

DIVISION OF EDUCATION
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ANNA FREUD & EDUCATION

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Studies in the History, Philosophy, Science
and Application of Child Psychoanalysis

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SUMMARY OF THESIS

Title: Anna Freud & Education: Studies in the History, Philosophy,
Science & Applications of Child Psychoanalysis.

Author: Raymond Dyer

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This is a study of the central role of the child's ego in the educational process as seen through the life-work of the subject Anna Freud.

A brief general introduction and survey of methods (Chapter 1) is followed by an outline of the historical emergence of an ego framework in twentieth-century child analytical science (Chapter 2). A detailed account with interpretative comment is then given (Chapters 3 to 7) on the biographical and professional background of our subject - Anna Freud - whose work has contributed massively to the field of ego psychology.

Special consideration is given to ego defence and adaptation (Chapter 8) and to ego development (Chapter 9). The main educational implications of the subject's work are reviewed chronologically (Chapter 10) and this applied approach is then developed into a rigorously-based philosophy of teaching (Chapters 11 and 12).

With regard to the 'essential thesis' of this work it is recommended as having the following three central themes:

- (i) to demonstrate Anna Freud as one of the great paedagogues of the twentieth century,
- (ii) to assert and substantiate a central role for the ego, and further for 'the personal and interpersonal' as the organising framework par excellence in child education and development,

- (iii) to justify and illustrate the potential role of fully practising teachers in establishing a 'middle ground' between on the one hand academic theorising upon, and on the other hand actual professional involvement in that complex and crucial human activity often referred to simply as 'Teaching'.

Behind each of these may be detected a further theme, one altogether wider, more integrative and unifying. This - the quintessential thesis - concerns the power and efficacy of 'A Philosophy of The Middle Way and Its Practice', which is herein illustrated both in the external life and work of our subject and in the psychological role of the ego as mediator.

Corrections

- p.38 n3 Jones(1922),Review.Journal 3:359.
- p.49 n4 Roazen(1975),Note 17 to chap.2(4).
- p.77 l1 Wiener(not Weiner)
- p.98 n3 Anna Freud(1928a)
- p.106 letter of 28th July 1929
- p.112 n4 Roazen(1975),pp.416-417
- p.115 n2 ibid,p.220
- p.128 l10 Freud(not Frued)
- p.141 l12 Forward(m6)instead of Preface(n6)
- p.157 Susan Isaacs(1885-1948)
- p.161 n1 PSC(1975),30,pp.xi-xiv
- p.165 l4 enfants(not infants)
- Fig.IX(opp.p.122) col.3,ref.3 is (1935a)
- Fig.XIII(opp.p.176) Oct.1952,col.2 delete "Thomson 1968"
- p.189 n1 Anna Freud(1966h)
- p.194 l18 roll of honour(not role of honour)
l21 after "seniority" add "together with Imre Hermann of Budapest".
- p.301 n1 Freud(1923B),Part 5
- p.365 l7 developmental concept
- p.387 incl. Eysenck,H.J. et al(Eds)(1972).Encyclopeadia of Psychology,
Vols.1-3.New York:Herder & Herder.
- p.393 Jones(1938) Journal(1938),19, 115-116
- p.396 incl. Long,C.E.(1917).Psychoanalysis in relation to the child.
J.exp.Paed.& Tr.Coll.Record,4:57-70
- p.404 Suschitzky,W.(c.1943/44).That Baby:The Story of Peter and His New
Brother(not Mother)
- p.415 (1967d).Doctoral award address.Writings V:507-516.(1964 Unpubl.)
(1967f).Forward to H.Nagera's Vincent Van Gogh:A Psychoanalytic Study
- p.418 (1979c).Obituary,Agi Bene-Moses(not Bebe)
- p.419 delete Pine(1974)

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A great many living persons have contributed personal-biographical and other material for this study, and all are warmly thanked. The subject herself permitted this writer to add to an already immense daily work-load and correspondence which a life-time's work and fame had inevitably brought her, and that gesture in particular was gratefully appreciated.

My tutor and guide, Professor Harry Armytage, has the great merit of encouraging 'independence with a safety net!', and to him I am especially grateful. As an 'academic Noah' salvaging for others what others have not yet seen fit to properly value, Professor Armytage was instrumental in encouraging the present study's archive or 'information ark' approach!

The writer's fees and expenses were met by North Yorkshire County Council. Library facilities were granted by a number of University Libraries and also by a number of private libraries.

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

Origins and Methods

THE TEACHER AS RESEARCHER

The study before us stems from the writer's belief that Primary schoolteachers, after a suitable number of years teaching, can and wherever possible should attempt to integrate their daily professional concern with the highest academic and professional 'frontier' areas of research and original study. In the present writer's case five continuous years of full-time teaching were undertaken between leaving teacher-training college and commencing the present study, together with a further four years of full-time teaching during the actual undertaking of the study, which latter was carried on as a part-time registered higher degree.

In keeping with earlier interests in individual and social psychology and with actual persons as opposed to their supposed paradigms, the general area chosen for study centred upon "the psychological and philosophical aspects of education"¹.

Early in 1976 the writer then approached Sheffield University with a proposal for higher-degree research in an area broadly identified as linking 'Psychoanalysis and Education'. By a happy coincidence the University of Sheffield already possessed strong associations with psychoanalysis, the values of which had been suffused into the university's stream of life and work by two key figures, Professors Armytage and Stengel. It is largely to the favourable association of these two men with Anna Freud that the present study owes, if not its 'raison d'être', then at least its specific direction and purpose.

Erwin Stengel (1902-1973) was a medical student in Vienna at the time Anna Freud first took up her membership of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society. Gaining his M.D. in 1926, Stengel worked at the Psychiatric Clinic, Vienna IX District, and himself became an associate member of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society in December 1928. He soon began presenting original papers and contributions there; he collaborated with Heinz Hartmann in joint productions; and in 1935 Stengel became a full member of the Vienna Society. At that time Anna Freud and Paul

¹From: 'Notes for Ph.D Candidates: Possible Areas of Study', Division of Education, University of Sheffield, 1975-76.

Federn were joint vice-presidents, and the society listed 42 full members and a number of associate members¹. In 1938 Stengel joined the other continental analysts emigrating to England, and he initially chose Bristol as his new home.

By 1958 Erwin Stengel had risen to be President of the Section of Psychiatry of the Royal Society of Medicine, and in May of that year Anna Freud and her London colleagues were invited to the Royal Society of Medicine (Section of Psychiatry) to speak on their work at the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic².

On 1st April 1959 Stengel was appointed Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Sheffield. In 1966 he was instrumental in securing for Anna Freud the award of Honorary Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) of the University of Sheffield. Professor W. H. G. Armytage of the Division of Education, Sheffield, presented Anna Freud for the doctorate on that occasion, and also gave the address in her honour.

On 30th September 1967 Stengel became Emeritus Professor (Retired) of Sheffield University. Erwin Stengel died on 2nd June 1973. His funeral was attended by a very large gathering, and an obituary address was spoken by Stengel's close friend and colleague W. H. G. Armytage. We have it on good authority that Erwin Stengel, to his patients, friends and colleagues, was one of those rare and exceptionally human persons whom one is occasionally fortunate to meet in one's lifetime³.

Thus, it was Stengel who brought Anna Freud and the University of Sheffield irreversibly into contact. A decade later when Professor Armytage undertook to supervise the present work, it was he who suggested that the study might profitably focus upon Anna Freud as a paedagogue. Now, four years later, the first full fruits of that conception are placed before the academic world.

¹'Reports of the Vienna Ps. Society', International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, (1930), 11, 523; (1935), 16, 533.

²Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, (1958), 51, 938ff.

³Personal comment from Professor W. H. G. Armytage, Sheffield, October 1977.

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

Despite her international reputation, and voluminous writings spanning over half a century, relatively few authors have attempted any comprehensive or systematic treatment of Anna Freud as an outstanding analytical and paedagogical contributor.

A number of authors engaged upon comprehensive studies of psychoanalysis per se have of necessity included sections on certain aspects of Anna Freud's work.

Dieter Wyss¹, in a wide-ranging survey of all the 'schools' of psychoanalysis, devotes a short section to Anna Freud in a chapter entitled 'The British Group'. Of Wyss's relevant six-and-a-half-pages however, five deal with Anna Freud's early classic work 'The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence'. In the remaining one-and-a-half pages Wyss inevitably falls far short of adequately summarising Anna Freud's wartime and post-war contributions to child psychiatry.

Other studies presented soon after the Second World War are even scantier in their treatment of Anna Freud. Marianne Kris² notes that "the history of psychoanalysis is short: that of child analysis is even shorter", and she devotes a page and three lines specifically to Anna Freud's technical contributions to child analysis. Ruth Munroe³, in another survey of the 'schools' of psychoanalysis, deals with Anna Freud largely on the grounds of 'defence mechanisms', and that in three pages or so.

Pumpian-Mindlin⁴, in contributing the appropriate chapter to Franz Alexander et al's book of 'Psychoanalytic Pioneers', again takes Anna Freud's 'The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence' as his starting point.

¹Wyss ((1961) 1966), pp. 205 - 212.

²Kris (1948).

³Munroe (1957), pp. 90 - 93.

⁴Pumpian-Mindlin (1966).

Less than a page is devoted to this work which is "so well known", and the next three-and-a-half pages deal with the post-war emergence of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic. The latter's special diagnostic studies of childhood are emphasised, as is the notable Hampstead Index of original case-material and the clinic's studies of normality. A final page or two sums up the subject as being fundamentally a clinical observer, practical analyst, diagnostician and "far removed from being a psychoanalytic system-builder or philosopher"¹.

In a somewhat similar vein Kanzer & Blum², in discussing 'Classical Psychoanalysis Since 1939', essay in some four pages the relation between Anna Freud's 'The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence' and (a) Freud's earlier work on anxiety, (b) Hartmann's work on ego psychology and adaptation and Fenichel's systematising studies of the 1940's. In another section Kanzer and Blum briefly sketch the work of Anna Freud's Hampstead Clinic, note the important emergence of her diagnostic 'profile' around 1963 and conclude that the book 'Normality and Pathology of Childhood'³ is a work which "spans and completes the initial statement as contained in 'The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence' nearly thirty years earlier"⁴.

In the view of the present study the articles referred to above do not fall into the category of genuinely comprehensive overviews of Anna Freud's work. To the extent that they concentrate on her two best-known books, the one dealing with the theory of ego processes and defence⁵ the other with the theory of child development and assessment⁶, the authors inevitably fail to do justice to the full breadth and scope of Anna Freud's work. A case in point concerns her paedagogical contributions, the omission of which Ekstein & Motto⁷ go some way towards

¹Pumpian-Mindlin (1966)

²Kanzer & Blum (1967), pp. 94-97.

³Anna Freud (1965a)

⁴Kanzer & Blum (1967, p. 137).

⁵Anna Freud (1936a)

⁶Anna Freud (1965a)

⁷Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

rectifying. These latter authors write knowledgeably of the pre-war continental analytical-educational field, and present in brief outline the main educational initiatives of a number of prominent teacher-analysts (Anna Freud, Lilli Peller, Waelder, the Sterbas and others).

Apart from the Ekstein & Motto study, those discussed so far say little or nothing of the external events of Anna Freud's long life.

Inevitably therefore, no relationships are drawn between such external events and the developments apparent in her work. Consideration of these external 'life' events forms the content of certain subsequent chapters of the present work, and although any suggested 'parallelisms' between such external factors and trends in an author's theoretical conceptualisations must naturally be tentative and open to question, to omit their consideration altogether seems unduly naive and scientifically inhibited.

The following areas are identified as likely to provide working hypotheses relevant to this question, and Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the present study contain a great deal of the biographical and other data which would be necessary for any future study of such 'parallelisms':

Suggested areas of parallelisms between the life and work of Anna Freud

1. The close personal relation between Sigmund Freud and his daughter Anna, and correspondence between their basic theoretical orientations.
2. The arrival of war-time emergency conditions, and the resultant opportunities for special infant nurseries and rapid advances in child theory and observation.
3. Emigration, re-settlement, Kleinian controversy and opposition, and Anna Freud's gradual post-war move from active involvement in the British Psycho-analytic Society to more immediate concern with the private Hampstead Clinic.

DIRECT STUDIES OF ANNA FREUD

Within the past decade or so certain authors have set themselves the task of specifically highlighting Anna Freud as the subject of one or other of their own works. The study by Coles¹, though not available

¹Coles (1966).

in the United Kingdom from the usual library sources, has been discussed by Helen Ross¹. Without having personally known Anna Freud, Coles read all her books and papers in sequence as they appeared. The author then wrote his article on the occasion of Anna Freud's seventieth birthday.

Seymour Lustman² has in fifteen pages achieved a brilliant exposition of Anna Freud's fundamental scientific attributes. Neither does Lustman ignore Anna Freud's external life, and he quotes the subject herself, on herself, to illustrate the turnings in her work. For example, from comments verbalised by Anna Freud during a conference at Yale University's Child Study Centre in April 1966, we learn that Anna Freud's antithesis to the widespread division between theory and practice is paralleled by her own more fortunate professional circumstances, which enabled her "From the very beginning ... to move back and forth between practice and theory"³. A brief chronicle then follows of the circumstances alluded to.

Donald Kaplan⁴ concentrates interestingly upon Anna Freud's early Vienna phase, and touches upon the question of her emergence from her illustrious father's shadow.

In more recent decades, the author notes, Anna Freud's ascendance is clear, and Kaplan refers to her as 'The Princess Royal' of the world of classical psychoanalysis.

The earliest satisfactory, albeit brief, comprehensive account of Anna Freud's work known to the present study is the article by Louise Kaplan⁵. This author succeeds in covering all the major trends of Anna Freud's life-work - her early career as schoolteacher, membership of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, early publications, emigration and war-work,

¹Ross (1971a).

²Lustman (1967a)

³ibid, pp. 814-815, citing Anna Freud's verbatim remarks.

⁴Kaplan (1968).

⁵Kaplan (1971)

the post-war Hampstead Clinic and the publications stemming thereof. Several photographs are included, spanning the years 1917-1970, and a synopsis is presented of the newly-available seven volumes of Anna Freud's collected 'WRITINGS'. The article is enthusiastic and sympathetic towards the subject, and bold captions placed between paragraphs emphasise key aspects of Anna Freud's thought.

As with most previous attempts to present the broad spectrum of Anna Freud's work, close documentation is again lacking, only major highlights are dealt with, and Louise Kaplan's account in particular falls into the category of short 'popular' writings. In one instance erroneous statements of fact are made, as when we are told that in one year, 1923, Anna Freud published two papers in Imago - one on beating phantasies¹, the other on an hysterical symptom².

Certain other recent studies may usefully be dealt with here. Edith Buxbaum³, herself an educationalist and key figure in Anna Freud's early Vienna 'circle'⁴, has with great insight and authority compared three great psychoanalytic educators, VIZ. Anna Freud, Siegfried Bernfeld and August Aichhorn. Whereas Bernfeld impressed with his brilliant intellect and Aichhorn with his magic personality, "Anna Freud impressed with her clarity of thinking and lucid simplicity"⁵. Buxbaum's essay is nevertheless unsatisfactory in that it is too short, impressionistic, and lacks detail and documentation.

Paul Roazen⁶, writing as a sociologist and historian from outside the psychoanalytic community, has been notable in presenting outspoken views on Freud and his followers. In his large book Roazen earmarks three short sections for Anna Freud. Here⁷ he attempts to treat in

¹'Schlagephantasie und Tagtraum', actually published in 1922. See: Anna Freud (1922a).

²Anna Freud (1923a).

³Buxbaum (1969).

⁴See: Appendix XI.

⁵Buxbaum (1969), p.33.

⁶Roazen (1975).

⁷ibid., chap.9. section (3), 'Anna Freud: Child Analysis'; (4) 'Anna Freud: Ladies in Waiting'; (5) 'Anna Freud: Ego Psychology'.

more detail than had any previous writer, Anna Freud's life from birth onwards, her close personal and family ties, her professional work and her emergence as a leading psychoanalyst.

Methodologically, Roazen's work has the merit of having employed an exhaustive interview technique with over seventy surviving members of Freud's immediate 'circle' whom the interviewer could locate. Additional information was supplied by a further forty persons who, whilst not actually having met Freud, had played an important active role in the wider development of psychoanalysis. With this great store of raw data from eye-witnesses, together with a thorough awareness of existing published sources, Roazen attains a potential authoritativeness previously impossible outside of psychoanalytic circles. It is therefore most regrettable that, as later citations of his work will indicate, the author failed to consolidate his initial methodological gains, and by virtue of often rash, speculative interpretations of his data succeeded in grossly antagonising many members and associates of the Freud family.

Several other authors whose discussions of the subject are of sufficient scope to merit the title of 'commentaries' upon Anna Freud's contributions or parts thereof are known to the present study, though it is not feasible to further discuss them here¹.

Finally, in this review of literature, attention is drawn to the work of Roland Besser². This researcher presented his M.D. thesis shortly after the present study was registered and begun. Besser's is the first formal higher-degree study to actually claim to centre upon "The Life and Work of Anna Freud", and is thus a true precursor of the present study. Appropriately enough Besser's study was written in Anna Freud's mother-tongue, German.

¹See: Bender (1952), Sterba (1953), Buckle & Lebovici (1960), Bowlby (1960), 'Panel' (1963), Meers (1966), Anderson (1967), Brody (1974), Guntrip (1961, pp. 105-112), Brown (1961, pp. 67-79).

²Besser (1976).

In a number of important respects the work of Besser is found to vary from the study now before us:

- (i) whilst correctly identifying certain of the profound influences of Sigmund Freud upon his daughter Anna, Besser's thesis leans to the opinion that this involved the daughter largely in "following her father's footsteps"¹.

The present study, on the contrary, takes note at the appropriate places of the important influences exerted also by Bernfeld, Aichhorn and others; notes the early development by Anna Freud of an independent child-analysis theory and technique; and cites Freud himself as recognising and acclaiming his daughter's originality and soundness.

- (ii) Besser clearly indicates the emigration phase of 1938-1939 as marking in Anna Freud's life a turning to a path specifically her own². This would appear to be wrong on two counts, namely that on the one hand Anna Freud's own particular contributions can be seen to originate in the Vienna phase, and on the other hand even after 1939 Anna Freud continued to champion whatever she found most useful and well-founded in orthodox freudian psychoanalysis.
- (iii) With the viewpoint of a continental Besser appears overly concerned to demonstrate that Anna Freud's later work has been undertaken "im englischen Exil"³. The present study however emphasises the post-war emergence of Anna Freud as a truly international figure.
- (iv) The present study pays rather less attention to purely domestic aspects of Anna Freud's life. Besser's first 2 to 3 pages however present in detail a genealogical schema of the Freud family from 1815 to Anna Freud's birth in 1895. Even where use is made of the same published biographical source-material, the focus of the present work differs from that of Besser's.

¹Besser, Part I, 'Das Leben Anna Freud's: Der Weg an der Seite des Vaters', (pp. 1-114).

²ibid, (1976), pp. 115-150: 'Der eigene Weg in der Emigration'.

³ibid., p.150.

The latter's account is almost wholly a chronological itemisation. The present study is more selective and more purposive, in that it attempts to show that the available facts provide a meaningful historical emergence for Anna Freud as an early, independent and increasingly significant child-analysis figure.

- (v) With regard to the important task of assessing Anna Freud's actual published works, Besser merely presents what are virtually interpretive abstracts only, and he locates these sequentially in his account, as each major book or paper is considered chronologically. Only two sub-headings or divisions are employed, VIZ. 'im Wien' (pp. 151-178) and 'im Exil' (pp. 178-226). The present study, by contrast, leaves aside in its later chapters the useful though limited chronological frame, and attempts to locate and assess Anna Freud's thinking under dynamic headings such as 'Defence', 'Development', 'Applications' and so forth.
- (vi) Few parallel authors are considered by Besser, apart from Freud, Melanie Klein and Hug-Helmuth. The present study attempts a much more comprehensive rapprochement between the work of Anna Freud and that of other analysts, child theorists and educationalists.
- (vii) Apart from a few 'personal communications' from Anna Freud and certain others (e.g. Grete Bibring, Ernst Federn), Besser's account rests wholly upon already published sources. Methodologically, the present study favours much greater use of the interview-questionnaire aimed at the subject's associates and close colleagues.

In summary then, the study of Besser's is a thorough and scholarly account largely from published sources, and exercises a moderate degree of interpretation and comment. As such it compares well with the early chapters of the present work, though several important differences have been noted.

However, Besser's thesis offers nothing to compare with Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of the study now before us.

METHODS

The principal preparatory methods employed in the present study are two, viz: (i) the interview-questionnaire and (ii) the use of indexation and key-category collation.

Beginning in May 1976 an extensive correspondence was entered into on the one hand with Anna Freud herself, and on the other with a number of Anna Freud's closest associates, pupils and current colleagues. This latter correspondence largely took the form of despatching typed questionnaires, and in three instances this led to the opportunity for face-to-face follow-up contact and the granting to the writer of detailed personal interviews.

The complete correspondence between the present writer and Anna Freud is presented in chronological sequence in Appendix X. All other material from Anna Freud's associates is presented in alphabetical co-respondent order in Appendix XI. Included in this latter appendix is a prefatory list of all persons contacted concerning their professional association with Anna Freud, together with a further list of persons identified and sought as likely to prove significant to a study of our subject but not located in time to be included. These lists, taken together, go some way towards naming many of the more important surviving persons in Anna Freud's professional circle at the present time. Of great interest also to this question is the official list of child-therapists trained at the Hampstead Clinic¹. Further relevant listings, from an historical perspective, would be the membership lists of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society from 1922-1938², and the similar lists of the British Psychoanalytical Society from 1939-1980, though careful use would need to be made of the membership lists of the much larger and more heterogeneous latter-day British Society.

¹Appendix XIV.

²Fig. III.

CO-RESPONDENTS

Two of the persons contacted had known Anna Freud since her childhood¹. Five respondents had had their training analyses with Anna Freud over thirty years ago², whilst others had taken part in her earliest teaching seminars³. Approximately half those contacted had known Anna Freud since the Vienna days, and half from the wartime Hampstead Nursery days. There were altogether nineteen satisfactory respondents, none of whose contacts with Anna Freud were of less than thirty years duration.

ARCHIVE-INDEX

The actual writing of the present study was based upon the materials collected in the initial exploratory phase of research. These materials now comprise a systematic and quite substantial associated Archive-Index to the main thesis itself.

In organising the materials into a functionally efficient Archive-Index several strategies of categorisation, indexation and cross-referencing were employed, as will become apparent below.

As regards the actual materials themselves - quantities of xerox material, correspondence, questionnaire returns, photographs and so forth - a special cabinet was set aside to house these. Materials were variously categorised and filed away in wallets of two colours, viz. Beige for loose materials of Anna Freud's authorship; and Blue for materials from other authors commenting upon Anna Freud. The final set of categories in use before writing began was as follows:

BEIGE FILES: Early 'Uncollected' works (1930-1970); Late 'Uncollected' Works (1971-); Bibliographies (Published); Bibliographies (Unpublished); Editorships (Title-pages); Psychoanalytic Society Reports (Vienna); *ibid* (London); Hampstead Course & Clinic; Correspondence; Original Drafts; Congresses; Cultural Background (Vienna, London); Archive Categories; Photographs & Facsimiles.

¹ Anny Katan (née Rosenberg), and Marianne Kris (née Rie).

² Anna Maenchen, Erik H. Erikson, Anny Katan, Liselotte Frankl and Ruth Thomas. Cf. Alice Goldberger also.

³ Dorothy Burlingham, Edith Buxbaum.

BLUE FILES: Commentaries; Abstracts & Reviews; Current Literature (1927-c.1976); Interviews & Questionnaires; Other Correspondence; Citations Surveys (Published); Precursors; Archive Publications.

Each set of files was supported and complemented by other materials of a bulkier nature, e.g. the seven-volume collected "Writings"¹ of Anna Freud (1922-1970); early and first editions of certain of her major publications (translations); and German editions of certain of her works. Certain other key works of reference - particularly those of Sigmund Freud (Precursors) and of Ernest Jones² (Biographical) - were also housed in the same cabinet. On top of the cabinet were placed drawers containing the most important of the ancillary materials, namely the card-file indexes of abstracts and titles.

CARD-FILES

Three distinct sets of card-files were prepared, on standard (5" x 3") ruled cards, and these were housed in three separate drawers. Set 1 consists of detailed notes from authors who comment on, or utilise, follow or develop Anna Freud's work. Approximately 1,000 cards were initially made out, largely by surveying the following literature - International Journal of PsychoAnalysis (1920-c.1976), Psychoanalytic Quarterly (1932-c.1976), The PsychoAnalytic Study of the Child (1945-c.1977). From indications given in these sources cards were also made from various numbers of the following - Psychoanalytic Review, Journal of the Philadelphia Association of Psychoanalysis, Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, Journal of Child Psychotherapy, Bulletin of the Hampstead Clinic, as well as from books, monographs and so forth. When a general familiarity had been achieved with the whole range of Anna Freud's scientific contributions and their impact upon the wider world of clinical practice, research and application, the initial card-file population was reduced to some 650 cards. This was done largely through

¹Throughout this study, 'Writings' (WRITINGS) refers to The Writings of Anna Freud, Vols. I-VII, Hogarth, London; I.U.P., New York; see ANNA FREUD (1968h), (1969u), (1971j), and later editions/imprints.

²Jones (1953), (1957), (Vols. I-III).

the elimination of authors discussing the more technical and clinical areas of Anna Freud's work, psychiatric symptomology, the grossly abnormal and so forth. Such a strategy was a necessary prelude to the focussing of the present study upon Anna Freud's more widely applicable thought, especially in so far as this latter concerned education, normality and the general principles of development and psychological functioning.

Set 2 consists of abstract-cards made out for each of Anna Freud's own works. A strictly chronological sequence was preferred, unlike that available in the compilation of Alexander Grinstein¹, who presents the published works of Anna Freud between 1922-1952 in an alphabetical format which in practice makes use of the apparatus slow and difficult. The present study's card-files (Set 2) also contain Anna Freud's unpublished lectures and talks wherever these were known, and there are altogether over 200 entries bearing her name. These enabled the compilation of what is believed to be the most definitive bibliography to date of Anna Freud's works².

Set 3 finally comprises a 'Master-Index' file, in which the majority of previously-made cards can be located by author and year under key subject-categories. These latter emerged gradually during the initial phase of work, as familiarity with Anna Freud's work and thought increased. In the choice and construction of category headings, emphasis was given to those having greatest relevance for the predominantly educational orientation being sought here. Certain other categories were included, as an indication of the range and completeness of any psychological work associated with Anna Freud. The full set of categories finally evolved in the 'Master-Index' was as follows:-

Acting Out, Adaptation, Adolescence, Adoption, Aggression, Aggressor, Anal Phase, Anxiety, Applications, Assessment, Biographical, Borderline States, Childhood, Chronology, Cognition, Conflict, Controversial Issues, Core, Corrective Emotional Experience (CEE), Corroboration, Counter-Transference,

¹Grinstein (1956).

²See: Appendix I-III.

Defence, Denial, Deprivation, Development, Developmental lines, Diagnosis, Early Interaction, Education, Ego, Ego-Ideal, Experimental, Feeding Disturbances, Groups, Hampstead Clinic, Hampstead Index, Hampstead Nursery, Historical, Homosexuality, Hospitalisation, Hypercathexis, Identification, Indications, Infancy, Intellectualization, Interpretation, Kleinian Controversy, Latency, Learning, Libidinal Development, Longitudinal Studies, Management, Masturbation, Mental Representation, Metapsychology, Models, Mothering, Mourning, Negativism, Neurosis, Normality, Objects, Object-Constancy, Object-Loss, Object-Relationships, Observation, Obsession, Oral Phase, Organisers, Paediatrics, Paedagogy, Parents, Passivity, Phallic Phase, Phantasy, Phobia, Play, Primary States, Profiles, Projection, Psychoses, Puberty, Reality, Real Relationship, Reconstruction, Regression, Repression, Restriction of Ego, Retardation, Schizophrenia, Self, Separation, Simultaneous Analysis, Sleep Disturbances, Sublimation, Super-Ego, Teacher, Technique, Therapy, Training (of Anna Freud), Training Analysis, Transference, Trauma, Verbalisation, War Work,

Certain further category-headings were suggested in accordance with the generation of an 'ancillary academic apparatus' to the study of Anna Freud and her work. These further categories were:-

Abstracts, Anthologies, Archives, Child Analysis, Training Courses & Journals, Co-Authors, Critics, Festschriften, Forwards, Reviewers. Many cross-references are employed between 'Master Cards'.

ARCHIVES OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

A number of earlier psychoanalytic archives require mention here. The chief difference between these and the Archive-Index associated with the present study would seem to be that as regards the former they were officially established and widely accepted by professional analysts. Consequently they also became recipients and repositories of much original material, e.g. correspondence, photographs, manuscripts. The present Archive-Index on the contrary was set up expressly with the intention of providing the necessary systematisation and ancillary academic apparatus for the generation of the current work, and is in no sense competing with other archives proper. These 'official' archives include:-

1. The Bibliographical Centre for PsychoAnalysis. Founded in Vienna in 1936. Transferred to London in 1938, its activities were suspended in 1941 due to the then prevailing war conditions.
2. The Sigmund Freud Archives Inc. Established in New York in 1951 with Anna Freud as honorary member¹. The custodian of the Archives is the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., to which Anna Freud has promised her remaining (un² published) correspondence and manuscripts². The initial projects of this principal analytical archive have included collecting all Freud's correspondence, establishing a complete and reliable bibliography of his works, and interviewing surviving known associates of Freud.
3. The Sigmund Freud-Haus & Gesellschaft. Came into being in 1968 with the aid of the Austrian Federal Government. Anna Freud became a member of the scientific committee. In 1971 a museum and library were opened to the public, at Berggasse 19, Vienna, in the former Freud residence³. Anna Freud's activities in Vienna from 1971 onwards are detailed elsewhere below.
4. Other. A number of other sources exist as indexes, archives or collections. The psychoanalyst Henry Hart⁴ offers title-lists on any author. The U.S. National Library of Medicine, D.C. houses a collection of Anna Freud's loose papers⁵; and similar materials, including first drafts and unpublished lectures, are available in the library of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic⁶.

¹ PsychoAnalytic Quarterly, (1951), 20, 660. Other honorary members were Albert Einstein, Ludwig Jekels and Thomas Mann.

² Letter of Anna Freud to this Archive-Index, 11th May 1976. See: Appendix X.

³ Sigmund Freud House Bulletin, (1975), Vol.1, Pt.1; Leupold-Löwenthal & Lobner (1975).

⁴ Henry H. Hart, M.D., 'Oakledge', RFD 3, Southbury, Conn. 06488, U.S.A.; cf. Grinstein (1956), and the Chicago Psychoanalytic Literature Index, 1920-70.

