiliar with Western medicine, which might have been the reason why they thought Marais possessed 'supernatural' abilities when it came to his medical treatments (Swart, 2004).

Marais's possible life goal was quite evident in how he wanted to write a magnum opus. An intensive ongoing naturalist investigation had long been one of Marais's ideals and thus a goal he wished to achieve. When it came to his scientific articles, he made numerous revisions and corrections (Du Toit, 1940). In a fragment of a short story which he wrote before he moved to the Waterberg, the main character dreamed of a "long and absorbing term or investigation under ideal conditions" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 210). Despite being an amateur naturalist, he pursued this dream intensively, although it remained unfulfilled until his death because he was always involved in half a dozen things at once, had limited finances and was dependent on morphine (Rousseau, 1998a). However, his achievements in pursuing this goal are evident from the fact that he was one of the first people to intensively study baboons in their natural habitat and also regularly in captivity (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais was able to contribute to scholarly intelligence in conditions of isolation (Olivier, 2015). He discovered and named the

phenomena of *Hesperian depression* (Myburgh, 2009; Van Luijk, 2014) and regularly kept baboons for study purposes (Rousseau, 1998a).

7.2.6.3 Striving for superiority

Marais's possible goal was to create a literary masterpiece, particularly of scientific value. While the fictional final goal of the individual is unconscious (Mosak & Maniacci, 1999), a possible concrete goal that Marais strived towards was creating a magnum opus. A fictional goal is what each person believes must happen or thinks he must accomplish in order to belong and have a satisfying life (Mosak & Maniacci, 1999). However, Marais's inferiority (morphine use) prevented him from achieving his goal. He was always busy with an array of projects throughout his life, which was why most of his writings were usually poetry and short stories. Apparently, he never wrote a lengthy novel due to his psychological and mental state that made it difficult.

As mentioned, a severe drought in the Waterberg made Marais decide to take over a rainfall station. The researcher assumes that this was Marais's way to compensate for his lack of control over the drought (feelings of inferiority). Marais viewed his article that was published in the United States of America at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington (Swart, 2004) as one of his main achievements (Rousseau, 2005). Thus, it gave Marais a sense of superiority. Furthermore, the article contributed to the scientific community and illustrates that Marais also presented a degree of social interest as well. It is, therefore, assumed that Marais used writing as a way to achieve a sense of superiority. He put the most effort into his scientific works (Du Toit, 1940). His striving for superiority was especially evident in 1915 when he began writing the great philosophical work, which he believed would make him world-famous, titled "*The Soul of the Ape*" (1969). Ever since his stay in London, he dreamt of creating a literary masterpiece that the world would marvel at. This dream is supported in an excerpt in

“*Laramie*” (1950) where the main character (Marais in a sense) entertains a group of leading scientists and they marvel at what he says (Marais, 1984, p. 851). Marais’s motive was to help understand human behaviour, as well as understanding his own behavioural problems (Morris, 2009; Van Luijk, 2014). His strive for superiority was primarily fuelled by his own desire to feel superior, although it was also aimed at contributing to the scientific community, thus illustrating social interest as well.

7.2.6.4 The style of life

Marais’s move to the Waterberg was consistent with his style of life (i.e., moving around). His interest in the Waterberg dates back to an early age (Marais, 2001). In *The road to Waterberg and other essays* (1972) he wrote about the region with great passion, describing it as “the mystery region of my boyhood” and a “wonderland” (Marais, 1984, p. 1203). Therefore, the reason for his move to the Waterberg was possibly influenced by his interest in nature, which was still a prominent interest during this time. In the deep rift valley of the farm Doornhoek, Marais and Alec Austin (a prospector) built huts to observe a troop of chacma baboons (Rousseau, 1998a; Swart, 2004). Marais (1984) wrote: “...I do not think that I've ever lived a happier time in my life than the three years we [Marais and Austin] spent in the mountain of Doornhoek” (p. 111).

Marais’s interest in medicine (which had already been prominent during his years abroad in London) also continued during this period and is particularly observable in his unlicensed medical practises and his practising of hypnosis. A possible goal that Marais pursued was to engage in an intensive naturalist investigation. This is consistent with his style of life, as his interest in nature and animals had developed during his childhood and was still prominent during this period of his life too. Marais regularly kept baboons on Rietfontein and Doornhoek for observations and experiments (Rousseau, 1998a). In the Waterberg, he also studied pain in

animals, which had been a central theme in much of his writings (Rousseau, 2005; Van der Merwe, 2015). He was a lover of animals and became deeply attached to individual animals, but he was by no means sentimental (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

In addition to baboons and termites, he was also extremely interested in snakes. This interest started when he was a boy, as he grew up in the untamed sub-tropical Pretoria which teemed of snakes and as a young man, he kept them as pets (Rousseau, 1998a). In addition, he wrote various articles on snakes as well (Gray, 2013). Marais's Ex Libris (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.3) also had a *rinkhals* (a species of spitting cobra) as a prominent motif. These observations indicate the consistency of his interests and thus likely illustrates his style of life.

Due to the opium prohibition law in the Transvaal, Marais became friends with an Indian from the Waterberg named Ebrahim Ravat, who helped him to obtain opium (Rousseau, 2005). Marais depended on doctors for his stock, as well as in an emergency of generally available medicine that contained opium (Rousseau, 2005). These are examples of Marais's possible pampered style of life; being dependent on others and often using other people to help him obtain his morphine.

When Marais and another doctor were sent to the farm Purekrans where Gys van Rooyen's brother, Piet van Rooyen, lived to perform an operation on him, Marais remained there on the Palala-plateau (according to him he had to take care of Piet) for six months (Rousseau, 2005). After Piet van Rooyen's death, Marais left Purekrans and returned to Rietfontein. This again illustrates his tendency to wander. The reason for his long stay here was perhaps due to the people of the Waterberg knowing about his morphine dependency, after he went through a withdrawal episode on a hunting trip (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.5.4).

In May 1910, Marais experienced a morphine-related crisis. This caused him to go to his older brother, Charles, in Boshof to recover and start anew (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 2005). One of Charles's daughters recalled that Marais often spoke about apparitions (Rousseau,

2005). These observations again display the consistency of Marais's style of life. He still went to his brother Charles in times of crisis and was still interested in the supernatural. He returned to Rietfontein early in 1911.

According to Adler, neurotic people set their goals too high, live in their own private worlds and have rigid and dogmatic lifestyles. Marais also exhibited a rigid and dogmatic style of life. It was a lifestyle which he had already adopted, but it consolidated in the Waterberg and continued with minor deviation for the rest of his life (Rousseau, 2005). The pattern was as follows (Rousseau, 2005): He always seemed to have lived with friends, was either without a permanent job or worked very erratic; spent a lot of time observing nature; shied away from criticisms of his addiction and his social interaction appeared to have been limited to those whom he had known for a long time or strangers who knew nothing about him. Furthermore, he always seemed to need players to fill four key roles in his life: the supplier of his morphine; his host; an influential mediator; and a protégé - a young person or animal whom he, in turn, loved and cared for. In the last 30 years of his life, this pattern seldom deviated and it seemed that he suffered the most when this pattern broke (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's dependence on others can be seen in a letter he wrote to his son (Rousseau, 1998a) "if you can get any old magazines or novels you might send them to me occasionally, no matter how old they are. If they can be bought anywhere I shall send you the money" (p. 30) a lack of money, alongside isolation and loneliness became a constant problem. Marais's financial resources had been running low for some time. Sometimes he wrote to his son and occasionally to his friends Charlie Pienaar and Gustav Preller, but to them especially when they had to arrange something for him (Rousseau, 2005). These examples illustrate Marais's possible pampered style of life and dependence on others for assistance, especially financial assistance. Marais's dependence on others is also illustrated in the fact that when he went through difficult

times regarding his addiction, he bought chlorodyne from Aunt Maria and even sold her a seasoned horse (worth £60 to £70) in exchange for a bottle of Chlorodyne (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's tendency to lie and exaggerate also continued in the Waterberg. During this time, Marais convinced the Waterbergers that a spectral figure on a horse appeared on a full moon near the police post (Swart, 2004). However, he withheld the fact that he was behind the hoax and later reported that it was a supernatural phenomenon (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). In addition, Marais's obsession with the natural phenomena of drought, which had started as early as his schoolboy years in the Paarl (Visagie, 2015), still continued in the Waterberg.

7.2.6.5 The schema of apperception

Marais's continued interest in the supernatural during this time may indicate that he still saw the world as unknown and unexplainable. The researcher is of the opinion that this interest may even have contributed to his own feelings of inferiority and his strive for superiority. In the Waterberg, Marais had a particular interest in ghosts and the practise of hypnosis. The researcher is of opinion that these unconventional interests displayed his view of the world (i.e., schema of apperception). The world to him was a mysterious place and he probably felt compelled to decipher it. These interests would later be reflected in some of Marais's short stories that dealt with unusual and often (ostensibly) supernatural and mysterious events [i.e., "*Die spookbul van Farellone*" (The ghost bull of Farellone), "*Die vlieënde Hollander*" (The flying Dutchman), "*Diep rivier*" (Deep river), "*Die man met die mantel*" (The man with the cloak) and "*Die pad van drome*" (The path of dreams) (Marais, 1984)].

7.2.6.6 Social interest

Marais's social interest is evident in his practise as an unlicensed medical doctor. It is especially striking that he did not charge money or requested to receive compensation for his

practise. His medical practise indicates his need to help and contribute to the community. This act of helping others without receiving compensation illustrates Marais's social interest. However, it clashes with his neurotic behaviour, in particular his morphine use, which Adler (1930) regarded as a socially useless act that benefitted no one (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais's interest in animals and nature was also prominent during this period of his life and it indicates a cosmic interconnectedness with his surroundings (Leak, 2006; Stein & Edwards, 1998). In addition, his acceptance of different races continued during his time in the Waterberg as well. For example, in the Waterberg, Marais's attitude towards non-White races was very different from the average Waterberger and South African during the time. Many Whites and non-Whites always addressed one another pejoratively. According to witnesses, Marais was never guilty of this (Rousseau, 2005). Although he was an Afrikaner patriot, he was sympathetic to the cultural values of the Black tribal people of the Transvaal; this is evident in poems such as "*Die Dans van die Reën*" (The Dance of the Rain) (Swart, 2004).

"The only individuals who can really meet and master the problems of life are those who show in their striving a tendency to enrich all others" (Adler as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 255). Marais's scientific works such as *The Soul of the White Ant* (1973) and *The Soul of the Ape* (1969) were a possible strive for superiority he pursued, which also enriched others with scientific knowledge.

As mentioned, because of the opium prohibition law in the Transvaal, Marais befriended Ebrahim Ravat who assisted him in obtaining opium (Rousseau, 2005). Marais often relied on doctors for his stock and generally available medicine that contained opium (Rousseau, 2005). These are possible examples of Marais's pampered style of life; being dependent on others and using people to help him obtain his morphine dosage.

When he returned to Rietfontein after receiving withdrawal treatment in Boshof (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.5.6), Charlie Pienaar managed to appoint Marais as Resident Justice of

the Peace (Marais, 2001; Swart, 2004). This again illustrates Marais's possible dependence on others, as well as his striving for the life task of occupation. Within a month after his appointment, Marais arranged for his son to visit him in the Waterberg for the first time (Rousseau, 1998a), which indicate his need to connect with others and it also illustrates his social interest.

7.2.6.7 Inferiority complex

Marais was still very sensitive to criticism about his morphine dependence during this time. He often shied away from people when his dependence became known. This was possibly also one of the reasons why he stayed in the Palala-plateau for six months. In a letter from Charlie Pienaar to Gustav Preller, one finds the relentless commentary on such irresponsible escapism (Du Toit, 1940):

I've tried hard to get him [Marais] interested in the world and humanity again, but he says that since life has no purpose, it is totally indifferent where or how long he lives and what he could do on earth or anywhere else. He would rather be where he saw people as little as possible – I understand he sometimes disappears into the bush with a donkey for six months or so without anyone ever hearing of him. (p. 260)

The remarks in the abovementioned letter illustrate the characteristics of a discouraged individual who lacks social interest and isolates themselves from the community. Despite many attempts during this period to get Marais off morphine, which he usually willingly agreed to, he stubbornly returned to his rigid lifestyle pattern. Individuals with addiction problems and who have a pampered lifestyle are usually “not interested in getting well because of being comfortable with their lifestyle and see no real reason to get better, believing consequences are not severe enough to change” (Bauer, 2010, p. 16). The friends of these individuals often try for a long time to help them to cure themselves of this habit, but they are usually unsuccessful

(Adler, 2015). Charlie Pienaar tried to get Marais healthy again by arranging a hunting trip with Marais. However, it was unsuccessful and after the hunting trip, Marais again fled to Boshof (Rousseau, 1998a). After recovering in Boshof, Marais returned to the Waterberg and less than two months after his return, Marais wrote to his son (Rousseau, 1998a):

I am writing almost at once, or rather scribbling to let you know that I am again supremely miserable. I must escape from here at once... the question of money is still what keeps me. I haven't even a train fare. (p. 33)

There was a tremendous deterioration in Marais's condition. Charlie Pienaar was notified and he sent a message to Marais's son to pick up his father and without a struggle, Marais agreed to return to Pretoria (Rousseau, 2005).