⁵ National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 185, p.68, London, 1972.

⁶ 21, Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, London NW3.

EARLY PIONEERS: VIENNA, ZURICH, BUDAPEST, LONDON, 1905-1914

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), in his 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality'¹, conveniently marks the inception in Vienna of the first period of psychoanalytic child study. With this publication we have for the first time in any full form an adequate psychological theory of child development. Genetic elements of this theory may naturally be traced earlier in Freud's work, and his daughter Anna Freud finds "the birthdate of psychoanalytic child psychology" somewhere between 1895 and 1900², i.e. after the 'Studies of Hysteria'³ which employed only dynamic constructs (conscious, unconscious, conflict), but before 'The Interpretation of Dreams'⁴ which added genetic propositions and traced the cause of psychic conflict back into the individual's early development.

The present study prefers 1905 as a more acceptable date to all but historians of the development of psychoanalysis, as it witnesses the genetic theory in a particularly developed form capable of practical application by those interested in early childhood per se, as opposed to those requiring retrospectively to reconstruct the internal conflicts of adults.

Freud's notable theory was based upon his concept of 'infantile sexuality' with its organised development through well-marked oral and anal phases, together with the transformations of puberty and the further development of the individual to genital primacy and the finding of a suitable object.

In a subsequent paper on 'The sexual enlightenment of children' Freud⁵ made a positive psychoanalytical contribution to paedagogy, finding not a single good reason for denying children the knowledge

¹Freud (1905D).

²Anna Freud, Writings, Vol. IV, p.318.

³Freud (1895D).

⁴Freud (1900A).

⁵Freud (1907C).

which their curiosity demands. With his 'Creative writers and daydreaming' Freud¹ included an account of the dynamics of children's play, emphasising the wish-directed nature of its phantasy in contrast to reality; and in his paper 'On the sexual theories of children'² Freud used an important triad of sources, namely direct observations of what children say and do, conscious recollections of adults and analytical reconstructions from clinical material on adult neurotics.

The First Psycho-Analytical Congress, held in Salzburg on 26th April 1908, included an important though later much-neglected contribution on psychoanalytic education by Sandor Ferenczi (1873-1933) of Budapest. Ferenczi's paper³ has the merit of being the first to argue for a 'new education' which will take account of the findings presented in the 'Three Essays'⁴, especially insofar as these concern the predominance in infantile life of erotogenic zones. It was to the healthy reconciliation of sexual drives and social mores that Ferenczi looked. He is against unnecessary repression, and argues for social reforms leading to greater personal freedom whenever impulse is refractory to sublimation. Ferenczi clearly recognises however that unchecked gratification cannot be permitted to the instinctual drives. His master strategy is "to achieve the condition wherein transformation of sexual emotions, repressions etc. need have no more pathogenic effect"⁵. Personal insight, social and individual

¹Freud (1908E).

²Freud (1908C).

³Ferenczi ((1908)1949). The title is given as 'Psychoanalysis and education' by Balint (1949), and as 'Psychoanalysis and paedagogy' by Jones (1955, II, p.46). The lecture of 1908 appears to have been inserted into the Congress at a late moment, and was followed by a discussion led by Ferenczi and entitled 'What practical hints for child education can be drawn from freudian experience?', (McGuire (Ed.), 1974, pp.571-2).

⁴Freud (1905D).

⁵Ferenczi ((1908)1949).

enlightenment and the abolition of "hypocritical mysteriousness" are to be the major tactics by which Ferenczi seeks to realise this strategy. He is critical both of methods of correction and punishment on the one hand, and of the spoiling and pampering of the child on the other. Ferenczi points to the central importance for all education of the development of speech and the symbolic thought processes, for by the new cathexis of instinctual drive thereby involved the child acquires increased knowledge and self-control.

The pioneering educational contribution of Sandor Ferenczi for long remained in obscure Hungarian publications, until retrieved forty years later by Michael Balint¹. No doubt this obscurity sufficiently explains the erroneous claim by Barbara Low² that Ernest Jones³ was the first to advocate the application of psycho-analysis to education. In a similar vein Bruno Bettelheim⁴ speaks of Siegfried Bernfeld as writing "the very first psychoanalytic treatise on education in 1925", and goes on to mention Bernfeld, Aichhorn and Anna Freud as "the very first psychoanalytic educators". Ferenczi's priority is now clear, and Jones at least was present at the Salzburg meeting of 1908 when Ferenczi first presented his views.

From then until his death in 1933 Ferenczi continued to take great interest in the development of psychoanalytic child study. Amongst his students are numbered such prominent later child analysts as Alice Balint and Melanie Klein. Klein in particular was grateful to Ferenczi for having convinced her of her aptitude for child analysis, and she notes "the remarkable rapport he had with the minds of children"⁵.

¹Balint (1949).

²Low (1929)

³Jones (1910).

⁴Bettelheim (1969).

⁵Klein (1932), Preface.

Anna Freud herself on one early occasion sympathetically referred to Ferenczi's 'active therapy'¹, and elsewhere noted that "Through the good offices of Ferenczi, I have had access to the notes of a teacher in a modern American school"². The many other references to Ferenczi scattered throughout Anna Freud's published works are collected below³.

Child analysis is frequently considered to have begun with the publication of Freud's case of Little Hans and his phobia⁴, as noted by a number of authorities⁵. Despite the historical importance of the 'Little Hans' case as the first psychoanalytically-based treatment of a child, there was as yet no emergence of a distinctive child analytic technique and theory. Freud's method was still to rely upon the patient's verbalisations, and his singular methodological innovation appears to have been that of using the child's father as intermediary. By this means, rather more significant material was made available than would have otherwise been volunteered by a child.

A common criticism of Freud's work has been that his data on early childhood were obtained by reconstructions from analyses of adult patients. Whilst reconstruction may be accepted as Freud's initial and principal methodological approach to childhood, he had also from the start opportunities to supplement this by actual observation. As early as 1886 Freud had studied in Paris with the great Jean Martin Charcot (1825-1893), who investigated under hypnosis children suffering from hysterical fits. In the same period Freud studied children's diseases in Berlin⁶, returning then to Vienna to take daily charge of

¹Anna Freud (1927a, Lect. IV), in WRITINGS, I, p.65n.

²Anna Freud (1928a).

³Appendix IX.

⁴Freud (1909B).

⁵Klein (1932), Anna Freud (1954a), Kris (1948), Eidelberg (1968). Anna Freud notes that the 'Little Hans' case-material actually dates from 1905.

⁶Freud (1956A), (Written in 1886).

the neurological section of the Kassowitz Children's Institute¹, Freud's own six children further provided useful material, e.g. for observations on children's speech during sleep and dream states² and for specimens of children's dreams³. At Easter 1907 Freud visited Kahlbaum's establishment⁴ in Gorlitz, where he saw "a most instructive case"⁵.

From 1908 onwards, as noted above, direct observation of childhood increasingly supported and corroborated Freud's inferences from reconstructions, as shown in his publications. Whilst it does not concern the present study to enquire further into the origins of Freud as an empiricist-observer and rationalist-theorist, it may be noted that this same orientation is fundamental also to the methodology and epistemology of Anna Freud.

Others soon followed Freud with efforts to offer analytical help to children, or to study childhood by direct analytical means. In a letter to Freud of 13th May 1907, C. G. Jung (1875-1961) raised certain problems he was experiencing in treating a 6 year-old girl⁶. Freud, as ever the master, replied in a letter of 23rd May that Jung must by now see that the girl's symptoms derived from phantasies that had become conscious, and the therapeutic task was to demonstrate the

¹Jones, (1953), chap.10, 'The neurologist'.

²Letter 73 to Wilhelm Fliess, 1897; in Freud (1950A). This is the earliest reference to Anna Freud in the analytical literature, and was repeated in Freud (1900A). Anna Freud was 1½ years old when her father collected her dream utterances alluded to here.

³Freud (1900A).

⁴Arztliches Paedagogium für jugendliche Nervenkrankte (Medical Educational Establishment for Nervous Illness in Young People).

⁵Letter of Freud to C. G. Jung, 7th April 1909, (McGuire (Ed.), 1974, Letter 18F).

⁶McGuire (Ed.) (1974), Letter 24J.

sources from which the child derived its sexual knowledge. As a rule, Freud continued, children provide little information in the way of associations "but confirm what we have guessed when we tell them"¹.

Possibly the first analyst to specialise in child cases was the young Polish female student Mira Gincburg (1887-1949), who trained with Jung in Zurich. In a letter of 5th August 1909 Jung wrote to Freud saying that Gincburg had "a very nice way with her in analysing children"². Mira Gincburg later married the Swiss analyst Emil Oberholzer, and worked in New York from 1938.

In September 1909 Freud, Jung and Ferenczi were in America at the invitation of Clark University, Worcester, Mass. For the third of his invitation lectures Jung presented psychoanalytical case-material on two children³. A further outcome of the Clark Conference was the widening of international support offered to psychoanalytic child study, particularly by G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924), Professor of Psychology & Paedagogics at Clark University. Although Hall's support shifted towards the so-called 'schismatic' Alfred Adler after a few years⁴, the link between Clark University and psychoanalytic child study was to be an enduring one⁵.

In a letter of 18th January 1909 to the Zurich pastor Oskar Pfister (1873-1956), Freud noted that "Your name has often been mentioned to me by our common friend, C. G. Jung"⁶. Pfister soon began applying Freud's discoveries and theories to pastoral work, childhood and

¹McGuire Letter 25F.

²ibid., Letter 153J.

³Jung (1910).

⁴Jones (1955), II, p.64.

⁵See: Anna Freud (1951a), in WRITINGS, IV, p.108.

⁶Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.15.

Paedagogy¹. A follower of both Pfister and Freud was Ernst Schneider, director of the Teacher's Seminary in Berne. Another Swiss, Hans Zulliger, visited Schneider in Berne around 1911, and from 1912 followed Pfister's example by applying psychoanalysis to children of 12-13 years within the regular public school-system². A recent commentator has referred to Zulliger, Anna Freud and Melanie Klein as the "drei Grossen der Kinderpsychotherapie"³.

In November 1910, in the opening volume of the new Journal of Educational Psychology, Ernest Jones (1879-1958), then at the University of Toronto, published a paper on psychoanalysis and education⁴. Topics covered included early 'home-training' and later systematic education; the enlightenment of teachers regarding the psychology of childhood; and non-intellectual or so-called 'human' aspects of childhood. In the same year, Freud⁵ discussed the role of secondary schools in preventing youthful suicides; soon after pointed to the ubiquity of masturbation in childhood⁶; and touched again upon the animal phobias of children⁷. Such a phobia had figured in the pioneering 'Little Hans' analysis⁸, and data on children's fears of animals would subsequently play an important role in Anna Freud's development of her celebrated model of the ego's defensive denial and related activities for warding off anxiety⁹.

¹Pfister (1909a, 1909b).

²Zulliger (1966).

³Bierman (1973).

⁴Jones (1910)

⁵Freud (1910G).

⁶Freud (1912F).

⁷Freud (1912X, Pt. IV, (3)).

⁸Freud (1909B).

⁹Anna Freud (1929b); (1936a), WRITINGS, II, pp. 71-75.

During February and March 1911 several of the letters passing between Freud and Jung contain discussion of certain modifications suggested by Jung¹ to the sections on children's dreams in Freud's 'Interpretation of Dreams'², then being prepared for a 3rd edition. In this same correspondence Jung cited dream material collected from his 5 year-old daughter Gretchen. For his part Freud accepted "almost every point"³ of Jung's proposals, but regretted that it was not feasible to alter greatly the dream-book⁴ in the light of the childhood sexual-theory⁵.

In 1912 Pfister presented cases of untruthfulness, Kleptomania, tormenting of animals, dislike of certain foods and so on⁶, whilst in the same year the Zurich Psychoanalytical Society held a discussion on 'Psychoanalysis and Paedagogy'. According to Pfister⁷, the discussion included notable contributions by Alphonse Maeder (1882-1971) and Otto Mensendieck (1871-1914) on intellectual inhibitions in pupils. Otto Mensendieck, a little-known and obscure non-medical member of the Zurich Psychoanalytical Society, came originally from Hamburg. He returned there in 1914, and disappeared into the First World War holocaust only a year after publishing a paper of interest to teachers⁸. This undertook to consider what special school-arrangements could be made for children undergoing psychoanalysis.

¹Letters 235J, 237J, in McGuire (Ed.) (1974).

²Freud (1900A).

³Letters 236F and 238F, in McGuire (Ed.) (1974).

⁴Freud (1900A).

⁵Freud (1905D).

⁶Pfister (1912).

⁷Pfister (1917), p.539n.

⁸Mensendieck (1913).

The year 1912 saw the entry into the psychoanalytical fold of two paedagogical journals, viz. the Berner Seminarblätter edited by E. Schneider, O. Messmer, O. Greyerz and Pfister¹; and the Monatshefte für Pädagogik und Schulreform of Vienna, edited by Alfred Adler (1870-1937), who as early as 1905 had produced a study of sexual problems in education².

Writing to Karl Abraham on 2nd May 1912, Freud noted that a regular 'children's corner' was to be organised in the Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse (Vienna)³. This same journal very shortly afterwards ceased to merit Freud's attention, owing to the dissension of its editor W. Stekel. However, its successor the Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse eventually also came to have a special part, or 'Kindersammlung', for the presentation of childhood material⁴.

In 1912 the Viennese woman analyst Hermine von Hug-Hellmuth (1871-1924) began publishing a number of short studies on childhood, and soon wrote a fuller monograph⁵. This latter quickly received Freud's stamp of approval, and was published in a series which Freud himself edited⁶.

In Berlin the small analytical group there had heard a report from Karen Horney (1885-1952) on sexual instruction in childhood, which Abraham noted as showing "real understanding of the material"⁷. A year

¹Pfister (1917), p.13.

²Adler (1905).

³Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), p.116.

⁴'Aus dem infantilen Leben'; Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), p.333.

⁵Hug-Hellmuth (1913).

⁶Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde (Papers on Applied Psychology), Vienna & Leipzig.

⁷Letter to Freud, 25th February 1912; Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), pp.113-114.

later, in 1913, Karl Abraham (1877-1925) himself sent Freud a paper on the analysis of a 9 year-old child¹.

The scene in England around this time witnessed David Eder (1866-1936) attempting to promote psychoanalysis in L.C.C. and other school-clinics. Barbara Low (1877-1955) made early use of the work of Freud and Jones in her paper on sexual hygiene in schools². Significant though the early British applied efforts were they appear to have contributed little that was new to the general body of psychoanalytic theory as it emerged from Vienna. A fuller account of this earliest analytical period in England has been given elsewhere³.

In a letter of 1st January 1913, Freud wrote to Pfister telling him that he proposed firmly to defend "the rights of educationalists to analysis"⁴. In February of the same year Freud contributed an Introduction⁵ to a book of Pfister's, and noted that education and therapy could now be seen to have a definite relationship. The role of education was to ensure that neither individual nor society be harmed by that which proceeds from the child's natural inclinations. Freud also warned that the educator, insofar as he could mould the child's mind, should proceed according to the possibilities inherent in the pupil, and not according to the adult's own personal ideals. Elsewhere, Freud⁶ devoted a paper to certain lies told by children; and in a contribution to the international journal Scientia he further emphasised his ideas on the 'new education'⁷. In particular,

¹Letter to Freud, *op.cit.* p.133; Abraham ((1913)1927).

²Low (1913).

³Armytage (1975a), Boll (1962).

⁴Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.59.

⁵Freud (1913B).

⁶Freud (1913G).

⁷Freud (1913J, Pt.II).

and in warning against suppression of the child's socially unserviceable and perverse impulses, Freud does not go to the opposite extreme of advocating free expression and licence, but points instead to the educational significance of sublimation as a process which directs the asocial impulse into pathways leading to valued and acceptable contributions to character.

Finally, with regard to work which preceded the outbreak of the First World War, Freud had prepared by 1914 a 4th edition to his dream book¹, in which he notes a number of new analytical studies of children's dreams in the period 1911-1913. Mention is made of HugHellmuth, Viktor Tausk (1879-1919), Sabina Spielrein (1886-c.1934) and James Jackson Putnam (1846-1918). The latter was Professor of Neurology at Harvard, and the most loyal of Freud's early American followers². His daughter Marian Putnam would subsequently have close links with Anna Freud and child analysis. Unaccountably, Freud does not cite the latest work of Miriam Gincburg³, whereas his reference to one van Raalte has proved impossible to trace or confirm⁴.

In the few brief historical accounts which are available for the development of psychoanalytic child study there is scant reference to most of the early work outlined above. Anna Freud⁵ and Sylvia Brody⁶ make no reference to any work prior to 1920. Marianne Kris⁷ mentions

¹Freud (1900A).

²Jones (1955, Vol.II) p.65f. Anna Freud (1951a) also records a high opinion of J.J. Putnam.

³Gincburg (1913).

⁴The reference, F. van Raalte (1912), occurs in Bibliography A on p.646 of the 1954 James Strachey edition of Freud (1900A). The entry bears an asterisk, indicating that Strachey also was unable to locate or confirm it.

⁵Anna Freud (1966e).

⁶Brody (1974).

⁷Kris (1948).

only Freud's 'Little Hans' case and the work of Hug-Hellmuth for the period 1905-1913. W. Hoffer¹ mentions Freud, Pfister, Zulliger and Hug-Hellmuth, with revealing detail as regards the latter. Heinrich Meng² notes only Freud and Pfister in the earliest period; whilst a more recent and undoubtedly authoritative study cites Freud, Hug-Hellmuth, the work of Pfister from c.1916 and nothing else in the earliest period of study³. In an historically orientated Introduction, Melanie Klein⁴ mentions only Freud's 'Little Hans' case and the work of Hug-Hellmuth prior to 1921, though she alludes to "several analysts" as carrying out further analyses of children.

As a consequence of this paucity of thorough-going historical research and generalised knowledge, error and mis-representation continue to flourish. A recent publication from the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic for example, still attempts to assert that Melanie Klein's work of the early 1920's was preceded "only by Freud's vicarious treatment of Little Hans and by the work of Hug-Hellmuth"⁵.

It is the view taken here that possibly much more still remains unearthed in this earliest period of psychoanalytic child-study. The fullest possible treatment of the period c.1905-c.1920 will require a wide access to early psychoanalytic literature, together with a competent grounding in German as the introductory language of psychoanalysis, neither of which was possessed to the necessary degree by the present author.

Fig.1 depicts geographically and chronologically the first phase of the international spread of psychoanalysis from 1902-1914⁶. It

¹Hoffer (1945).

²Meng (1939).

³Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

⁴Klein (1932).

⁵Yorke (1971).

⁶From data contained in Jones (1955).

Fig. I.

(Lift flap)

- NEW YORK (1911)
- OU WORCESTER, MASS. (1909)
- BALTIMORE (1911)

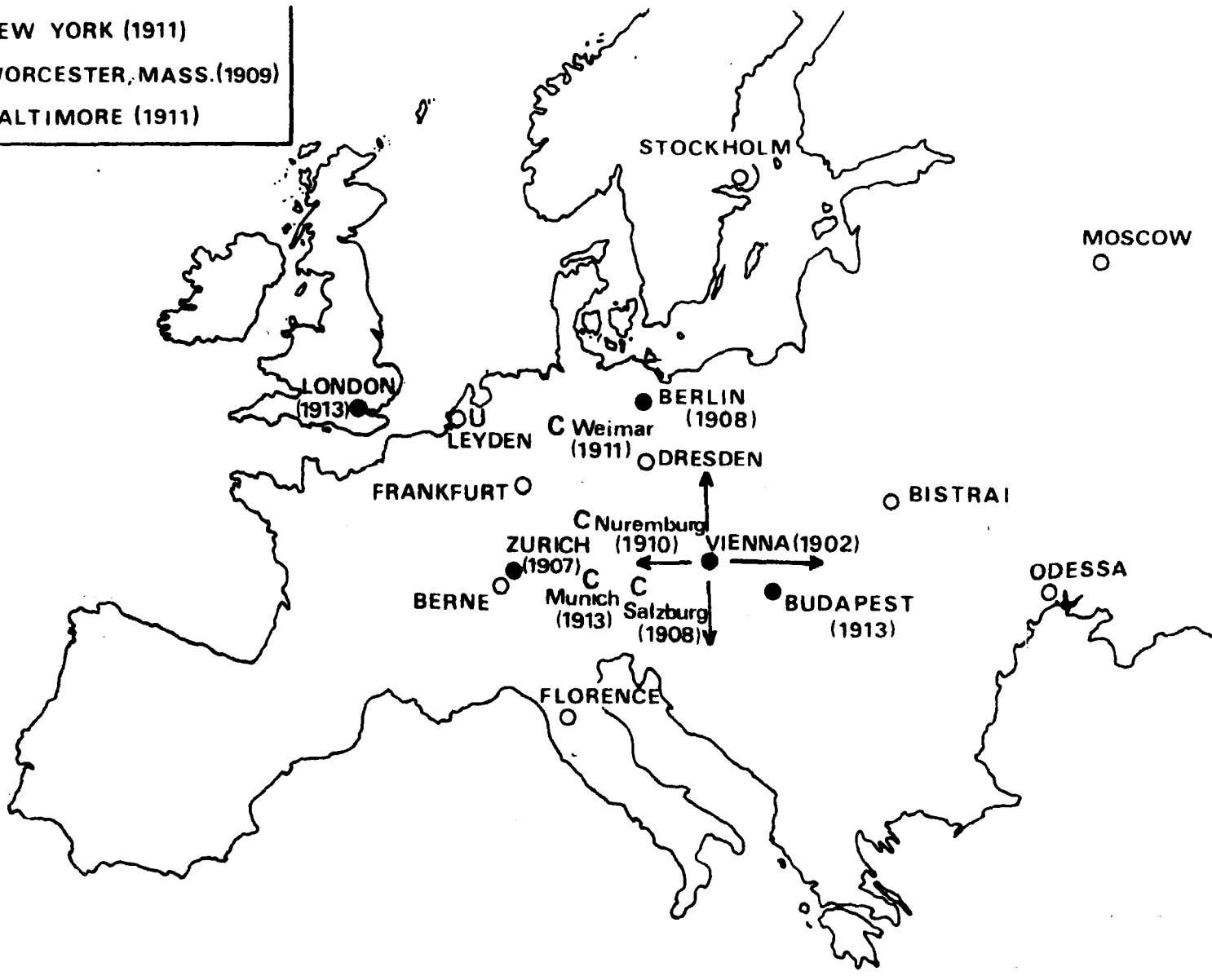


FIG. I
THE INTERNATIONAL SPREAD OF PSYCHOANALYSIS
(1902 - 1914)

- = Established Psa. Society
- = Groups/Individuals without status of branch society
- C = Site of International Psa. Congress
- U = University Invitation to Lecture/Recognition

NOTABLE REPRESENTATIVES
(c.1913).

- U.S.A.**
- NEW YORK**
Brill, Frink, Oberndorf, Hinkle
 - BALTIMORE**
Jones, Burrow, Meyer, Putman
 - WORCESTER**
Hall
- ENGLAND**
- LONDON**
Jones, Forsyth, Bryan, Eder, Low
- CONTINENT**
- BERLIN**
Abraham, Juliusberger, (Eitingon)
 - FRANKFURT**
Landauer
 - DRESDEN**
Stegmann (died, 1912)
 - BUDAPEST**
Ferenczi, Hollos, Rado, Levy
 - ZURICH**
Jung, Pfister, Maeder, Oberholzer
 - VIENNA**
Freud, Federn, Hitschmann, Rank, Sachs, Tausk, Sadger, (Adler, Stekel)
 - LEYDEN**
Jelgersma, Van Emden
 - MOSCOW** **STOCKHOLM**
Ossipov Bjerre
 - ODESSA** **BERNE**
M. Wulff Schneider
 - BISTRAI** **FLORENCE**
L. Jekels Assagioli

provides the essential background for an understanding of the later spread of child analysis.

FIRST WORLD WAR PERIOD

In a paper reflecting on the psychology of the schoolboy, Freud¹ assessed the manner in which early parental images internalised within the child influence responses to teachers. The ideas Freud here discussed presaged, as did his classic paper on narcissism², the later structural theory of the 1920's. Perhaps the fact that his daughter Anna had just begun work as a schoolteacher influenced Freud to publish the minor paper in the same year as his pivotal theoretical masterpiece on narcissism. From these early indications of the existence of part-egos and their relations to internalised objects there was eventually to be developed a whole dynamic 'object-relations psychology', though Anna Freud and other orthodox freudians would eventually come to stand somewhat to one side of such a model of personality, (cf. Chapter 9).

In England meanwhile, in an address to the North of England Educational Conference in Bradford, David Eder had on 2nd January 1914 presented pioneering observations from children in an open-air Macmillan camp³. Characteristically for those times such radical public disclosures were not well received, and this accords well with the contemporary hostility then levied from psychoanalysis generally, as noted by historians and biographers⁴. This hostility was nowhere more intense than in its opposition to the psychoanalytic disclosures on childhood sexuality.

¹Freud (1914f).

²Freud (1914C).

³Armytage (1975a), citing Hobman's 'David Eder' study.

⁴Jones (1955, p.13f); Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

In his famous winter series of introductory lectures first held in 1915-16 at the University of Vienna, Freud devoted a whole talk to the topic of children's dreams¹. As part of his second series of talks in the winter of 1916-17, Freud stated his noted dictum that 'psychoanalytic treatment is a form of re-education'². The view which Freud developed, of education having as one of its most important social tasks the restraint and shaping of the sexual instinct in early childhood³, appears to be a logical outcome of the period's current theoretical concern with the developmentally-orientated libido theory. With his further recommendation that educators should switch their prime concern back to the early years of childhood, Freud achieves a crucial phase-dependent corollary to his earlier view of sublimation as the central dynamic process in education. Amongst those attending these important lectures before the great psychological master was a young schoolteacher named Anna Freud (see: Chapter 3).

During the war years there was apparently no contact between Freud and the important paedagogue Oskar Pfister, a fact suggested not only by Freud's biographer⁴ but also by the long gap in surviving letters from the correspondence between the two men⁵. Pfister nevertheless, and in apparent isolation from his revered teacher, continued to show himself a leading and independent thinker, working towards the rapprochement and mutual enrichment of psychoanalysis and education. In 1915 Pfister revised his book 'Die Psychoanalytische Methode', in which he had outlined his concept of 'paedanalysis' as "an educational method practiced by professional paedagogues"⁶. The English translation soon

¹Freud (1916X, Lecture 8).

²ibid., Lecture 27.

³ibid., Lecture 20.

⁴Jones (1955), p.224.

⁵Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963).

⁶Pfister (1917), p.529.

followed, and included an introduction by an academician who admitted to having used the book in his university courses since its first appearance¹. Freud also was most complimentary about the book, referring to it as meritorious, of good repute in the world at large and worthy of regular revision to keep pace with developments².

Pfister stands on identical ground with Freud when he asserts that "The analytic therapy is ... a work of education"³. As a lay analyst Pfister correctly sees his role as involving acceptance of diagnoses and supervision from analytic physicians, renouncing certain psychiatric cases and so forth, whilst the domain of the analytic paedagogue includes "fatal distortions of character, religious abnormalities, ethical monstrosities"⁴.

In 1917 Pfister published another book, 'Was bietet die Psycho-analyse dem Erzieher?'. This had to wait until after the war for an English translation⁵. It was then critically reviewed by Barbara Low⁶, who objected to Pfister's term 'paedanalysis' and also to his "superficial equating" of sublimation with moral development. In a letter written towards the end of 1918 Freud also took issue with Pfister over the book, since it appeared to Freud that Pfister was losing the gains enshrined in the sexual theory⁷.

CONSTANCE LONG OF LONDON

In England in 1917 a Dr. Constance Long made a notable pioneering contribution to the analytical literature, though the fate of her work was that of being consigned to obscurity, much as had been Ferenczi's

¹G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.

²Letter of Freud to Pfister, Christmas 1922, in Meng & Freud (Eds.), (1963), p.88.

³Pfister (1917), p.530.

⁴ibid., p.530

⁵Pfister (1922).

⁶Low (1923).

⁷Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.61.

earlier initiative. In her paper¹ Long clarified several notorious early misconceptions regarding psychoanalysis. Then, in her novel proposal that all teachers and therapists who work with children should undergo a personal analysis, she actually pre-empted the official recommendation for formal training-analyses proposed later by the European psychoanalytic societies. These latter bodies first publicly declared themselves concerned over such matters in September 1918 when Herman Nunberg, at Freud's prompting, spoke up at the Budapest Psychoanalytic Congress in favour of training analyses being made obligatory². The motion did not become officially adopted until the 1925 Bad Homburg Congress³. Anna Freud's earliest published discussion of such a requirement for teachers appears around 1929-30, when she presents compelling case material to support the training requirement⁴. For Constance Long the values inherent in psychoanalysis would reach the child through just such analytically-prepared teachers, and education would then more closely approach its possible goals as envisaged by the more insightful and aware of the bright young adults of the Great War generation.

Constance Ellen Long had been associated with the London Psycho-Analytic Clinic from around 1914, though she was not a founder-member of that organisation⁵. In all probability we may accept her as a first-generation student of such pioneers as May Sinclair and Dr. Jessie Murray. She held a non-medical doctorate (Ph.D), and her interests spanned both educational and medico-psychological areas. Constance Long was the authorised translator for the 1917 English edition of C. G. Jung's 'Collected Papers', whilst her own later writings covered

¹Long (1917).

²Nunberg (1969).

³'Report of the Tenth Psychoanalytic Congress', JOURNAL, 1928, Vol.5, p.135.

⁴Anna Freud (1930a, Lecture 4).

⁵Boll (1962).

children's games¹ and the psychology of phantasy².

The more generalised diffusion of psychoanalysis in the English educational world at this time has been essayed elsewhere³.

On 28th November 1917, Lou Andreas-Salome (1861-1937) wrote asking Freud for advice with a case of pavor nocturnus in a 6 year-old girl. She reported that the 'Little Hans' method had proved unsuccessful, and asked Freud to indicate "what possibilities lie open"⁴. In actual fact, as indicated in her letter, Lou had already exercised a certain ingenuity and originality in her efforts to gain access to the child's mind. In particular, and by posing as a fellow-sufferer from 'night terrors', she had induced the little girl to volunteer some of her dream material. Lou also introduced a system of indirect communication with the child by drawing and writing on cards which the two exchanged. And in a letter of 15th December 1917, Lou subsequently reported the use of 'mutual confessions' as a further technique⁵.

Freud's reply, of 4th December 1917, is reminiscent of his advice to Jung ten years earlier, when the latter was also caught in a therapeutic dilemma. Lou could, wrote Freud, either wait patiently until a stronger attachment was formed and the child began communicating more (i.e. became more amenable to analysis); or if the therapist had confidence in her insights and surmises then she could "tell it to the child yourself"⁶.

On 24th January 1918, Lou further reported to Freud that her young patient now "regards me much more as a fellow-child than as a threatening adult"⁷.

¹Long (1920a).

²Long (1920b).

³Low (1929), Armytage (1975b).

⁴Pfeiffer (Ed.), (1972), pp.68-69.

⁵ibid., pp.70-71

⁶ibid., pp.69-70.

⁷ibid., p.73.

Clearly, the therapist has employed great skill and empathy to achieve such an acceptance, though hopefully without abrogating the responsibility of actually being the adult. Freud's view, expressed in his letter of 17th February 1918, was that Lou's technique of putting herself on the child's level, whilst very skilful, had reduced the paedagogic possibilities of the analysis. He reminded Lou of a point which has great consequence for teachers and all who work with children, namely that "in education, as in analysis, one partner must be the superior and the unassailable"¹. Freud also now pointed out, en passant and with masterful clarity, that the child's general inaccessibility corresponds to its narcissism.

Freud's wartime views on the relative distribution of authority and responsibility between adult and child will inevitably appear entrenched and conservative after over half a century of liberal progress in the social sciences. Nevertheless, it is the view taken here that whilst the adult dealing with children can often, and with advantage, lessen the authoritative role-aspect, we can in no sense lessen the responsibility role-aspect. The successful separation of these two closely-related 'roles' will therefore present a fundamental dilemma for those educational philosophies which insist upon greater mutuality and reciprocity between teacher and pupils.

KINDERHEIM BAUMGARTEN AND OTHER POST-WAR VENTURES

With the cessation of the Great War and alongside the deplorable European economic circumstances affecting private clinical practice, the markedly altered social circumstances of the time presented psychoanalytic child study with vigorous new opportunities. The most prominent instance of this was seen in the setting up in Vienna and Russia of institutions run on psychoanalytical lines for orphans and waifs of the war.

In 1919 in Vienna, Siegfried Bernfeld (1892-1953) set up the Baumgarten

¹Pfieffer (Ed.) (1972), p.74.

Children's Home, a residential venture for orphaned Jewish children and adolescents. These unfortunates, as Anna Freud notes, "were running wild as victims of the First World War"¹. The venture was understandably very difficult - some of the results are described as disheartening² - but the work was published³. Bernfeld's co-workers in this pioneer institution included a number of students who would themselves become notable as workers in child analysis and related fields. Most prominent of these in later years was Willi Hoffer (1897-1967), who also contributed an account of Kinderheim Baumgarten⁴. Anna Freud, though not directly a part of the experimental home, is from the end of the Great War period an important participant-historian of psychoanalysis. Her more important historical accounts include an obituary on Willi Hoffer⁵, an appreciation of Herman Nunberg⁶, a note on the post-war emergence of the International Journal of Psychoanalysis⁷, and a review of Karl Abraham's biography⁸. In recent years Anna Freud has quite openly and legitimately viewed herself as "a historian of the psychoanalytic movement"⁹, and her *'A short history of child analysis'* (1966e) is both notable and authoritative.

Other helpers and staff at the Baumgarten Children's Home included schoolteachers and social workers. One helper was the mother of Eva Rosenfeld. Eva M. Rosenfeld (1892-1977) had herself in 1918 thrown open her own Vienna home to war orphans, in what she described as "an informal, middle-class venture"¹⁰.

¹Anna Freud (1968d).

²ibid.

³Bernfeld (1922)

⁴Hoffer (1965).

⁵Anna Freud (1968d).

⁶Anna Freud (1969k).

⁷Anna Freud (1969t).

⁸Anna Freud (1974b).

⁹Anna Freud (1976a).

¹⁰Personal Interview, London, 31 May 1977, See:Appendix XI.

In Moscow, from 1921, Vera Schmidt founded a psychoanalytic children's home and experimental laboratory called 'International Solidarity'¹. This involved twelve children from 2-4 years of age, a scheme of education based on analytical lines and principles, and collected observations on the games, speech and libidinal activities of the children².

Several other pioneer activities took place in Russia during this same early period. In August 1920 the First National Congress of Russian Care Committees for Backward Children held a meeting in Moscow, where Dr. Tatiana Rosenthal read her paper entitled 'The value of freudian conceptions in the education of children'³. Later that same year the School Care Committee appointed Tatiana Rosenthal as chief physician to a newly-appointed institute for the treatment of neurotic children by psychoanalysis. In July 1921, Moshe Wulff (1878-1971) went as first assistant to the newly-founded children's institute of Professor J. Ermakoff. This institute, for infants up to 3 years of age, was notable for requiring all its workers to undergo a personal analysis⁴. Around 1924 Sabina Spielrein-Scheftel, a neglected early pioneer of childhood study, who had trained in Zurich, Vienna and Berlin, returned to Russia to conduct for the Russian Psychoanalytic Society one of the first 'Kinderseminar'. This had some thirty members, and studied problems associated with the analysis of children⁵. Spielrein-Scheftel also assisted Ermakoff in the running of a Moscow children's out-patient clinic specialising in psychoanalytic treatment; and previously, from 1921-23, she had practised in Geneva and provided a didactic analysis for Jean Piaget (b.1896)⁶.

¹'Report of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society', International Journal of Psychoanalysis, (1924), 5, 258-9.

²Schmidt (1924).

³'Psychoanalysis in Russia', JOURNAL (1922), 3, 513-520.

⁴ibid.

⁵'Report of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society, 1920-24', JOURNAL (1924) 5, 258-9.

⁶McGuire (Ed.) (1974).

Although virtually unknown today, much of the early analytical work in Russia was widely recognised and appreciated in the 1920's. Anna Freud for example cited case material of Moshe Wulff's¹, and was familiar with the work of Vera Schmidt's experimental home for children².

By 1919 Freud had published a significant new contribution to the phantasies of childhood³, one which would, moreover, be developed further by his daughter Anna in her own first analytical contribution three years later⁴. Freud had also discussed the role of psycho-analysis in the curriculum of universities⁵, where he argued that the universities had much to gain from the new method, not only in relation to the teaching of medical students but also in the solution of problems in art, philosophy and religion. During the early 1920's Freud published the major new works which, with their radical structural emphasis in terms of id, ego and superego⁶ would guide the work and theoretical orientation of child analysts in the post-war decades.

A hint of the greater receptivity to psycho-analysis of the post-war world is contained in a letter to Freud of 12th July 1920, in which Pfister wrote in glowing terms of the enthusiasm of teachers and others to lectures on psycho-analysis.⁷

PLAY ANALYSIS

In the immediate post-war period Hermine Hug-Hellmuth had published an English translation of her important early monograph on child development⁸. Reviewing this, Barbara Low pointed to the "extraordinary close

¹Anna Freud (1928a).

²Anna Freud (1930a), Lecture 3.

³Freud (1919E).

⁴Anna Freud (1922a).

⁵Freud (1919J).

⁶Freud (1921c), (1923B).

⁷Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.78.

⁸Hug-Hellmuth (1920).

and detailed observation of the infant and young child"¹. A similar work was that of the English physician David Forsyth², of which Ernest Jones wrote that it constituted "an important study which should be read in the original"³. Much else of a contemporary nature existed - the primordium of analytical empiricism out of which the new play analysis and other techniques would emerge - and Hug-Hellmuth's collective review⁴ contained over forty entries dealing with child psychology and education. Amongst many lesser-known authors the contributions by Abraham, Bernfeld, Freud, Pfister and Putnam stand out monumentally.

At the Sixth International Psychoanalytical Congress, held at the Hague in September 1920, Hug-Hellmuth presented a crucial paper on child analysis technique⁵. If Meng is correct in writing of Hug-Hellmuth that "eine exakte Technik der Kinder-analyse bemühte"⁶, then clearly she strove for an illusory goal, and the present study at least prefers to remember A. N. Whitehead's fundamental dictum that in science 'the exactness is fake'.

A strong educative influence pervaded Hug-Hellmuth's work. She did not stop her analytical approach merely at the relief of symptoms and suffering, but went on to advocate moral and aesthetic values also. Hug-Hellmuth drew wider attention than had previously been the case to the "peculiarity of the child psyche (which) necessitates a special technique for its analysis"⁷.

¹Low (1922).

²Forsyth (1921).

³Jones (1922).

⁴Hug-Hellmuth (1920).

⁵Hug-Hellmuth (1921).

⁶Meng (1939).

⁷Hug-Hellmuth (1921), p.287.

She favoured educational methods founded on psychoanalytic knowledge for the analysis of those children - under six years of age - considered too young to accept the adult-style technique. Hug-Hellmuth, a true pioneer, dispensed with the formal couch, utilised toys and play and moved analysis from the consulting-room to the child's home. It has been stated by a reputable authority with personal experience of her work that Hug-Hellmuth "spent most of her effort in finding out secrets that the child had intentionally withheld from educators - and thus she opened the door to the child's phantasy life"¹. Her work was prematurely ended by her untimely death at age 53 in September 1924².

By 1920 then, and albeit for only a brief subsequent period, Hermine Hug-Hellmuth had undoubtedly become the most prominent figure in the nascent child analytical sphere. Her contribution to the 1920 Hague congress set the contemporary guidelines for analysing child cases, and can hardly have failed to stimulate even those who would quickly outgrow her ideas, especially Anna Freud and Melanie Klein, both of whom were present at the 1920 congress. Hug-Hellmuth's achievements were such as to make inadmissible the contention of Roazen³ that, as early as 1922-24, Hug-Hellmuth's work was quickly overshadowed by that of Anna Freud. As will be argued below, the years 1924-26 are here taken as more correctly reflecting Hug-Hellmuth's actual and assumed demise.

Melanie Klein (1882-1960), entering the orbit of psychoanalysis in 1918 as a student of Ferenczi's, early displayed a strong interest in educational matters, as shown in her published papers of 1919-23. In July 1919 Klein read before the Hungarian Psychoanalytical Society a paper on 'The influence of sexual enlightenment and relaxation of authority on the intellectual development of children'. In February 1921, and

¹Hoffer (1945).

²Obituary, 'Frau Dr. Hug-Hellmuth', International Journal of PsychoAnalysis (1925), 6, 106.

³Roazen (1975), p.437.

having been invited to work in Berlin by Karl Abraham who met her at the 1920 Hague congress, Mrs. Klein read before the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society her paper 'The child's resistance to enlightenment'. Both lectures were subsequently published together as Parts I and II respectively of a well-known contribution¹.

Berlin at this time, as Willi Hoffer notes², ranked with Vienna as a centre for psychoanalytic concern with education and childhood. Melanie Klein is associated with Berlin from 1921-25, after which time Karl Abraham died and Ernest Jones invited his protégée to London. Anna Freud subsequently referred to the work of "Melanie Klein of Berlin ..."³. As early as August-September 1920 the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society was planning a course for teachers to be led by Hug-Hellmuth⁴; and in the autumn of 1923 Melanie Klein was organising a course on infantile sexuality for kindergarten specialists⁵. In the late 1920's Berta Bornstein, Annie Reich and other child-analysts were 'Berliners'⁶, and Anna Freud's recognition of this centre of work is well attested by, amongst other pieces, her recent 'Neue Vorwort' to the fiftieth anniversary reprint of the Berlin institute's 1920 'Zehn jahre' report⁷.

In Part I of her early paper noted above Klein advocates for the child - and here her views strikingly resemble the earlier position of her teacher Ferenczi - a form of psychoanalytic education which would avoid harsh and unnecessary repressions, largely through the adult world's becoming more open and honest about sexuality. In Part II she argued for the application of analysis to children under six years of

¹Klein (1921), in Klein (1948), pp.13-67, 'The development of a child'.

²Hoffer (1945).

³Anna Freud (1927a, Lecture 1).

⁴Letter of Karl Abraham to Sigmund Freud, 10th June 1920, in Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), p.211.

⁵Letter of Abraham to Freud, 7th October 1923, *ibid.*, p.339.

⁶Brody (1974).

⁷Anna Freud (1970c).

age, and recommended the setting up of kindergarten schools run by analytically-trained persons¹, specifying - imprudently it must now seem - a woman for the key role of headmistress. There is as yet little mention of any specific play-technique, and verbalisations, including dreams, appear as her major source for interpretations.

In a further paper² Klein examined the role of examination fears in promoting intellectual inhibitions during schooling, whilst in her classic paper on 'Infant Analysis'³ the starting-point is still neurotic inhibition of talent stemming from unnecessary repression. Already in this latter paper Klein's later more notable tendency to take up extreme positions is apparent, as in her view that ideally all children should be analysed as part of their education. Klein's marked early interest in education was to disappear in subsequent work, as she herself notes in 1947 in an apologetic postscript⁴.

Though Melanie Klein's name is often taken as synonymous with the evolution of 'play-technique', attention is once more drawn to Hug-Hellmuth's prior innovations.

Anna Freud meanwhile had also published her own first psychoanalytic studies of children⁵, and was steadily evolving new techniques which would become legitimate heir to the title of child analysis, alongside the techniques associated with Melanie Klein and with Berta Bornstein. Also from the Vienna group, August Aichhorn (1878-1949) produced his celebrated study of delinquent youth⁶, whilst Siegfried Bernfeld pub-

¹Klein (1921, Pt.II), *op.cit.*

²Klein (1923a), in Klein (1948), pp.68-86, 'The rôle of the school in the libidinal development of the child'.

³Klein (1923b), *ibid*, pp.87-116.

⁴Klein (1948), p.67.

⁵Anna Freud (1922a), (1923a).

⁶Aichhorn (1925).



lished two major books, one on early infancy¹ the other on education². Both Aichhorn and Bernfeld were to exert significant influences upon Anna Freud's development as an analyst and child theorist.

In England, Ella Freeman Sharpe (1875-1946) and Mary Chadwick were pioneers within the British Psychoanalytical Society, who early concerned themselves with child analysis as it developed. Both had trained with Hanns Sachs in Vienna in the early 1920's³, though no evidence is available to show contact between these two women and Anna Freud in Vienna at that time. In her books⁴ Mary Chadwick does cite Anna Freud⁵. Ella F. Sharpe took part in a symposium⁶ devoted to criticism of Anna Freud's early technical recommendations, though by the 1940's she came to take a more sympathetic view of our subject's work.

EARLY EDUCATIONAL MISAPPLICATIONS

From the educator's side the exposition and application of freudian thought in this period is not always reliable. Green⁷ is criticised on several counts of erroneous psychoanalytical knowledge by Barbara Low⁸. Some of the early experiments in psychoanalytic paedagogy - such as those associated with A. S. Neill and Bertrand Russell⁹ - liberally display, at least to the present author, a behavioural extremism far removed from the fine balance between necessary repression and permissible gratification as early advocated by Freud¹⁰. The more anarchical educ-

¹Bernfeld (1925a).

²Bernfeld (1925b).

³Glover (1966); Obituary, 'Ella F. Sharpe', JOURNAL (1947), 28, 56.

⁴Chadwick (1928), (1932).

⁵Anna Freud (1928a), (1930a).

⁶Symposium (1927); Sharpe (1927).

⁷Green (1921).

⁸Low (1923)

⁹See: Armytage (1975a, b).

¹⁰Freud (1913J) et seq.

ational experiments perhaps reflect an excessive reaction to the then prevailing social scene. Susan Isaacs¹ also was critical of certain early 'experimental schools', and of their attempts at applying parts only of psychoanalytic theory.

Misapplications of psychoanalysis to teaching, with inevitably poor results, were by no means confined simply to enthusiasts possessing insufficient analytical training, as Hoffer² later noted in his assessment of the pioneer experiments conducted by Bernfeld, Schmidt, Aichhorn and Zulliger in this hybrid field. Hoffer himself, as noted earlier, had personal experience of the 1918-19 Baumgarten Children's Home, and so is doubly authoritative when he states that it was "To the surprise of those who advocated it" that psychoanalytically-based education yielded such poor results. Many children subjected to the early educational techniques based on freedom from repressions still developed character disturbances, behaviour disorders, disturbances of concentration, intolerance of authority and routine and so on. Concealed anxiety usually lay behind such anti-social and other peculiarities. The difficulties inherent in the early applied paedagogical psychoanalysis were caused "not by an erroneous but by an incomplete" application of psychoanalysis³.

Ekstein & Motto⁴ note that the first post-war educational applications of analysis were "an expression of protest, a demand for the new", and not until later were specific techniques evaluated through actual application.

Although having correctly admitted the existence of infantile sexuality and its manifestations, educators were initially inept at helping the

¹Isaacs (1933), p.408.

²Hoffer (1945).

³Hoffer (1945)

⁴Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

child to cope with its now progressively-conceptualised biological drives. Only after the First World War, and in large measure due to Freud's radical structural formulations, did the necessary understanding of the ego and super-ego develop. Anna Freud would play a prominent part in furthering such psychoanalytic ego psychology and its educational and other applications. Then, increasing attention could be paid to the defensive, adaptive and integrative aspects of the ego or 'central personality' coping with its biological-instinctual drive forces.

Barbara Low¹ sees 1920 as a turning-point for the acceptance of psychoanalysis by educational institutions in England, and notes Percy Nunn and J. J. Findlay amongst others, as contributing notable work.

1926 ONWARDS: A PREVIEW

After 1925 child analysis quickly establishes itself as a prominent sub-speciality of psychoanalysis. In October 1926 there appeared the first issue of an important new journal devoted to the child and education, the Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik edited by Heinrich Meng and Ernst Schneider. With the rise and proliferation of this academic and scientifically pursued new specialist study, an increasing mass of valuable material is made available to teachers and educators. As part of the then 'widening scope' of applications of the classical psychoanalysis designed originally for neurotics, child analysis shared the enlarged field with Sadger's treatment of perversions, Aichhorn's work with delinquents, Federn's experiments with psychotics and Alexander & Staub's studies of criminals.²

The year 1926-27 is here taken as a significant turning point in this development. Although Anna Freud had already begun the long series of scientific publications now associated with her name, the early papers of 1922-23 are, understandably, not marked by sufficient scope and comprehensiveness to have radically influenced the overall theoretical structure and orientation of psychoanalytic child study,

¹Low (1929).

²Anna Freud (1966e).

nor even yet its technical procedure. Anna Freud herself has noted as one advantage of her early analytical training that "no one was expected to produce theoretical papers at the beginning"¹.

However, between 1923 and 1926 Anna Freud carried out ten long analyses of children² and gained a firm basis of experience in child analysis. Thereafter the whole scene changes markedly. In 1926, initially to a small group of professional colleagues, Anna Freud presented her now classic technical lectures, published the following year³. The year 1927 also saw a critical symposium⁴ devoted to a discussion of her views, and we now enter the more familiar era of modern child analysis.

By contrast Melanie Klein⁵ views the year 1920 as marking a new trend in child analytic study; sees the period 1922-23 as marking her own evolution of play-technique; and notes the period 1920-32 as being marked by more considerable work along two main lines, "one represented by Anna Freud and the other by myself", (op. cit.).

The present study has noted the upsurge of new work immediately after the First World War. We view the period 1920-1926 as one of gestation for child analysis, and prefer the later date of 1926-27 as more correctly witnessing the introduction of the wider and henceforward more vigorously debated developments of modern child analysis proper.

A comment by Sigmund Freud conveniently marks this watershed period, and indicates both what had passed and what was to come. In a letter to Pfister dated 21st November 1926, Freud wrote that "of all the applications of psychoanalysis the only one that is really flourishing is

¹Anna Freud (1967d) (First presented in 1964).

²WRITINGS, Vol.I, p.5.

³Anna Freud (1927a).

⁴Symposium (1927).

⁵Klein (1932, Introduction).

that initiated by you in the field of education. It gives me great pleasure that my daughter is beginning to do good work in that field"¹.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 2

1. From its emergence as a medical psychology in the 1890's, and up to c.1914, psychoanalysis was fundamentally a psychology of the unconscious, of instinctual drives, i.e. to use the language of the later 'structural' approach, an Id-psychology. Largely as an excessive reaction to repressive contemporary social forces many educators - though not Freud himself, nor Ferenczi - interpreted and applied early psychoanalytic findings and concepts as a panacea for libidinal drive-expression. Particularly in the years following the First World War the value of personal freedom from external authority and social mores was exaggerated, and led to some dismal anarchical educational experiments.
2. From 1914-1923 Freud developed his radical structural theory of a personality in terms of Id-Ego-Superego. He also reiterated his own view of sublimation as the educational approach par excellence, midway between the repression and the gratification of instinctual drives.
3. After the mid-1920's theorists such as Anna Freud shaped paedagogical approaches which more valuably pointed to the central role of the Ego as mediator between the drive impulses (Id), conscience (Superego) and social mores in the outer environment. New techniques - such as play analysis - also emerged for the specialist study of childhood.

¹Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963, p.106). The exact date of the correspondence is disputable. In his last letter to Frau Professor Freud in 1939 Pfister appears to set 26th September 1926 as the date of the letter received from Freud (op. cit. p.146).

PART TWO

VIENNA

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

1895 - 1922

INTRODUCTION

No satisfactory published 'life' of Anna Freud yet exists, and it is doubtful whether any such could be produced outside of her immediate family or professional circle. Any such endeavour if it aspired to reasonable depth and completeness would require Anna Freud's own consent or commission, and that is unlikely in her life-time. In her first letter to the present author Anna Freud stated that she had "never thought anybody would think it worthwhile" to establish an archive on her¹, and her closest associates firmly testify to her generally retiring nature - "she does not like to push herself forward"² as one eminent Hampstead worker confided.

A certain amount of relevant and necessary material is thinly scattered through the existing literature. The present Archive-Index files contain an index 'Master Card' headed Biography, and this lists over twenty accompanying bibliographical entries offering significant statements of fact on Anna Freud's life and career. Rather more information is provided in the works of Ernest Jones³, Martin Freud⁴, Louise Kaplan⁵, Max Schur⁶ and Roland Besser⁷. In addition to all these sources it was assumed that a close scrutiny of Sigmund Freud's extensively published correspondence would reveal further valuable information regarding his daughter Anna. This proved to be the case, though certainly not to the extent of giving anything resembling a 'life' or character of Anna Freud. Even the scholarly thoroughness with which Besser⁷ approaches published sources results in scarcely

¹Letter of Anna Freud, 11th May 1976. See: Appendix X.

²Interview with Ilse Hellman, 19th February 1977. See: Appendix XI.

³Jones (1955, 1957).

⁴Freud (1957).

⁵Kaplan (1971).

⁶Schur (1972).

⁷Besser (1976).

more than a bare outline.

In the present study no serious attempt is made to give either a personal 'life' or an interpretive 'character' of Anna Freud. The following reasons are put forward as sufficiently justifying this strategy:

- (i) the material required is insufficiently available.
- (ii) any such attempt during Anna Freud's lifetime, and lacking her consent and commission, would result in both an imperfect and an inconsiderate production.
- (iii) the present study prefers an alternative prospect which will avoid the difficulties of (i) and (ii) above. This alternative is to adequately demonstrate from the available records a very early and increasingly marked involvement of Anna Freud in specifically psychoanalytical matters.

The adoption of such a strategy should not be seen as a tacit agreement with the view that the early Anna Freud simply "followed in her father's footsteps"¹.

BIRTH TO EARLY ADULTHOOD

Born in Vienna on 3rd December 1895 Anna Freud was the third daughter and sixth and last child of a non-practising, Jewish, professional family. The name 'Anna' seems to have been chosen as a 'revenant' of the daughter of her father's old schoolteacher². Anna Freud's father, a neurologist turning psychologist, was only a short period away from publishing epochal scientific discoveries, and he spent considerably long hours in private practice and university work. We have it on good authority that except for mid-day mealtime, Sundays and the long summer holiday, the Freud children saw little of their father³.

¹Besser (1976), Pt.1.

²Freud (1900A), p.487 (1954 Strachey edn); Roazen (1975, p.89).

³Jones (1955), Freud (1957).

The family residence throughout Anna Freud's life in Austria was 19 Berggasse, in the IXth District of Vienna. A floor-plan of the Freud apartment is readily accessible¹, and a cut-away drawing of the entire house illustrates the cover of The Sigmund Freud House Bulletin. The general cultural background of Vienna and Freud's circle at this time has been discussed with attention drawn to the predicament of the creative Viennese, who were offered both splendid opportunities and also "the most stubborn resistance to their realization"². More recently a splendid collection of photographs and 'freudiana' has been edited and published by the family³.

Sometime in the 1890's a maternal aunt, Minna Bernays, joined the family, staying until her life ended over forty years later. On the strength of notes taken by Ernest Jones from Martha Freud in August 1947 and now in the Jones Archive in London to which Paul Roazen had access, the latter author puts 1892 as the year in which Minna Bernays joined the Freud family residence⁴, and a footnote to the Freud-Abraham published correspondence⁵ would support this. From the viewpoint of the growing Anna Freud therefore, 'Tante Minna' was always part of the immediate family.

The family members sharing the house for the first thirteen years or so of Anna Freud's life were as follows:-

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)
 Martha Freud née Bernays (1861-1951)
 Minna Bernays (1865-1941)
 Mathilde Freud (1887-197?)
 Martin Freud (1889-1967)
 Oliver Freud (1891-1969)
 Ernst Freud (1892-1970)
 Sophie Freud (1893-1920)
 Anna Freud (b.1895)

¹Roazen (1975), p.82.

²Ticho & Ticho (1972).

³E. Freud et al (Eds.) (1978).

⁴Roazen (1975), note 17 to Chap. 4.

⁵Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), p.148, n3.

The children's upbringing, according to the best authorities¹, was liberal and lenient for those times, with parents who were always prepared to answer questions. Discipline was nevertheless firm, and punctuality and other virtues were stressed.

Among Anna Freud's early childhood friends two in particular - both daughters of physicians in Freud's personal social circle - are notable as later becoming child analysts also. These were Marianne Rie² and Anny Rosenberg³, both of whom were living and able to contribute to the present study in its initial stages⁴.

Forces which were to help draw Anna Freud into greater familiarity with psycho-analysis can be traced from around 1907, i.e. from the period which Jones calls the "beginnings of international recognition"⁵ of psycho-analysis. These forces, largely stemming from the new international spread of Freud's early work, may be grouped under the following two headings: (i) acquaintance with visitors of professional status from abroad and (ii) secretarial involvement with the International Psychoanalytic Association. There is also some evidence to suggest that the young Anna Freud met and took some interest in certain of her father's analytical patients as early as her eleventh or twelfth year⁶. Moreover Freud's letter to Jung of 2nd December 1909 makes it clear that Freud's daughters were free to peruse psycho-analytical publications and to pass comment on them⁷, and a close childhood friend of Anna Freud's states that "I knew about psycho-analysis when I was a child"⁸.

¹Jones (1955); Freud (1957).

²Born 1900. Now Marianne Kris of New York.

³Born 1898. Now Anny Angel Katan of Cleveland, Ohio.

⁴See: Appendix XI.

⁵Jones (1955), p.34f.

⁶Zetzel (1966).

⁷Letter 166F, in McGuire (Ed.) (1974).

⁸Letter of Anny Katan to this Archive-Study, 15th March 1978, (Appendix XI).

Visitors from abroad began arriving on Freud's doorstep in Anna Freud's eleventh year, 1907. Some became very popular with the family, and even shared vacations with them. First to arrive was Max Eitingon (1881-1943), who came in January 1907 and again in October 1909 when he spent three weeks in Vienna¹. Eitingon and Anna Freud would have many dealings in later years, particularly with regard to the International Training Commission and admission of candidates. On Sunday 27th February 1907 C. G. Jung arrived for a few days, and was again in Vienna from Thursday 25th March to Tuesday 30th March 1909². In a letter to Pfister of 12th July 1909 Freud notes Jung as having "much impressed the children"³. The fate of this impression was to be all but obliterated by the break between Freud and Jung in 1913, and Anna Freud's sole published reference to Jung occurs over fifty years later⁴. However, Anna Freud did for many years carefully safeguard her family's half of the Freud-Jung correspondence. From 1956-1974 she then co-operated closely and actively in the weighty publication of that very important correspondence⁵. Freud and his daughter Anna it may be recorded are nothing if not scrupulously and scientifically correct, and the sympathetic latter-day treatment by Anna Freud of the figures of C. G. Jung, and also of Melanie Klein and Wilhelm Reich, clearly demonstrates this.

The third major international visitor to the Freud's house in 1907 was Karl Abraham (1877-1925), who arrived in Vienna for a few days on Sunday 15th December just a week or two after Anna Freud's twelfth birthday. Abraham was again in Vienna in 1912, and his letter to Freud of 27th December notes his "warm reception" in the Freud home⁶. Anna

¹Jones (1955), pp.35-36

²Jones (1955), pp.37 & 57.

³Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.27

⁴Anna Freud (1969k).

⁵McGuire (Ed.) (1974).

⁶Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), pp.13-14 & 129.

Freud was to pursue her own contact with the Abrahams, and in a letter to Freud of 7th January 1914 Abraham notes that "My wife thanks your daughter Anna very much for her letter"¹. Abraham's daughter Hilda - like Freud's youngest daughter - later followed her father into a psychoanalytic career. Half a century later Anna Freud would approvingly review Hilda Abraham's biography of her father Karl Abraham. In discussing the detached manner in which Abraham's daughter approaches "the man who, after all, dominated her childhood and growth and became the object of identification for her adult life"², Anna Freud inevitably invites comparison with her own similar circumstances.

On Sunday 2nd February 1908 Sandor Ferenczi called on Freud, and was an immediate success with the Freud family³. Freud's letter of 13th August 1908 to Jung shows Ferenczi on holiday with the Freud family at Berchtesgaden⁴. In April 1908 Ernest Jones and A. A. Brill (1874-1948) experienced "the delightful hospitality of the Freud family"⁵.

In April 1909 Oskar Pfister made the first of several visits to Freud's house in Vienna. Freud's letter of 30th March 1909 encourages Pfister to arrive in time for an evening meal or Sunday lunch with the whole family⁶. Regarding Pfister, we have Anna Freud's own recollections of his visits during her thirteenth and subsequent years. Pfister we find "enchanted the children of the household" like a Pied Piper of Hamelin⁷. Fifteen years later, in a letter to Freud of 30th December 1923, Pfister reminisced over the "free and cheerful spirit of your whole

¹ Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), pp.161-2.

² Anna Freud (1974b).

³ Jones (1955), p.39.

⁴ Letter 106F, in McGuire (Ed.) (1974).

⁵ Jones (1955), p.50.

⁶ Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.23.

⁷ Anna Freud (1963d).

family ... (and) ... The little girl who took care of the lizards, who now writes very serious papers for the International Psycho-Analytical Association"¹. In 1949 Anna Freud briefly cited Pfister in a paper contributed to a collection edited by M. Pfister-Amende and published in Berne²; and in 1963 she contributed the preface, already cited, to the Freud-Pfister correspondence³.

In July 1910 Anna Freud, her sister Sophie and aunt Minna, holidayed in Austrian Silesia at the invitation of Ludwig Jekels (1867-1954), a Vienna-educated Polish psychiatrist then working at a sanatorium in Bistrai⁴. Jekels later worked in Vienna. Anna Freud always viewed Jekels - along with Nunberg, Federn, Hitschmann and Helene Deutsch - as belonging to a more senior generation of analysts than her own⁵.