These examples illustrate how Marais's rigid style of life negatively impacted his well-being. While he welcomed treatment, it was still very difficult for him to accept such change. It seems that he preferred to suffer from morphine dependence than change his rigid style of life. Adler viewed this as the signs of a neurotic person; a rigid style of life and an unwillingness to change one's poor strivings toward superiority (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

7.2.7 Interludes (1918-1921)

7.2.7.1 Sense of inferiority

Near the end of 1918, Marais completed the draft manuscript of "*The Soul of the Ape*". Marais was very doubtful of his writing of "*The Soul of the Ape*" as he was very dependent of his son's opinions and suggestions and did not intend proceeding with any manuscript with which his son disagreed. Early in 1919, Marais gave the completed manuscript to his son who carefully retyped it (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais almost immediately started altering and

changing the typed version of the manuscript. Around this time, he experienced writer's block with "*The Soul of the Ape*". He gave the draft manuscript to several of his colleagues at the bar for their advice and opinions. He changed the work so much that it became increasingly worse more difficult to read. As he wrote, he began to doubt his own conclusions (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais's self-doubt about his writing abilities indicates that he possibly experienced a feeling of inferiority. In the following seven years, Marais would still occasionally and sporadically work on "*The Soul of the Ape*", without any significant progress (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005).

In contrast, the year 1921 was one of Marais's most fruitful years of writing (Rousseau, 2005). His increased writing during this year may indicate that he possibly had an increased sense of inferiority, which he tried to compensate for through his writings. As previously mentioned, the researcher is of opinion that Marais used writing as a way to overcome his feelings of inferiority. Marais's "*Dwaalstories*" also appeared during this year (Van Vuuren, 2008). In these stories he continued using pseudonyms and created a fictional narrator ("Outa Hendrik"), thus distancing himself from authorship through an invented character (Swart, 2004).

Marais was always busy with an array of projects throughout his life, which was why most of his writings were usually poetry and short stories. His reason for never writing a lengthy novel was because his psychical and mental state made it difficult. In fact, Marais acknowledged this in Heidelberg when he wrote to Wilhelm Spilhaus about why he had not yet put his naturalistic studies in book form (Du Toit, 1940) "one must have leisure and mental quietude for this part of the work and I [Marais] have always lacked both" (p. 263).

7.2.7.2 The life goal

During these years of Marais's life, he continued to pursue his goal through writing, most notably "*The Soul of the Ape*". As mentioned, the year 1921 was one of Marais's most fruitful years with regards to his writing. It is the researcher's opinion that writing was Marais's way to achieve a sense of superiority and overcome feelings of inferiority. His literary output in 1921 presents a picture of Marais's versatility and his abilities as a storyteller. His colourful memories of the Waterberg and his journey to East Africa (i.e., the expedition) were now told for the first time. Marais's "*Dwaalstories*" also appeared in *Die Boerevrou* magazine (Van Vuuren, 2008).

7.2.7.3 Striving for superiority

After leaving the Springbok Flats, Marais returned to Pretoria, where he practised as an advocate (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.6.1). His major work, "*The Soul of the Ape*", occupied his thoughts and he was eager to produce work of scientific value (Rousseau, 1998a), which possibly indicated his need to strive towards superiority. This need to produce a valuable scientific paper corresponds with the researcher's opinion that Marais used writing to overcome his inferiority. Marais was perhaps convinced that if he wrote a worthy scientific paper, he would feel superior. This is evident in the fact that when Marais's article on drought was published at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington (Swart, 2004), he regarded it as one of his main achievements (Rousseau, 2005) (see Section 7.2.6.1).

7.2.7.4 The style of life

Gustav Preller often sent Marais books to review. Sometimes Marais got completely stuck with his writing. He worked irregularly and sometimes too hard. As it often happened, he

overestimated his strength and overworked himself, which led to a relapse. His relapse in 1918 was probably caused by burnout (Rousseau, 2005).

As mentioned, near the end of 1918, Marais completed the draft manuscript of “*The Soul of the Ape*”. Marais was quite dependent on his son’s opinions and suggestions concerning his writing and he did not intend to proceed with any manuscript his son did not approve of (Rousseau, 1998a). This was a very different response compared to the incredible arrogance with which Marais had harassed the Kruger regime as a young editor years before (see Section 7.2.3). However, while working on his intended magnum opus (*The Soul of the Ape*), his self-esteem had suffered severe damage and he was a completely different person (Rousseau, 1998a).

The first publication of “*Dwaalstories*” contains anthropological footnotes by Marais (Van Vuuren, 2008), which indicates that his scientific interest was still prominent, indicating the consistency of his style of life. Marais’s writings provide a very clear view of his mental state and personality. His poems, in particular, reflect him as a person (Du Toit, 1940). In fact, Marais’s son recalled “in any piece of writing by my father you can always see at work the poet, the journalist and the morphine addict” (Rousseau, 2005, p. 52). Marais’s writing method closely accompanied the nature of his self-explained life existence (Du Toit, 1940) “a continual struggle against the deepest precipitation that makes work and conscience very difficult” (p. 232).

It was during this time that Marais started dating Flossie Kay, an attractive young typist. Marais’s son recollected (Rousseau, 2005) “my father was always seeking the love of a woman...” (p. 314). This likely indicates Marais’s pampered style of life and dependence on others and quite possibly his need to fill the void that Lettie left after her death years before. In addition, Marais spent a large amount of time with the grandchildren of his uncle ‘Lang Piet’ (Tall Piet) Marais. To them, he was the most wonderful uncle. Almost every Saturday, he

took the five-year-old Yvonne to the zoo to visit Joe the chimpanzee (Rousseau, 1998a). It seemed that he always needed to have a child or an animal to whom he could give his love (Rousseau, 2005). Marais also crossed paths with the Afrikaans poet, C. Louis Leipoldt. Marais's son recalled that they (Marais and Leipoldt) lived together for a while in 1921 (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004), which is another example of his possible dependence on others (i.e., living together). The reason they stopped living together is, however, unknown.

7.2.7.5 The schema of apperception

Marais's interest in the supernatural continued during this time. A brief paragraph in one of the letters to his son reads (Rousseau, 1998a): "The ghost appeared again last night – this time marching along the land, but it disappeared before we could make up our minds about going to see" (p. 34). Despite Marais's son repeatedly assuring that his father scorned the idea of extrasensory perception or the supernatural, there is room for doubt about this (Rousseau, 1998a). Rousseau (1998b) speculated that Marais at least accepted the possibility of parapsychological phenomena. Mrs. Hannie Preller (Gustav Preller's wife) acknowledged that he would talk about the afterlife (Rousseau, 1998b).

In terms of religious beliefs, Marais practically never went to church, however, he often talked about religion with his son and friends. One night and with little piety, they attended a very stormy service at the Apostolic Church. Marais later remarked to his son and friends (Rousseau, 2005) "they're all looking for a short-cut to salvation – and there isn't one" (p. 300). Individuals with addictions feel as if they have "no sense of self-esteem, no sense of self-worth, a lack of spirituality and no sense of believing in God or a higher power", because it serves no purpose for them (Bauer, 2010, p. 26). Some feel betrayed by God or a Higher Power and are unlikely to see religious beliefs as one of the keys to recovery. Their selfishness and stubbornness can lead to reluctance in believing that something greater than themselves can be

out there (Bauer, 2010). Marais's contrasting beliefs can be seen in his considerable interest in the supernatural, but his lack of interest in Orthodox religious beliefs.

7.2.7.6 Social interest

By becoming part of his son's circle of friends (Rousseau, 2005), and entering into a relationship with Flossie Kay, Marais exhibited a degree of social interest. Unfortunately, his relationship with Flossie Kay ended in disaster (Rousseau, 1998a). Marais's son recalled (Rousseau, 2005):

My father was always seeking the love of a woman, and many of them became extremely fond of him or fell in love with him because he had so much charm. And then someone would write an anonymous letter to warn the girl and everything would come to an end. That terrible thing [his addiction to morphine] was always in the background. (p. 314)

Marais's need for the affection of a woman may indicate his pampered style of life and possible dependence on others and possibly his need to fill the void that Lettie left after her death as well. In addition, he likely used his 'charm' to get others to like him, thus helping him continue his pampered lifestyle.

After Marais's son was transferred from Pretoria to Ermelo for work reasons, there was a gradual deterioration of Marais and his son's relationship. Most of Marais's family were strongly critical of Marais during this time (Rousseau, 2005). Marais spent a great deal of time with the grandchildren of his uncle 'Lang Piet' Marais (Rousseau, 1998a). It seems that he always needed to have a child or an animal to whom he could give his love and one suspects that these children helped him through a very difficult time in his dependency (Rousseau, 2005).

After his brief relationship with Flossie, Marais fell madly in love with the 16-year-old Joan Harley in 1920 (Rousseau, 2005). However, the relationship ended in a dramatic climax. While Tielman Roos had a dinner party Marais invited Joan to his bedroom, where he turned off the lights, fell down on his knees in front of her and declared that he could not live without her (an indication of his possible dependence on others). She quickly got away from him and when they returned to the living room, Marais grabbed a pistol from a side table and shot a hole through the ceiling. Tielman Roos dived under the sofa and Marais started shooting at both sides of the sofa (Rousseau, 2005). Addicts exhibit violent and aggressive behaviour in excessively greater proportion than the general population. Accordingly, addiction causes those affected to exhibit high levels of violent behaviour and high levels of anger (Grisso, Davis, Vesselinov, Appelbaum, & Monahan, 2000; Reilly & Shopshire, 2000).

Despite his apparent lack of social interest/community feeling during this period, he still exhibited some degree of social interest with his “*Dwaalstories*”, which were the first to present the Bushman²² in an aesthetically beautiful light. This illustrated his continued acceptance of different races and is thus an indication that he possessed a degree of social interest.

7.2.7.7 Inferiority complex

Despite using writing as a way to compensate for inferiority, Marais still used large amounts of morphine. Marais’s physician during this time was able to successfully put him on Chlorodyne to reduce his morphine dose (Rousseau, 2005). However, it was soon discovered that Marais was secretly supplementing his Chlorodyne. This is what Adler considered the signs of a neurotic; a rigid style of life and an unwillingness to change one’s poor strivings toward superiority (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). When things went

²² An aboriginal race considered the original inhabitants of the largest part of Southern Africa. Known for their wrinkled complexion, extraordinary sharp eyesight and sense of art and music (Rosenthal, 1972).

reasonably well, Marais refused to recognise the problem or talk about it, however, after the shooting incident (see Section 7.2.7.6) Marais took on any treatment opportunity (Rousseau, 2005). This example illustrates Adler's (1930, 1996b) conviction that neurotics really do suffer from their symptoms (in Marais's case the effects of morphine). Marais's willingness to go for treatment indicated that he did suffer from his 'symptoms' and did want to change.

7.2.8 Heidelberg (1922-1926)

7.2.8.1 Sense of inferiority

Marais attempted to overcome his sense of inferiority through his literary contributions. During this time, Marais wrote the articles that eventually led to the book "*The Soul of the White Ant*" (Marais, 1973). Marais wrote the article "*Verskynsels van die Dieresiel*" (Phenomena of the Animal Soul), which was published early in 1923 in *Die Burger*. Later that year the first six chapters of "*Die Siel van die Mier*" (*The Soul of the White Ant*) appeared intermittently in *Die Huisgenoot* magazine, which was to prove the leading popular work of its kind in Afrikaans (Gray, 2013). After the termite articles, Marais also adapted certain portions of "*The Soul of the Ape*" into popularised Afrikaans articles, published later in 1926 in *Die Huisgenoot* (Rousseau, 1998a).

Adler (1929) proposed that at some point, some poets and philosophers are driven by an unconscious fear of death. This fear may be overcome by creating some lasting cultural contribution (Woodman, 1981). This quotation parallels quite well with Marais and his need to create literary pieces. He was often preoccupied with death, especially later in his life (see Section 7.2.9.4). The researcher is of opinion that this may have been due to his wife, Lettie, as well as both his parents dying in his early adulthood years. According to Adler, the creative individual is seen as serving a more useful social function than a non-creative person

(Woodman, 1981). Creativity is the normal, healthy adaptive functioning of the encouraged person. Creativity becomes neurotic when it is rigid, destructive, or lacking in social interest or cooperation.

Marais's son began collecting his father's poems for publication. Gustav Preller offered to provide the collected poems with biographical information on Marais, but Marais was very unwilling to provide such information. "All the bad things can wait until I'm dead," he wrote to Pienaar in April 1923 (Rousseau, 2005, p. 353). The researcher is of opinion that Marais's unwillingness to have people dwell into his past (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.4.8) illustrated a lack of social interest caused by his sense of inferiority, which may have been because of his guilt over his actions during and after the Second Anglo Boer War, as well as his shame over his excessive morphine use.