From Bistrai the Freuds went to Leyden in Holland on 29th July, there meeting up with Freud himself. During the month of August Ernest Jones and Ferenczi joined them all in Holland for a few days vacation⁶.

The Viennese analysts who continued loyal to Freud - particularly Otto Rank (1886-1939) who came to Freud in 1906, and Hanns Sachs (1881-1947) who presented himself at Freud's door in 1910⁷ - were much more frequent visitors over these years, though no detailed records are available. Of all Freud's colleagues in the pre-war years Rank's was the most frequent and almost daily presence at the Freud apartment. As secretary of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and co-editor of the journal Imago Rank was an essential co-ordinator of much psycho-

¹Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), pp.90-91.

²Anna Freud (1949e).

³Anna Freud (1963d), in Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963).

⁴McGuire (Ed.) (1974), p.588.

⁵Anna Freud (1969k).

⁶Jones (1955), pp.87-90.

⁷ibid., p.39.

analytic business. From the 3rd edition (1911) onwards of 'The Interpretation of Dreams', he collaborated closely with Freud on new material and bibliographies for the book.

Thus, by the time Freud's famous inner 'Committee' came into being in 1913¹ it seems clear that Anna Freud, then in her seventeenth year, would already have the personal acquaintances of all the prominent analysts - Ferenczi, Jones, Abraham, Rank, Sachs - who comprised it.

With the arrival of international recognition Freud needed additional secretarial help. His oldest daughter Mathilde had married in 1909, and the task largely fell to the next in line, Sophie. In a letter to Jung of 31st October 1910 Freud discusses the despatching of off-prints by "my second daughter now my secretary"². When Sophie Freud later married in January 1913, Anna Freud naturally succeeded her and quickly assumed a special position. By now Anna Freud was the only remaining unmarried daughter, and Freud's letter to Abraham of 27th March 1913 notes that he had been to Venice with his "single little daughter, the only one still left at home"³. The earliest indication of Freud's special attachment to Anna appears around September 1912, shortly after Sophie Freud's engagement in July, and took the form of several postcards sent to Anna from Rome. These cards were addressed to "my future travelling companion"⁴. In a letter to Ferenczi of 9th July 1913 Freud confirms that as early as 1912 Anna had come to occupy a special place in his thoughts⁵, and had influenced his writing of the theme of love and death into a scientific

¹Jones (1955), p.174.

²McGuire (Ed.) (1974), Letter 218F.

³Abraham & Freud (Eds.) (1965), p.136.

⁴Jones, (1955), p.108.

⁵ibid., p.405.

paper¹.

In February 1913 Freud purchased a typewriter². This apparently came to be used both by Otto Rank in his editorial duties, and by Anna Freud in her secretarial work. A letter of 30th April 1914, from Freud to the six presidents of the European branches of the International Psychoanalytic Association, was recently unearthed by Anna Freud. She notes³ that it had been typed either by herself or Otto Rank.

Alongside this early initiation into psychoanalytic business affairs, Anna Freud's formal education in the years immediately before the First World War was at the Cottage Lyceum, Cottage, Vienna. That she was serious and hard-working as a student is evident from her father's letters of the period, which exhort her at the age of seventeen or so to "take your duties less seriously (and) be a little happy-go-lucky and enjoy having such lovely sunshine"⁴.

Besser⁵, citing a personal communication from Anna Freud, is able to give information on her earlier schooling, from six years on.

With regard to an academic curriculum in Anna Freud's adolescence it would appear to have emphasised modern European languages, particularly French, Spanish and English⁶, and also modern European literature⁷. The stimulus to excel in languages, and particularly in English, may well have come from her father in the years immediately after his American lecture-tour of 1909. With regard to Freud's somewhat negative response to America, Vincent Brome⁸ suggests that Freud's "inadequacy with

¹Freud (1913F).

²Jones (1955), p.111.

³McGuire (Ed)(1974), p.552 and note 1. Anna Freud contributes many of the informative footnotes to this important volume of annotated correspondence.

⁴E. Freud (Ed)(1960, p.294f). This volume - a section of Freud's general correspondence throughout his lifetime - contains three letters to the young Anna Freud, whom he addresses as "My dear little Anna" (period 1908-1912).

⁵Besser (1976, p.6).

⁶Appendix V details Anna Freud's subsequent works as translator.

⁷Appendix VII lists literary sources used in Anna Freud's publications.

⁸Brome (1967), p.110.

the language" may have given him a feeling of inferiority. Although Freud had considerable aptitude for a number of languages generally this did not extend to full command in English, as is confirmed by a letter written over a decade later to Ernest Jones, in which Freud confessed to some distaste at using his "clumsy English"¹. As will become apparent below, Freud subsequently employed his daughter Anna on several occasions as a formal translator e.g. of English psycho-analytical works into German.

In a letter of 1st April 1915 to Lou Andreas-Salome, Freud states that he has "a nineteen year old daughter who knows (Rainer Marie Rilke's) poems, some of them by heart"². On 28th August 1917 Lou could still write asking Freud if Anna had "become a poet-translator"³.

FIRST CAREER AS SCHOOLTEACHER

The year 1914 was important in personal terms for Anna Freud, in addition to its obvious world significance. Early in the year she became an aunt, with the birth of the first of several nephews⁴. In a letter to Abraham of 22nd September 1914, Freud's remarks concerning this child nicely illustrate a further aspect of the familiarity of Freud's daughters with psychoanalysis. This grandson, Freud wrote, was having "a strict upbringing by an intelligent mother enlightened by Hug-Hellmuth"⁵. As early as 15th February 1914 Freud had - perhaps with some pre-sentiment of his later dependence upon Anna - written woefully to Abraham that "We are no longer a family, only three old people. Even my little daughter wants to go to England by herself this year"⁶. Anna Freud

¹Letter of 20th November 1926, in Jones (1957), pp.137-8.

²Pfeiffer (ed) (1972), p.28.

³ibid., p.62.

⁴Ernst Halberstadt, later W. Ernest Freud. See Appendix XIII, Anna Freud's family tree.

⁵Abraham & Freud (Eds) (1965), p.197.

⁶Letter of Freud to Abraham, 25th August 1914, in Abraham & Freud (Eds) (1965), p.192.

travelled to England in the middle of July 1914, intending to stay there for two months¹. At the outbreak of general European war she was temporarily marooned in England, but remained unmolested at a boarding school on the south coast where she had been staying². She was in contact with analytical friends in London, and also with her family in Vienna via the Dutch analyst van Emden at the Hague. In an undated letter of 1914 to his friends in England - Herbert Jones and his wife Loe (née Kann) - Freud thanked them for "the clever and practical fashion in which you returned my little daughter. She is very well, but I suspect she sometimes pines for the country of our enemies"³. Late that August Anna Freud had been able to accompany the departing Austrian ambassador's party back to Vienna. On 26th August Freud wrote to Anna's brother Martin that "The great news of the day is that Annerl arrived here surprisingly ... she is very well and behaved bravely"⁴.

Of the English friends who had ensured Anna Freud's safety, Loe Kann had met Freud through Ernest Jones. In 1912-13 Loe had been a patient of Freud's in Vienna, and no doubt also met Anna Freud. The close relationships between Loe, Ernest Jones and Freud are discussed by Roazen⁵, who draws heavily upon material in Jones' autobiography 'Free Associations'. In June 1914 Freud was in Budapest, where he attended the wedding of Loe Kann to Herbert Jones⁶.

Against this swiftly changing backcloth Anna Freud began her first career as a schoolteacher to elementary children in Vienna. She her-

¹Jones (1955), p.190.

²Letter of Freud to Abraham 25th August 1914, in Abraham & Freud (Eds) (1965), p.192.

³E. Freud (Ed) (1960), p.311.

⁴M. Freud (1957).

⁵Roazen (1975), pp.356-8.

⁶Jones (1955), p.106.

self tells us that she taught for five years, from ages 19 to 24¹; and that during the war years in Vienna they began "to collect children in play groups in order to keep them off the street"². This latter role drew their attention to the effect of war conditions - such as the absence of fathers - on childhood. From these same experiences teachers drew early conclusions regarding the impairment of learning capacity due to food deprivation, and around this time Anna Freud witnessed the introduction there of the first school meals³. From this early nutritional beginning understanding would later, and in other ways, progress steadily to the emotional deprivations also.

From this early training as a teacher Anna Freud received a life-long interest in education⁴; a familiarity with children's literature⁵; a sure appreciation of some fundamental contrasts in educational philosophies, as for example between child-centred and adult-centred approaches⁶; and a confidence in nursery methods associated with Maria Montessori. In a letter written to Montessori in 1927 Freud admitted that "my daughter, who is an analytical paedagogue, considers herself one of your disciples"⁷. Over a decade later, in the Second World War, the Hampstead War Nurseries under Anna Freud's direction would equip themselves with a "complete Montessori nursery school"⁸, and practical

¹Letter of Anna Freud to this Archive-Study, 29th July 1976. See: Appendix X.

²Anna Freud (1955a).

³Anna Freud (1952b), in WRITINGS, IV, p.563.

⁴Appendix VI lists Anna Freud's publications dealing specifically with education.

⁵Appendix VII contains relevant titles cited in Anna Freud's works.

⁶Anna Freud (1934a), in WRITINGS, I, p.180.

⁷E. Freud (Ed) (1960), Letter 178, pp.325-6.

⁸WRITINGS, III, p.3.

tuition would be offered to students in "the Montessori method"¹. More recently, in work with blind children, Anna Freud's close colleague and friend Dorothy Burlingham has made particular note of Montessori's relevance to certain of the most modern work of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic².

A photograph of the war-years shows Anna Freud arranged formally with a group of her young charges³.

Whilst maintaining the role of schoolteacher throughout the First World War, Anna Freud also succeeded in keeping herself abreast of psycho-analytical ideas. During the winter terms of 1915-1917 she attended her father's original courses of introductory lectures on psychoanalysis, held in one of the lecture-rooms of the Vienna Psychiatric Clinic "before an audience composed of members and students of every faculty"⁴. Those present included Otto Fenichel (1898-1945), Max Schur (1897-1969) and Helene Deutsch (b.1884)⁵.

During July 1916 Anna Freud, together with her parents and Minna Bernays, holidayed in Salzburg. They stayed at the Hotel Bristol, site of the original and historic analytical congress of 1908⁵.

In June 1916 Ferenczi was in Vienna for three weeks, and took a daily analytical session with Freud⁶. During the remaining two years of the war however Sachs was virtually the only notable analyst to be exempt military duties, and thus be able to regularly spend time at the Freud apartment. Always loyal to Freud, Sach's career took him to Berlin in 1920 and America in the 1930's. That Anna Freud had earlier

¹WRITINGS, III, p.125.

²Burlingham (1967).

³Kaplan (1971), pp.24-25.

⁴Freud (1933A, Preface).

⁵Kanzer (Ed) (1971), Preface.

⁶Letter of Freud to Abraham, 22nd July 1916, in Abraham & Freud (Eds) (1965), p.237.

⁷Jones (1955), p.213.

formed a lasting bond with Sachs through their common work, is indicated by her knowledgeable and sympathetic introduction¹ to Sach's final and posthumous work².

In April 1918 Anna Freud took her final teachers examination³, thereby apparently consolidating her initial career-choice. The war situation, plausibly influencing people's lives, had never looked better for Austria-Germany. To the east the Russian threat had collapsed with the October Revolution, whilst in the west the massively-reinforced German armies rode the high crest of their spectacular Ludendorff 'Michael' offensives. During the ensuing four or five months however, equally spectacular and unforeseen reverses would befall Austria-Germany. Anna Freud meanwhile would carry through a most far-reaching change of decision, embark upon a personal psychoanalysis and re-orientate her professional career. It is tempting to postulate for Anna Freud during this period an internal state of 'flux' which made significant points of contact with the external marked changes of fortune of the Central Powers in Europe. In keeping with such an hypothesis there is appreciable evidence to suggest that during the war Anna Freud developed a deep interest in Austria's fluctuating fortunes. Over fifty years later, in an 'open letter' to Max Schur on the occasion of his 70th birthday, Anna Freud returns readily to wartime imagery, using a phrase - 'For courageous deportment in the face of enemy forces' - which was inscribed upon "the medals with which Austrian soldiers were decorated for bravery in battle"⁴. Two of Freud's sons had won just such medals during hostilities⁵, and Freud's correspondence of the period indicates much concern with the fate of "his heroes at the front" and "the timid

¹Anna Freud (1948b).

²Sachs (1948).

³Letter of Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé, 21st April 1918, in Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp. 77-78.

⁴Anna Freud (1971e).

⁵Jones (1955), p.202, and photograph, p.215 opposite.

ones at home"¹. As for the latter we learn they were reading four newspapers a day to keep up to date².

PERIOD OF TRANSITION, 1918-1922

Precise information regarding this phase of Anna Freud's life is obtainable only with some difficulty. When replying to a request to supply data of a biographical nature on this period of her life the subject merely wrote that "I trained as a psychoanalyst and began to practice"³. In her published writings Anna Freud's most autobiographical passages occur in an address following the acceptance of an honorary doctorate in 1964. Then, in essaying the 'curriculum vitae of a lay analyst', she begins simply with the statement that "We were trained by our personal analysts"⁴. Although Anna Freud was one of the seventy or more surviving associates of Sigmund Freud interviewed in a major study of 1964-67⁵, the interview was apparently largely sterile and is nowhere cited in over sixty pages of detailed 'Notes to chapters'⁶. Despite difficulties such as these it was considered both possible and vitally necessary to account for this crucial period of Anna Freud's life.

Thus, sometime in mid-1918 and certainly before the Budapest Psychoanalytical Congress in September, Anna Freud entered upon a personal training-analysis with her father Sigmund Freud as her analyst. The following considerations are held to sufficiently corroborate the above statement.

¹Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.39.

²Jones (1955), p.211.

³Letter of Anna Freud to this Archive-Study, 29th July 1976. See: Appendix X.

⁴Anna Freud (1967f).

⁵See: Roazen (1975), p.14.

⁶Roazen (1975), pp.531-597.

(i) commencement of the analysis: This is assumed to have begun as soon as possible after the decision to become a psychoanalyst had been taken. In a communication to the present author, Anna Freud herself states that the intention to become a psychoanalyst preceded her attendance at the Budapest Psychoanalytic Congress¹ which latter took place from 28th-29th September 1918. The same intention may reasonably be held to have also preceded her father's careful plans for going to Budapest, with the inclusion of his daughter Anna in those plans. We are told that Freud and Anna set out together for their long stay in Budapest on 5th July 1918, leaving by ship for Steinbruch in Hungary². A letter sent by Freud to Lou Andreas-Salome on 1st July also indicates an imminent departure from Vienna³, and the more dramatic changes of an internal nature affecting Anna Freud's career-choice would thus fall in the weeks and months before July 1918.

In a letter of 18th May 1918, Lou Andreas-Salome could still write to Freud that she was surprised to have just discovered that his youngest daughter was "thinking of taking up teaching as a career"⁴. The present writer's own experience as a school teacher leads him to doubt that anyone of that vocation would, before the close of the summer-term, actually enter upon anything as new and uncertain as a personal analysis. The most probable time for the commencement of Anna Freud's analysis would thus be shortly after the ending of the summer schoolterm, say late June 1918, with the intention to become a psychoanalyst possibly having crystallised between May and June.

Such a line of reasoning accords well with the wider European situation at mid-1918. Whilst on the one hand things now appeared

¹Letter of Anna Freud, 28th March 1977. See: Appendix X.

²Jones (1955), p.222.

³Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.82.

⁴ibid., p. 78.

bleak for Austria-Germany after the transparent failure of the early spring offensives, on the other hand brighter prospects had appeared on the horizon of psychoanalysis. Freud's work was now being widely acknowledged by scientific and especially military authorities as a result of the widespread war neuroses of soldiers under stress, and a wealthy Hungarian, Anton von Freund (1881-1920) had promised to endow an independent psychoanalytical publishing house (Verlag)¹. It may be argued that whereas the general European situation would have prompted our subject to re-assess her future prospects, the psychoanalytic situation at this time would also have encouraged her to take up analysis as an alternative career.

A personal analysis, either actually commenced or simply prepared for in the early summer of 1918, could readily have been continued during the Freud's long summer holiday. When Anna Freud and Kata Levy met in Budapest in August-September, the latter apparently learned for certain that Anna Freud's analysis was already under way².

Ernest Jones³ simply tells us that in Budapest Freud and Anna were staying with relatives of von Freund's, but a reasonable inference would be that their hosts were the Hungarian physician Lajos Levy and his wife Kata. Kata Levy was Anton ('Toni') von Freund's sister, and an analyst who later in London bought a house which adjoined Anna Freud's garden in Hampstead. Anna Freud⁴ contributed an introduction to a paper by Kata Levy on simultaneous analysis of mother and daughter.

¹Jones (1955, chap.7), (1957, pp.7-8).

²Interview with Kata Levy, 13th July 1965, cited in Roazen (1975), p.433 and note.

³Jones (1955), p.222.

⁴Anna Freud (1960c).

(ii) identity of training analyst: Largely owing to the wide-ranging interviews carried out by the sociologist Paul Roazen in the mid-1960's it now appears beyond dispute that Sigmund Freud was indeed his daughter Anna's training analyst. Roazen¹ cites interviews with Kata Levy, Oliver Freud and Anny Katan as having definitely identified Freud as his daughter Anna's analyst. These three respondents can only be described as impeccable sources, since all enjoyed close contact with Anna Freud over a long period of time. Elsewhere Roazen² includes the additional names of Nunberg, Rado, Edith Jackson, Irmarita Putnam and Mrs. Eduard Hitschmann as confirming his information.

In a letter of 1935 to Edoardo Weiss³, Freud admits to having "succeeded well" in analysing his own daughter. To this may be added a subsequent statement by Marie Bonaparte (1882-1962), who following her own analysis with Freud around 1926 became a close friend of the family. In a biographical introduction to a lecture by Anna Freud⁴, Bonaparte states "Son père l'initia à la psych-analyse"⁵.

By 1918 Freud was just beginning to develop the idea of formalising training analyses for future generations of analysts⁶. Freud's few student-analysands prior to this time included René Spitz (1910), van Emden (1911) and Ludwig Jekels (c.1913). Kata Levy (1918) and Helene Deutsch (1918) began their analyses with Freud almost contemporaneously with Anna Freud. Thereafter, in

¹Roazen (1975), p.433.

²Roazen, (1969, note 8 to chap 4).

³Weiss (1970, p.81).

⁴Anna Freud (1946c).

⁵Bonaparte (1946).

⁶See: Nunberg (1969).

the post-war years, and swollen in numbers by many Americans, Freud's personally-trained analysands came to include David Forsyth, Istvan Hollos, Elizabeth Rado-Revesz, James and Alix Strachey, Joan Riviere, Abram Kardiner, Horace Frink, Jeanne de Groot, Dorothy Burlingham, Marie Bonaparte, Ruth Mack Brunswick, Edith Jackson, Eva Rosenfeld, Maryse Choisy, Heinz Hartmann and others.

- (iii) duration of training analysis. It is unlikely that Anna Freud's analysis lasted for "a number of years" as Roazen asserts¹. In those days, before the existence of formal training requirements, non-therapeutic didactic analyses tended to be of relatively short duration measured in months rather than years. Helene Deutsch's analysis with Freud for example lasted for just under one year, from October 1918 into 1919². Elsewhere, Roazen³ cites Oliver Freud as indicating that as late as the spring of 1921 his sister Anna was going to their father's study for her analysis. However, Jones⁴ quotes a letter from Freud to Ferenczi which suggests that Oliver Freud was not in Vienna that spring, having left for Rumania on 13th March. A possible way out of this paradox of conflicting evidence is to suggest that when interviewed almost half a century later the years 1919-21 had become "telescoped"⁵ in Oliver Freud's memory. Anna Freud's brother may also have misunderstood the technical nature and purpose of many of his sister Anna's later discussion-sessions with their father. We accept here that Anna Freud would continue to go regularly to her father's study for some considerable time after her personal analysis was ended,

¹Roazen (1975), p.433.

²Roazen (1969), p.98.

³Roazen (1975), p.433.

⁴Jones (1957), p.83.

⁵I here follow the concept of 'telescoping of events' as in Anna Freud (1951b).

though this would then fall into the category of "lively interchange of ideas and discussions of problems with our elders", which Anna Freud herself notes as part of her training¹.

o-o-o 1918 o-o-o

The year 1918 saw a number of other matters of some significance to Anna Freud's contemporary psychoanalytic orientation. First in importance was undoubtedly her guest-attendance at the Fifth International Psychoanalytic Congress, which was held in the hall of the Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest, in September. This was Anna Freud's first presence at a meeting of the 'International' - as it was also for Melanie Klein amongst others - and she listened, no doubt intently, to her father's paper on 'Lines of advance in psychoanalytic therapy'², which brilliantly assessed and projected forwards many of the then current problems of technique and therapy. In the opinion of one commentator of rare competence, the developments which Freud here predicted became possible largely through "the new vistas that ego psychology opened to the earliest and probably best systematised modifications of psychoanalytic technique, the development of child analysis by Anna Freud and the psychoanalysis of delinquents by Aichhorn"³.

Since Freud uncharacteristically did actually read this paper from notes, his daughter Anna and other family members present were highly critical of his having broken a family tradition of speaking either from memory or extempore⁴. This particular incident suggests a

¹Anna Freud (1967d).

²Freud (1919A).

³E. Kris, 1951, 'Ego psychology and interpretation in psychoanalytic therapy', in Kris (1975).

⁴Jones (1955), p.223.

markedly independent i.e. non-transference aspect of Anna Freud's relation to her father-analyst, with perhaps an even deeper identification with 'the family tradition' underlying this.

The Budapest Congress was by all accounts one of those rare occasions which people are occasionally privileged to experience. There was the official reception and banquet with high-ranking military representatives of both Austria and Germany in attendance, quite apart from the profound scientific stimulus. Altogether, as Freud afterwards wrote to his friend Lou, it was "a great success"¹. Anna Freud could hardly have entered the wider world of psychoanalysis at a more exhilarating or propitious moment.

Following upon the Budapest Congress, and after returning to Vienna, Anna Freud began attending the meetings of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. Since 1910 these were no longer held in Freud's apartment waiting-room, but in a room at the College of Physicians, University of Vienna². Anna Freud's first attendance as a guest was on 19th November 1918, when Siegfried Bernfeld read a paper on 'Poetic writing in youth'³. Amongst those present and voicing comments on the paper were Victor Tausk, Theodor Reik, Paul Federn and Freud himself.

Sometime in late 1918, or 1918-19, Anna Freud undertook the translation from English to German of an important psychoanalytical paper⁴. It may well be that Freud had set his daughter this task, as part of her training with him. Four other students-in-training - James and Alix Strachey, Joan Riviere and Edith Jackson - have been identified

¹Letter of Freud to Lou Andreas-Salome, 4th October 1918, in Pfeiffer, (Ed) (1972), p.83.

²Nunberg (1962).

³Nunberg & Federn (Eds) (1975), p.296.

⁴E. Jones, 1918, 'Anal-erotic character traits', J. abnorm. Psychol., 13, 261-284. Translated as 'Über analerotische Charakterzüge', Zeitschrift, (1919), 5, 69-92. See Grinstein (1956), Vol.I, p.577; and Vol.II, Entry No. 16482.

as having carried out similar translation work for Freud¹. The subject matter would thus have been of Freud's choosing, though Anna Freud may well have been thereby influenced in the emphasis she later gave to certain of her own early case-histories. The anal material of a six-year old obsessional girl, for example, is later given some prominence².

o-o-o 1919 o-o-o

From Anna Freud's own statement that she worked as a schoolteacher "until age 24 years"³ it may be assumed that she continued in that role throughout 1918-19 and part of 1919. A definite break seems certain however from the autumn of 1919, when Freud was able to write Abraham that "My daughter has begun work as an assistant in the English department of the publishing house"⁴. This latter was of course the Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag (I. P. Verlag) of Vienna, then recently endowed by the wealthy Anton von Freund. Ernest Jones at first viewed Anna Freud's role there as "apparently incidental", and only much later recognised its significance for her future career as an analyst⁵.

Thus, it would appear that some 18 months had elapsed from the time of Anna Freud's decision to become an analyst to the time when she finally relinquished her role of schoolteacher. It may well be that the terrible economic situation of post-war Austria was here largely responsible for any delay. Even Freud was having difficulty, and maintained his practice during 1918-19 largely with the few English and

¹Roazen (1975), p.140.

²Anna Freud (1927a), in WRITINGS, I, p.41 et seq.

³Letter of Anna Freud to this Archive-Study, 29th July 1976. See: Appendix X.

⁴Letter of 2nd November 1919, Abraham & Freud (Eds) (1965) pp. 293-4.

⁵Jones (1957), p.50.

Americans referred to Vienna by Jones¹. There is also the suggestion that during this year of privation and near-starvation Anna Freud was also busy with 'collections' and 'children's trains'².

Ferenczi and von Freund were in Vienna during late 1919, and Anna Freud would also have had the opportunity of meeting Dr. David Forsyth of London, who was then in analysis with Freud. Forsyth was in fact Freud's first post-war 'swallow', and later, as physician at the Charing Cross Hospital, University of London, Forsyth secured for Freud an invitation to give the 1931 T. H. Huxley Lecture there³. Unfortunately, owing to Freud's state of ill-health at that time, neither he nor his daughter Anna were able to respond to the invitation.

On 30th November 1919 at a meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, Siegfried Bernfeld read his paper entitled 'Psychoanalytic problems in the history of paedagogics'⁴. It seems likely that Anna Freud enthusiastically heard this and other lectures by this talented analyst. In the introductory notes to her recently-collected 'Writings', Anna Freud says that "Many of us had for years been listening to the inspiring lectures for teachers and youth leaders given by Siegfried Bernfeld"⁵.

o-o-o 1920 o-o-o

The year began with the tragic death of Anna Freud's sister Sophie in the world influenza epidemic. Writing to Ferenczi concerning his own

¹Jones (1957), p.4.

²Letter of Freud to Pfister, 27th December 1919, in Meng & Freud (Eds), (1963), pp.73-74.

³Jones (1957), p.165.

⁴'report of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society', Journal (1920), 1, 123.

⁵Anna Freud (1974e), p.viii.

feelings, Freud noted that "My wife and Annerl are terribly shaken"¹. By May 1920 Anna Freud and her mother were in Berlin for the occasion of Ernst Freud's wedding. The Abraham's were visited, and Karl Abraham entrusted Anna Freud to carry back to her father in Vienna an important proof-collection of work². Also in the same month Anna Freud was a recipient of one of her father's symbolic 'rings'³, which clearly implies her acceptance into Freud's inner circle of analytical lieutenants. The only other recipients at that time had been the Committee members Rank, Sachs, Jones, Abraham, Ferenczi and later Eitingon. A number of women analysts were subsequently favoured with rings. Jones⁴ notes his own wife Katherine, Lou Andreas-Salome and Marie Bonaparte. Roazen⁵ adds Gisela Ferenczi, Jeanne Lampl-de Groot, Ruth Mack Brunswick, Edith Jackson, Eva Rosenfeld and Henny Freud.

Freud's own ring depicted the head of the Graeco-Roman Olympian Zeus (Jupiter)⁶. The mythological parallel would suggest that Anna Freud's intaglio would depict the goddess Pallas Athena, who sprang full-grown from the head of Zeus and became associated with wise counsel, the protection of cities (and hence war), and healing cults.

In August 1920 Freud and Anna were in Hamburg, visiting the husband and children of their deceased Sophie. After Max Eitingon had joined them there all three travelled to Holland, arriving at the Hague on 7th September⁷. In writing to Lou Andreas-Salome of this trip, Freud

¹Letter of 4th February 1920, cited by Jones (1957), p.21.

²K. Abraham, 1921, 'Klinische Beitrage zur Psychoanalyse'. Letter of Abraham to Freud, 25th May 1920, in Abraham & Freud (Eds) (1965), p.309.

³Freud actually gave recipients a small, carved antique Greek intaglio from his collection, and these were then made up on gold bands.

⁴Jones (1957), p.18.

⁵Roazen (1975), p.416.

⁶Jones (1955), chap 6.

⁷Jones (1957), p.26.

no longer referred to Anna as his 'little daughter' but said "I intend to take my daughter Anna with me to the Hague; she has long been anxious to meet you"¹.

From 8th - 12th September 1920 the Sixth International Psychoanalytical Congress was held at The Hague. Anna Freud was one of 57 guests attending the congress, together with 62 full members². Fig. II lists the papers presented at this congress, which falls between the period of Anna Freud's personal analysis and her formal entry into membership of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. Jones³ notes that "Freud had made a point of listening to every single paper read at all the congresses ... an example followed in later years by his daughter".

Of particular interest for our study of Anna Freud we mention the following congress papers:-

- (i) Freud's paper on dream theory⁴. This included some mention of a then unpublished study of daydreaming by the psychologist J. Varendonck (1879-1924) of Ghent. When published in book form Varendonck's work was subsequently translated into German by Anna Freud (see below).
- (ii) The contribution by Georg Groddeck (1866-1934). This was not a prepared, closely-reasoned paper like the others, but rather a spontaneous, extempore performance. Opening with the provocative remark "I am a wild analyst"⁵, Groddeck proceeded to give a rambling though brilliantly original and insightful account of his analytical work. Anna Freud was offended and shocked by Groddeck's presentation⁶, which may well have seemed

¹Letter of 2nd August 1920, in Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.105.

²Jones (1957), p.28.

³ibid., p.106.

⁴Freud (1920F).

⁵Grossman & Grossman (1965), p.13.

⁶ibid., p.96.

Fig. II.

Papers Presented to Hague International Psychoanalytic Congress,
September, 1920.

SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION.

Inaugural and Business Meetings	208
DR. K. ABRAHAM: Forms of Expression of the Female Castration Complex	342
DR. HELENE DEUTSCH: On the Psychology of Suspicion	343
DR. A. STÄRCKE: The Castration Complex	345
DR. VON HATTINGBERG: Transference and Object Choice; their Significance as regards the Theory of Instinct	346
J. C. FLÜGEL, B. A.: On the Biological Basis of Sexual Repression	347
PROF. G. JELGERSMA: A Psycho-Analytical Contribu- tion to the Theory of Feeling	349
DR. HANNS SACHS: Day-Dreams in Common.	349
DR. THEODOR REIK: The strange God and one's own God	350
DR. GÉZA RÓHEIM: Central Australian Totemism	351
DR. ERNST SIMMEL: Psycho-Analysis of the Gambler	352
PROF. SIGM. FREUD: Supplements to the Theory of Dreams	354
DR. S. FERENCZI: Further Extension of the Active Technique in Psycho-Analysis	354
EUGENIA SOKOLNICKA: On the Diagnosis and Symp- tomatology of the Psycho-Analytical Theory of the Neuroses.	355
DR. GEORG GRODDECK: On the Psycho-Analytic treat- ment of Organic Illnesses	356
DR. L. BINSWANGER: Psycho-Analysis and Clinical Psychiatry	357
DR. A. STÄRCKE: The Relations between Neuroses and Psychoses	357
O. PFISTER: The Significance of Psycho-Analysis for Constitutional Law and Political Economy.	358
DR. SABINA SPIELREIN: On the Question of the Origin and Development of Speech.	359
DR. MARGARETE STEGMANN: Form and Content in Psycho-Analysis	360
DR. HERMINE HUG-HELLMUTH: On the Technique of the Analysis of Children	361

to her a dangerous threat to the scientific rigour of the psychoanalysis she knew and which she had recently joined her father in devoting her life to. Anna Freud's attitude to Groddeck at the congress differed markedly from that of Freud, who had been "amused rather than offended"¹, and who continued to defend Groddeck against contemporary respectability². Anna Freud's antipathy to Groddeck persisted, even in the face of the more sympathetic and admiring stances taken by her father and by certain other figures of importance to her such as Lou Andreas-Salome. In this, as in a number of other respects, Anna Freud showed her ability to stand independently of Freud despite her obvious close rapport with such a monumental father-figure.

- (iii) the paper of Hug-Hellmuth³ on childhood education and the new technique of child analysis.

During the days of this congress Freud and Anna were invited to a luncheon by the group of British analysts present. We are told by one of those present that "she pleased her father and us by making a graceful little speech in very good English"⁴. Afterwards, whilst Freud returned to Vienna, Anna Freud left Holland on 28th September and travelled to Hamburg where she again spent some time with Ernst and Heine Halberstadt, her two small and now motherless nephews.

o-o-o 1921 o-o-o

This year probably witnessed Anna Freud's first efforts at practising,

¹Grossman & Grossman (1965), p.97.

²Jones (1957), chap.3.

³Hug-Hellmuth (1921).

⁴Jones (1957), p.29.

as opposed to generally studying, psychoanalysis. Many years later Anna Freud recalled "I remember well that my first case was a globus hystericus"¹. The patient, a fifteen year old girl, produced abundant daydream and other material all associated with beating phantasies, and later formed the subject of Anna Freud's first psychoanalytical paper². The year 1921 is taken as the likely time of this first analysis for the following reasons:-

1. Around mid-1920 Freud and Lou Andreas-Salome had exchanged letters discussing Freud's recent paper on beating phantasies³. The published correspondence contains no indication that at that time Anna Freud was undertaking a similar analysis or was interested in beating phantasies⁴.
2. As noted above Anna Freud was busy in Holland then Hamburg in September-October 1920, and could not have begun regular sessions with her patient much before the close of that year. As the analyst herself has noted, the analysis was "rather thoroughgoing"⁵, and both the nature and quantity of the material eventually published suggest an analysis of extended, frequent, repetitive sessions.
3. By November-December 1921 Anna Freud was having extensive discussions with Lou Andreas-Salome, which she subsequently acknowledged⁶ as having helped shape her paper on the beating phantasy. Clearly by then most if not all the case material had been collected.

¹ Writings, Vol.V, p.513.

² Anna Freud (1922a).

³ Freud (1919E).

⁴ Letters of 20th July and 2nd August 1920, in Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp. 103f and 105.

⁵ Anna Freud (1922a); Writings, I, p.138.

⁶ As a foot-note to the title-page of Anna Freud (1922a); Writings, I, p.137.

By this time, and not without good reason, Anna Freud considers that she had become 'a psychoanalyst', and in a recent letter to the present study she writes that "I collected the material for my first paper already as a psychoanalyst"¹.

In a letter to Freud of 6th September 1921, Lou Andreas-Salome (1861-1937) mentions "your daughter Anna, whom I have so long wanted to meet"². This meeting finally took place on the 9th November 1921, when 'Frau Lou' stayed at the Freud's apartment in Vienna until late December³.

There can be little doubt that meeting Frau Lou was a highlight of Anna Freud's life at that time, and a close bond quickly developed between them. This resulted in a profuse correspondence which remains as yet unpublished, though many of these letters are alluded to in the volume of Freud-Lou correspondence⁴. There were also several 'exchange visits' over the ensuing ten or fifteen years.

Lou's stay in Vienna during late 1921 began on a Wednesday evening, when Anna Freud took her to the weekly meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society³. The lecture that evening was by Eduard Hitschmann (1871-1957), and was entitled 'Paedagogic methods in psycho-analysis'⁵. Hitschmann was briefly noted by Anna Freud many years later⁶ as belonging to an older group of analysts who were her seniors in the Vienna days.

¹Letter of 29th July 1976. See Appendix X.

²Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.107.

³Pfeiffer (Ed)(1972), pp.229f, citing 'The Freud Journal of Lou Andreas-Salomé'.

⁴Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972).

⁵'Report of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society', JOURNAL (1922), 3, Pt. 1.

⁶WRITINGS, V, p.195.

During the subsequent days and weeks of Lou's visit "Anna discussed analytic topics with her"¹. In thus assisting with the discussion and interpretation of the case material Lou appears to have functioned in much the same capacity as a modern supervising analyst, and there seems to be no grounds for Roazen's statement that "For a time in the 1920's Lou became Anna's psychoanalytic therapist"². The entries in Lou's 'Freud Journal' kept at the time support the former view, when she writes "In the evenings Anna and I used to sit (with Freud) in his back room to talk about our theme ... I always spent the mornings in Anna's room. Freud would come in after every analytic hour for a few minutes and talk to us and share in our work"³. The same source makes it clear that Anna Freud was also able to benefit from sharing certain of these discussions with Aichhorn and Bernfeld.

Roazen² offers what can only be described as a highly distorted view of Anna Freud's relation to Lou Andreas-Salome. Without citing actual specific source-material he goes on to say that "In his letters of later years (Freud) discussed with (Lou) the emotional problems of his daughter Anna ... (and) ... asked Lou to help loosen Anna's ties to him"⁴. The published correspondence between Freud and Lou does not support Roazen's statements, and the editor of that correspondence writes that "Nothing of significance would appear to have been lost"⁵.

During Lou's stay in Vienna she and Anna Freud visited a number of interesting people, including the playwright Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer-Hofmann and Eugene Schwarzwald⁶.

¹Letter of Freud to Ernst & Lucie Freud, 20th December 1921, in E. Freud (Ed), (1960), p.341.

²Roazen (1969), p.52.

³Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.230.

⁴Roazen (1969), p.52.

⁵Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.241.

⁶ibid., p.231.

Sometime during late 1921, or perhaps 1921-22, Anna Freud translated into German a psychological work on daydreams¹. Following the use of this same material in his Hague Congress paper of the previous year it may well be that Anna Freud's father was once more the agent behind her labours as translator. On the other hand the material would also have had some relevance to Anna Freud's then current interest in daydreams and phantasy productions regarding the beating phantasies of her own first patient.

After the years of post-war economic chaos and relative stasis the close of 1921 brought a further good omen for psychoanalysis, and hence for the budding Anna Freud also. In December Freud was made an Honorary Member of the Dutch Society of Psychiatrists & Neurologists. As the family biographer remarks, "From now on it was common to recognise that some (of his work), in spite of its many supposed 'errors', was of outstanding importance, and that Freud himself was a man of scientific eminence"².

o-o-o 1922 o-o-o

From early 1922 onwards the correspondence between Sigmund Freud and Lou Andreas-Salomé contains a great deal of reference to Anna Freud. Lou's letter of 2nd March takes up once more the technical discussion of Anna's case-material on beating phantasies³, whilst Freud's communication of 13th March introduces the epithet "Anna-Tochter"⁴, which both Freud and Lou subsequently employed in an affectionately restrained manner. In March 1922 Anna Freud stayed with her nephews

¹J. Varendonck, 1921, *The Psychology of Daydreams*. Translated as *Über das vorbewusste phantasierende Deuten*, Leipzig, 1922. See: Grinstein (1956), Vol.1, p.577, and entry no. 33750.

²Jones (1957), p.86.

³Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp.111-112.

⁴"Daughter-Anna"; Pfeiffer, op. cit., p.113f.

in Hamburg, and from 25th April to 5th May she visited Lou in Gottingen¹, returning there again on 6th July and 3-4th August 1922. On the latter occasion she was accompanied by Martha Freud.

The necessary preparations had meanwhile been made for Anna Freud's membership paper to the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. The paper was presented² on 31st May, and the author's election to membership followed at the business meeting of 13th June 1922³, "much to her father's gratification" as we are told⁴.

On 21st June 1922 the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society elected Lou Andreas-Salome to membership. At the same meeting August Aichhorn, as visiting lecturer spoke on 'Education in reformatories'⁵. Anna Freud was apparently present, and afterwards wrote immediately to Lou with the news of the latter's membership⁶.

Fig III lists Anna Freud's co-members of the Vienna Psa. Society for 1922-23. As the subject herself much later makes clear, she by no means considered herself the equal in every respect to all these analysts, largely owing to the tactful discrimination on grounds of seniority. Thus, in her appreciation of Herman Nunberg, Anna Freud has written that "Nunberg and I are not of the same analytic generation"⁷. With Nunberg in the older and more senior group she notes Helene Deutsch, Paul Federn Eduard Hitschmann and Ludwig Jekels, whilst her own contemporaries included the Bibrings, Hartmann, Kris, Wilhelm Reich and Robert Waelder.

¹Pfeiffer, op. cit., p.114n.

²Anna Freud (1922a).

³'Report of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society', JOURNAL, 1922, 3, 512-513.

⁴Jones (1957), p.90.

⁵'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', JOURNAL, 1922, 3, 513.

⁶Letter of Lou A-S to Freud, 26th June 1922, in Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.115.

⁷Anna Freud (1969k).

Fig. III.

Membership List of Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, 1923.

REPORTS

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List of Members, December 31, 1923

1. August Aichhorn, Wien, V., Schönbrunnerstrasse 112.
2. Lou Andreas-Salomé, Göttingen, Herzberger Landstrasse 101.
3. Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld, Wien, XIII., Suppégasse 10.
4. Dozent Dr. Felix Deutsch, Wien, I., Wollzeile 33.
5. Dr. Helene Deutsch, Wien, I., Wollzeile 33.
6. Dr. Paul Federn, Wien, I., Ricmerg. 1.
7. Dr. Otto Fenichel, zurzeit Berlin-Halensee, Johann-Georg-Strasse.
8. Dr. Walter Fokschaner, Wien, VI., Kasernengasse 2.
9. Anna Freud, Wien, IX., Berggasse 19.
10. Prof. Dr. Sigm. Freud, Wien, IX., Berggasse 19.
11. Dozent Dr. Josef Friedjung, Wien, I., Ebendorferstrasse 6.
12. Dr. H. v. Hattingberg, München, Ainmillergasse 62.
13. Eric Hiller, Wien, VII., Andreasgasse 3.
14. Dr. Eduard Hitschmann, Wien, IX., Währingerstrasse 24.
15. Dr. Wilhelm Hoffer, Wien, IX., Liechtensteinstrasse 65a.
16. Prof. Dr. Guido Holzknacht, Wien, I., Liebiggasse 4.
17. Dr. Hermine Hug-Hellmuth, Wien, IX., Lustkandlgasse 10.
18. Dr. Ludwig Jekels, Wien, IX., Bergg. 29.
19. Dr. Robert Hans Jockl, Wien, III., Sechskrügelgasse 2.
20. Dr. Michael Kaplan, Wien, XVIII., Cottagegasse 48.
21. Dr. Salomea Kempner, Berlin W. 30, Barbarossastrasse 32, II.
22. Prof. Dr. Levi-Bianchini, Nocera Inferiore (Salerno).
23. Dr. Karl Landauer, Frankfurt a. M., Kettenhofweg 17.
24. Dr. I. Marcinowski, Bad Heilbrunn, Isartalbahn, Bayern.
25. Dr. Richard Nepalpek, Wien, VIII., Alserstrasse 41.
26. Dr. H. Nunberg, Wien, VIII., Florianigasse 20.
27. Prof. Dr. Otto Pözl, Prag, Psychiatrische Klinik.
28. Beate Rank, Wien, I., Grünangerg. 3-5.
29. Dr. Otto Rank, Wien, I., Grünangerg. 3-5.
30. Dr. Wilhelm Reich, Wien, XIX., Barawitzkagasse 12.
31. Dr. Theodor Reik, Wien, IX., Lackierergasse 1a.
32. Dr. Oskar Rie, Wien, III., Estegasse 5.
33. Dr. I. Sadger, Wien, IX., Liechtensteinstrasse 15.
34. Dozent Dr. Paul Schilder, Wien, II., Taborstrasse 11.
35. M.-U.-C. Walter Schmideberg, Berlin W., Rauchstrasse 4.
36. Eugenia Sokolnicka, Paris VI., rue de l'Abbé Gregoire 3.
37. Dr. Maxim Steiner, Wien, I., Rotenturmstrasse 19.
38. A. J. Storfer, Wien, IX., Porzellangasse 43.
39. Frieda Teller, Prag, III., Plaska 14.
40. Dr. Karl Weiss, Wien, IV., Schwindg. 12.
41. Dr. Eduardo Weiss, Trieste, S. Jazaro 8.
42. Dr. Alfred Winterstein, Wien, I., Augustinerstrasse 12.
Dr. Bernfeld.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEMBERSHIP OF VIENNA PSYCHOANALYTIC
SOCIETY, JUNE 1922 - June 1938

INTRODUCTION

The Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (Weiner Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung) heard the candidacy-paper of Anna Freud after a period of 3½ years, during which time she had attended their meetings as "a silent listener"¹ and an "inactive" (untätig) candidate. The extended hospitality granted her by the Vienna Society was acknowledged at the time by Anna Freud in her opening remarks, though these have until now only been available in German². Such is the historic importance and interest of these earliest public remarks, they are presented in full here below both in the original German and in (unauthorised) translation³.

The membership-paper was heard and commented upon by an audience which included Bernfeld, Federn, Rank, Reik, Helene Deutsch, Hitschmann, Walter Schmeideberg, Silberer, Fenichel and Freud⁴.

Anna Freud remarks that her psychoanalytical training was by no means completed with the successful presentation of her 1922 membership paper, and novices at that time had to continue "for five or ten (years) before our older colleagues considered us full-grown members"⁵. Psychoanalytic work with patients - "five, six, seven or eight at a time"⁵ - comprised the major source of learning during this phase. Familiarity with psychiatry and symptomatology was gained by attending ward-rounds in Julius von Wagner-Jauregg's hospital department. Wagner-Jauregg's post-war first clinical assistant was Paul Schilder (1886-1940), and his ward-rounds were particularly memorable⁶. Schilder also

¹WRITINGS, Vol.V, p.195.

²Anna Freud, 'Schlagephantasie und Tagtraum', Imago, (1922), 8, 317-332.

³See: Appendix XII.

⁴Imago, (1922), 8, 247.

⁵WRITINGS, V, p.513.

⁶ibid., p.512.

gave lectures at the University of Vienna, and it was there around 1923 that Anna Freud first met her life-long friend and colleague Josephine Stross (b.1901)¹.

Heinz Hartmann (1894-1970), as second clinical assistant with Schilder, also enters Anna Freud's professional orbit at this time. Freud's personal physician Felix Deutsch (1884-1964) gave seminars on psychoanalysis and hypnosis, and these were attended by a number of people, including Anna Freud, Hug-Hellmuth and Hitschmann². The training was clearly varied and stimulating, with some of the most brilliant medical-psychologists of the day as teachers, and as Anna Freud has recently reminisced there was altogether a mood of satisfaction, excitement and pioneering. "We felt" she says, "that we were the first who had been given a key to the understanding of human behaviour and its aberrations ... (and that) ... apart from suggestion and hypnosis we had no rivals in the field of mental treatment"³.

Another life-long friend and colleague was the Dutch medical woman and trainee-analyst Jeanne de Groot (b.1895). In Vienna during 1922 for her analysis with Freud, Jeanne de Groot met Anna Freud at a Wednesday meeting of the Vienna Psa. Society⁴. After marrying Hans Lampl, the Lampls remained close and loyal to Anna Freud and her father.

The Berlin Psychoanalytic Congress took place from 25th-27th September 1922. After holidaying at Obersalzburg, Berchtesgaden, scene for the writing of the crucial chapters of 'The Interpretation of Dreams' twenty-three years earlier, Anna Freud and her father travelled to Berlin for the Seventh International Congress⁵. This was Anna Freud's

¹Letter of Josephine Stross to this Archive-Study, 4th May 1977. See: Appendix XI.

²Flagg (1966) in Alexander et al. (Eds) (1966).

³Anna Freud (1976a).

⁴Letter of Jeanne Lampl-de Groot to this Archive-Study, 4th April 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁵Jones (1957), p.90.

first attendance as a full member at a meeting of the International. It was also the last major congress attended by Freud, owing to his subsequent serious illness¹.

The distressing personal events associated with Freud's major illness, which followed within months of the congress, have apparently been responsible for an uncharacteristic lacuna of memory on the part of Anna Freud. In a letter of 28th March 1977 to the present study, the correspondent states "I attended the Berlin Congress of 1922. As far as I remember my father was prevented by illness"². There can in fact be no doubt that Freud attended this congress, and presented his paper moreover in masterly fashion.

The 'Bulletin Report' of the International Psychoanalytical Association issued after the congress³ notes Freud's presence, as do the following eye-witnesses - Ernest Jones⁴, Max Eitingon⁵, James Strachey⁶ and Wilhelm Reich⁷, with the last-named paying emphasis to Freud's toweringly-impressive verbal presentation. Ernst Pfeiffer notes that Freud, Lou Andreas-Salome and Anna Freud all met at this congress⁸.

Freud's crucial paper to the Berlin Congress presented the debut of his new super-ego concept⁶, and thus inaugurated what Jones⁴ termed

¹See: Schur (1972).

²Appendix X below.

³International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 1923, Vol.4.

⁴Jones, (1957), p.92.

⁵International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 1928, Vol.9, p.134.

⁶Strachey (1969).

⁷Reich ((1952)1975), p.73.

⁸Pfeiffer (1972), p.119n.

'the new psychology of the ego', to which Anna Freud would in due course make substantial contributions. Melanie Klein presented a paper on child analysis¹, which does not however appear to have merited inclusion in her later 'Contributions' to psychoanalysis².

PIAGET

The Swiss educational psychologist Jean Piaget (b.1896) attended the 1922 Berlin Congress, and presented a paper entitled 'Symbolic thought and the thought of the child'³. However, Anna Freud does not remember meeting Piaget, nor did she have any subsequent dealings with him⁴.

Piaget himself in his published works⁵ gives much evidence of his knowledge of psychoanalysis, and in particular of the influences upon his work of Freud and Anna Freud. In recent years also, several child analysts and workers at Anna Freud's Hampstead Clinic and elsewhere⁶ have devoted much consideration to Piaget's work, especially with regard to the development of perceptual object constancy⁷. Nass⁸ attempts to integrate the work of Piaget and Freud, and usefully reviews previous efforts in the literature. A further valuable study, drawing many parallels between psychoanalysis and Piaget's 'Geneva school of developmental genetic psychology', is that of Cobliner⁹. In a recent appearance before the American Psychoanalytic Association

¹Jones, (1957), p.92.

²Klein (1948).

³Piaget ((1945)1951).

⁴Letter of Anna Freud to this Archive-Study 28th March 1977; See: Appendix X.

⁵Piaget & Inhelder (1966), and (3) above.

⁶Kut Rosenfeld & Sprince (1963), Vereecken (1965), Kaplan (1965), Kleeman (1967), Steingart (1969), Lustman (1968), (1970).

⁷Fraiberg (1969), Burgner & Edgecube (1972).

⁸Nass (1966).

⁹Cobliner (1965).

in New York, Piaget himself once again drew close to a significant rapprochement with his early psychoanalytic interests, when he spoke of the simultaneous operation of 'affective unconscious' and 'cognitive unconscious' processes¹.

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

Towards the end of 1922, or during early 1923, Anna Freud translated a third psychological-psychoanalytical work². The subject matter, concerning problems of adolescence, together with the fact that the translator was by now a member in her own right of the professional analytical community, hold open the suggestion that the work was carried out on her own initiative.

By March 1923 Anna Freud had her second patient, a fact which Freud discloses - "Anna has now also joined the practising analysts"³ - in a letter of 23rd March to Lou Andreas-Salome. A later recollection indicates that the case was a severe obsessional neurosis in an adolescent girl⁴. The last week of March was spent visiting Lou in Gottingen, and Freud took the opportunity of using his daughter Anna as a courier to carry to Lou both his letter and a substantial gift of money. In a reply to Freud of 31st March 1923 Lou wrote "I accept it along with Anna as coming from you ... I cannot hope to give Anna anything in return ... What a treasure life has given me in her"⁵. Lou did in fact dedicate her novel 'Rodinka' to Anna Freud about this time. The printed dedication reads 'To Anna Freud, to tell her of that which I have loved most deeply'⁶. A copy of the book was given

¹J. Piaget, 1970, 'Inconscient affectif et inconscient cognitif', cited in Rangell (1971).

²E. Jones, 1922, 'Some problems of adolescence', *Brit. J. Psychol.*, 13, 31-47; translated as 'Einige Probleme des jugendlichen Alters', *Imago*, 1923, 9, 145-168. See: Grinstein (1956), Vol.1, p.577, and entry no.16,682.

³Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp.121-122.

⁴Anna Freud, *Writings*, Vol.V, pp. 513-514.

⁵Pfeiffer, (Ed)(1972), p.122.

⁶*ibid.*, p.233, n.156.

by Anna Freud as a present to Eva Rosenfeld at Christmas 1925¹.

Around this time too Anna Maenchen (b.1902) entered into analysis with Anna Freud. Maenchen later took up training as a child-analyst, though she does not on account merely of her prior personal analysis consider herself to rank amongst the 'first group' of child-analysts to have been trained by Anna Freud. Those having seniority in this respect later included Marianne Kris, Jenny Waelder-Hall, Edith Buxbaum and Editha Sterba².

April 1923 witnessed the onset of Sigmund Freud's terminal illness with cancer of the jaw, the details of which are documented by others³. Apparently, and understandably, Anna Freud did not immediately accept that her father's condition might be malignant, and in a letter to Lou Andreas-Salome she merely noted "Growths which apparantly occur sometimes with smokers ... something quite benign"⁴. In this respect Anna Freud was quite probably misled by Freud's physician Felix Deutsch, who initially strove to keep the true nature of the condition from the patient. During the summer holiday of July-August 1923 at Gastein, the entire 'inner Committee', together with Felix Deutsch and Anna Freud, convened in Freud's absence in order to discuss the situation. Afterwards, whilst walking back up the mountain to where Freud was resting, Anna's clever questioning finally wrung from Deutsch his true opinion of her father's illness⁵.

Once reconciled to the facts Anna Freud became her father's only nurse for the remaining sixteen years of his life. Freud "made a pact with her at the beginning that no sentiment was to be displayed"⁶.

¹Rosenfeld (1964).

²Letters of Anna Maenchen to this Archive-Study 19th May & 9th June 1977. See: Appendix XI.

³Jones (1957), Schur (1972).

⁴Preiffer (Ed) (1972), p.232, n.154.

⁵Jones (1957), Chap. 3.

⁶ibid., p.101.

The daughter's complete success in this difficult role is indicated by Freud's letter to his friend Lou on 5th August 1923, in which he wrote "Anna is splendid and self-assured, and I often think how much she probably owes to you"¹. Another eye-witness notes that Anna Freud adhered to the pact "even in the most agonising situations"².

It seems clear also that during these same difficult times Anna Freud's qualities and wide-ranging abilities - as colleague, companion, secretary, nurse, courier - must also have greatly aided Freud over the blow of his separation from Otto Rank. The general circumstances of the break between Rank and Freud are discussed elsewhere³. The erratic Roazen, often lacking reliability as a source, is nearer the mark than usual when he states that Anna Freud "became a psychoanalyst shortly before the struggle with Rank began, and served to fill the gap he left. Eventually she performed all the functions of Rank's substitute"⁴. It merely remains to be added that such a successful 'substitute-role' was by no means the *sine qua non* of Anna Freud's acceptability to Freud. Rather, it was her manifest success in her own right which enabled her to so readily overlap and contain the place left by others.

Anna Freud's own view of Rank's break with Freud is contained in an unpublished letter to Lou Andreas-Salome, where she says "one is almost sorry for him, as if he didn't really know what he is doing and what an incision he is making in his own life"⁵. During the periods 1913-15 and 1918-21 Anna Freud had worked in almost daily contact with Rank, either at Freud's apartment or the publishing house

¹Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp.124-5.

²Jones, *op. cit.*

³Jones (1957), Brome (1967).

⁴Roazen (1975), p.445.

⁵Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.234, n.171.

(I.P.Verlag), and the comments cited indicate Rank's close acceptance prior to the dissent with Freud. In remarking upon the 50th birthday of the International Journal of PsychoAnalysis, Anna Freud quotes Jones's biography of her father in such a way as to acknowledge the strenuous endeavours Rank made on behalf of the psychoanalytic Verlag¹. In her classic work on ego defence-mechanisms the author cites Rank's work on mythological parallels², whilst elsewhere she admits to having been early "fascinated" by Rank's (and Sandor Ferenczi's) explanations of "active therapy"³.

In September 1923 Freud carried out a "long-cherished plan" of showing Rome to Anna⁴. His letter to Lou of 4th September written from the Eden Hotel admits that "I realise here for the first time what good company my little daughter is"⁵. A further indication of the special closeness in both personal and professional life which would henceforth characterise Freud and Anna, is given in a letter from Lou to Freud. "Perhaps it will be evening when this letter reaches you" wrote Lou, "and you will be sitting at your writing desk, with Anna perched on the library steps"⁶. Later on Lou would jokingly remind Freud that one of the few ways in which Anna could not help him was by taking a spring holiday for him⁷.

EARLY CHILD CASES

A single scientific publication appeared under the name of our subject in 1923, and this was a short piece arising out of observations related

¹Anna Freud (1969t).

²Anna Freud (1936a).

³Anna Freud (1954c).

⁴Jones (1957), p.98.

⁵Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.126.

⁶Letter of September 1923, in Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp.127-8.

⁷Letter of 20th May 1927, *ibid.*, p.167.

to Anna Freud by the mother of a 2½ year old boy¹. The method used was still the 'Little Hans' method², but in effect foreshadows Anna Freud's later attention to the role of parents in her theoretical work. The report had originally been presented as a short communication to the Vienna Psa. Society at their meeting of 4th March 1923. An English translation did not appear until 1926, although 1923 did see the translation into English of Anna Freud's first analytical paper³.

From 1923 onwards Anna Freud took more and more child patients, whose ages ranged from 6 to 11 years. Between 1923 and 1926 she carried out ten long analyses, which were of great importance for the development of her analytical technique. Details of these ten children are presented in Fig. IV.

In April 1924 the 8th International Psa. Congress was held at Salzburg. Despite the historic importance of the venue - Salzburg had hosted the very first analytical Congress in 1908 - Anna Freud was unable to attend, "To the best of my knowledge ... because of my father's illness at the time"⁴. This was not Freud's major and incurable illness but influenza, and his daughter Anna accompanied him on a rare convalescent break⁵. On display for their first preview at the congress were the first three volumes of Freud's 'Gesammelte Schriften'⁶. These had been jointly edited by Anna Freud and A. J. Storfer, and other volumes were to appear in successive years. An advertisement for the collection, such as appeared in contemporary German analytical publications, is

¹Anna Freud (1923a).

²Freud (1909B).

³Translator unknown, but probably Katherine Jones, Alix Strachey or Joan Riviere; International Journal of PsychoAnalysis, Vol.4, 89-102.

⁴Letter of Anna Freud to this Archive-Study, 28th March 1977. See: Appendix X.

⁵Jones (1957), p.107.

⁶Collected Papers, I. P. Verlag, Vienna & Leipzig, 1925.

FIG. IV

SUMMARY OF ANNA FREUD'S TEN EARLIEST CHILD CASES

(1923-1926)

	SEX	AGE YRS.	DETAILS
1	F	6	Obsessional; high I.Q. Much cited. Most prominent case.
2	F	11	Delinquent; thieving, lies, etc. Difficult home; stepmother.
3	M	10	Perversions; very diverse anxieties. Semi-delinquent.
4	M	10	Behaviour Problem; attacks of rage and defiance. Child's sister already in analysis with same analyst.
5	F	7	Difficult, Neurotic; admitted her 'bad self' when analyst confronted her with it.
6	F	8	Sensitive; self-critical. Attachment to over-strict nanny undermined by analyst's strategy. Most successful of all early cases.
7	-	-	Low I.Q.; largely analysed through dream material.
8	-	-	Low I.Q.; Largely analysed through dream material.
9	F	9	Masturbator; fire-dreams.
10	M	9	Anxiety; castration fears; prominent day-dreams.

The above sequence of cases is not necessarily a chronological one. See: Anna Freud (1927a); WRITINGS, Vol.1, pp.3-69.

reproduced in Fig. V, and can scarcely have failed to draw to the attention of analysts far beyond Vienna the fact of the rising academic stature of Freud's daughter. A. J. Storfer (1884-1944), a Rumanian and member of the Vienna Ps. Society at the time of Anna Freud's entry to membership, had been managing-director of the psychoanalytical publishing house (Verlag) in Vienna since 1920. He is not cited in Anna Freud's published 'Writings', though a brief account of his work at the Verlag is included in a congress report edited by Anna Freud¹.

By 1924 Anna Freud was regularly holding seminar-meetings attended by Bernfeld, Aichhorn and a few other close colleagues². At that time the case of Minna, a difficult 15 year old girl patient, was raised at one of the discussion groups, and Anna Freud asked Bernfeld if he knew of a suitable woman or family to take in Minna. Bernfeld mentioned Eva Rosenfeld out in the 13th District of Vienna. The first meeting between Anna Freud and Eva Rosenfeld is best described in the latter's own words:

"One Sunday morning in November 1924 she arrived at my door and explained what she wanted. This was the turning point of my life. I knew that this was for ever. I have never altered my views since about Anna Freud".²

Eva Rosenfeld (1892-1977) subsequently had an analysis with Freud and became a close friend of the family. A tall and gracious figure, Eva Rosenfeld died barely six months after granting the present writer a long interview at her London home.

In a circular-letter from Berlin to members of the Committee, Karl Abraham proposed on 26th November 1924 that Anna Freud should replace

¹Anna Freud (1928b), p.150.

²Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, London 31st May 1977. See: Appendix XI.

Fig.V.

'Gesammelte Schriften von Sigmund Freud', edited by
Anna Freud & A.J. Storfer, c.1924.