Marais's sense of inferiority was especially apparent during this period of his life (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.7). He continuously relapsed (indicating his rigid style of life), despite the friendship and treatment he received from Dr Visser (Rousseau, 2005). As mentioned, those (individuals with addiction) with a pampered style of life are "not interested in getting well because of being comfortable with their lifestyle and see no real reason to get better, believing consequences are not severe enough to change" (Bauer, 2010, p. 16). His relapses led to humiliation and embarrassment and in severe cases he confined himself to his room, refusing to interact with others.

7.2.8.2 The life goal

Marais pursued his goals through the act of writing. His continuous literary contributions during this time (especially his work *The Soul of the White Ant*) illustrates that he was relentless in achieving his goal in order to feel superior. It is interesting to note that despite having severe relapses during this time (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.7.2 and 3.3.7.3), he continued to write

articles probably to overcome the sense of inferiority that the relapses caused. Anger and frustration are triggers for relapse in both the intrapersonal and interpersonal domains (Litt, Kadden, Cooney, & Kabela, 2003). In addition, negative emotions can lead to high levels of relapse.

7.2.8.3 Striving for superiority

Marais presented an increased need to strive towards superiority, as he wrote numerous articles (as indicated, the researcher argues that Marais used writing as a way to strive toward superiority). The six chapters he wrote in *Die Huisgenoot* on “*Die Siel van die Mier*” (*The Soul of the White Ant*) is a distinctive example of his increased need for superiority during this time.

“Nothing would be called worthwhile, if it were not worthwhile for the whole of mankind” (Adler, 1931b, p. 226). Marais’s writings can be considered beneficial to mankind and an indication of social interest. It is also important to note that his poem “*Winternag*” was an important contribution to the Afrikaans Language Movement, which strengthens the assumption that Marais’s literary contributions were beneficial to ‘mankind’. “*Winternag*” also routinely appears in nearly every anthology of Afrikaans poetry (Visagie, 2015). The popularity of Marais’s “*Winternag*” indicates that his literary contributions were beneficial to his community. Adler (1976) put it quite succinctly:

All the advantages which we enjoy in our present culture have been made possible by the efforts of people who have contributed. If individuals have not been cooperative, have not been interested in others, have made no contribution to the whole, their whole life has been futile, they have disappeared and left no trace behind them. Only the work of those men who have contributed survives. Their spirit continues and their spirit is eternal. (p. 144)

7.2.8.4 The style of life

In Heidelberg, Marais lived in the Grand Hotel for a short while before living with Mrs. Maria Swart (Rousseau, 2005). Despite writing articles, he still found it difficult to keep his morphine use within limits. Before it went completely out of hand, he contacted Dr Frans Daubenton for assistance. When asked whether Marais really wanted to be healed, Dr Daubenton answered with conviction that he did (Rousseau, 2005). The primary goal of individuals seeking help is to release themselves from discomfort, pain and suffering (Bauer, 2010). Those who ask for help are interested in changing their situation. In May 1923, Marais's brother Charles died. After this incident, Marais ended his account at Dr Daubenton. This act of abruptly ending his account seems consistent with Marais's style of life. Marais was prone to flee in times of crisis, ending his account with Dr Daubenton was also a way to escape (i.e., fleeing).

Useless styles of life produce no productive movement, leading the individual to be entirely devoted, or almost so, to safeguarding status (Stone, 2013). All energy in the useless mode is focused upon maintaining a stationary position rather than using this same energy in productively moving to achieve useful accomplishments. According to Stone (2013), "a safeguarding mode results in the stubborn resistance people show in not making productive use of time and circumstance" (p. 58). All energy is devoted to maintaining the status quo rather than moving toward productivity (Stone, 2013). This could be regarded as a good explanation of the effects that Marais's morphine use had on his life. By using morphine, Marais stayed in a stationary position in which he was not productive; one recalls that he stayed in his room, isolated himself and did not go to work. His stubbornness of not wanting to change the status quo (i.e., give up morphine) might have been because he feared the effect these changes would have had on his lifestyle. Marais, therefore, did seem to have a rigid style of life, which he found difficult to change. Addiction makes it easier for some of these people to cope and not

face reality. It becomes an effective way of evading life tasks for individuals who lack the courage to participate in their social relationships. In the process they become considerably self-centred. They use their addiction to deal with all aspects of life. Addiction delays the normal development and alienates the individual from self, their core values and society. They believe they have no sense of belonging or significance in the world (Yang et al., 2010).

In 1925, writing was Marais's only source of income. Marais started to appear in worn and shabby clothes during this time. He received medical treatment and medicine from his friend Dr Visser, his food mostly from Brenda Steyn (a widow whom he regularly visited and eventually dated) and his pocket money from Connie Pistorius (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.7) (Rousseau, 2005). From his son, he only received financial assistance when he asked for it and when there was really no other option. Letters from this period indicate that Marais insisted that his son should visit him (Rousseau, 1998b). These examples indicate Marais's possible dependence on others, as well as his possible pampered style of life. He used others to assist him in times of need (whether it was for financial assistance or because he needed morphine). This had been a consistent pattern throughout his life and still seemed to continue while he resided in Heidelberg.

7.2.8.5 The schema of apperception

In terms of religious beliefs, Marais practically never went to church and openly declared his belief that a concept like that was childish. His free-thinking articles did not go unnoticed in the ecclesiastical circles. An example of this was the local parson's concern about Marais's acceptance of the theory of evolution (Rousseau, 2005).

7.2.8.6 *Social interest*

Marais's view pertaining to religion was that the concept of going to church was childish (Rousseau, 2005). As mentioned above, his iconoclastic articles caused unrest in the ecclesiastical circles. Marais's scepticism about religious beliefs and acceptance of the theory of evolution led to quarrels with the local parson (Rousseau, 2005) and possibly led to Marais being socially ostracised as well.

Marais's contributions to the scientific community and society can be seen in the fact that his work (especially *The Soul of the White Ant*) had been translated and published in various languages such as English in 1937, Dutch (1958), German (1973) and Italian (1975) (Gray, 2013; Swart, 2004). With his ethological writings, Marais promoted the image of Afrikaners as a nation capable of advanced research and worthy of being part of the international scientific community (Swart, 2004).

After the death of his brother, Charles, Marais ended his account with Dr Daubenton and Dr A. G. Visser became his physician. "With no other man did Marais have such a close friendship" (Fugard & Devenish, 1977, p. 9). Marais regularly visited Visser's house and soon became friends with his children (Marais, 2001; Rousseau, 2005). Early in 1926, two important relationships arose in Marais's life; one being a love affair with Brenda Steyn. The second was a friendly relationship with an elderly man, Wilhelm Spilhaus, with whom Marais corresponded with for a number of years by letter. Spilhaus was completely unaware of Marais's addiction, which was one of the main reasons why Marais saw Spilhaus as an acceptable correspondent (Rousseau, 2005). Marais wrote to Spilhaus (Rousseau, 2005) "the interest you have expressed and your kindly consideration induces me to break a rule I was forced to adopt- not to reply through the post to any communication unless it was of direct value" (p. 370). This statement confirms Marais's possible lack of social interest during this time. Marais's decision to correspond with Spilhaus was fuelled by the fact that Spilhaus was

unaware of his addiction. This is a possible indication of Marais's feelings of inferiority (i.e., sensitivity) about his addiction, as he did not want other people to know or remark on it. This is supported by the fact that he only allowed a handful of people (including his son) to know about his addiction.

In these years, further deliveries from Marais appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* magazine some as a result of his friendship with Visser (Rousseau, 2005). It is surprising that Marais, in spite of such strong inhibitory factors (e.g., morphine dependence), was able to write poetry of excellent quality (Du Toit, 1940). Despite some very well written pieces, Marais was never able to write full-length novels or longer pieces, as his dependency on morphine very often left him unable to work for long periods. That being said, it is important to note that Marais was able to complete more elaborate literary pieces when he was in good mental health. The largest part of "*Die Siel van die Mier*" and a lot of his poems originated at the time when he received friendship and assistance from Dr Visser (Du Toit, 1940). This is an excellent example of how important social interest is to an individual's psychological maturity, as Adler (1964) regarded social interest as the essence of mental health and the ultimate necessity for human evolution (Chéze, 2009).

Despite his friendship with Dr Visser and his literary contributions, Marais had a sudden relapse in the winter of 1926. Visser arranged that Marais should go through a withdrawal treatment on a farm called Steenkampskraal. While Marais was recovering there, he nevertheless wanted to get away (Rousseau, 2005). A letter to Preller gives the impression that Marais tried to, perhaps unconsciously, arouse sympathy (Du Toit, 1940). "Everything has collapsed: hope, ambition, longing - under the shadow of fear and humiliating struggle for an existence that is only suffering" (p. 260). This is another indication of his rigid style of life and unwillingness to change despite suffering. When the directorship of the Pretoria zoo became vacant, Marais went for an interview at the zoo and returned to Steenkampskraal. He

also tried to befriend Meyer's ten-year-old daughter, Corrie. However, she was one of the few children who were afraid of him (Rousseau, 2005). Despite his attempts to arouse sympathies from others such as Preller, Marais still tried to get a job (life task of work) at the Pretoria zoo (which also indicates his continued interest in animals), as well as befriend Corrie. Therefore, despite his apparent neurotic symptoms, he still tried to follow a useful style of life, which included a degree of social interest.

7.2.8.7 Inferiority complex

In Marais's scientific writing (especially *The Soul of the White Ant*), he persistently undermined European expertise, criticising Fabre, Bugnion, Forel and European scientists in general (Swart, 2004). This may indicate an exaggerated sense of inferiority and a need to make himself seem superior compared to other scientists. Despite writing articles, he still found it difficult to keep his morphine use within limits. As mentioned, he contacted Dr Frans Daubenton for assistance, as Marais really wanted to receive treatment. This indicates Adler's (1930, 1996b) belief that despite the neurotic's rigid lifestyle, he still suffered from his symptoms and wished to change it.

Marais's difficulty with trying to change his rigid style of life is also illustrated when he went to Durban on vacation with Connie Pistorius. Here Marais bought and used a large amount of morphine. The holiday was a disaster, as rumours of the incident reached Heidelberg. After Marais's return from Durban, it was commonly known that he was dependent on morphine and in Durban he indulged and caused a scandal. At this stage, Marais decided to abandon his legal practice completely. This incident illustrates his possible sensitivity towards others knowing about his morphine dependence. During this time, Marais wrote to his son (Rousseau, 1998b):

I am in a financial corner & unless I can get out it will mean the end of the business here as far as I am concerned. I incurred a considerable amount of debt ... Now I am suddenly faced with an old liability which I cannot meet, or at least not all of it... I want £25 immediately. (p. 95)

This letter indicates Marais's dependence on others (especially his son) and how he often seemed to use others for assistance (an indication of his pampered style of life). His son had to assist his father numerous times when there were financial issues. Despite having an alienating relationship (Rousseau, 1998a) with his father, Marais's son often helped him in times of need.

As mentioned, Marais had a sudden relapse in the winter of 1926. His friend, Dr Visser, sent Marais for withdrawal treatment on a farm called Steenkampskraal. The withdrawal treatment on Steenkampskraal was very difficult, although Marais eventually got accustomed to his low dosage and started to recover (Rousseau, 2005). On the farm, he completed an article about euphoric poisoning, which he sent to *Die Huisgenoot* (Van Luijk, 2014). He mentioned all of the drugs and narcotics in the article except morphine. Nowhere in all of his writings, private or public, did the word 'morphine' ever appear. He only mentioned it in very intimate conversations he had with his son (Rousseau, 2005). This reluctance to even write the word 'morphine', likely illustrates his own inferior feelings towards the drug. The researcher is of opinion that this might have been because Marais felt embarrassed about his morphine use to such an extent that he did not even want to mention the word; it was almost as if he treated the word 'morphine' as a profanity. The article also discussed 'pain' (which was a recurring theme throughout his writings). Marais's philosophical justification for his morphine use was that certain individuals turn to euphoric poisons because merely existing is painful for them (Rousseau, 1998b). Marais wrote in one of his manuscripts (Rousseau, 1998b) "if a man has to live in Hell, he prefers to live there drunk rather than sober" (p. 68). Here, Marais

acknowledged that he seemed to use morphine as a safeguarding mechanism to handle life's difficulties (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The recurring theme of pain, throughout Marais's writings may indicate his style of life. Continuously writing about pain was possibly a way he tried to garner sympathy from others. This is especially probable as it corresponds with his speculated pampered/dependent lifestyle.