SIGM. FREUD
GESAMMELTE SCHRIFTEN

Elf Bände in Lexikonformat

Unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers herausgegeben
von Anna Freud und A. J. Storfer

- I) Studien über Hysterie / Frühe Arbeiten zur Neurosenlehre 1892—1899
- II) Die Traumdeutung
- III) Ergänzungen und Zusatzkapitel zur Traumdeutung / Über den Traum / Beiträge zur Traumlehre / Beiträge zu den „Wiener Diskussionen“
- IV) Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens / Das Interesse an der Psychoanalyse / Über Psychoanalyse / Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung
- V) Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie / Arbeiten zum Sexualleben und zur Neurosenlehre / Metapsychologie
- VI) Zur Technik / Zur Einführung des Narzissmus / Jenseits des Lustprinzips / Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse / Das Ich und das Es / Anhang
- VII) Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse
- VIII) Krankengeschichten
- IX) Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewußten / Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens „Gradiva“ / Eine Kindheits Erinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci
- X) Totem und Tabu / Arbeiten zur Anwendung der Psychoanalyse
- XI) Schriften aus den Jahren 1923—1926 / Geleitworte zu fremden Werken / Gedenkartikel / Vermischte Schriften / Schriften aus den Jahren 1926—1928

*Geheftet M 180.—, in Ganzleinen M 220.—,
in Halbleder (Schweinsleder) M 280.—*

Hermann Hesse in der »Neuen Rundschau«: Eine große, schöne Gesamtausgabe, ein würdiges und verdienstvolles Werk wird da unter Dach gebracht. — Prof. Raymond Schmidt in den »Annalen der Philosophie«: Druck und Ausstattung sind geradezu aufregend schön.

Ausführliche Prospekte auf Verlangen von

Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag
Wien I, Börsengasse 11

the dissenting Otto Rank on Freud's Committee. Ernest Jones¹ further notes that Abraham's proposal was accepted, and adds that the names of A. A. Brill and August Starcke had also been put forward but were rejected. In July 1925 Anna Freud became a formal member of Freud's inner Committee, together with Abraham, Ferenczi, Jones, Eitingon and Sachs².

The earliest formal position held by Anna Freud as a member of the Vienna Psa. Society, was that of Secretary to the newly-formed Training Committee, which subsequently became the Training Institute (Lehrinstitut). It would seem to be of some importance to accurately establish the date of this and subsequent appointments of Anna Freud's, though on the matter of strict chronology she herself is apparently too modest to offer a thorough-going curriculum vitae. Her letter of 29th July 1976 to the present author states "I am sorry I cannot give you exact data about the positions held in Vienna ... it is difficult to remember when I was what"³.

Ernest Jones⁴ records that as early as December 1924 Anna Freud became "Secretary to the Training Institute in Vienna", though this seems unduly premature both as regards date and title, i.e. in the use of the term 'Institute' rather than 'Committee'. The most reliable source for such data is here taken to be the regular Bulletin Reports of the component societies of the International Psychoanalytic Association, as printed in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis. An appropriate search reveals that "Fraulein Freud" was elected Secretary of the "Training Committee" of the Vienna Psa. Society in January 1925,

¹Jones (1957) p.78.

²Jones, op. cit.

³See: Appendix X.

⁴Jones (1957), p.107.

and again in October 1925¹. It may well be that Ernest Jones is referring to a prior, informal, decision-taking meeting of which he had direct or indirect knowledge at the time, though he does not indicate this. Others have occasionally faulted the authority and accuracy of Jones, and even the impartiality of his account as for example concerning his presentation of Ferenczi's last days², and in his "totally misleading" version of Wilhelm Reich's supposed 'resignation' from the I.P.A. at the 1934 Lucerne Congress³. The present study differs from Jones on one or two minor points of accuracy only.

Anna Freud's colleagues on the important Training Committee were Helene Deutsch (President), Siegfried Bernfeld (Vice-President), Hitschmann, Nunberg, Wilhelm Reich and Theodor Reik. Of these analysts Theodor Reik (1888-1969), despite being a fellow lay-analyst, appears to have had fewest points of lasting contact with Anna Freud. A single citation to Reik's work of 1919 on 'Ritual' occurs twice in Anna Freud's published works⁴, and on both occasions it is really Freud's Preface to Reik's book which is being referred to. For his part Reik contributed a paper⁵ to the further elaboration of the theme of 'identification with the aggressor', which he acknowledges as stemming from the stimulus of Anna Freud's now classic work on defence-mechanisms⁶.

Paul Roazen⁷ cites unpublished letters of circa 1955 from Anna Freud to Ernest Jones, in which he finds indicated the possibility

¹International Journal of Psychoanalysis, (1926), Vol.7, p.285.

²Grossman & Grossman (1965, p.192); Brome (1967, p.207).

³Higgins & Raphael (Eds). See: Reich ((1952)1967), p.25, n11 & pp.217-222.

⁴Anna Freud (1962d), (1965f).

⁵Reik ((1937)1941).

⁶Anna Freud (1936a).

⁷Roazen (1975), p.447 and n2.

that the letter-writer might "thoroughly despise" Reik. Roazen does admit that such personal feelings had not led to any large scale public quarrels among the analytical movement, and instigated by our subject. We may go further and suggest that private opinions, which are not contemporaneously allowed to intrude into the public literature, would seem to belong to the field of belle-lettres though not of science. This conclusion would appear tenable even after due corroboration of the existence and interpretation of any such private 'opiniana'. To return to the language of psychoanalysis, the individual cannot legitimately be held responsible for the de facto existence of drive impulses, but only for the acting out or otherwise of impulses.

Students applying for analytical training in Vienna went in front of the Training Committee, and many had their first meeting with Anna Freud in these circumstances. One of the first, around 1925, was Edith Buxbaum (b.1902)¹. Others included Editha Sterba, Jenny Pollack (later Waelder-Hall), Annie Reich and Marianne Kris, all of whom graduated as associate members of the Vienna Psa. Society on the same day three years later². Anny Angel Katan was also enrolled "in the first child-analysis seminar that Anna Freud gave"³. Although Anna Freud may have functioned as supervisory analyst for all these child-analysts, their personal training-analysts varied. Buxbaum indicates Herman Nunberg⁴ whilst Marianne Kris acknowledges Franz Alexander of Berlin⁵.

September 1925 brought an event which was undoubtedly of great moment for Anna Freud's subsequent personal and professional life. Dorothy Burlingham (b.1891) arrived in Vienna, bringing her son from America

¹Letter of Edith Buxbaum to this Archive-Study, 19th July 1977; See: Appendix XI.

²'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal (1929), Vol.10, p.551.

³Letter of Anny Katan to this Archive-Study, 15th March 1978. See: Appendix XI.

⁴Letter to this Archive-Study, op. cit. (Appendix XI).

⁵Letter of Marianne Kris. See: Appendix XI.

for a consultation with Anna Freud¹. Thus began a close collaboration which was to produce much in the way of future fruitful professional and scientific results².

The 9th International Psa. Congress took place at Bad Homburg from 3rd - 5th September 1925. Anna Freud read to the gathering the manuscript of her absent father's paper³, which was warmly welcomed and well received according to Max Eitingon⁴ and Karl Abraham⁵. The latter's correspondence around this time is remarkable for referring to our subject as "Miss Anna", an acknowledgment of the professional standing of one whom he had, after all, known since she was 12 years old. Freud's letter of 11th September 1925 to Abraham makes it clear that he himself had not been responsible for sending his paper to the congress - "it was a last minute idea of my daughter's"⁶. This was the first though by no means the last time that Anna Freud would substitute for her absent father.

From Freud's letter to Lou Andreas-Salome on 10th May 1925 it is clear that "Anna and the typewriter"⁷ greatly assisted the father with his voluminous correspondence. And a letter to Pfister of 10th August 1925 indicates that Freud entrusted his daughter to carry his greetings at congresses⁸.

No scientific publications appear in Anna Freud's name for 1925, but

¹Letter of Dorothy Burlingham, 23rd March 1977. See: Appendix XI.

²Burlingham & Freud (1942); Freud & Burlingham (1944); See also Chapter 7 below.

³Freud (1925J).

⁴'Report of the Ninth Psa. Congress', ed. M. Eitingon, Journal (1926), Vol.7, p.119.

⁵Letter of Abraham to Freud, 8th September 1925, in Abraham & Freud (Eds), (1965), p.394.

⁶Letter of Freud to Abraham, *ibid.*, p.395.

⁷Pfeiffer (Ed), (1972), p.154.

⁸Meng & Freud (Eds), (1963), p.98

she did translate an important book¹, one which her father had recently praised highly according to Jones².

In January 1926, again according to Ernest Jones³, Anna Freud replaced Max Eitingon as Secretary of the International Psychoanalytic Association (I.P.A.) The arrangement was no doubt provisional at the time, and was not formally ratified until almost two years later at the next I.P.A. Congress. During these first two decades of the international psychoanalytic movement the appointment as General Secretary of the I.P.A. had tended to carry with it the "understanding" that the holder of the office was next in line for the office of President of the International Association. Such had been the case when Abraham. as Secretary had replaced Jones as President in March 1924⁴; and when Eitingon as Secretary had then replaced Abraham as President in January 1926⁵. If such had continued to be the case then Anna Freud's rise in the analytical hierarchy would indeed have been meteoric. However, and for various reasons, the Presidency of the I.P.A. has never passed onto Anna Freud. By the time the next Congress convened in 1927 the I.P.A. statutes decreed that Presidents be nominated and then elected by each new congress⁶. Thereby was removed any automatic succession of the Secretary to the Presidency. In the event, Anna Freud's modesty in public life has restrained her from ever accepting any official position higher than that of joint Vice-President of the International Association, as happened in 1934,

¹Israel Levine, *The Unconscious: An Introduction to Freudian Psychology*, New York & London, 1923. Transl. as 'Das Unbewusste', Vienna & Leipzig, 1925. See: Grinstein (1956), Entry No. 20127 and p.577.

²Jones, (1957), chap. 3.

³ibid., p.126.

⁴ibid., p.68.

⁵Jones (1957), p.126. Earlier Presidents were Jung, 1910, 1911 & 1913; Abraham, 1918; and Jones 1920, 1922.

⁶'Report of the Tenth International Psa. Congress', Journal 1928, Vol.9, p.158.

1936 and in the post-war years. In 1955, when she was actually nominated for the Presidency, Anna Freud declined to accept the nomination¹.

Sigmund Freud's 70th birthday on 6th May 1926 was quietly celebrated in the Freud apartment. Those present included his daughter Anna, other members of the 'Committee', Paul Federn and a handful of other close followers. To this gathering Freud announced his retirement from any active role in the psychoanalytic movement². Clearly, and with good reason, Freud could now look to his daughter Anna to keep him informed and abreast of all relevant developments. The next day, May 7th, Freud held his last meeting with the inner Committee, and one of those present records it as a 7½ hour marathon³.

In a letter of 10th May 1926 to Marie Bonaparte, and no doubt with his own recent 70th birthday celebration in mind, Freud wrote the significant remark that "Anna ... shares my feeling that it is embarrassing to be publicly exposed to praise"⁴.

EARLY VIENNA EDUCATION GROUP

Sometime in 1926 an important meeting took place in Eva Rosenfeld's house in Vienna. Those present were Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Eva Rosenfeld and a schoolteacher named Peter Blos. "At that meeting ... no one knows by whom ... it was decided to go ahead and form a nursery school"⁵. Funds were provided by Dorothy Burlingham for a timber house to be built in Eva Rosenfeld's garden, and Peter Blos became the teacher in charge. Some fifteen pupils were recruited,

¹'Report of the 19th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, 1956, Vol.37.

²Jones, (1957), p.131.

³ibid., p.132

⁴E. Freud (Ed) (1960), pp.369-370.

⁵Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, See: Appendix XI.

largely from children undergoing analytical treatment in the environs. Those analysts directing child-patients to the school included Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Marianne Kris, Edith Buxbaum, August Aichhorn and Jenny Waelder¹. The school operated until 1933, employed Erik Homburger [Erikson] during his analytical training, and used 'project' methods in its education approach.

Following her appointment as Training Secretary the previous year, in 1926 Anna Freud presented a formal course of lectures on child analysis at the Training Institute of the Vienna Psa. Society. The talks were by invitation, and "as was the habit then" they were attended by most of the Society's members². There were four lectures (Vier Vorträge) dealing with such technical matters as preparation and methods of child analysis, the special role of transference, and child upbringing in the light of the latest findings. With this series of lectures published in book-form the following year and translated into English a year after that³, we witness the emergence of a technical specialist capable of powerful and original work, and one who was moreover well placed in a key position for the dissemination of that work. Her ailing father could now finally leave completely the public world of psychoanalysis. Following his 70th birthday pronouncement earlier that year Freud despatched a circular letter of 23rd November 1926, stating that he could no longer attend meetings of the Vienna Psa. Society⁴. A small number of selected analysts came instead, and by invitation, to the Freud apartment on the second Friday of each month for an evening's scientific discussion. These meetings continued until April 1928, and would undoubtedly offer the participating

¹Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, op. cit.

²Anna Freud, in WRITINGS, Vol.VII, p.50.

³See: Anna Freud, (1927a), Writings, Vol.1.

⁴Jones (1957), p.135.

Anna Freud an invaluable opportunity in scientific statecraft.

Ernest Jones¹ notes that at this time Freud considered Heinrich Meng and Franz Alexander the most promising of the younger generation of analysts, though Freud's letter to Pfister of 21st November 1926 makes it clear that Freud also by now had a high opinion of his daughter Anna's scientific work².

Heinrich Meng (b.1887) a Swiss, had trained in Vienna with Paul Federn. He was a founding editor in 1926 of the Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik, to which Anna Freud contributed a number of papers³ and herself became an editor of from 1931-1937. Meng co-edited the Freud-Pfister correspondence to which Anna Freud devoted a Preface⁴; and his other labours as editor continued to secure contributions from Anna Freud⁵.

Franz Alexander (1891-1964) was trained by Hanns Sachs in Berlin around 1921, and emigrated to the U.S.A. around 1930. He and Anna Freud were both present at the Congress Internationale de Psychiatrie in Paris in September 1950⁶. A chapter on Anna Freud is included in Alexander et. al.'s 'Pioneers in Psycho-Analysis'⁷, and for her part Anna Freud has severally cited Alexander's works on technique, criminality and psychosomatics⁸.

The following summary may be presented, to show Anna Freud's major

¹Jones (1957), p.135.

²Meng & Freud (Eds.) (1963), p.106.

³Anna Freud (1929a), (1931a), (1935a).

⁴Anna Freud (1963d).

⁵Anna Freud (1957c).

⁶See: Anna Freud (1950a).

⁷Pumpian-Mindlin (1966).

⁸Anna Freud (1936a, p.60), (1954d), (1965a, p.181n), (1966e), (1971b).

professional achievements from 1922-1926:

- (i) membership of Vienna Psa. Society, June 1922; first scientific paper,
- (ii) secretary to the Training Committee, January 1925,
- (iii) member of Freud's inner 'Committee', July 1925,
- (iv) general secretary to the I.P.A., January 1926,
- (v) lecturer on child analysis, 1926- .

We now move on from the point at which Chapter Two stopped, and we trace the powerful influence upon developments that was represented by the work of Anna Freud and later by the work of her students and followers also.

o-o-o 1927 to 1933 o-o-o

The year 1927 saw the first publication of Anna Freud's major technical recommendations of the previous year¹. The hostile reception accorded these by certain incredulous sections of the psycho-analytical world beyond Vienna could hardly have been foreseen, and seems to have been largely due to the existence already at this early period of two contrasting technical 'schools' of child analysis. These had for the past few years been evolving along divergent lines in London and Vienna respectively, and matters of difference subsequently came to a head with the so-called 'Klein Controversy', as will become apparent later. On May 4th and 18th 1927, various papers were given before the British Psychoanalytical Society in response to the publication in Vienna of Anna Freud's book. These papers² were published together as a critical symposium³, to which Anna Freud replied in an unpublished communication to the Vienna Psa. Society on 25th January 1928⁴. Elsewhere the reception was

¹Einführung in die Technik der Kinderanalyse, Vienna 1927. See: Anna Freud (1927a).

²Klein (1927), Riviere (1927), Searl (1927), Glover (1927), Jones (1927), Sharpe (1927).

³Symposium (1927).

⁴'Bulletin Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1928), Vol.9, p.515. Anna Freud's unpublished papers, insofar as they are known, are listed in Appendix II.

less hostile. The book had appeared in February 1927, and a copy was sent to Lou Andreas-Salome in Gottingen. On 19th March 1927, and at Max Eitingon's invitation, Anna Freud then attended a discussion of her book at a meeting of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. In a letter to Freud of 4th May Lou wrote that she much regretted having been unable to attend the Berlin discussions, but that Eitingon had described them to her as "truly stimulating"¹.

THE CHILDREN'S SEMINAR

In Vienna Anna Freud's original course of lectures was quickly followed by the organising of a Kinderseminar, "a first seminar on child analysis" with regular meetings in which "cases were presented, technical innovations described, and theoretical conclusions put up for discussion"². Elsewhere the seminar organiser notes that "from 1927 onwards, a group of analysts ... held regular meetings with me to discuss the child-analytic technique I had suggested, to report on cases treated with this method"³ and so on.

This formally-recognised seminar may be looked upon as the direct heir to those informal discussion-groups earlier convened by Anna Freud from 1921 onwards. The seminars covered a broader-field than was generally recognised at the time, as is indicated by comparing their actual scope, outlined above, with Federn's view of them. Federn⁴, in discussing the scientific work of the Vienna Society, referred somewhat perfunctorily to "the so-called children's seminar" which "reviews the literature"⁵. Much later, Anna Freud

¹Pfieffer (Ed) (1972), p.236, n193 & n194; *ibid.*, p.164.

²Anna Freud (1966e).

³Writings, Vol.1, p.viii, (1974).

⁴Then President of the Vienna Psa. Society.

⁵'Report of the Tenth Int. Psa. Congress', In Journal,(1928), 9, p.144.

recalled that the discussion groups were officially called "Children's Seminars" not because of the type of material discussed "but because the discussants themselves were considered to be in analytic infancy"¹.

Edith Buxbaum² attended Anna Freud's child-study seminars for ten years from 1927 onwards, as did Dorothy Burlingham³, Marianne Kris⁴ and Anny Angel Katan⁵. Otto Sperling, in reviewing the case of 3-year old Rudy twenty years later⁶, notes that he first presented this material in Anna Freud's seminars in 1931. Other early participants included Editha Sterba, the Waelders, the Hoffers, the Bibrings, Wilhelm Reich, Jeanne Lampl-de Groot⁷ and a gradually increasing number of students from abroad, particularly from America⁸. Over the next decade these seminars would become better known to many beyond Vienna, and would project the image of a 'Continental School' of child analysis strongly associated with our subject herself.

During the summer of 1927, whilst Anna Freud and her father holidayed on the Austrian Semmering with Dorothy Burlingham and her children in an adjoining house, the young tutor to the Burlingham children first met Anna Freud. This tutor was Erik Homburger (b.1902)⁹, an artistic and wandering Danish-German student who later on in Vienna was drawn by Peter Blos into joining the analytical nursery-school in Eva Rosenfeld's garden¹⁰. Erik Homburger then trained as a child

¹Anna Freud (1967d).

²Letter of Edith Buxbaum, Ph.D.. See: Appendix XI.

³Letter of Dorothy Burlingham. See: Appendix XI.

⁴Letter of Marianne Kris. See: Appendix XI.

⁵Letter of Anny Katan. See: Appendix XI.

⁶Sperling (1954).

⁷Besser (1976, p.28), citing letter from Anna Freud.

⁸Anna Freud (1966e).

⁹Letter of Erik H. Erikson, 1st November 1977. See: Appendix XI.

¹⁰Interview with Eva Rosenfeld. See: Appendix XI.

analyst with Anna Freud. His subsequent and highly original work - under his better known name of Erik H. Erikson - is not confined to the original field, but embraces anthropology and sociology before returning to its own unique synthesis of psychoanalysis and the human condition.

During his training as a student of the Vienna Psa. Society in the late 1920's, Erikson recalls that he attended "required seminars", which included Anna Freud's Kinderseminar, Helene Deutsch's adult seminar and Hartmann & Kris's theory seminar¹.

The Innsbruck Psychoanalytic Congress took place from 1st-3rd September 1927. The scientific proceedings of this, the Tenth International Psa. Congress, were opened by Anna Freud, who read to the gathering her absent father's paper on humour². Of even greater interest from our present viewpoint was Anna Freud's own scientific contribution, 'Zur theorie der Kinderanalyse'³, the first such paper she presented at a meeting of the 'International' (I.P.A.). The paper was read at the third scientific session of the congress. Melanie Klein (London) and Mary Chadwick (London) read papers at the same session⁴. Melanie Klein's paper discussed early stages of the oedipus complex, and she reiterated her view that this nuclear personality constellation becomes powerfully operative "earlier than is usually supposed"⁵, by which she presumably means earlier than Anna Freud and the more 'orthodox' analysts believed. Theoretical differences over the status of the young child's developing super-ego constituted one of the salient points of contention between the child analysis 'schools' of London and Vienna, and was discussed in the present

¹Letter of Erik H. Erikson, op. cit. Appendix XI.

²Freud (1927D).

³Anna Freud (1928b).

⁴'Report of the Tenth Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1928), 9, 132-156.

⁵Klein ((1928)1948).

correspondence with Anna Freud¹.

Members of the Innsbruck Congress also heard a report that the Vienna Psa. Institute had, during the session 1926-27, offered to teachers, child nurses and others a course of lectures of general interest. The lecturers were "Frl. Freud, Fr. Schaxel, Dr. Aichhorn and Dr. Hoffer"². During business discussions and other involved matters at the congress it is clear that Anna Freud played a decisive part, and at one point uttered the cry "Meine Herren, ich glaube wir thun ein Unrecht"³, which possibly should be better known as indicating a capacity for scrupulous fairness when faced with conflicting views. At the close of the congress, and at Eitingon's proposal, Anna Freud was unanimously elected to the office of General Secretary of the I.P.A.⁴, and her prior occupancy of the office was thus confirmed.

The Innsbruck Congress Report, published in the official journal⁵, was itself edited and produced by Anna Freud in her first term as General Secretary. Here too Anna Freud broke new ground, and established the model for all later Congress Reports. Earlier reports had been meagre products - that of 1925, edited by Eitingon, ran to less than one page in the English version⁶ - whereas the 1927 report set a new precedent. It ran to over twenty closely-printed pages⁷ and for the first time succeeded in presenting a thorough and detailed coverage of congress events.

¹Letter of this author to Anna Freud, 7th November 1976; letter of Anna Freud to this author, 28th March 1977, See: Appendix XI.

²'Report of the Tenth Int. Psa. Congress', op. cit. p.146.

³"Gentlemen , I think we are committing an injustice"; Jones (1957), p.318.

⁴Tenth Congress Report, op. cit., p.156.

⁵International Journal of Psycho-Analysis (London), op. cit.

⁶'Report of the Ninth Int. Psa Congress', Journal (1926), Vol.7, p.119.

⁷Tenth Congress Report, op. cit., pp.132-156, Anna Freud (1928b).

After Innsbruck the structure of Freud's inner Committee was altered so as to appear less of a private group¹. It was from now on to consist of officials of the I.P.A., namely the President (Eitingon), the Vice-Presidents (Jones, Ferenczi), Secretary (Anna Freud) and Treasurer of the association. This latter member was initially the Dutch analyst J. H. W. van Ophuijsen (1882-1950).

In many ways 1926-27 was an 'anno mirabilis' for Anna Freud, and there would be others². The year closes with an appropriate comment from Freud, who in his letter of 11th December to Lou Andreas-Salome wrote "Anna is splendid, good and intellectually independent"³.

On January 25th 1928 Anna Freud presented to the Vienna Psa. Society a short communication reviewing the symposium which had criticised her work the previous year⁴. In February the new Committee was to meet in Paris, but only Anna Freud and Max Eitingon arrived⁵.

In April 1928 the monthly discussion-group meeting at Freud's house dealt with his recent book 'The Future of an Illusion'⁶. On this occasion Anna Freud wrote to the absent Lou criticising the poor quality of the comments that had arisen⁷, and Freud apparently shared his daughter's opinion⁸. The monthly meetings were cancelled about this time owing to Freud's poor health, but by the early 1930's a 'Wednesday Circle' of close followers was once again meeting at the Freud apartment on a regular basis. Robert Waelder (1900-1967)

¹Jones (1957), pp.143-4.

²For example, 1936, 1950-1, and 1965-66.

³Pfeiffer (Ed.)(1972), pp.171-172.

⁴'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal (1928), p, p.515. The paper was not subsequently published. See: Appendix II.

⁵Jones (1957), p.148.

⁶Freud (1927c).

⁷Unpublished letter of Anna Freud, cited in letter of Lou A.S. to Sigmund Freud, 30th April 1928, in Pfeiffer (Ed)(1972), pp.173-4.

⁸Letter of Freud to Lou A.S., 9th May 1928, in Pfeiffer, op. cit., pp.174-5.

became a close associate of Anna Freud's at that time¹.

PSYCHOANALYTIC TRAINING OF TEACHERS

On 16th May 1928, Anna Freud and Siegfried Bernfeld jointly presented to the Vienna Psa. Society a 'Report of a discussion held in Berlin on the psychoanalytical training of teachers'². In her own comments Anna Freud compared the changes in a teacher's work after a personal analysis with the changes occurring in patients undergoing psychoanalysis. Her further picture of a future 'analytical paedagogy' was acknowledged to have drawn heavily upon her father's recent views. Presumably on this matter Anna Freud viewed education as requiring "renunciation of instinct", much as Freud³ had argued for civilization and religion. Anna Freud's verbal communication was not subsequently published⁴, though over the next few years she would become known for even more important analytical disclosures to teachers and concerning teachers.

Throughout the year Anna Freud's work at the Vienna Training Institute involved her in chairing a regular seminar on the technique of child analysis held every Monday⁵, and in giving a regular recapitulatory paper on 'The technique of child analysis as compared with the analysis of adults'⁶. During the August-September vacation of 1928 Anna Freud and her father travelled to Berlin, where the father received specialist medical treatment at the Sanatorium Schloss Tegel of Ernst Simmel (1882-1947). This was the first of several such

¹Guttman (1969).

²'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal (1929) Vol.10. See: Appendix II.

³Freud (1927c).

⁴See: Appendix II.

⁵'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal (1929), Vol.10, p.552.

⁶From 1926-1929, according to Hitschmann (1932). Cf. Anna Freud (1927a), Lecture 2.

visits to Tegel¹. Tegel represents the second great service rendered to Freud and psychoanalysis by Simmel, who at the 1918 Congress had been one of the influential medico-military authorities interested in the new ideas. Here too at Tegel was formed a meeting-place for child analysts in Berlin who wished to exchange views with Anna Freud. Notable amongst these was Berta Bornstein (1899-1971), who during 1928-29 several times met Anna Freud and discussed technical problems with her² and then moved to Vienna. Polish-born Bornstein was drawn into psychoanalysis by Otto Fenichel's 'home seminars' in the Berlin of the early 1920's, and went on to make important and independent contributions to child analysis. A reliable authority² maintains that Anna Freud recognised Bornstein's giftedness in the Vienna days, and more recently Bornstein's publications are included in a bibliography of early pioneers of child analysis compiled by Anna Freud³.

Lou Andreas-Salome visited Freud and Anna in Tegel in 1928, and also in subsequent years⁴. On 30th September 1928 Anna Freud was an invited speaker at the opening of new premises for the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. The official bulletin states that "Fr. Anna Freud hailed the extension of the Berlin Institute as a new and logical step forward in the development in which the psychoanalytic organisation reposed its hopes for the future"⁵.

The first translation into English of Anna Freud's classic lectures 'Einführung in die Technik der Kinderanalyse' appeared in 1928.

¹Jones (1957), p.150.

²Brody (1974).

³Writings, Vol.1, pp.189-194.

⁴Pfeiffer (Ed)(1972), pp.176-177.

⁵'Report of the Berlin Psa. Society', Journal (1929), 10, 533-4.

The translator was the American analyst Leon Pierce Clark (1870-1933). The edition, though traceable, recently proved unobtainable from any British library¹.

February 1929 saw the South-West German Psychoanalytical Society open its new Institute in Frankfurt. The inaugural celebrations were attended by Anna Freud, who then presented to a Frankfurt audience of several hundreds a public lecture entitled 'Paedagogy'². Three other analytical speakers were Bernfeld, Sachs and Federn. The Frankfurt press was most appreciative of Anna Freud, "both of her personality and the subject-matter of her lecture"³. Key figures involved with the Frankfurt Institute and inter alia with Anna Freud at this time were Karl Landauer, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann and Heinrich Meng.

The year 1929 was to be an extremely busy one for Anna Freud, though in that respect alone it would scarcely be distinguishable from any of the succeeding years of her life. Indeed, the phrase 'The busy psychoanalyst' would be amongst the more accurate and least objectionable labels which could be attached to our subject. In a letter to Pfister of 16th February 1929, Freud had to excuse his daughter Anna any possibility of attending the World Conference on New Education proposed for August that year in Elsinore. Freud pointed out that during the next six months his daughter was already committed to journeying to Frankfurt, Berlin, Paris and England, and so was "reluctant still further to restrict the summer after a hard year's work"⁴.

¹Introduction to the Technique of Child Analysis, Nervous & Mental Diseases Publishing Co., Monograph Series No.48, New York & Washington, 1928.

²Unpublished. See: Appendix II.

³'Report of the Frankfurt Psa. Institute', Journal (1930), 11, 246-7.

⁴Meng & Freud (Eds)(1963), p.128.

In March 1929 Anna Freud was again in Tegel with her father, and Lou Andreas-Salome visited them there¹. In the same month, Marie Bonaparte introduced to Freud and Anna a replacement personal physician named Max Schur (1897-1969). The choice for such an intimate position proved well made, and Ernest Jones remarks that Schur and Anna "made an ideal pair of guardians"² i.e. for the ailing Freud. Anna Freud's own testimony written many years later is more eloquent, and she notes that "In the nurse-doctor relationship with him, I have met him at his best ... We formed a bond between us then which will last for our lifetimes"³.

The new Committee held a full meeting in Paris in March 1929, to discuss matters which they anticipated would arise at the next congress. Jones notes that in the spirited discussion which developed, he and van Ophuijsen sided against Anna Freud and Ferenczi whilst Eitingon adopted a mediatory role⁴.

July 1929 saw Anna Freud travelling to England to attend as General Secretary the Eleventh International Psychoanalytic Congress. The Congress took place at Oxford from 27th-31st July, and the subsequent report edited of course by the General Secretary of the I.P.A. runs to almost forty pages, and provides the most detailed and valuable account up to then of any analytic congress⁵. At the third scientific session, and following papers given by David Eder, Melanie Klein and Nina Searl, Anna Freud read a communication on "A counter-part to the animal-phobias of children"⁶. This paper

¹Pfeiffer (Ed)(1972), p.177.

²Jones (1957), p.154.

³Anna Freud (1971e).

⁴Jones, op. cit.

⁵'Report of the Eleventh Int. Psa. Congress', in Journal (1929), 10, 489-526; Anna Freud (1929c).

⁶Anna Freud (1929b), in Zeitschrift für Psa., (1929), 15, 518ff.

represented the author's first public step into the realm of ego defence-theory, and presaged elements of her later classic work on defence-mechanisms¹. The paper was later re-read before the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society².

One session of the Oxford Congress was devoted to a report on the International Training Commission (I.T.C.), and of particular interest were the questions of the training of child analysts and the analytic instruction of teachers. Two committees reported, one from Vienna consisting of Anna Freud and August Aichhorn, the other from London made up of Barbara Low, Melanie Klein, Nina Searl, Susan Isaacs and Ella F. Sharpe. Anna Freud and Melanie Klein each submitted and explained the various proposals of their respective committees³. Unfortunately these proposals are not recorded in the report. Hans Zulliger of Berne also presented examples of teachers conducting 'small-scale' psychotherapy in their work; and Imre Hermann of Budapest spoke of his experiences in the psychoanalytical instruction of teachers.

A sub-committee of the I.T.C. was re-formed in order to further consider technical training problems. Anna Freud was elected to this sub-committee, together with Jones (chairman), Brill, Ferenczi, Ophuijsen, Marie Bonaparte, Sarasin, Eitingon, Jelliffe, Helene Deutsch and Sachs⁴. Reporting on the activities of the Vienna Society for the past year Helene Deutsch drew particular attention to the work of Anna Freud and August Aichhorn, both of whom had given courses to teachers at the invitation of the City of Vienna .

¹Anna Freud (1936a).

²On 26th February 1930. See: 'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1930), 11, p.523.

³Report of Eleventh Congress, op. cit., pp.506 & 510.

⁴Report of Eleventh Congress, op. cit.

The course-lectures of Anna Freud would subsequently be published as an important book¹. Notice was also given of Anna Freud's seminar for child analysts. A close colleague and eye-witness of the time informs us that a further seminar was also begun about this time. This was for nursery school teachers, and followed up the invited lecture-course to the teachers of Vienna. The seminar was conducted jointly by Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham².

In a letter of 28th July 1928 to his friend Lou, Freud notes that "According to her telegraphic reports Anna is having rather a hard time in Oxford"³. That this was indeed the case is also suggested by Eva Rosenfeld, who though not present at the Oxford Congress nevertheless "knew for sure" that Melanie Klein had made a point of attacking Anna Freud's ideas at every opportunity⁴. These acrimonious theoretical differences may well have carried over from the Innsbruck Congress of two years previous, where the question of the admission of candidates to training had proved controversial. At Oxford, Max Eitingon as chairman of the I.T.C. referred back to the "venting of affects" which had taken place on the earlier occasion⁵. He expressed the hope that the re-formed Oxford sub-committee would not be compelled to work under similar difficulties, though this must have seemed hardly possible then.

During September-October 1929 Anna Freud and her father were again relaxing in Tegel. A good photograph of the two of them around that time is readily accessible⁶. Over the New Year period Anna Freud

¹Anna Freud (1930a). One lecture had earlier been published separately, though only in German (Anna Freud (1929a)).

²Letter of Dorothy Burlingham, See: Appendix XI.

³Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), pp.181-2.

⁴Interview with Eva M. Rosenfeld, See: Appendix XI.

⁵Report of Eleventh Congress, op. cit, p.509.

⁶Jones (1957), oppos. p.144.

also visited Lou Andreas-Salome in Gottingen¹.

During the period April-June 1930 Anna Freud, as guest of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, conducted their seminar on child analysis technique. There were seven sessions each of two hours, and these were restricted to practising child analysts. Eight members attended².

The notable scientific event of 1930 was undoubtedly the publication of Anna Freud's lectures on psychoanalysis to teachers and parents³. As with the Vier Vorträge to child analysts of three years previous, these latest lectures would also run to several editions over the ensuing thirty or forty years, and would be translated into a variety of languages including Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish and Japanese. The English translation, by Barbara Low, appeared in 1931. Many Montessori-trained teachers, including Thesi Bergmann⁴ and Lilli Peller⁵, were among the 'Pädagogen' attending Anna Freud's lectures. Bergmann would later publish a book jointly with Anna Freud⁶, but is otherwise lesser-known. Lilli Peller (1896-1966), though clearly acknowledging the importance for her of Anna Freud's works, has nevertheless made important contributions of her own, including a careful analysis of the role of sublimation in schools⁷. As Lili Roubiczek, her name appears as an associate member of the Vienna Psa. Society for 1931, when her address is given as Montessoriheim,

¹Pfeiffer, op. cit., p.182.

²'Report of the Berlin Psa. Institute', Journal (1930), 11, 525.

³Einführung in die Psychoanalyse für Pädagogen, Stuttgart, 1930. Anna Freud (1930a).

⁴Interview with Ilse Hellman, 19th February 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁵Ekstein & Motto (1969b), citing communication from Anna Freud.

⁶Bergmann (1965). cf. Anna Freud (1965e).

⁷Peller (1956).

Rudolfplatz, Wein I¹. Ekstein & Motto (op. cit.) note that Peller was also influenced by the Viennese academic child psychologist Charlotte Buhler. Later, several of Buhler's associates - among them Liselotte Frankl² and Ilse Hellman³ - were drawn into close association with Anna Freud, largely at the time of the Hampstead War Nurseries (See: Chapter Five, below).

The year 1931 saw Anna Freud contributing a chapter of some twelve pages length to Carl Murchison's eminently respectable Handbook of Child Psychology. For some reason, possibly that of avoiding duplication, this wide-ranging essay of Anna Freud's was not included in her later Collected Writings. The bibliography cited Abraham, Aichhorn, S. Freud, Ferenczi and Hug-Hellmuth⁴.

Fig.VI illustrates the title-page of the Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik, the salient child-analysis journal of its day, which from 1931 numbered Anna Freud amongst its editors.

In October 1931 the town council of Freiberg, Moravia, placed a commemorative plaque on the house where Sigmund Freud was born. Anna Freud went there, and read the letter of thanks which her father had written to the town's mayor⁵. Paul Federn appears to have accompanied her⁶. During the same month she was also elected Secretary of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, jointly with Robert Jokl⁷. Anna Freud held this post from 1931-1933, during which time she was also Secretary

¹Vienna Psa. Society, Member's List, in Journal, (1931), 12, p.539.

²Letter(s) of Liselotte Frankl, See: Appendix XI.

³Interview with Ilse Hellman, See: Appendix XI.

⁴Anna Freud (1931a).

⁵Jones (1957), p.172.

⁶Roazen (1975), p.310.

⁷'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', in Journal, (1931), 12, p.538; (1932), 13, p.272.

Fig.VI.

'Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik', Vol.5,
(1931-), co-edited by Anna Freud.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PSYCHOANALYTISCHE PÄDAGOGIK

HERAUSGEBER:



PAUL FEDERN
WIEN

ANNA FREUD
WIEN

HEINRICH MENG
FRANKFURT a. M.

ERNST SCHNEIDER
STUTT GART

A. J. STORFER
WIEN

V. JAHRGANG

1931

VERLAG DER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR
PSYCHOANALYTISCHE PÄDAGOGIK
WIEN, I, BORSEGASSE 11

of the Training Committee of the Vienna 'Lehrinstitut', and General Secretary of the I.P.A. As psychoanalytic business-secretary 'par excellence', Anna Freud thereby had the opportunity of gaining an almost unparalleled insight into the workings at all levels of the psychoanalytic organisation as represented by the official institutes and branch societies.

In 1932 Anna Freud attended a Congress of Early Childhood Educators and presented one of three papers by analysts, the other analytical contributors being Siegfried Bernfeld and Gertrud Behn-Eschenburg. Anna Freud's paper¹ was entitled 'Die Erziehung des KleinKindes von psychoanalytischen Standpunkt aus', and was initially published in the Zeitschrift für psychoanalytischen Pädagogik of 1934. An English translation appeared the following year in the Psychoanalytic Quarterly of New York². From 1932-1939 Anna Freud was listed as a contributing editor of the Psychoanalytic Quarterly. A title-page of this key analytical journal appears as Fig.VII, and indicates our subject's accepted standing amongst a distinguished list of eminent analytical contributors from both Europe and America.

The Twelfth International Psycho-Analytical Congress took place at Wiesbaden from 4th-7th September 1932. Anna Freud attended for the third time as General Secretary, and her comprehensively-edited report ran to forty-two pages³. At the third scientific session, and following papers by Marie Bonaparte and Mary Chadwick, Anna Freud read 'Die neurotischen Mechanismen unter dem Einfluss der Erziehung'. This does not appear to have received separate publication, but marks further steps in the development of the author's ideas on defence-mechanisms, and in the gestation of a major theoretical work which

¹Anna Freud (1934a).

²Translator Julia Deming, an American student training with Anna Freud in Vienna in the 1930's.

³'Report of the Twelfth Int. Psa. Congress', in Journal, (1933), 14, pp. 138-180; Anna Freud (1933a).

Fig. VII.

'Psychoanalytic Quarterly' with Anna Freud
(Vienna) as contributing editor, (1932-39).

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC QUARTERLY

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followed within four years¹. A strong paedagogical influence appears in much of the material of this congress. Apart from Anna Freud's contribution, Alice Balint and Gertrud Behn-Eschenburg gave relevant papers.

On 12th October 1932 the Vienna Psa. Society held its General Meeting and Council Election. Anna Freud was elected for a further term as Secretary², and also as Training Secretary of the 'Lehrinstitut', which together with Helene Deutsch she now directed. Helene Deutsch (b.1884), a psychiatrist who in 1918 had shared the same training analyst as Anna Freud, was the official Director of the Vienna Training Institute and Deutsch it was who usually presented the reports of training activities, for example at the international congresses of 1927, 1929 and 1932. In June 1935 Anna Freud deputised for the absent Helene Deutsch, and read the report on training activities to the Four Countries Conference in Vienna³. Certain of Deutsch's publications, and also her unpublished suggestions from seminar meetings in the Vienna Society, are cited by Anna Freud in an important book⁴. Elsewhere, use is made also of more recent work by Deutsch on adolescence⁵. In an autobiographical reflection, Anna Freud noted Helene Deutsch as always having belonged to that venerable group of senior analysts who had formed the established generation at the time of Anna Freud's own entry into the Vienna Society⁶. The

¹Anna Freud (1936a).

²Jointly with Herman Nunberg.

³'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1935), 16, 505.

⁴Anna Freud (1936a), pp.51, 82 and 168.

⁵Writings, Vol. V, p.166n.

⁶Anna Freud, (1969k).

two women, though not as close personally as professionally, appear to have enjoyed an extremely long and amicable relationship.

Throughout the winter term of 1932-33 Anna Freud led a weekly study group on 'The technique of child analysis' which was attended by some twenty colleagues¹. On 11th January 1933, in a communication read before the Vienna Psa. Society, Anna Freud discussed the contents of 'Infantile methods of overcoming anxiety'. To the best of the present writer's knowledge it was never published separately², but would undoubtedly have dealt with defence-mechanisms as ego processes of fundamental importance, which were by now increasingly occupying Anna Freud's theoretical consideration. The contents of the talk would probably become assimilated into her later general study of ego defences³.

o-o-o-o-o-o-0-0-0-o-o-o-o-o-o

Once again political events in Europe now overtake the orderly scientific work of the world of organised psychoanalysis. With the victory of the German Nazi Party in the elections of Spring 1933, the writing was clearly 'on the wall' for those analysts, mostly Jewish, who had not yet emigrated. That the repercussions of events in Germany spread further afield, is indicated by Freud's letter to Lou of 14th May 1933. In these mad times, he wrote, "Even Anna is depressed at moments"⁴. Moreover, the Seventh Congress of Psychotherapy which was to have taken place in Vienna in April 1933 was cancelled due to these same external events, and Anna Freud's leading paper on 'Psychotherapy of developmental crises'

¹Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1933), Vol.14.

²See: Appendix II.

³Anna Freud (1936a).

⁴Pfeiffer (Ed)(1972) p.200.

went unread¹. Other contributors were to have been Kretschmer, Paul Schilder, Hartmann and Charlotte Buhler, and the event would undoubtedly have been^a psychological and scientific 'tour de force'. The death occurred in 1933 of Sandor Ferenczi, who had been a close member of Freud's wider 'family' since 1908. The correspondence between Freud and Ferenczi - which as yet remains unpublished - was extremely voluminous, and may eventually add much close detail to any future account of Anna Freud's life and work during the period 1908-1933. Despite the several volumes of Freud's correspondence already published and much cited in this study², a great deal remains currently unavailable. Some idea of the prolific extent of even this remaining correspondence was recently given by Kurt Eissler on behalf of the Sigmund Freud Archives Inc. (New York), who reported³ that they had in 1969-70 received 367 letters of the Freud-Eitingon correspondence, and over 2,500 letters by Freud to other people. The latter were donated by the Freud family in London at Anna Freud's suggestion.

With the death of Ferenczi, only Sachs in America and Jones in England were left of Freud's original close Committee. In Vienna it is difficult to envisage anyone seriously challenging Anna Freud's closeness to the father of psychoanalysis, and certainly not such relative newcomers as Ruth Mack Brunswick, as Roazen⁴ attempts to suggest. Ferenczi's last years with Freud are widely seen as lacking harmony, particularly if one accepts Ernest Jones' account⁵, as

¹Thoma (1969).

²E. Freud (Ed)(1960); Meng & Freud (Eds)(1963); Arbraham & Freud (Eds) (1965); Pfeiffer (Ed)(1972); McGuire (Ed)(1974).

³Journal,(1972), 53, 83-113: 'Report of the 27th Int. Psa. Congress'.

⁴Roazen (1975), pp.146-417.

⁵Jones (1957).

presumably did Anna Freud, who closely scrutinised Jones' authorised biography of her father. Nevertheless, at the 1975 Pre-Congress Conference on Training held in London, Anna Freud made a great tribute to Ferenczi's memory when she opened the discussion on the theme 'The contribution of child analysis to the training in adult analysis'. It was Ferenczi, she noted¹, who first among adult analysts had become a champion of the new techniques of child analysis, and had recommended them for those adult patients who did not conform to the usual patterns of classical adult analysis. We may add that such scrupulous honesty to historical and scientific facts is a hallmark of Anna Freud in her professional work. As will be shown below this is true also when she assesses the work of her supposed 'bête noire' Melanie Klein, and true also for the controversial and elsewhere much-maligned Wilhelm Reich.

o-o-o 1933 to 1938 o-o-o

On 18th October 1933 a General Meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society elected Anna Freud as Vice-President of the Society, jointly with Paul Federn². In effect these two now largely directed the course of the Society's work, whilst the Presidency was still nominally held by Freud.

Paul Federn (1871-1950) was from 1904 onwards one of Freud's earliest and most gifted followers. He had analysed and trained Otto Fenichel, Wilhelm Reich, Eduardo Weiss, Edward Bibring and August Aichhorn amongst many others, and inevitably would present a commanding figure to the novice Anna Freud. Although best-known for his pioneering studies of psychosis, Federn presented to the Vienna Psa. Society in

¹Reported in Journal, (1976), Vol.57, p.199.

²'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1934), Vol.15.

May 1928 a paper on 'The aim of psycho-analytical education'¹. In 1938, and before he left Vienna for New York, Federn was entrusted with Freud's copy of the 'Minutes' of the early society meetings². References to Federn's work are widely scattered throughout a half-century of Anna Freud's publications - she cites for example Federn's notion of 'sympathetic identification'³; the fact of his being the training-analyst for Aichhorn⁴; and his important work on the concept of 'ego boundaries'⁵ as well as much else. Federn's difficult but valuable work on ego states⁶ is listed in the current student reading-list and prospectus of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic⁷.

The apogee of Anna Freud's ascendancy in the Vienna Psa. Society provides an appropriate point at which to summarise all her official appointments for the period c.1922-1938. The relevant information is presented concisely in Fig.VIII.

The Thirteenth International Psychoanalytic Congress took place in Lucerne during August 1934. Anna Freud's scientific contribution consisted of a paper on 'The problem of puberty'⁸, which was later to form much of the final part of her forthcoming book⁹. She also took part in discussions on lay analysis, and on the training of

¹'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1929), Vol.10.

²See: Numberg & Federn (Eds) (1962) to (1975), (Vols. I-IV).

³Anna Freud (1936a), p.126n.

⁴Anna Freud (1951k).

⁵Writings, Vol.V, pp.161n, 310.

⁶P. Federn, *Ego Psychology and the Psychoses*, 1952.

⁷Prospectus provided by Anna Freud. (See: Appendix X, letter of 29th July 1976).

⁸'Report of the 13th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1935), Vol.16.

⁹Anna Freud (1936a), Part IV.

FIG. VIII

SUMMARY OF ANNA FREUD'S OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS, 1922-1938

	Vienna Psa. Society Institute & Training Committee	International Psa. Association (I.P.A.) & Training Commission (I.T.C.)	
1925	Secretary of Training Institute (1925-1934).	General Secretary I.P.A. (1927-1934)	1927
1931	Joint-Secretary of Vienna Society (1931-33)		
1933	Joint Vice-President (1933-1938)		
1934	Vice-President of Training Institute (1934-1938)		
		Joint Vice-President I.P.A. (1934-1938)	1934
		Vice-President I.T.C. (1936-1938)	1936
	(cf. also, Membership of Freud's inner 'Committee' 1925-1939)	(cf. also, Honorary Membership Palestine Psa. Society, 1935-)	

(Psa. = Psychoanalytic)

candidates. At this congress Anna Freud was elected to the Vice-Presidency of the International Psychoanalytic Association (I.P.A.), with Edward Glover replacing her as General Secretary.

The Lucerne Congress saw the culmination of a now famous internal wrangle concerning the expulsion from the I.P.A. of one of its members, Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957), whose earlier and much-respected work was by then widely held to have strayed beyond the bounds of scientific credibility. As the then General Secretary of the I.P.A. Anna Freud was obliged to take a formal part in the whole affair, and apparently chaired a somewhat secretive pre-Congress committee which met, ostensibly to hear Reich's views, but allegedly to simply ratify an earlier decision to expel him from the I.P.A.¹, Anna Freud's correspondence of the time with Reich, as reproduced in a recent pro-Reich publication, shows scrupulous correctness on the part of the I.P.A. General Secretary². Reich himself was emphatic in laying "that mess in Lucerne" at the door of other analysts, notably Federn and Jones who were allegedly jealous of Reich³. Anna Freud always maintained a high opinion of Reich's "exciting and promising beginnings of so-called strict defence analysis"⁴, which later inevitably encouraged the subsequent emergence, in a radically different technical form, of Anna Freud's own views on the analysis of defences (See: Chapter 8 below). Reich's name was more recently included by Anna Freud in her listing of six of her most memorable peers from the 1920's⁵; and Reich's important and enduring scientific contributions - those prior to circa 1930 - are recommended reading for the students of Anna Freud's modern Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic⁶.

¹Higgins & Raphael (Eds) (1967), pp.221-222.

²ibid., p.20.

³ibid., p.25.

⁴Anna Freud (1954c), in Writings, IV, p.357.

⁵Anna Freud (1969k).

⁶Prospectus of the Hampstead Clinic, op. cit.

The Luxerne Congress closed with the election of Anna Freud to the Vice-Presidency of the International Association¹. On 17th October 1934 she was re-elected Joint Vice-President of the Vienna Psa. Society, and also Vice-President of the Training Institute of the Vienna Society².

By 1935, as we have seen, Anna Freud had attained to the highest offices of both the local Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and the wider International Association, albeit still nominally under her father's aegis. She was noted as a gifted and untiring training-teacher and seminar-leader, and was surrounded in her own right by a growing, enthusiastic and mostly loyal following. Her father by now viewed her in legendary terms. In a letter of 25th February 1934 to the gifted novelist and friend Arnold Zweig (1887-1968), Freud noted his own possession of a daughter "who, in tragic circumstances, would not have fallen short of Antigone". Freud's further letter to Zweig of 2nd May 1935 uses the phrase "my faithful Anna-Antigone"³. The Vienna 'school' of continental child analysis so strongly associated with Anna Freud had become a formidable reality, and she was at the point of presenting a further classic and enduring contribution to psychoanalytic science, this time to a new theoretical field as opposed to that of technique. This zenith period of Anna Freud's work in Vienna would extend to a little over three busy and fruitful years, before political events once more overtook everyday life and work.

THE VIENNA SCHOOL OF CHILD ANALYSIS

The phrase 'Vienna school of child analysis' was used by Anna Freud herself, in discussing "the technique used by the Vienna school of

¹'Report of the 13th Int. Psa. Congress', op. cit.

²'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1935), 16, p.138.

³E. Freud (Ed) (1960), p.420. Antigone (Gk.) was a daughter of Oedipus. Her loyalty to her family drew down upon her a great ordeal which was not of her own choosing.

child analysis founded by Anna Freud"¹. This discussion formed part of Anna Freud's introductory notes to a symposium on child analysis which she edited as a special whole number of the Psychoanalytic Quarterly². The phrase continues in use over thirty years later³.

The special 'Child Analysis Number'² appearing in January 1935 contained eleven papers, all of which were supplied by Anna Freud from the circle of her close associates. In addition to Anna Freud's own contribution⁴ papers appeared from the following also - Siegfried Bernfeld, Anni Portl, K. Pensimus, Erik Homburger, Dorothy Burlingham, Berta Bornstein, Anny Angel, Editha Sterba, Edith Buxbaum and Steff Bornstein. The work of Anny Angel, Editha Sterba, Edith Buxbaum and Dorothy Burlingham was held to be strongly representative of the Vienna school, whilst Berta and Steff Bornstein were acknowledged to have developed independent methods⁵. In a more recent bibliography of child-analyst activists from the 1930's Anna Freud notes, in addition to those already cited, the following authors and their works: Thesi Bergmann, E. Braun, H. Fisher and Lili Peller, H. Fuchs, A. Landau, Kata Levy, Zaruba Minor, Emma Spira-Plank, Fritz Redl and M. Schmaus⁶.

The 'Children's Seminar', at which much of the important work of the Vienna 'school' was conducted, had since its inception in 1927 spread its influence far beyond Vienna. Now, Budapest and Prague provided members⁷ - such as Alice Balint and Annie Reich respectively - and a steady stream of American and other foreign students flowed into

¹Anna Freud (1935b).

²New York; Vol.4, Pt.1, (1935).

³Anna Freud (1966e), in Writings, Vol.VII, p.51.

⁴Anna Freud (1934a), in its first English translation (1935).

⁵Anna Freud (1935b).

⁶Anna Freud (1974f).

⁷Writings, Vol.1, p.viii, (1974).

Vienna. Anna Maenchen¹ joined the seminar from 1933-1938, as did Jeanne Lampl-de Groot². Others included Margaret Schoenberger Mahler and Esther Menaker; and, as students from abroad, Marie Briehl, Julia Deming, Edith Entenman, Margaret Fries, Elisabeth Geleerd, Margaret Gerard, Mary O'Neal Hawkins, Rosetta Hurwitz, Edith B. Jackson, Estelle Levy, Marian C. Putnam, Margaret Ribble and Helen Ross³. All studied child analysis and emotional development with Anna Freud, whilst some were her personal analysands also⁴. As regards the contemporary 'seniority' amongst the women of the Vienna group around Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, a Members List of 1931 indicates Jenny Walder-Pollack, Editha Sterba and Hedwig Schaxel as full members together with Beate Rank in Paris (and later a child analysis leader in the U.S.); whilst associate members included Anny Angel, Edith Buxbaum, Marianne Kris, Lili Roubiczek and Estelle Levy of New York⁵. Others completed training later. Immediately prior to 1931 a Berlin 'children's seminar' was being run by Otto Fenichel and Schutz-Hencke. Edith Jacobsen attended these meetings, and states that Annie Reich and Berta and Steff Bornstein were outstanding⁶.

An interesting and little-known figure of the 1930's was the Swiss nurse Gertrud Schwing. Through the efforts of her analyst Paul Federn, Gertrud Schwing was accepted for supervision and control analyses by Anna Freud and Grete Bibring⁷. Schwing later produced

¹Letter of Anna Maenchen, op. cit., See: Appendix XI.

²Letter of Jeanne Lampl-de Groot, op. cit. See: Appendix XI.

³Anna Freud (1966e).

⁴Anna Maenchen, Anny Angel, Erik Homburger (and Robert Waelder) being most notable; also Elisabeth Geleerd.

⁵'Vienna Ps. Society: Members List', Journal, (1931), 12, 538-9.

⁶Jacobsen (1971).

⁷Weiss (1966).

a book of some interest¹.

DEFENCE THEORY OF THE EGO

During January-February 1935 Anna Freud began systematically to outline her theoretical views concerning the psychic organisations id, ego and superego, and their inter-relation in the defensive activities of the personality. The initial presentation of this material was to the Vienna Psa. Society, and took the form of several communications on 'The application of analytic technique in the examination of psychic institutions'². There followed some discussion of her views at the meeting of 20th February 1935. Subsequently, Anna Freud worked hard to shape the book for publication before her father's 80th birthday in May 1936, and in this she was helped by Ernst Kris as she acknowledges elsewhere³. The resulting publication was of course the now classic *Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen*⁴.

Ernst Kris (1900-1957), one of the outstanding analytical thinkers in the decades since Freud's death, was not an analysand of Anna Freud's as one author erroneously states⁵. On Freud's advice Kris went to Helene Deutsch for his analysis, and then married Anna Freud's childhood friend Marianne Rie⁶. The Kris's initially joined Anna Freud in London in 1938, but then moved on to the U.S.A. where in 1950 Ernst Kris set up the Yale Child Study Centre, the first experimental laboratory of its kind. From around 1950 onwards Anna Freud's published writings show great accord and sympathy with Kris' views and observations⁷, whilst

¹G. Schwing, *A Way to the Soul of The Mentally Ill*, 1st edn. 1940; English transl. 1954.

²'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', *Journal*, (1935), 16, p.394.

³Panel remarks by Anna Freud, cited in SLAP (1974).

⁴Anna Freud (1936a).

⁵Roazon (1975), p.441.

⁶Ritvo & Ritvo (1966).

⁷See: Appendix IX, under E. Kris.

Kris had earlier and on many occasions integrated his own work closely to Anna Freud's¹. In 1975 Anna Freud contributed a Forward to Kris' posthumously-published collected papers².

The importance of the most recent aspect of Anna Freud's theorising of the early 1930's naturally did not go unrecognised by those closest to her. We may assume that Lou Andreas-Salome summed up the matter correctly when, writing to Freud on 2nd January 1935 concerning Anna's imminent lectures to the Vienna Society, she admiringly notes "How unremittingly her mind must have been preoccupied with this, despite all her other concerns"³. Freud's reply of 6th January to Lou places as usual the true hall-mark upon his daughter Anna's achievement, and we may quote him at length:-

..."My one source of satisfaction is Anna. It is remarkable how much influence and authority she has gained among the general run of analysts ... It is surprising, too, how sharp, clear and unflinching she is in her mastery of the subject. Moreover, she is truly independent of me; at the most I serve as a catalyst"⁴...

The words "remarkable" and "surprising, too" in this passage perhaps indicate possible resistances which Freud had to overcome in order to see so clearly that his youngest child had indeed become such a commanding professional figure. By the same token, resistances overcome, his assessment must appear that much more valid and acceptable.

From 8th-10th June 1935 Vienna played host to a Four Countries Conference on psychoanalysis, with guests and members from Hungary, Austria, Italy and Czechoslovakia. Anna Freud read, in place of the absent Helene

¹cf. Kris (1938), (1950), (1951); and (1975), the latter being his collected papers, 1938-1956.

²Anna Freud (1975d).

³Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.203.

⁴Letter of Sigmund Freud, in Pfeiffer, op. cit., p.204.

Deutsch, a paper on the training activities of the Vienna Society¹. Training matters were again of central concern on August 1st, when Jones Eitingon and Anna Freud met for a discussion in Paris². Unaccountably, the extensive pre-war involvement in training matters of both Anna Freud and Max Eitingon is completely ignored in Szasz's survey of the history of psychoanalytic training³.

On 16th October 1935 Anna Freud was re-elected as Vice-President of the Vienna Training Institute, and as Joint Vice-President together with Paul Federn of the Vienna Psa. Society⁴.

Early in 1936 an ominous political cloud cast a two years premature shadow over Viennese psychoanalysis. On 8th March Anna Freud was involved in the difficulties caused by the 'nazification' of the German Psa Society, when she had a long discussion with Felix Boehm in Brunn over the move to have the German Society withdraw from the I.P.A.⁵. Boehm also came to Vienna the following January, and described the continuing deterioration of the situation to a group consisting of Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud, Martin Freud (present as legal adviser to the I.P. Verlag), Federn and Lampl-de Groot.

A more notable event of 1936 was nevertheless the publication of *Das Ich und Die Abwehrmechanismen*, Anna Freud's now much celebrated study of ego defensive processes⁶. In one of the last letters she wrote to Freud, on his birthday of 6th May 1936, Lou Andreas-Salome reflected that "the best of all your presents has come from Anna with her book,

¹'Bulletin Report of the I.P.A.', Journal, (1935), 16, p.505.

²Jones (1957), p.212.

³T. Szasz (1958), 'Psychoanalytic training: Pt.II', in Journal, 39, 598-613.

⁴'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1936), 17, 392.

⁵Jones (1957), p.200.

⁶Anna Freud (1936a).

which was ready after all in time"¹. The ideas contained in the work had been in process of written development since 1929, and the historical 'building blocks', insofar as they can be discerned, are summarised here in Fig.IX. To further commemorate her father's 80th birthday, Anna Freud read before the Vienna Psa. Society 'An address in celebration of May 6th 1936'². This apparently was never published³.

On 17th June 1936 Anna Freud presented to the Vienna Psa. Society 'A contribution to the analysis of teachers'⁴. This also was apparently never published separately. During the years 1936-37 Anna Freud and Willi Hoffer directed at teachers a lecture course on 'Development of psychoanalytic paedagogy'⁵. This was presumably the same Viennese Training Course for Psychoanalytic Paedagogues (Lehrgang für Psychoanalytische Pädagogen) referred to elsewhere⁶, with additional contributions from Dorothy Burlingham, Steff Bornstein and Editha Sterba. Many years later Anna Freud credited Willi Hoffer with the greater role in this "Vienna Course for Educators"⁷, whilst elsewhere she notes that it provided a three-year post-graduate training programme⁸. Earlier still, in 1928, August Aichhorn had also directed an extended course of lectures for teachers, with some 150 attending⁹.

¹Pfeiffer (Ed) (1972), p.209. Lou subsequently died, aged 75, in Göttingen on 5th February 1937. Anna Freud and her father heard the news from Ernst Pfeiffer, editor now of the 'Freud-Lou' correspondence.

²'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1937), Vol.18.

³See: Appendix II.

⁴Report of Vienna Psa. Soc., op. cit.

⁵'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1938), 19, 282-3.

⁶Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

⁷Anna Freud (1966e).