Despite progressing in his recovery on Steenkampskraal, Marais managed to obtain his weekly supply and injected himself. He barely made it to his room and stayed in bed in a stupor for three days. After this incident, Dr Visser brought Marais back to Heidelberg. Here, Marais's lack of proper clothing and shame kept him locked in during the day; only in the evening did he dare to venture outside (Rousseau, 2005). His relapse indicates his neurotic tendency of keeping with his rigid style of life despite the fact that he suffered from his neurotic symptoms (e.g., he stayed in bed in a stupor for three days). Adlerian theory stresses that a rigid style of life is an indication of being neurotic. They are unwilling to give up their symptoms no matter how much suffering it causes (Adler, 1930, 1996b). Gustav Preller decided that Marais could perhaps help him at *Ons Vaderland* (later *Die Vaderland*) newspaper where Preller was the editor (Swart, 2004). Marais wrote to Preller (Rousseau, 2005):

I think my time here has broken me so that I would never recover. I will be of little help to you... It's going very difficult, more difficulty than I have ever had in my life. It is a constant fight against the deepest depression that makes work and concentration very difficult. I will wait however and do my best to keep up... I wanted to tell you that I entered into extreme misery. My clothes (I only have one or two pieces left) I cannot wash so that I have to practically stay in my room during the day. On the letter I put my last postage stamp. (p. 387)

In some of these letters, there is a tone of self-pity that Marais sometimes revealed to his closest friends. Marais's view of his own life is illustrated in the letters he wrote in Heidelberg

(Du Toit, 1940) “in the last while I’ve been plunged into a night of depression and nervousness, with increasing sleeplessness” (p. 258). The burden of living sometimes became so heavy that he would tell Preller that (Du Toit, 1940) “just the shimmer of hope you have created enabled me to avoid the easiest escape” (p. 258). In late April 1927, Marais wrote a letter to Preller that contained a thinly veiled threat which implied ‘care for me or attach your approval to my suicide’ (Du Plessis, 1988; Marais, 2001). Preller did not hesitate and in May 1927, Marais moved to Pretoria and stayed with the Preller’s in Blackwood Street (Rousseau, 2005). These letters again illustrated Marais’s possible dependence on others and his speculated pampered style of life, which Adler (1929, 1930) regarded as the lifestyle that eventually led to neurotic behaviour. The severity of Marais’s rigid lifestyle is indicated by him going so far as to manipulate others into feeling guilty if they did not assist him.

7.2.9 The last take (1927-1936)

7.2.9.1 Sense of inferiority

By this time, Marais’s correspondence with Spilhaus has been going on for five years. In 1931, Spilhaus persuaded Marais to turn his series of *Huisgenoot* articles on termites into a more ambitious form in English. In one letter after another Marais gave updates that the progress of processing the articles in English was going well. However, Marais started to doubt his own abilities and wrote to Spilhaus (Du Toit, 1940):

It [the article] is even now not quite what I would like it to be, - in fact, the entire article is lacking in many respects. But that is largely due to my existing environments. I could not command the necessary peace of mind which is very necessary in work of this nature. (p. 263)

His doubt in his own abilities illustrates his possible use of safeguarding mechanisms. In addition, Marais blames his environment as the cause of his lack of abilities, which may illustrate his tendency to put the blame on factors outside of his control, which is one of the characteristics of a neurotic (Adler, 1964). They are evoked by the oversensitivity of neurotics and their fear of criticism and disgrace. The safeguarding mechanism is used by the individual to get rid of the feeling of inferiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais appeared to use excuses in case he could not achieve his goals, which indicates how inferior he felt about his own abilities. He also used excuses such as these when he was in London when he would constantly apologise for the delay of the translation of *The Transvaal from Within* (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.9).

Marais lied and exaggerated about biographical information in the interviews that Du Toit (1940) conducted (Swart, 2004), for example, his date of birth. Marais also recalled that his mother was Sophia van Niekerk, although her real name was Catharina. He said that he was 15 years old in 1887 when he finished matric, but in 1887 Marais was 16. The reason why Marais's erroneously called his mother Sophia, might be because he had a close relationship with his sister Sophie Ueckerman (Rousseau, 1998b). The researcher is of opinion that Marais's lies and exaggerations are an indication of his sense of inferiority. Lying and exaggerating was something he had done throughout his life and was especially apparent when he was abroad in London (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.10). Thus, he incorporated lying and exaggeration into his style of life to compensate for feeling inferior and as a way to achieve his goals.

Near the end of 1935, Marais began corresponding with Dr Winifred de Kok, who wanted to translate Marais's books, specifically "*The Soul of the White Ant*". In Marais's first letter, he accepted her proposal and told her about his life and his work. Here, Marais also lied about

his age, as he wrote that he participated in the war as a boy, which indicates that he wanted to appear younger than he really was (Rousseau, 2005):

As a boy I took part in the last war against the English. You will perhaps be astonished to learn what my psychological reactions were to this jumble of circumstances. The most enduring result was that it made me far more bitter than men who took part in the war at a more advanced age and who had had less to do with the English before the war. It was for purely sentimental reasons that I refused to write in any language except Afrikaans and notwithstanding the fact that I am far more fluent and more at ease in English. (p. 493)

The researcher is of opinion that Marais's feelings of inferiority possibly influenced him to lie about his age. He even felt compelled to write that he participated in the war as a boy, perhaps also a way to mitigate his feelings of inferiority. These lies (which were a part of his lifestyle) possibly indicate his desire to appear superior. As mentioned, the researcher is convinced that Marais chose lying and exaggeration as a way to compensate for his feelings of inferiority.

Marais's use of lying and exaggeration is also seen in another letter to Dr Winifred de Kok, which supports the idea that he made lying and exaggeration a part of his lifestyle. In the letter, Marais explained the Maeterlinck plagiarism case (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.8.1), but put it much more strongly and exaggerated much more (Rousseau, 1998a):

...The famous author had paid me the left-handed compliment of cribbing the most important part of my work... He clearly desired his readers to infer that he had arrived at certain of my theories (the result of ten years of hard labour in the veld) by his own unaided reason, although he admits that he never saw a termite in his life. You must understand that it was not merely plagiarism of the spirit of the thing, so to speak. He has copied page after page verbally. (p. 43)

This letter illustrates Marais's attempt to be portrayed as the victim, which would be consistent with his proposed pampered lifestyle. The words "the result of ten years of hard labour in the veld" (Rousseau, 1998a, p. 43) make it apparent that he tried to appear as the victim and wanted to gather sympathies from Dr de Kok.

7.2.9.2 The life goal

While the life goal is created unconsciously, it can be practically displayed in a person's daily behaviours. Marais sought fame through his scientific writings. Throughout his life, his dream was to create a magnum opus. While Marais maintained that he was 'not concerned with publicity', Dr Winifred De Kok noted that although Marais is remembered for his poetry, it is for his scientific writing, particularly on termites, for which he would wish to be remembered (Swart, 2004). In fact, it was especially in his scientific prose that he pertinently reported, reflected and theorised with great confidence (Marais, 2001). Marais had "always longed to be remembered as a scientist, hoping his work would live on and he would be remembered for his work on animal behaviour" (Swart, 2004, p. 220). Thus, his possible life goal (i.e., what he aimed for to diminish his sense of inferiority) was, in a practical sense, to create a piece of scientific worth. He actively pursued this goal despite being dragged down many times by his morphine addiction.

7.2.9.3 Striving for superiority

Maurice Maeterlinck was a world-famous Nobel prize laureate who was accused of having used Marais's concept of the 'organic unity' of the termitary in his 1926 book "*La Vie des Termites*" (The Life of the White Ant). Marais promoted his side of the story through the South African press and attempted an international lawsuit, but this was to prove financially impossible and the case was not pursued (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van Luijk, 2014). The

plagiarism case was, however, highly exaggerated and whether Marais's theory was plagiarised is still debated by many researchers (Olivier, 2015; Rousseau, 1998a; Van Luijk, 2014; Van Reybrouck, 2001). Marais was a journalist, poet, as well as a morphine addict; all of which caused a lack of accuracy and a tendency to truth compaction (Myburgh, 2009). The researcher is of the opinion that Marais used the Maeterlinck case as a way to achieve a sense of superiority. This was achieved by making himself appear as the victim of the plagiarism. Marais won "a measure of renown as the aggrieved party and as an Afrikaner researcher who had opened himself up to plagiarism because he published in Afrikaans" (Swart, 2004, p. 205). Marais "wove this story into the fantasy he constructed of his own sense of biography; he made it part of the mythology surrounding his addiction to morphine" (Swart, 2004, p. 129). Marais's attempt at gaining superiority paid off in the end as the scandal boosted his own book sales and helped to increase his status within South Africa (Swart, 2004).

While Marais accused Maeterlinck of stealing his concept, the originator of Marais's idea was actually a Harvard professor of entomology, William Morton Wheeler (1865 - 1937) (Mieny, 1984; Van Luijk, 2014; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). However, being in the remote Waterberg, Marais probably did not know of Wheeler's theory and came to his theory by himself (Rousseau, 2005). In addition, evidence shows that Marais had copied from others and had not only not acknowledged them but later maintained that their theories derived from his work (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). This copying of other's work and maintaining that their theories came from his own work may also illustrate Marais's strive towards superiority. It may also indicate an inferiority complex as this was an exaggerated attempt to achieve superiority only for himself without benefitting others.

After losing the Lamont case (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.8.3), Marais's morphine use increased. However, Marais's doctors were able to safely lower his dose without causing serious withdrawal symptoms. In January 1933, after a deep slump of the previous year, the

stories flowed out of his pen (Rousseau, 2005). His contributions to *Die Vaderland* newspaper continued month after month. Thirty articles and stories (some very long) appeared. This illustrates how he tried to compensate for his feelings of inferiority, especially after the Lamont case. The natural phenomena of drought was a prominent theme in his literary productions of this year.

7.2.9.4 The style of life

Dreams form part of one's style of life (Adler, 1931a). It may be a way to solve an individual's problems. Whereas nightmares may be an indication of the direct intention to avoid something (Mosak & Maniacci, 2008). Marais's story "*Salaz y Gomez*" portrays the world of dreams and nightmares brought on by extensive morphine use. One of Marais's own dreams appears in "*Salas y Gomez*", a dream which was repeated night after night with variations. In the dream, Marais is in a huge cave at night. He boards a carriage and six black horses race with a thunderous pace through a series of endless, dark caves. The carriage is a hearse and Marais is on his way to his own funeral. In the dark, the twilight of fires flew past one after the other (Rousseau, 2005). The thought of death often preoccupied him, which was why he probably had recurring dreams of this nature (Rousseau, 2005). One colleague recalled that in his [Marais's] waking hours he suffered from "a frightful sense of impending doom" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 445). Dreams are an indication of the individual's inner world, difficult to interpret and are very valuable to psychobiographers (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). Adler acknowledged the importance of dreams in understanding the person's behaviour. He regarded dreams as an indication of a person's fictional goals and, more specifically, as an attempt to move from present problems towards accomplishing established goals (Rychlak, 1981). For Adler, dreams were oriented toward the present problems and future goals of the person and not toward conflicts of the past. Thus, Marais's dreams about death might have meant that it

was a present problem that bothered him during his walking hours. Alder maintained that dreams should never be interpreted without taking the knowledge of the person's situation and his or her lifestyle into account.

It appeared that Marais continued to use writing as a way to compensate for feelings of inferiority. During this time, his contributions to *Die Vaderland* newspaper continued month after month. The researcher is of opinion that this constant need to write indicated his need to compensate for recurrent inferiority feelings.

Marais often accompanied the Preller's to their farm, Pelindaba, on weekends. Pelindaba became Marais's refuge for withdrawal treatment. Here, Marais became friends with one of Hannie Preller's brothers, Lood Pretorius. At Pelindaba, Marais repeated old patterns, for example, he conducted studies on insects and hypnotised an old Bushman, he even had a girlfriend, who was about 20 years old, for a short while (Rousseau, 2005).

Marais's lying and exaggerations continued during this period of his life, as illustrated by the lies he told in the interviews with Du Toit (1940) (Swart, 2004). Marais's lies and exaggerations possibly indicate his sense of inferiority. Lying and exaggerating was something he had done throughout his life and was especially apparent when he was abroad in London (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.10). Thus, Marais incorporated lying and exaggeration into his style of life as a way to compensate for feeling inferior.

In January 1936, after his birthday, he wrote to his boarder, Mrs. Jessie Cross, to say how much he missed her after she and her daughter had moved (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.8.2 and 3.3.8.5). For Edna Cross, he added a footnote saying that he would write her a separate letter in a day or two, as he had a 'little story' he wanted to tell her (Rousseau, 2005). The story was about a dream he had the night after Edna moved. As mentioned, Adler (1930) regarded dreams as part of one's style of life. In the dream, Marais had to carry peculiar half-opened boxes up a winding path. Then he met an old woman who gave him a baby. In the dream, the baby

resembled a chimpanzee. However, Marais realised that it was Edna as a baby. Rousseau (2005) gave various interpretations of the dream (i.e., that Marais wanted Edna to belong to him or that the baby in the dream may have been Marais's son, as Marais never took care of him as a baby).

7.2.9.5 *The schema of apperception*

In several of Marais's poems, the characters Marais could be identified with were, firstly, women and secondly, dark-skinned. Examples include: "*Diep Rivier*" (Deep river), "*Die Townares*" (The sorceress), "*Mabalêl*", and in the songs of the little Bushman (Khoi-San) girl, Nampti. This connection with people of different races was also noted in London, the Waterberg and in Pretoria (Rousseau, 2005). While these observations indicate his social interest and acceptance of other races, it also illustrates his schema of perception (i.e., his view of himself and the world around him).

7.2.9.6 *Social interest*

During this time, Marais worked at *Ons Vaderland's* newspaper office, which shows that he strived to achieve the life task of work. It was a time of national pride and Marais was a pioneer for Afrikaans prose and language. The reason why Marais wrote in Afrikaans, even though he was more comfortable in English, was out of national loyalty and patriotism (Du Toit, 1940). However, it may also have been because it was considerably easier to sell articles to the Afrikaans language press (Swart, 2004). Marais's connections and the lower standards of these papers made them a more lucrative vehicle. Thus, his contributions to the Afrikaans language was both a contribution to the Afrikaner community (i.e., social interest), as well as an indication of his own strive towards superiority. It is interesting that he "never resisted foreign language translations of his works, in fact he was delighted at the prospect" (Swart,

2004, p. 125). *Ons Vaderland*'s boss wanted Marais to write articles twice a week. From this originated "*Burgers van die Berge*" (My friends the baboons), which appeared as a continuing series for ten weeks (Rousseau, 2005). Thus, Marais still worked (life task of occupation) and exhibited a sense of social interest. In addition, the convicted felons of the Lamont case (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.8.3) were very grateful for Marais's assistance, however, he refused to accept any money from them as a means of their appreciation, which may also illustrate Marais's social interest/community feeling.

Marais worked at *Die Volksstem* newspaper, where he befriended J. C. Vlok, who was the son of Marais's old friend A. C. Vlok. Despite making friends, his social circle languished in the last months of his life. At one point, friends managed to stop Marais from being arrested for financial debt (Mieny, 1984). Mrs. Cross recalled "when he was with us, we occasionally discussed the issue of suicide, and he always said: A person who kills himself, must be a complete coward" (Rousseau, 2005, p. 505). J. C. Volk recollected (Rousseau, 2005):

Almost every day at *Die Volkstem* he talked to me about suicide. I always said it was a cowardly way out; then he gave in, but he added: "Yes, Vlokkie, but there is truly one thing that justifies it, and it's loneliness. It's the most terrible thing in the world. (p. 505)

This response from Marais fits very well with Adler's conviction that social isolation leads to neurotic behaviour, such as suicide (Adler, 1930, 1958; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais's social interest seemed to gradually deteriorate during this period of his life. This was especially apparent when he isolated himself in the bungalows of Pelindaba after losing the Lamont case. His social interest seemed to deteriorate the most when his morphine use was high.

7.2.9.7 Inferiority complex

While Marais accused Maeterlinck of stealing his concept, the originator of Marais's idea (as previously mentioned) was actually a Harvard professor of entomology, William Morton Wheeler (1865 - 1937) (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van Luijk, 2014). However, being in the remote Waterberg, Marais was probably unaware of Wheeler's theory and came to his theory by himself (Rousseau, 2005). Interestingly, evidence shows that Marais had copied from others and even maintained that their theories derived from his work (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). This copying of other's work and maintaining that their theories came from his own work likely illustrates Marais's striving towards superiority. It also indicates a possible inferiority complex as this was an exaggerated attempt to achieve superiority.

After the Lamont case (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.8.3), Marais's inferiority complex worsened. One of Marais's colleagues at *Die Vaderland* during the time recalled that the Lamont case was a complete disaster (Rousseau, 2005):

I was in court, not as a reporter, but as a spectator. Everyone was there. We all wanted to hear what Eugène Marais would say. But the man was not up to the task. Which was understandable as he practiced so long ago. And then his voice, as long as I could remember him, he had a weak voice, a hoarse voice, and on this day his voice was almost completely gone. There the popular image of Eugène Marais crumbled. There he was more fallible than at any other place where people knew him. (p. 439)

After the trial, Marais would never again make a public appearance or go to places where he would attract attention. Later, despite the insistence of his newspaper colleagues, he even refused to attend one of his own plays (Du Toit, 1940; Rousseau, 2005). This indicates how he may have used sensitivity to cope with his inferiority. Sensitivity refers to people's preoccupations with their weaknesses, to the extent that they are easily hurt if any reference is

made to them (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Maladjusted individuals are prone to safeguard their self-esteem by secluding themselves in order to avoid the challenges and demands of life (Olson & Hergenbahn, 2010). They can achieve this in a number of ways, which all involve what Adler (1996a) referred to as an attitude of hesitation, designed by the individual to isolate "... himself from the world and reality in various degrees" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 274). Individuals sidestep threats to their self-esteem, and, therefore, protect themselves from possible failure by avoiding life's challenges and limiting their area of activity (Perry, 2012). Moving backwards, standing still and hesitation are the most prominent of these distancing strategies that Marais appeared to have exhibited (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Moving backwards involves disorders or symptoms such as morphinism, suicidal ideation or suicide. These consist of retreating from the world and provides a reason for withdrawing from personal and social responsibilities (Adler, 1996a; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006). Marais was a morphine addict who committed suicide which corresponds to the distancing safeguard of moving backwards.

Standing still includes a type of paralysis which hinders the individual: "... from moving closer toward the reality of life, from facing the truth, from taking a stand, from permitting a test or a decision regarding his value" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 274). Memory loss is an example of a symptom which may serve the purpose of standing still (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Thus, from an Adlerian perspective, Marais's apparent poor memory, such as when he was unable to recall his mother's name would be regarded as a distancing mechanism of standing still. Standing still helps individuals avoid all responsibility by ensuring themselves against any threat of failure. Marais also exhibited standing still by having 'writer's block' while working on "*The Soul of the Ape*".

Marais's use of hesitation was especially apparent during his time abroad in London (see Section 7.2.4.7). This strategy leads to delaying actions or decisions (procrastinating) until it

is too late. People use hesitation to convince themselves that if they did not have this or that problem, they would be able to accomplish more (Adler, 1996a). The researcher is of opinion that Marais may have used hesitation because he was reluctant to return to South Africa after the war to reconcile the Boers and the British, as well as hesitating to return to South Africa to fight in the war.

After the Lamont case, Marais was both physically and emotionally exhausted. The demands his newspaper colleagues set him were far beyond his abilities and they experienced serious problems to get Marais's deliveries on time (Swart, 2004). Therefore, he was unwilling to contribute to society, which likely illustrates an inferiority complex. Marais moved with the Preller's to Pelindaba in March 1936 (Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004). His son later wrote (Rousseau, 2005):

I saw him frequently in Pretoria and noticed at the beginning of this year a shocking change for the worse. I personally formed the conclusion that the end of the year would not see him alive and I have since heard that when my aunt, his sister [possibly Sophie Ueckerman], met him some time in January in the street and commented on the fact that he did not look well, he said he was feeling very bad and wished he could put an end to it all. (p. 505)

As mentioned, Mrs. Cross recalled (Rousseau, 2005) "when he was with us, we occasionally discussed the issue of suicide, and he always said: A person who kills himself, must be a complete coward" (p. 505). J. C. Volk recalled (Rousseau, 2005):

Almost every day at *Die Volkstem* he talked to me about suicide. I always said it was a cowardly way out; then he gave in, but he added: "Yes, Vlokkie, but there is truly one thing that justifies it, and it's loneliness. It's the most terrible thing in the world. (p. 505)

From an Adlerian perspective, one who commits suicide is regarded as a failure because they are improperly prepared in social feeling (Adler, 1929). Such individuals are non-

cooperative, solitary beings, asocial and they move counter to the rest of the world. They have little social interest and consequently, no self-confidence or courage (Adler, 1930; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Another safeguarding technique that had a significant influence on Marais's behaviour was that of self-accusation or guilt. This is a form of aggression that discouraged individuals often display. It is when the aggressive drive turns upon the self (as in self-torture). It entails, most importantly in Marais's case, suicide (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

The lack of morphine that Marais had on Pelindaba may have been a contributing factor in his suicide. One notes that during the last period of his life, he increasingly isolated himself from others (usually due to his morphine dependence becoming known, thus a sense of inferiority). Maladjusted individuals are prone to safeguard their self-esteem by secluding themselves in order to avoid the challenges and demands of life (Olson & Hergenbahn, 2010). It is a way to protect oneself from hurt (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). They can achieve this in a number of ways, which all involve what Adler (1996a) referred to as an attitude of hesitation, designed by the individual to isolate "... himself from the world and reality in various degrees" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 274). Marais's act of isolation continued on Pelindaba where he isolated himself in the bungalows (indicating his possible discouragement) and refused interaction with others. This example of Marais's own life illustrates how being a non-cooperative, solitary being (i.e., a lack of social interest) affects one's psychological maturity. From an Adlerian perspective, social isolation was undoubtedly a factor that led to Marais's suicide.

The researcher is of the opinion that Marais did not intend to let morphine have such a detrimental effect on his life as it had. This is supported by the fact that he attempted to stop using it on numerous occasions, which indicates that he did not want to pursue such a maladjusted style of life that caused him so many personal and interpersonal miseries. It is

particularly interesting to see the effects that morphine had on all aspects of Marais's life, especially his relationship with others, which is linked to social interest. Adler (1964) regarded social interest as the essence of mental health. Marais's morphine use weakened his bonds with others and negatively influenced his social interest, which led to his poor mental health and therefore possibly affected his choice to commit suicide.

7.3 Concluding remarks and relevance of the theory

While this study provides an individual psychological understanding of Marais, one should note that it is not possible to try and understand Marais's behaviour and writings (Visagie, 2015) solely from Adler's theory, as historical influences (i.e., politics, the Boer Wars, the Afrikaans Language Movement) are also necessary to obtain a holistic and more accurate understanding of what shaped him and made him who he was.

It is the researcher's opinion that Marais practiced the act of social interest while trying to achieve superiority solely for himself. To put a person in either one of the categories of striving for a goal (of either personal or community interest) would be a gross oversimplification of the complexity of human behaviour. Marais appeared to have presented signs of striving toward personal superiority. Some examples include trying to appear as a hero among his people after the war, attempting to write a magnum opus, severely depending on others throughout his life, manipulating others into feeling guilty if they did not help him, playing the victim and lying and exaggerating his own achievements. However, he also exhibited social interest in the form of caring for animals and children. He supported the Afrikaner cause, contributed to Afrikaans literature throughout his life and convinced his *Land en Volk* readers about how corrupt the Kruger regime was. Marais also befriended various races of individuals throughout his life. In addition, he tried to reconcile his people after the Boer War in a peaceful manner. He also practiced as an unlicensed doctor free of charge in the Waterberg and, as mentioned, befriended

many different races of people from an early age (Rousseau, 2005). These examples indicate that Marais presented apparent signs of social interest and also feelings of inferiority. Trying to understand human behaviour is a complex and sometimes very frustrating endeavour. Adler's theory provides a practical way of understanding human motivation and why people do what they do and what people seek to accomplish. His theory is practical without oversimplifying the understanding of the person. Adler's theory also provides possible explanations for why some individual's lie, as Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) focused on the individual's self-created fictions, whether these are accurate or not.

Adler contributed to the view that the individual is socially embedded and stressed the need to evaluate the person within their socio-cultural and historical context (Chéze, 2009). Also, his theory has a strong international appeal, as the notions of social interest, cooperation and striving for superiority appear relevant worldwide (Overholser, 2013). However, his theory failed when it comes to consistency and reproducibility as many of the used terms and definitions lacked comprehensive definitions (Feist & Feist, 2008). His core concepts of compensation, striving for superiority, feelings of inferiority and social interest are neither physical nor behavioural in nature, thus making their measurement impossible (Boeree, 2006; De Bruin, 2018). However, when one assumes a strictly theoretical approach in evaluating the usefulness of Adler's theory, Feist and Feist (2008) noted that a strong point of Adlerian theory is its research-generating potential, as well as its propensity for structuring patient information into a usable matrix. Adler's practical view of life's problems allows his theory the ability to make sense out of what we know about human behaviour. Individual psychology concepts that fit the most with Marais was [sense of inferiority (i.e., morphine addiction), striving toward superiority (i.e., writing a scientific masterpiece) and style of life]. Marais's constant writing illustrates that he experienced a sense of inferiority which he wished to compensate for through writing. In addition, his morphine addiction was a prominent example of his inferiority.

Adler's concept of the style of life was also very useful in highlighting the behavioural patterns throughout Marais's life such as his lifelong interest in nature and his acceptance of different races of people throughout his life.

Some noteworthy speculations the researcher made of Marais was that he used lying as a means to compensate for his inferiority, he was dependent on others throughout his life, writing formed part of his style of life, which he used in an attempt to achieve a sense of superiority, he lived a pampered/dependent style of life, as well as a passive lifestyle (as illustrated by his reluctance to participate in the Boer War) and the reason he used morphine was perhaps his attempt to deal with the challenges of daily life.