⁸Writings, I, p.ix.

⁹'Bulletin Report of the I.P.A.', Journal (1929), Vol.10.

FIG. IX

PART-SYNOPSIS FOR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANNA
FREUD'S 'THE EGO & THE MECHANISMS OF DEFENCE' (1936)

ORIGINAL DRAFT OR SOURCE	CORRESPONDING SECTION OF ANNA FREUD (1936a)	FURTHER PUBLICATION
1929 Oxford Congress Paper	Chap. 6 (part)	(1929b)
1932 Wiesbaden Congress Paper	Chap. 6, 7, 8.	(1937b)
1934 Lucerne Congress Paper	Chap. 11 & 12	(1935c)
1935 Papers to Vienna Psa. Society	Chap. 2 et seq.	-
WRITINGS, Vol. II (c. 1966-)		
Largely from Kris (1938)		
—	Chap. 3.	Haworth (Ed), (1964), <i>Child Psychotherapy: Practice And Theory</i> , Basic Books, New York & London.

The 14th International Psa. Congress was held at Marienbad in August 1936. The venue was apparently chosen with a view to not distancing Anna Freud too far from her father, in case his condition necessitated her prompt return¹. Anna Freud presented no scientific paper of her own at this congress. She did however chair the 4th Scientific session, introducing papers by Roheim, Bonaparte, Daly, Brill and Knight; she functioned on the 'Journals' committee with Jones, Laforgue and Sarasin; and she was re-elected Joint Vice-President of the I.P.A. together with Marie Bonaparte, Max Eitingon, A. A. Brill and Clarence Oberndorf². Anna Freud also became Vice-President of the International Training Commission (I.T.C.); and in his remarks as President of the I.T.C. Eitingon referred to

↑ "The so-called 'conversations' introduced by Anna Freud in the Vienna Institute"³. These 'conversations' were regular weekly meetings of no more than 5 or 6 candidates in training together with a training analyst, and were designed so as to induce beginners to join more freely into discussing ideas and problems. With this innovation it seems likely that Anna Freud wished to spare others the long years during which she herself had sat, as a silent candidate at large gatherings, envying the vocal fluency of more experienced analysts such as Herman Nunberg⁴.

On 16th December 1936, at a meeting of the Vienna Psa. Society, Anna Freud read 'Phenomena of disintegration in the waking thoughts of children'⁵. Robert Waelder, who had attended this meeting, gives the title as 'Deterioration of secondary process thinking in the waking life of the child'⁶, and Anna Freud herself more recently gives a

¹Jones (1957), p.223.

²'Report of the 14th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal,(1937), Vol.18.

³ibid.

⁴Writings, Vol.V, p.195.

⁵'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal,(1937), Vol.18.

⁶Waelder (1963).

title which also employs the term 'secondary process functioning'¹, as opposed to the less-clearly defined 'waking thoughts'. The original paper is not known to have been published², though studies of the regression of ego functions would subsequently form an important area of Anna Freud's work (See: Chapter 11 below).

In 1936, a young Viennese post-doctoral student of psychology first met Anna Freud, was interviewed by her at the Training Institute and began training with her. The student was Liselotte Frankl (b.1910)³, who had worked in Charlotte Buhler's academic psychology department but lived opposite August Aichhorn in Vienna. She was drawn into working with Aichhorn's adolescent patients and their parents, and thus into psychoanalysis. The general tone of Buhler's Vienna University department was strongly anti-freudian at this time⁴, and Liselotte Frankl's approach to the psychoanalytic Lehrinstitut is therefore particularly significant. She later worked in the Hampstead War Nurseries, and after gaining the necessary medical and psychiatric qualifications in London Liselotte Frankl became the Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic's medical director and psychiatrist-in-charge during the first decade or two of its post-war existence.

That the general antipathy between departments of Vienna University and the Institute of Psychoanalysis did not extend to the students of the former had already been noted by Federn⁵, who commented that

¹Anna Freud (1965a), p.88f.

²See: Appendix II.

³Letter to this Archive-Study, 6th April 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁴Interview with Ilse Hellman, 19th February 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁵'Report of the Eleventh Psa. Congress', Anna Freud (1929c), p.519.

"many who attended Professor Buhler's Seminar in Psychology attended lectures at the Psycho-Analytical Institute". More recently Anna Freud has effected some synthesis between the two varying approaches to the child, and has sympathetically cited publications by Buhler and other 'academics'¹.

THE JACKSON NURSERY

An American student, Edith B. Jackson M.D., who had trained in Anna Freud's child-analysis seminar, founded and maintained in Vienna from 1937-38 "an experimental day nursery for toddlers"². The term 'experimental' was applied to the project "because at that time group care for children of that age was unheard of"³. This nursery provided the prototype, on a small scale, for Anna Freud's later and better-known nursery activities. The Jackson Nursery was run jointly by Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham and the paediatrician Josephine Stross. There were some twenty children, between 1 and 2 years of age⁴. The children's parents were 'on the dole'⁵, and this attention to socially underprivileged groups would be a recurrent feature of Anna Freud's later work.

It would probably be an error to think of the Jackson Nursery or indeed of any single venture as being supremely representative of Anna Freud's work or interests. It is Anna Freud's own view that the Vienna prototype-nursery was simply 'added' to other existing ventures, which later included a child guidance clinic for young children directed by Editha Sterba; a similar clinic for adolescents directed by August Aichhorn; and the various teacher-training courses in which

¹Anna Freud (1950a), (1963a), (1965a), (1969u), for example.

²Writings, Vol.1, p.ix, (1974e). See: Anna Freud (1978c) for obituary notice on Edith Jackson.

³Anna Freud (1967c), in Writings VII, p.226.

⁴Letter of Anna Freud, 29th July 1976. See: Appendix X.

⁵Letter of Dorothy Burlingham, 23rd March 1977. See: Appendix XI.

Willi Hoffer was most actively involved¹. All these endeavours - together with other pupils and close colleagues who took part in them; together with the child analysis seminars and training activities; together with the paedagogical 'Zeitschrift' and other child analysis publications - comprise aspects and logical developments of that Vienna 'school' of analysis whose single most representative and respected member was, and continues to be, Anna Freud. It is part of the character of the subject that she herself does not say this, but points instead to others (Sterba, Aichhorn, Hoffer).

The present assessment differs sharply from that of Paul Roazen, who concludes that "During Freud's lifetime Anna Freud was never in her own right a leader in psychoanalysis, but by now she has inherited Freud's throne"². Roazen here confuses two distinct possibilities, namely (a) that of becoming an independent leader in psychoanalysis and (b) that of actually replacing Freud. Whilst the latter was scarcely feasible in the leviathan's lifetime, it by no means follows that the former is dependent upon the latter actuality. Sufficient case has been outlined here to indicate that Anna Freud had, in the Vienna of the mid-1930's, become a relentless and highly organised child analysis leader. This was especially true from the viewpoint of the growing younger generation of European child analysts, many of whom even thirty years later would remain professionally close to Anna Freud.

From 15th -17th May 1937 the second "Four Countries" Conference was held in Budapest³. Anna Freud's paper to the conference - 'A review of psychoanalytic paedagogy' - was unfortunately never published, though an abstract is available³. This shows the contribution to have had two divisions, viz. a historical survey (Part I) showing the

¹Writings, Vol.1, p.ix.

²Roazen (1975), p.447.

³'Bulletin Report of the I.P.A.', in Journal, (1938), 19, 168-172.

piecemeal emergence of analytic paedagogy as a continual by-product of psychoanalytic theory, together with the instancing of important contradictions and misconceptions resulting from this; and a later section (Part II) which discussed one special instance, that of child training and masturbation.

The 1937 Budapest Conference also saw Anna Freud chairing a symposium on 'Early stages of development of the ego: Primary object love'. A key emergent analytical figure, Michael Balint, made a notable contribution here, part of which included a survey of the contrasting views of the child analysis 'schools' of London and Vienna¹.

Michael Balint (1896-1970) had trained initially with Sachs in Berlin, but then secured a further and important analysis with Sandor Ferenczi in Budapest². Balint became a brilliantly daring analytical thinker who, independently of Ronald Fairbairn of Edinburgh, early drew the distinction between the development of instinctual aims and the development of object-relations as a basis for a psychoanalytic theory of the personality. Emigrating first to Manchester, later London where he began a long association with the Tavistock Clinic, Balint made a valuable educational contribution³ during a period which has been characterised⁴ as showing a dearth of relevant work. Later, Balint⁵ coined the term "basic fault" to denote important areas of pathology in the early development of the infant-mother relationship. In several of her writings Anna Freud acknowledges⁶ the importance of Balint's concept of "basic faults". At the 1961

¹Balint ((1937)1949).

²J. D. Sutherland (1972), 'Obituary: Michael Balint', Journal, Vol.52.

³Balint (1942).

⁴By Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

⁵Balint (1962).

⁶Anna Freud (1962d), (1971f), (1974d) and Writings VII, p.118, n2; and p.145, n5.

Edinburgh Int. Psa. Congress Balint and Anna Freud sat together on a Panel to discuss 'The theory of the infant-parent relationship'¹.

An English translation of Anna Freud's important *Das Ich und Die Abwehrmechanismen* appeared in 1937, the original translator being Miss Cecil M. Baines². Furthermore, two distinct chapters of the book were of sufficient importance to merit separate publication in the Almanach der Psychoanalyse. These were chapter 8. on ego-restriction³; and Chapter 12. on puberty⁴. About this time Freud wrote to Max Eitingon that "the most gratifying thing in my surroundings is Anna's capacity for work and her consistent achievement"⁵. Freud undoubtedly saw his daughter's professional field as being the application of psychoanalysis to education, and to the upbringing (Erziehung) of the next generation. Earlier, in his New Introductory Lectures, he had written "I am at least glad to be able to say that my daughter, Anna Freud, has made this her life-work, and is in this way making good my own neglect of the subject"⁶. Whilst Anna Freud has certainly made good her father's "neglect of the subject" of education, this is nowadays by no means her principal claim to a place in the literature of psychoanalysis. It will be shown below that this claim now rests more nearly upon the basis of her monumental contributions as a developmental psychologist (See: Chapter 9).

During the winter of 1937-38, Anna Freud's activities at the Vienna Psa. Society's Training Institutè included the conducting of discussions between the various study groups examining 'The psychology of childhood

¹'Report of the 22nd Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1962), Vol.43.

²The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence, London, Hogarth, 1937.

³Anna Freud (1937a).

⁴Anna Freud (1937b).

⁵Letter of Sigmund Freud, 5th February 1937, in E. Freud (Ed) (1950), pp.431-2.

⁶Freud (1933A), Lecture 34.

and puberty'. Others co-operating in this activity included Berta Bornstein, Dorothy Burlingham, Edith Buxbaum, Willi Hoffer and Editha Sterba¹.

Early in 1938 the Nazis annexed the 'Eastern Reich', and put an end to all organised psychoanalytic activities in Austria. On 20th March Anna Freud was one of a number of signatories - the others being Ernest Jones, Marie Bonaparte, Paul Federn, Ernst Kris, Waelder, Hitschmann, Bibring, Hoffer, Hartmann from the Vienna Society; Muller-Braunschweig and Beranek from the Berlin Society; Berta Steiner and Martin Freud on behalf of the I.P. Verlag; and the nazi Kommissar Dr. Anton Sauerwald - to a document formally suspending the activities of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society & Institute. A facsimile of the document was reproduced the same year in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis².

From then on, and now at 42 years of age, Anna Freud became involved in urgent moves to extricate as many analysts and their families as possible from Vienna before the frontiers were closed. Her own harrowing experiences - of uncertainty, Gestapo questioning and more uncertainty - have been described by eye-witnesses present in Vienna at the time, notably Jones³, Schur⁴ and Martin Freud⁵, with the latter understandably having the fullest detail. Max Schur, one of only a handful of people for whom Anna Freud has written a biographical appreciation⁶, admits that he never actually asked her what happened at the Gestapo. He does however repeat a story which

¹'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1939), Vol.20.

²Journal, (1938), Vol.19, Pt.3, facing p.374.

³Jones (1957)

⁴Schur (1972).

⁵Freud (1957).

⁶Anna Freud (1971e). Others similarly acknowledged include Freud, Sachs, Aichhorn, Nunberg, Hartmann, Hoffer, Strachey, Muriel Gardiner, Sara Rosenfeld, Karl Abraham and Edith Jackson.

Anna Freud had in the 1960's authorized him to report. Thus, when things had seemed hopeless Anna Freud had asked her father "Wouldn't it be better if we all killed ourselves?", to which Freud had retorted "Why? Because they would like us to?"¹. Our subject's motivation for recounting such an episode - which on the surface does nothing to augment her own character - is perhaps to be found in a desire to reflect her father's rugged defiance and characteristic determination, which few could sustain in those harrowing times.

In April 1938 Freud submitted to the British Consulate in Vienna a list of sixteen names of close persons for whom he wished to obtain British visas. 'Tochter Anna, 42 Jährigen' appears as fourth in the list, the others being in the order listed, Freud, Martha Freud Minna Bernays, Martin & Esti Freud and their children Walter and Sophie; Ernst Halberstadt, Mathilde Freud-Hollitscher and Robert Hollitscher; Max Schur and his wife and two children; and Paula Fichtl the Freud's housekeeper, who to this day is still Anna Freud's London housekeeper. The complete list appears as a long footnote in Schur's biography of Freud².

Freud's official and earlier biographer notes that Anna Freud and her father passed the difficult 'waiting' days by doing translation work together until they could leave Vienna³. The major work undertaken was Marie Bonaparte's book 'Topsy, Chow-Chow au Poil d'Or' (Paris, 1937), which was rendered into German⁴. However, another alleged translation cited by Ernest Jones (op. cit) has proved impossible to trace, and probably reflects a confusion - more correctly a condensation and displacement - of facts by Jones. Thus, Jones states³ that the work in question was a book entitled 'The Unconscious'

¹Schur (1972), p.499.

²ibid., p.501n.

³Jones (1957), p.239.

⁴Topsy der Goldhaarige Chow, Amsterdam, 1939. See: Grinstein (1956), Vol.I, p.577.

by an author named 'Israel Berlin'. No such listing was located¹, and it seems that Jones probably had in mind Anna Freud's 1925 translation of Israel Levine's book *The Unconscious*, (cf. Appendix V).

The 'Sauerwald Affair' is of interest in that it shows Anna Freud even when under great stress accepting people as individuals in their own right, no matter what their uniform, rank or political brief. Dr. Anton Sauerwald was the commissar whom the Nazis placed inside the psychoanalytic publishing house (Verlag) in Vienna. He read Freud's works, became increasingly sympathetic, and secretly played a part in securing the Freuds' smooth exodus. After the war when Sauerwald was brought to trial as an alleged war criminal by the Austrian Government, Anna Freud and Marie Bonaparte signed affidavits testifying to his helpfulness during the 'Anschluss' period, and these helped bring about Sauerwald's acquittal².

On 4th June 1938 Anna Freud and her father finally left Vienna, by train to France. Josephine Stross, a close friend of Anna Freud's, accompanied them and acted as Freud's physician during Max Schur's unavoidable absence³. The journey took them via Paris where they enjoyed Marie Bonaparte's hospitality for a day. A photograph exists of Freud and Anna just arrived in Paris and stepping from the 'Orient Express'⁴. The 'Vienna Phase' of Anna Freud's life and work was now over, though she would continue to work for some months further to secure the release of other analysts from Vienna. It would be more than 30 years before she would return, briefly, to the city of her birth and early fame.

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

¹i.e. in Nat. Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints; and in Grinstein (1956).

²Schur (1972), fn.3, pp.498-499.

³Letter of Josephine Stross, 4th May 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁴e.g. 'Frontispiece' to Anna Freud, *Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen*, Kindler-Verlag, Munich, 1975 edn. There however it bears the erroneous caption '1930' instead of '1938'.

The emigrations from Vienna of Anna Freud's circle of professional colleagues may be followed most readily through the membership lists of the branch societies of the I.P.A. after June 1938. England initially received in addition to the Freud's party the Bibrings, Dorothy Burlingham, Eidelberg, Hitschmann, the Hoffers, Isakower, Ernst & Marianne Kris, Max Schur, Maxim Steiner, Erwin Stengel and a number of students who would later become better known. Most of the other prominent analysts and child analysts left Vienna for the United States, and these included Berta Bornstein, Edith Buxbaum, Bychowski, Felix and Helene Deutsch, Beate Rank, Annie Reich, the Sterbas, Hartmann, Redl, Sperling, the Katans, Mahler, the Waelers, Jekels, Federn, Nunberg, Anna Maenchen. These 'Americans' were soon joined by a second 'wave' from England, including Ernst and Marianne Kris, Max Schur, Eidelberg, the Bibrings, Hitschmann and the Isakowers¹. Other analysts had left various parts of Europe from earlier in the decade.

Anna Freud's good friend and colleague August Aichhorn remained in Vienna throughout, "in solitude and obscurity"² as Anna Freud notes, though he later engineered the early post-war revival of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society.

¹Members Lists, 'Bulletin(s) of the I.P.A.', Journal, (1939), Vol.20; (1948), Vol.29. (No members lists were published from 1940-1947).

²Anna Freud (1951k).

PART THREE

LONDON

CHAPTER FIVE

EMIGRATION & WAR-WORK (1938 - 1945)

Sigmund Freud, his wife Martha and daughter Anna, arrived in London in a blaze of publicity on 6th June 1938 aboard the train from Dover. They were met by Ernest and Katherine Jones, and other members of the Freud family who had managed to leave Vienna earlier. They proceeded to No.39 Elsworthy Road, adjoining Primrose Hill in North London. Here, Ernst Freud had rented temporary quarters for the whole family, and these they would occupy until September 1938¹.

Forty years later the house is still there, large and pleasant. Fig.X shows a recent photograph taken during a personal visit to North London in June 1977. The view to the top of Primrose Hill cannot have changed much from pre-war days - the old-fashioned gas lamp-posts survive, and original tiled street signs are still in place. Only from the brow of the park has the scenery changed, with a much-altered post-war London skyline in the distance. Interestingly, a number of Anna Freud's close associates moved in later years into houses along Elsworthy Road².

Eva Rosenfeld visited Anna Freud almost daily at the temporary house. "I went, naturally, as a close friend of the family" she notes³. At this time too Eva Rosenfeld told Freud and Anna of her desire to undergo a further analysis, this time with Melanie Klein whose work she had developed an interest in during the two years since 1936 and from attending meetings of the British Psychoanalytical Society. A previous investigator⁴ has given a very misleading portrayal of these events, even suggesting a fatal

¹Jones (1957), chap. 6, 'London - The End'.

²Ruth Thomas, Alex & Elizabeth Holder for example.

³Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, London, 31st May 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁴Roazen (1975), p.441.

Fig.X.

Temporary Freud Residence, 39 Elsworthy Road, North London.

gift between the Freuds and Eva Rosenfeld. I therefore reproduce here the latter's own recent verbatim remarks:

"Dr. Paula Heimann, a student of Mrs. Klein's, first introduced me to her work. By 1938 I had developed the desire to approach Mrs. Klein, to find out more and to have a further analysis. I wrote to Professor Freud about it first. He felt he ought to keep out of it. I went to see them, and discussed it ... with him ...



An interesting ... above ... present ... of work ... direct ... hairs of ... latter ... Fairbairn ... Klein's work ... and any ... for the gestation period of Fairbairn's highly original 'revised' psychopathology of the psychoses and psychoneuroses'. The question of Fairbairn-Anna-Freud is discussed elsewhere (See: Chapter 2).

Paula Heimann is a figure of some interest. Though initially a student of Melanie Klein, she has in recent years, and professionally

Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, London, 31st May 1977. See: Appendix XI.

Fairbairn (1941), in Fairbairn (1952).

rift between the Freuds and Eva Rosenfeld. I therefore reproduce here the latter's own recent verbatim remarks:

"Dr. Paula Heimann, a student of Mrs. Klein's, first introduced me to her work. By 1938 I had developed the desire to approach Mrs. Klein, to find out more and to have a further analysis. I wrote to Professor Freud about it first. He felt he ought to keep out of it. I went to see them, and discussed it ... with Anna, yes. She was very understanding. She knew I had only had a year or so of analysis with Professor Freud. I was in analysis with Mrs Klein from June 1938 to September 1939. It was interrupted by the outbreak of war, when Mrs. Klein left for Scotland"¹.

An interesting point is raised by the last of Eva Rosenfeld's above remarks, though no corroborative facts are available to the present writer. It is interesting to speculate on the possibility of some form of direct contact between Klein and Ronald Fairbairn of Edinburgh during the early war-years, and before the latter was inducted into the echelons of military psychiatrists. Fairbairn had for some years been deeply influenced by Melanie Klein's work on 'internalised objects' as he frequently records, and any contact between the two would have an added significance for the gestation period of Fairbairn's highly original 'revised psychopathology of the psychoses and psychoneuroses'². The question of Fairbairn-contra-Anna Freud is discussed elsewhere (See: Chapter 9).

Paula Heimann is a figure of some interest. Though initially a student of Melanie Klein, she has in recent years, and professionally

¹Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, London, 31st May 1977. See: Appendix XI.

²Fairbairn (1941), in Fairbairn (1952).

speaking, moved closer to Anna Freud. Perhaps Eva Rosenfeld's wide sympathies were here partly responsible. Heimann¹ has acknowledged the 'original and unprecedented' nature of a recommendation by Anna Freud^{1a} that psychiatrists would benefit by learning not just isolated aspects of psychoanalysis but the whole language and metapsychology. On a further occasion Heimann² enthusiastically noted Anna Freud's lucidity and ability to clarify difficult congress themes. For her part, Anna Freud³ has pointed out Paula Heimann's 'foremost contribution' to the topic of counter-transference.

Ernest Jones⁴ informs us that a number of important visitors were received, by Freud and presumably his daughter Anna, during their first weeks in London. These included H. G. Wells, Salvador Dali, Stefan Zweig and Malinowski. On 23rd June 1938 there appeared three secretaries of the Royal Society, with the society's charter-book for the old patriarch to sign. Herman Nunberg also visited in 1938, and was shocked to find Freud so feeble and suffering. Nunberg had emigrated to America in 1933, and had last seen Freud briefly in 1936. For a long time after 1938 he was to remain "under the shadow of that last visit to London"⁵. Whilst grown men thus faced their spiritual Armageddon, Anna Freud continued to busy herself with work.

EARLY LONDON LECTURES TO TEACHERS

The London County Council Inspector of Schools J. C. Hill (b.1888), who for fifteen years or more had been interested in Freud's psychology and its applications to teaching, first met Anna Freud

^{1a}Anna Freud (1966f).

¹Heimann (1968).

²Heimann & Valenstein (1972).

³Anna Freud (1969a), Writings, VII, p.151.

⁴Jones (1957), op. cit.

⁵Nunberg (1969).

in the summer of 1938. Hill had initially hoped to persuade Freud himself to lecture to a gathering of teachers, though in this he was clearly unaware of Freud's physical condition. Ernst Freud referred Hill to our subject, and she agreed to give a series of three lectures to the teachers in London. Hill did not discuss the content of the talks with Anna Freud, and generally gave her a completely free hand¹.

The lectures according to a specimen ticket reproduced by others² were entitled simply 'Psychology by Miss A. Freud', and are notable as being Anna Freud's first public lectures in Britain. The first was presented on Thursday 27th October 1938 at the Central School of Arts & Crafts, Southampton Row, W.C.1. The series extended into 1939, and the talks were very well attended and enthusiastically received¹.

On 1st August 1938 the 15th International Psa. Congress took place in Paris. According to Jones³ Anna Freud was, on account of her father's condition, only able to leave him to attend part of this Congress. She nevertheless presided as Joint Vice-President of the I.P.A., and together with Federn chaired a symposium on 'Ego strength and ego weakness'. She was also re-elected to the International Executive Committee and to the I.T.C.⁴. No scientific paper was given under Anna Freud's own name, though the following paper appeared - 'The progress in spirituality' by S. Freud (London) in absentia - and Anna Freud states that she read the paper in German⁵. A report of the I.T.C. notes that as a further

¹Letter of J.C. Hill to present study, 24th February 1977. See: Appendix XI.

²Ekstein & Motto (1969b).

³Jones (1957), pp.251-2.

⁴'Report of the 15th Int.Psa. Congress', Journal, (1939), Vol.20.

⁵Letter of Anna Freud to this study, 28th March 1977. See: Appendix X.

contribution "Miss Anna Freud discussed the difficulties and advantages of what have been described as 'after-analyses'"¹. Nunberg² has recorded that the whole 1938 Congress was overshadowed by the mood of political events. Almost all the participants were refugees who did not know which way to turn.

It appears that "sharp differences over the lay analysis question"³ arose at the Paris Congress. An American and a European committee were formed to look into this, with the European group meeting in Freud's presence on 4th December 1938 and again on 20th July 1939. It was in 1938 that Anna Freud reported to the International Education Commission in Paris on the 'Probleme der Lehranalyse'⁴. Though the report was not published until twelve years later, it states rather fully her views on many aspects of the psychoanalytic training of candidates. Whilst Anna Freud had since 1925 taken an active and increasing part in preparing new generations of analysts, it may well be that the European emigrations and general diaspora of the 1938 exodus from Vienna sharpened her concern in that direction.

Anna Freud and her father moved into their permanent London home - at 20 Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead - on 27th September 1938, a week after Martha Freud and the resourceful maid Paula Fichtl⁵. 'Tante Minna' joined them there, whilst Ernst Freud and Martin Freud took houses of their own in North London. Dorothy Burlingham, who in Vienna had occupied the apartment directly above the Freud's,

¹Report of the International Training Commission, Journal, (1939), op.cit.

²Nunberg (1969).

³Jones, op. cit.

⁴'The problem of training analysis'. See: Anna Freud (1950b).

⁵Jones, op. cit.

appears initially in London with an address at 2 Maresfield Gardens, and later shares the same address as Anna Freud¹. This latter house, fine and befitting Freud's last months, is shown in a recent photograph (Fig. XI). Anna Freud has never permanently left it.

The initial involvement of Anna Freud in the internal and business affairs of the British Psa. Society was automatic and immediate. The psychoanalytic Institute's premises were at that time in the 'old' building, at 96 Gloucester Road. Some account of the third-floor meetings there, between the Viennese émigrés and the more enthusiastic students and members of the non-Kleinian British group, has been given by one of those involved from the latter group². From 30th June 1938 the Training Committee of the British Society already included Anna Freud, Melanie Klein and Ella F. Sharpe³.

Some of the warmest interest and support for Anna Freud in London at this time came from two young continental analysts who had arrived some years earlier. These were Barbara Lantos (1896-1962) and the brilliant and gifted Kate Friedlander (1902-1949). Elizabeth Rosenberg Zetzel (1907-1970) notes "happy contacts" with the Viennese at this period, and views the good personal rapport as having played a part in efforts to mutually understand prevailing theoretical differences⁴. Zetzel also records that her training at the British Institute in the late 1930's had not included the reading of Anna Freud's 'The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence'. The various 'groups' in the British Psa. Society before during and after World War Two have been outlined by Glover⁵, whilst

¹Members Lists, I.P.A. Bulletin, Journal, (1939) Vol.20; (1948), Vol.29.

²Zetzel (1969), then Elizabeth Rosenberg, of Haverstock Hill, N.W.3.

³'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1939), 20, p.215.

⁴Zetzel (1969).

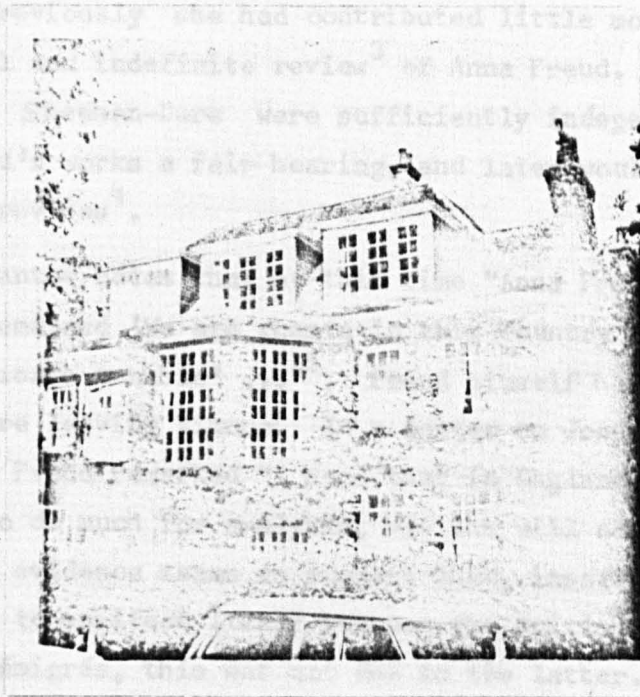
⁵Glover (1966).

Fig.XI.

Anna Freud's Permanent London Residence: 20, Maresfield Gardens,
Hampstead.

In recent years candidates in training have attended a special course on the history of the British Society, and including controversies of the well-known 'Kleinian' era¹. Others who were receptive to Anna Freud's work, and in the face of a largely Klein-dominated British Society of the time, were Edward Glover and Helitta Schreider. The latter, interestingly, was Melanie Klein's daughter, but was probably more concerned to rebel against a powerful father-figure than to genuinely champion our subject's work². Previously she had contributed little more than an occasional 'indefinite review' of Anna Freud. Ella F. Sharpe and Helitta Schreider were sufficiently independent to accord Anna Freud's work a fair hearing and interpret with sympathetic wisdom³.

Barbara Lane, who was not brought here to see Anna Freud until just a few days before her death on 17th May 1958, was also able to be able to see Anna Freud's 'intricacies'. The available evidence shows that the friction continued between the Viennese and the British.



Practical seminars on the child were regularly conducted by Anna Freud at the London Institute in 1932-34⁴. During the first

¹ Conducted by Miss Pearl King. Interview with Idec Hallmar, (Appendix VII).

² Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, op. cit.

³ Schreider (1935), reviewing Anna Freud (1934).

⁴ Sharpe (1940), Schreider (1942).

⁵ Lantos (1966).

⁶ E. Freud (Ed) (1960), p. 254.

⁷ 'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1940), Vol. 21:

in recent years candidates in training have attended a special course on the history of the British Society, and including controversies of the well-known 'Kleinian' era¹. Others who were receptive to Anna Freud's work, and in the face of a largely Klein-dominated British Society of the time, were Edward Glover and Melitta Schmideberg. The latter, interestingly, was Melanie Klein's daughter, but was probably more concerned to rebel against a powerful mother-figure than to genuinely champion our subject's work². Previously she had contributed little more than an occasional and indefinite review³ of Anna Freud. Ella F. Sharpe and Helen Sheehan-Dare were sufficiently independent to accord Anna Freud's works a fair hearing, and later would write sympathetic reviews⁴.

Barbara Lantos notes that at this time "Anna Freud's motto was, and has remained 'We are guests in this country and were not brought here to create trouble' ..."