The researcher would like to add that Adler's theory also places some focus on early childhood experiences. With some psychobiographical subjects, there are a lack of such information and it makes it almost impossible to use Adler's theory to interpret childhood. While this does not make the application of such a theory impossible, the researcher would still like to mention this as cautionary advice to future researchers who are considering using Adler's theory. While it may be possible to make inferences regarding later adult life and attribute these to childhood experiences (i.e., Marais's pampered personality in his later life means that he was possibly pampered as a child by his mother and later by his brother Charles), one should use them sparsely and only if necessary.

While the use of morphine did have an impact on practically every facet of Marais's life, the researcher felt it reductionistic to dwell on such a topic. The researcher attempted to not interpret Marais's morphine dependence as a reason for all his actions, as this would have caused a very flawed and reductionistic interpretation of his life. While his morphine dependence did have an effect on many, if not every aspect of Marais's life, one notes that he persevered in his attempts to achieve his goals (i.e., writing a literary masterpiece, reconnecting with his own son, his constant strive for a companion), despite the effects that morphine had

on his mental and physical health. Focusing only on a person's addiction would lead to a skewed and reductionistic pathography.

The researcher is of the opinion that Marais possibly presented with an inferiority complex, as Marais was not properly accustomed to life's challenges and he developed poor compensatory strategies (e.g., morphine use). Using morphine was also an egotistical way of compensating as well (which is usually a characteristic of someone with an inferiority complex). Adler (1930) asserted that such individuals might be suicidal. Marais also showed a lack of self-confidence, which was especially apparent when he was in London (see Section 7.2.4), as he constantly lied about his own progress and achievements in order to appear superior to others. The researcher is convinced that while Marais presented social interest (which according to Adler is the best indicator of psychological maturity), his inferiority complex (i.e., morphine dependence) endangered his optimal development. This is illustrated in the debilitating effects that morphine had on many, if not all, areas of his life. For example, knowledge of his morphine dependence usually led to social ostracisation from others.

Marais seemed to have exhibited Adler's getting or leaning (i.e., pampered/dependent) lifestyle type, which encompasses low activity, but high social interest and is the most common lifestyle type (Adler, 1982). Despite these individuals' adoption of community-oriented goals, they exhibit low activity and rely on others to take initiative (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Their lack of independence and undertaking affords them the opportunity to use their charm and manipulative skills to use the help of others for their own tasks of life (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). This is especially illustrated by Marais's constant need for other's assistance in times of crisis (e.g., when he asked his son for financial assistance).

According to Adler, there are four basic styles of life, namely the dominant, getting, avoiding and socially useful type (Schultz & Schultz, 2010). An individual with the dominant style of life behaves without regard for others and include, for example, alcoholics, drug addicts

or suicides (Boeree, 2006). The getting type (to Adler, the most common human type) expects to receive satisfaction from other people and thus becomes dependent on them. The avoiding type makes no attempt to face life's problems. By avoiding difficulties, this person avoids any possibility of failure. The socially useful type cooperates with others and acts in accordance with their needs. These persons cope with problems within a well-developed framework of social interest.

Despite Marais fitting well with the getting/leaning lifestyle type, he also exhibited characteristics from the other styles of life. Marais had a passive ruling characteristic of being a drug addict and suicide. He also exhibited avoiding type characteristics by using morphine to such an extent that he avoided life's difficulties. The most apparent characteristic of the getting/leaning lifestyle type that Marais exhibited was being overly sensitive. These people form a shell around themselves for protection, but they must rely on others to help them through life's difficulties. When overwhelmed, they develop neurotic symptoms depending on individual details of their lifestyle (Boeree, 2006). Marais also exhibited some characteristics of the avoiding type. This was especially evident when he isolated himself in his room during morphine stupors. During such times he showed low social interest and preferred to retreat into his own personal world. Despite Marais exhibiting socially useless lifestyle types he also exhibited the socially useful lifestyle. This is apparent with regards to his love for animals and children, writing literary pieces for the Afrikaans community, willingly trying to reconcile his people after the War in a peaceful manner, befriending Lord Alfred Milner and practising as an unlicensed medical doctor in the Waterberg without asking a fee. Adler was generally opposed to rigidly classifying or typing people into a certain lifestyle type, stating that he proposed these four styles solely for teaching purposes (Boeree, 2006; Schultz & Schultz, 2010). He cautioned therapists to avoid the mistake of assigning people to mutually exclusive

categories. Marais is a good example of how one cannot put a psychobiographical subject into a single lifestyle category.

Marais also exhibited signs of a useless side of life (as illustrated by his morphine addiction). Those on this side of life fail to support social interest and move in uncooperative, selfish or overly competitive ways (Manaster & Corsini, 1982). Substance abuse problems develop selfish pleasure-seeking behaviours without social interest. While Marais did sometimes display a lack of social interest, the researcher disagrees with this rigid conception that individuals with addiction problems are solely uncooperative and selfish. Marais was able to achieve great things throughout his life and his work still lives on many years after his death. His “output as a poet and short story writer, as well as the pioneer populariser of nature studies ... have ensured him the status of a unique cultural icon” (Gray, 2013, p. 63). Adler (1964) stated:

A man of genius is primarily a man of supreme usefulness... If we apply the social measure to artists and poets, we note that they serve a social function more than anyone else. They have taught us how to see, how to think, and how to feel... Thus we attribute to them the greatest dignity, that of being the friends and leaders of mankind. (p. 153)

With this in mind, one realises that despite Marais displaying neurotic characteristics, he was still an extraordinary and enigmatic individual who was able to help others in various ways. Table 7.2 provides the reader with a summary of which Adlerian constructs were most apparent during significant periods of Marais’s life.

Table 7.2

*The most prominent Adlerian constructs during the significant historical periods of Eugène**Marais's life.*

HISTORICAL PERIOD	PROMINENT ADLERIAN CONSTRUCTS
7.2.2 An image of youth (1871-1887)	<p>Marais's strive for superiority was evident during this period of his life. Creating a literary piece (<i>The Soldier's Grave</i>) indicates Marais's attempt to achieve superiority. Marais was also a journalist for the Union Debating Society, which indicates his strive for superiority.</p> <p>His social interest was manifested in his interest in animals and nature.</p>
7.2.3 Land and Volk (1888-1896)	<p>Marais's sense of inferiority was especially prominent during this period. Significant events that indicate his sense of inferiority pertains to his use of morphine, his constant clashes with the Kruger regime, fleeing to his brother in times of crisis (e.g., Lettie's death) instead of facing his problems and leaving his new-born son in the care of his sister before he departed to London.</p>
7.2.4 The wide world (1897-1901)	<p>Marais's strive for superiority was particularly evident during this time, which can even be considered to have been a superiority complex (see Section 7.2.4.7). His constant lies and exaggerations about his own achievements in an attempt to appear superior compared to others, formed part of his style of life. For example, on the application form of the Inner Temple, Marais claimed that his late father was an advocate and that Marais studied at the Cape University. He also lied about his study progress, claiming that he was excelling, despite performing poorly. He further claimed to have been an expert at deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. The researcher is of opinion that Marais's lies and exaggerations may likely have been influenced by the societal expectations placed on men during his lifetime (i.e., masculine protest).</p> <p>Marais's social interest was also prominent during this time, as illustrated by his decision to reconcile the Boers and the British after the War (see Section 7.2.4.6). While one can speculate that this decision might have been fuelled by Marais's own guilt feelings of not participating in the War and thus an attempt to mitigate his inferiority feelings, the researcher is of opinion that this was also an act that positively aligned with social interest, as it benefitted both Marais's feelings of superiority while assisting his community.</p> <p>Marais's immersion in esotericism illustrates his schema of apperception. He was particularly interested in hypnosis (see Section 7.2.4.5).</p> <p>Marais's use of the safeguarding technique of hesitation was particularly apparent during this period. The researcher is of opinion that Marais may have used hesitation when he was reluctant to return to South Africa after the war to reconcile the Boers and the British, as well as hesitating to return to South Africa to fight in the war (see Section 7.2.4.7).</p> <p>Marais's tendency to place obstacles in the way of his goals was also apparent in the letters he wrote during this time (see Section 7.2.4.7). Safeguarding mechanisms serve as excuses for people to not obtain their goals or to avoid dealing with life's problems, while simultaneously protecting their self-esteem (Adler, 1996a, 1996b; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Delaying the finishing of the book (<i>The Transvaal from Within</i>) was possibly Marais's way of trying to safeguard his sense of self-worth. Marais also blamed his poor health as a reason for not making deadlines or fulfilling obligations (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.3.11 and 3.3.3.12).</p>
7.2.5 A new beginning (1902-1906)	<p>Marais's goals were prominent during this time and one of his goals was to reconcile the Boers and the British. By aiming to achieve this, he would gain a sense of superiority and a feeling that he contributed to the safety of his people after the War. He likely wanted to achieve this goal as a way to diminish his own sense of guilt over his lack of participation in the war and justify his good intentions. Another possible</p>

	<p>goal he wanted to achieve was to reconnect with his son, Eugène Charles (see Section 7.2.5.2).</p> <p>During this period, he also made a particularly noteworthy contribution to the Afrikaans literature, namely writing the poem “<i>Winternag</i>” (Mieny, 1984; Rousseau, 2005; Swart, 2004; Van der Merwe, 2015), which served as a striving for superiority.</p>
7.2.6 Waterberg (1907-1917)	<p>Since his school years, Marais was obsessed with the natural phenomena of drought (Visagie, 2015). When he lived in the Waterberg, he experienced a devastating five-year drought (Rousseau, 1998a). The researcher is of the opinion that Marais’s personal experience with this drought increased his sense of inferiority, as he perhaps felt a complete lack of control over the effects of the drought. He decided to take over a rainfall station in Rietfontein in October 1912 (Rousseau, 2005), which was probably a way for him to compensate for the lack of control he had over the drought and its devastating effects. Working at the station also enabled him to write an article which was published later in the United States of America at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington (Swart, 2004). For him, this article was one of his main achievements (Rousseau, 2005). In addition, his articles also contributed to the scientific community, thus indicating a degree of social interest. These examples illustrate that Marais’s strive for superiority was particularly apparent during his stay in the Waterberg.</p> <p>On the farm, Rietfontein, Marais practised as an unlicensed doctor free of charge (Rousseau, 1998a, 2005; Swart, 2004). This act of helping others, without asking any compensation, illustrates Marais’s social interest. It also clashes with his neurotic behaviour, most notably his morphine use, which Adler (1930) regarded as a socially useless act with no benefit to others (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Marais’s strive for superiority/inferiority feeling was particularly apparent in his pursuit to write a literary masterpiece (see Section 7.2.6.3). This is evident in his intensive termite and baboon studies during his time in the Waterberg, which would eventually lead to <i>The Soul of the White Ant</i> (1973) and <i>The Soul of the Ape</i> (1969), respectively.</p>
7.2.7 Interludes (1918-1921)	<p>During this period of his life, Marais’s literary output was particularly prominent (see Section 7.2.7.1). As previously mentioned, the researcher is of opinion that Marais used writing as a way to overcome his feelings of inferiority. Near the end of 1918, Marais completed the draft manuscript of “<i>The Soul of the Ape</i>”. Marais’s “<i>Dwaalstories</i>” also appeared during this year (Van Vuuren, 2008). Marais was very uncertain about “<i>The Soul of the Ape</i>” as he was very dependent of his son’s opinions and suggestions and did not intend proceeding with any manuscript with which his son disagreed. Marais’s self-doubt about his writing abilities indicates that he experienced feelings of inferiority. His increased writing during this time may indicate that he possibly had an increased sense of inferiority which he tried to compensate for through his writings.</p> <p>His major work, “<i>The Soul of the Ape</i>”, occupied his thoughts, as he was eager to produce a work of scientific value (Rousseau, 1998a), which indicated his need to strive towards superiority.</p>
7.2.8 Heidelberg (1922-1926)	<p>Marais attempted to overcome his sense of inferiority through his literary contributions (see Section 7.2.8.1). During this time, Marais wrote the articles that eventually led to the book “<i>The Soul of the White Ant</i>” (1973). Marais wrote the article “<i>Verskynsels van die Dieresiel</i>” (Phenomena of the Animal Soul), which was published early in 1923 in <i>Die Burger</i> newspaper. Later that year, the first six chapters of “<i>Die Siel van die Mier</i>” (<i>The Soul of the White Ant</i>) appeared in <i>Die Huisgenoot</i> magazine (Gray, 2013). After the termite articles, Marais also adapted certain portions of “<i>The Soul of the Ape</i>” into popularised Afrikaans articles, which was published later in 1926 in <i>Die Huisgenoot</i> (Rousseau, 1998a).</p> <p>Marais pursued his goals through the act of writing. His continuous literary contributions during this time (especially <i>The Soul of the White Ant</i>) illustrates that he was relentless in achieving his goal in order to feel superior. It is interesting to note that despite having severe relapses during this time, he continued to write articles in an attempt to probably overcome the sense of inferiority that the relapses caused.</p>

	<p>Marais's sense of inferiority was especially apparent during this period of his life. He continuously relapsed (indicating his rigid style of life), despite the friendship and treatment he received from Dr Visser (Rousseau, 2005). His relapses led to humiliation and in severe cases, he confined himself to his room, refusing interaction with others (see Section 7.2.8.1).</p> <p>Marais presented an increased need to strive towards superiority, as he wrote numerous articles (as indicated, the researcher argues that Marais used writing as a way to strive toward superiority). The six chapters he wrote in <i>Die Huisgenoot</i> on "<i>Die Siel van die Mier</i>" (<i>The Soul of the White Ant</i>) is a distinctive example of his increased strive for superiority during this time.</p> <p>In 1925 writing was his only source of income. Marais started to appear in worn and shabby clothes. He received medical treatment and medicine from his friend Dr Visser, his food mostly from Brenda Steyn (a widow whom he regularly visited and eventually dated) and his pocket money from Connie Pistorius (Rousseau, 2005). From his son, he only received financial assistance when he asked for it and when there was really no other option. Letters from this period indicate that Marais insisted that his son should visit him (Rousseau, 1998b). These examples indicate Marais's dependence on others as well as his pampered style of life. He used others to assist him in times of need (whether it was for financial assistance or because he needed morphine). This had been a consistent pattern throughout his life.</p> <p>An interesting observation during this time was Marais's ability to complete more elaborate literary pieces when he was in a good mental state. In fact, a lot of his poems originated at the time when he received friendship and assistance from Dr Visser (Du Toit, 1940). This is an excellent example of how important social interest is to an individual's psychological maturity. Adler (1964) regarded social interest as the essence of mental health and the ultimate necessity for human evolution (Chéze, 2009).</p>
7.2.9 The last take (1927-1936)	<p>The most prominent Adlerian constructs during this time were Marais's possible inferiority complex and his lack of social interest. Various events, such as the Lamont case, exasperated Marais's sense of inferiority and led to increased morphine use, which subsequently led to him isolating himself from others.</p> <p>One notes that during the last period of his life, he increasingly isolated himself from others, usually due to his morphine dependence becoming known. Maladjusted individuals are prone to safeguard their self-esteem by secluding themselves in order to avoid the challenges and demands of life (Olson & Hergenbahn, 2010). They can achieve this in a number of ways, which all involve what Adler (1996a) referred to as an attitude of hesitation, designed by the individual to isolate "... himself from the world and reality in various degrees" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 274). Individuals avoid threats to their self-esteem, thus protecting themselves from possible failure, by eluding life's challenges and limiting their activities (Perry, 2012).</p> <p>Marais's use of the distancing strategy 'moving backwards' is illustrated most prominently in his suicide. Moving backwards involves disorders or symptoms such as morphinism, suicidal ideation or suicide. These consist of retreating from the world and gives a reason for withdrawing from personal and social responsibilities (Adler, 1996a; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Carlson et al., 2006).</p>

7.4 Chapter summary

The primary aim of this chapter was to explore and describe Eugène Marais's individual psychological development throughout his lifespan; therefore, attempting to provide an

understanding of Marais's life from an Adlerian perspective. The researcher made use of a conceptual matrix (see Table 7.1) in order to facilitate the categorisation of the data. While Adler's theory includes an array of theoretical constructs and explanations of human behaviour, those constructs, as discussed in Chapter 2, were used as the main focus point in Marais's individual psychological development. The chapter began with a brief discussion of Marais's birth order and familial relations. Next, all of Marais's historical periods (i.e., An image of youth: 1871-1887) were analysed using Adler's theoretical constructs as discussed in Chapter 2 (i.e., the sense of inferiority, the striving for superiority, the life goal, the style of life, schema of apperception, social interest and inferiority complex). This was carried out with all of Marais's major developmental periods. After this, the researcher provided additional commentary on the relevance of Adler's theory in understanding a psychobiographical subject's life, as well as how applicable the theory was to understanding Marais's personality. The chapter concluded with a brief summary of the most prominent Adlerian constructs during Marais's lifetime as provided in Table 7.2. Chapter 8 concludes the study by summarising the major findings and also encompasses a discussion of the values and limitations of the study, recommendations for future research in psychobiography and a final reflection on the researcher's personal journey.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUDING REMARKS, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the study is concluded by reviewing the research aim and providing a brief summary of the research findings. The value, as well as the limitations of the study are explored and recommendations for future research are provided. The chapter concludes with a brief reflection of the researcher's final thoughts and remarks regarding this study.

8.2 The Research Aim Revisited

Psychobiography aims to produce insightful interpretations of life history data through the systematic application of psychological theory. This study aimed to be a psychologically driven exploration and description of a single life within its socio-historical context through the application of psychological framework to biographical data. The study's primary aim was to explore and describe Eugène Nielen Marais's (1871–1936) individual psychological development throughout his life and also against the backdrop of his socio-historical context. The exploratory-descriptive nature of this study allowed the aim to fall within an inductive research approach. In accordance with this approach, the researcher conceptualised Marais's life in terms of a specific psychological perspective by applying one psychological theory (i.e., individual psychology) to the biographical and historical information available on Eugène Marais. The descriptive-dialogic nature of case study research within a deductive approach also offered the opportunity to test the applicability and relevance propositions and constructs of individual psychology through this process.

8.3 Summary of the Research Findings

Eugène Marais's life was explored and described from the viewpoint of the theory of individual psychology. When Marais's biographical data were selected for interpretation and examination, it became apparent that his life could be applied to Adler's theory. Marais's sense of inferiority was particularly prominent throughout his life, as was evidenced by his misuse of morphine. The researcher is of the opinion that Marais may have used morphine as a means to compensate for his sense of inferiority.

It is the researcher's opinion that Marais possessed both social interest as well as a personal strive towards superiority. Marais's signs of striving toward personal superiority included his attempt to appear as a hero among his people after the Boer War, his attempt to write a literary masterpiece (particularly of scientific value), his severe dependence on others throughout his life, manipulating others into feeling guilty if they did not assist him, appearing as the victim and exaggerating or lying about his own achievements. However, he also exhibited social interest in the form of caring for animals and children and befriending people from different races. In addition, he supported the Afrikaner cause, contributed to Afrikaans literature throughout his life, attempted to reconcile his people after the Boer War, befriended British people and practiced as an unlicensed medical doctor free of charge.

The researcher is of opinion that Marais exhibited Adler's (1982) getting or leaning (i.e., pampered/dependent) lifestyle type, which encompasses low activity, but high social interest and which is also the most common lifestyle type. Despite these individuals' adoption of community-oriented goals, they exhibit low activity and rely on others to take initiative (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Their lack of independence and initiative affords them the opportunity to use their charm and manipulative skills to use the assistance of others for their own tasks of life (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

8.4 Value of the Study

One of the main values of this study is that it provided a psychological exploration and description of an eminent figure in Afrikaans literature. Substantial work on Marais tends to emphasise his morphine addiction, while others focus specifically on his literary works. None of the works which currently exist on Marais provided an in-depth psychological perspective on his life. Thus, the researcher is of opinion that the value of this study lies in the fact that it addresses the lack in the existing body of psychological information on Eugène Marais. The study also offered a reinterpretation of Marais's life story from a psychological viewpoint. In addition, it contributes to the growing number of psychobiographies that have been completed within academic psychology in South Africa.

The demographic and contextual variables unique to Marais's life ensured the establishment of real-world scenarios for the testing of the psychological theory used in this study. The exploration of Marais's life created the opportunity to informally assess the study's psychological frameworks by testing the relevance and applicability of the theory of individual psychology to a single life, which served as the secondary objective of this study. Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology also proved to be valuable, as the theory's relevance and accuracy are confirmed by the study. This study utilised a single psychological theory in the interpretation of various aspects of the subject's life. The value of using Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology in this psychobiography pertains to it having a strong international appeal, as the notions of social interest, cooperation and striving towards superiority appear relevant worldwide and can thus be applied to a wide range of subjects. From a strictly theoretical approach, Adlerian theory has a strong research-generating potential, as well as the propensity to structure subject information into a usable psycho-historical matrix (Feist & Feist, 2008). In addition, Adler's (1958, 1970) theory emphasises that the subject should not be understood in isolation, but stresses the influence that the broader environment

has on the person, who should be seen within his or her socio-historical context. The theory's holistic focus on the individual allowed for a comprehensive description of Marais's life which included all aspects needed to properly understand his life, especially since the theory highlights the impact of one's political, cultural and historical environment on one's development and intrapsychic processes. Marais's individual psychological development has been provided in detail in Chapter 7.

The theory of individual psychology proved to be an appropriate theory in this psychobiographical study, as it emphasised Marais's inferiorities and how he tried to compensate for these inferiorities in his own unique ways. Adler's theory (1958, 1970) also provided more than a non-pathological approach to understanding Marais's life, especially regarding his morphine use. The theory of individual psychology, thus allows for a non-reductionist approach to understanding individual motives. This study supports the conviction that attempting to understand individuals who utilise poor coping mechanisms (such as addiction) also need to be explored from non-pathological perspectives to ensure a balanced understanding of the individual.

In addition to contributing to the body of knowledge on Eugène Marais as well as the theory of individual psychology, this study also contributed to the current body of knowledge in the field of psychobiography. Using specific methodological strategies in this study proved to be particularly useful in the extraction and analysis of data. Firstly, Alexander's (1988, 1990) model was utilised to organise, extract, prioritise and analyse the data (see Chapter 6, Section 6.7). The indicators of salience helped to manage the data available on Marais and ensured that significant excerpts of biographical data were carefully considered for analysis. By presenting specific questions to the data the researcher was able to extract units of analysis relevant to the study objectives (see Chapter 6, Section 6.7). Secondly, the researcher made use of a conceptual matrix as proposed by Yin (2018) and applied it to psychobiographical

research, as proposed by Fouché (1999). This allowed the researcher to systematically categorise and consistently analyse the biographical data collected on Marais, based on the constructs of his individual psychological development and also in relation to the socio-historical periods which impacted his life.

Lastly, this study illustrates the value that biographical research holds for psychology and also, the value that psychology holds for biographical research. Biographical materials offer valuable sources of information to study human development and personality from a developmental psychological perspective. Similarly, psychology offers practical and scientific conceptual models within which to conduct biographies (Fouchè, 1999).

8.5 Limitations of the Study

In Chapter 5, the potential limitations regarding the choice of a psychobiographical subject for this study were explored. These included subjectivity and researcher bias, the elitist nature of the psychobiographical approach and the possible impact of gender and historical differences between the researcher and the selected research subject. The researcher also provided the strategies that were employed in order to mitigate these limitations (see Chapter 5) as well. Since the limitations of the study, along with the researcher's attempts to lower their impact on this study have already been discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the researcher offers Ponterotto's (2015a) suggestions for a more scientifically oriented approach to conducting psychobiography. These suggestions include: (a) the application of more empirically valid and testable psychology theories; (b) using more rigorous historiographic research approaches that include quantitative research methods; and (c) consideration of ethical guidelines when planning, executing and reporting psychobiographical studies (Ponterotto, 2015a).

Furthermore, the researcher recognises Anderson's (1981) recommendations by emphasising that the psychological explanations and interpretations presented in this study do not replace other explanations and interpretations, but rather add to them. The researcher also emphasises that the explanations and interpretations presented in this study are speculative and not conclusive. A significant limitation of this study is that the findings are based entirely on publicly accessible material. For this reason, this study's findings neither represent a definitive answer to Marais's individual psychological development nor can it replace explanations and interpretations of his life from another discipline. The researcher acknowledges that many other possible explanations may exist to provide insight into Marais's personality development. Therefore, the explanations that were provided with regards to Marais's individual psychological development should not lead to the production of inflated claims but rather add to other and alternative types of descriptions and explanations regarding his personality development. In order to further complement this study's findings, the researcher is of opinion that future research may benefit from explaining and describing Eugène Marais's personality from alternative perspectives such as Silvan Tomkins's (1987) and Daniel Levinson's (1978) theories which may add to understanding Marais's psychological development more comprehensively. More specific recommendations for future research are discussed in the following section.

8.6 Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher is of the opinion that psychobiographical research will likely play an increasingly important role in refining psychological theories in the future and recommends researchers to use the psychobiographical approach in future life-span studies. The particular methodological strategies used in this study were useful in addressing the research aims. Moreover, the application of alternative theories and models to examine the life of Eugène

Marais could provide valuable and insightful descriptions and explorations, which fall beyond the scope of this study, but which are recommended for future studies.

Adler's (1958, 1970) theory of individual psychology has been found to be appropriate for psychobiographical studies and is thus recommended for future use. The theory allows for a more hopeful, optimistic interpretation of an individual life, thus promoting a more holistic and eugraphic approach to psychobiography. Despite Adler's (1958, 1970) theory being an appropriate lens for a psychobiographical study, the researcher recommends the use of alternative theoretical lenses to analyse Marais's life. In addition, due to using a single theory to understand Marais's personality development, future researchers are also urged to incorporate other theories and models in order to provide a more comprehensive and unbiased understanding of Marais. Given that Marais wrote an array of literature including scripts for plays, the researcher recommends theories such as Silvan Tomkins's (1987) script theory "where individuals are conceptualised as playwrights, actively constructing their own life stories inclusive of scenes, plots and characters" (Ponterotto, 2015a, p. 383). Du Plessis and Stones (2019) advocated the use of Tomkins's theory as it "has been largely forgotten by main stream psychology" (p. 210), but it has gained some traction as an explanatory paradigm within psychobiography. In addition, Tomkins's theory was used successfully in an earlier study by Rae Carlson (Carlson, 1988). Daniel Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development may prove insightful in understanding which developmental conflicts may have played a role in Marais's suicide. Levinson's theory is often used in psychobiography as it allows for the discussion of adult development (Du Plessis & Stones, 2019). Using a psychological career development theory may also prove useful to understanding Marais's array of careers he pursued, such as journalist, writer, naturalist, advocate and amateur doctor. Van Niekerk, Vos and Fouché (2015) recommend that more research needs to be done on the career development of extraordinary individuals through psychobiographical work. A psychological career

development theory will provide a more comprehensive and insightful perspective to understanding Marais. In addition, the extensive work done on the writer Paulo Coelho (Mayer, 2017; Mayer & Maree, 2017, 2018a, 2018b) also suggests that a career development approach will be useful in understanding Marais as an influential writer. The researcher also recommends that life history research be undertaken on other South African literary figures as well.

A chapter in the recently published book *New Trends in Psychobiography* (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019) by Burnell, Nel, Fouché and van Niekerk (2019) focuses on the guidelines to use when selecting a suitable subject for a psychobiography. Had this book been published before the researcher had selected Marais as her subject, the researcher would have undoubtedly made use of Burnell et al.'s (2019) guidelines. The researcher also recommends future researchers to consult the book *New Trends in Psychobiography* (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019), as it contains valuable and up-dated information for conducting psychobiographies.

Lastly, the researcher would like to warn future researchers that when working on historically long-deceased personalities, it might become difficult to obtain primary sources. This is especially illustrative from the researcher's personal experience of collecting data on Marais. Marais's biographer, Rousseau (1998b), recalled that after Marais's son, Eugène Charles Gerard's death in 1977 a large number of documents and letters that were in his possession, were offered to auctioneers. This collection contained many correspondences between Eugène Marais and his son. However, the letters were not properly taken care of and valuable information was lost. Such information, if it had survived and been incorporated in this study, could have given a better understanding of Eugène Marais and quite possibly elicited different findings. The researcher thus encourages future researchers to obtain enough information before commencing with a study to ensure that sufficient sources, especially primary sources, on the subject is available.

8.7 Final Thoughts and Remarks on the Researcher's Personal Journey

The motivation to embark on this psychobiographical exploration of Eugène Marais emerged from the researcher's personal interest in psychobiography as a field of study. In addition, the researcher was drawn to Marais based on his literary outputs. Marais's naturalistic studies were of particular personal interest to the researcher as she has had an early interest in zoology, particularly entomology (the scientific study of insects). Thus, Marais's writings on termites were especially enjoyable and interesting reads. Although the researcher had limited biographical knowledge of Marais before the commencement of this study, the researcher became increasingly interested in the subject's life as the study progressed. This lack of prior knowledge assisted in lowering the likelihood of researcher bias, as the researcher did not have an idealised or denigrating attitude towards Marais before commencing with the study.

The fact that the subject lived in a different historical period compared to that in which this psychobiographical study was conducted necessitated an extensive literature study regarding the political, social, historical and cultural milieu in which Marais lived. This not only ensured sensitivity to the contextual considerations applicable to this study, but it also highlighted significant differences and similarities between the researcher and the subject which needed to be addressed in order to avoid the dangers of subjectivity and researcher bias. Although the researcher and the subject differed in terms of historical life period and gender, they shared the same culture and home language. Acknowledging these similarities and differences ensured that the researcher approached the data in a sensitive manner as a way to ensure that a subjective and biased study of Marais was not the end result.

Apart from the fact that a postgraduate study of this nature has a profound impact on one's life in terms of time, effort and resources, the researcher found it to be insightful and meaningful on both personal and professional levels. The researcher enjoyed the in-depth exploration of Marais's life and works and also found the holistic and eugraphic exploration of

the life of such a creative and talented man enriching in understanding him. This study provided the researcher with invaluable knowledge and experience in psychobiography, which will undoubtedly be very beneficial for the researcher's future study endeavours.

8.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the psychobiographical study of the life of Eugène Marais was concluded. The primary and secondary research aims were reviewed and a summary of the research findings were presented. Next, the study's value was discussed and the researcher also outlined the limitations of the study and provided recommendations for future research. The researcher concluded the chapter by offering her final reflections regarding her personal journey of this psychobiographical study on Eugène Marais's life story. There is still much which can be discovered from the life (and works) of Marais. He was an extraordinary man and he deserves to be more richly understood from a psychological perspective. The researcher concludes with the impactful words of Robert Ardrey in the book *The Soul of the Ape* (1969) regarding Eugène Marais:

Just as a remarkable guest, one of vision and many anecdotes and a remote madness, might spend an evening by our fire, then glance at his watch and rise, so Marais takes his leave. There is a suddenness that is part of our knowledge that we shall never see him again. And we watch through the curtains as our visitor from times past walks down the path, touching things with his cane. Beyond the gate he turns down the road to the right, swinging his cane more freely. He passes under a street-lamp and vanishes in the darkness beyond the trees. Whom else did he ever visit? Where else did he go? (p. 192)

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APPENDIX A
Chronology of Eugène Marais's life.

An Image of youth (1871-1887)

1871	Marais is born on 9 January in Pretoria. The family moved shortly afterwards to Lynwood House on the Apies River
1877	Started school in Pretoria. Shepstone raises the British flag.
1879	Marais visits Lizzie, his oldest sister in Boshof in the Free State. Siege of Pretoria on December 16, armistice follows March 6.
1881	Marais goes to live on Boshof with his oldest brother Charles (Senator in the Free State). His sister Lizzie lives around the corner.
1884	Money matters force Lizzie and her children to move to the Paarl. Marais accompanies them.
1885	Marais writes his first poem <i>The soldier's grave</i> as a schoolboy
1887	Marais matriculates at the Paarl Public School for Boys. The family returns to Boshof. That same year, Lizzie and her family move back to Pretoria after her husband's suicide. Marais becomes a clerk at Kuranda & Marais.

Land and Volk (1888-1896)

1888	Appointed as a "cub" at the <i>Transvaal Advertiser</i> in Pretoria. Journalistic career begins.
1889	Clash with the Kruger government on press freedom.
1890	Marais becomes editor of <i>Land en Volk</i> . Marais starts using morphine, most likely cause is burnout.
1891	Buys <i>Land en Volk</i> with partner Jimmy Roos.
1892	Become sole owner of <i>Land en Volk</i> .
1893	At his parents' golden anniversary, Marais meets 20 year old Aletta Beyers, his future wife. Uitlanders offer to finance <i>Land en Volk</i> (Marais stays as editor).
1894	Marries Aletta Beyers. Becomes involved in the case for Afrikaans as a language and Afrikaner politics.
1895	Son, Eugène Charles Gerard, born on July 8, Aletta Beyers dies on July 17. Later that year on a trip to Mauritius with J.C Vlok.
1896	Jameson raid, Uitlanders withdraw funding for <i>Land en Volk</i> . Both his parents die. Marais leaves for London in December.

The wide world (1897-1901)

1897	Registers in London (Inns of Court, Inner Temple) as a law student. Possibly did courses in medical science. Familiarised himself with Darwin's work, hypnosis and the English literary tradition. Travelled through Europe.
1898	Marais designs his bookplate.
1899	Briefly returns to South Africa, possibly due to drug use.
1900	Returns to Britain, and agrees to promote reconciliation between the Boers and the British.

A new beginning (1902-1906)

1902	<p>Marais joins an expedition to take supplies to the Boer forces in South Africa. In June peace is closed. Marais contracts malaria. Marais decides to re-open <i>Land en Volk</i> (under British terms). Returns to Pretoria.</p> <p>Marais admitted to the English Bar in October and Gustav Preller accepts offer to become editor of <i>Land en Volk</i>. Marais dismisses an offer for <i>Land en Volk</i> by General Smuts and Botha.</p>
1903	Preller resigns and joins <i>De Volksstem</i> .
1904	The poem 'Winternag' appears (is published in 1905).
1905	Preller and Marais use their newspapers to advocate the case for Afrikaans. Marais closes <i>Land en Volk</i> .
1906	Marais moves to Hillbrow to practise as a lawyer.

Waterberg (1907-1917)

1907	Departs to the Waterberg, prospects on Doornhoek.
1908	Johannesburg mining company acquires mineral rights on Doornhoek; prospecting is discontinued. Marais stays on the van Rooyen's farm Rietfontein, becomes known as the "Wonderdokter" (miracle doctor). Starts baboon and termite observations.
1910	Marais goes to Boshof for withdrawal treatment at brother Charles.
1911	Back on Rietfontein. Appointed as a peacemaker. His son visits him there for the first time.
1912	Staffs the rainfall station on Rietfontein. Immerses himself in the phenomenon of drought.
1914	Sends article to Weather Bureau; <i>Notes on some aspects of extreme drought in the Waterberg</i> - published the same year in the Smithsonian Institution's (Washington, USA) annual report.
1915	During a severe decline, Marais's son hears of his father's morphine addiction for the first time. Marais goes back to Boshof.
1916	Starts writing on <i>The Soul of the Ape</i> . Stays in Boshof for almost a year.

1917	Returns to Pretoria.
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Interludes (1918-1921)

1918	Forges friendship with an old acquaintance, Tielman Roos. Mostly works as reviewer for Preller (still at <i>De Volksstem</i> and also <i>Die Brandwag</i>).
1919	Finishes draft manuscript of <i>The Soul of the Ape</i>
1921	Review and writing thrives. Crosses roads with C. L. Leipoldt. <i>Dwaalstories</i> appears piece by piece in <i>Die Boerevrou</i> . Moves to Erasmus (Bronkhorstspuit). Becomes co-owner of a legal practice Van Wyk & Marais.

Heidelberg (1922-1926)

1922	Moves to Heidelberg.
1923	Writes article for <i>Die Burger</i> titled <i>Verskynsels van die Dieresiel</i> (Phenomena of the Animal Soul). Decides to receive treatment for addiction again. Marais's brother, Senator Charles Marais, dies in Boshof. Doctor and poet A.G. Visser becomes Marais's physician and close friend.
1924	Abandons his law practice and moves around Heidelberg repeatedly due to lack of funds.
1925	Life takes a positive turn; his poems appear at Van Schaik and his life sketch in Preller's <i>Historiese Opstelle</i> , as well as initial chapters of <i>Die Siel van die Mier</i> in <i>Die Huisgenoot</i> .
1926	After an unexpected morphine overdose, Visser takes Marais to the farm Steenkampskraal for withdrawal treatment.

The last take (1927-1936)

1927	Marais moves in with the Prellers in Pretoria. He works freelance at <i>Ons Vaderland</i> (Preller as editor). Marais learns about Maeterlinck's book <i>The Life of the White Ant</i> . The plagiarism case is advertised in <i>The Star</i> .
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1928	The plagiarism case receives much attention in <i>Die Huisgenoot</i> . Marais considers a lawsuit but his friend Adv. Charles te Water persuades him to abandon the case.
1929	Marais moves in to the boarding house of Mrs. Jessie Cross.
1930	Marais works on follow-up articles of “ <i>The Soul of the Ape</i> ”. <i>Ons Vaderland</i> becomes a daily newspaper, and Preller invites Marais to work there full time.
1931	<i>Ons Vaderland</i> becomes a half-weekly newspaper again, Marais becomes a freelance journalist. Mrs. Jessie Cross (her family) and Marais move to Vermeulen Street. Marais befriends Edna Cross (eight years old) and her sister Hettie (12).
1932	‘ <i>Burgers van die Berge</i> ’ is published in ten follow-up episodes. Marais acts as advocate in the Lamont case.
1933	Marais’s drama <i>Die Swart Verraad</i> appears on stage. Marais's health deteriorates. Marais moves back in with the Prellers after the Cross family moves.
1934	The Prellers (and Marais) stay on Pelindaba for a weekend.
1935	F.G.M. du Toit works on <i>Eugène N. Marais – sy bydrae tot die Afrikaanse letterkunde</i> . Marais writes ‘ <i>Spore in die Sand</i> ’ but <i>Die Vaderland</i> refuses publication. It later appears in <i>Die Huisgenoot</i> . Preller persuades Marais to go back to Pelindaba for a withdrawal treatment, which fails. Exchange of letters between Marais and Dr Winifred de Kok begins.
1936	The Prellers decided to move to Pelindaba permanently. Marais goes along. Marais commits suicide there on March 29.

APPENDIX B

The bookplate that Eugène Marais designed in 1898 (Rousseau, 2005, p. 125):

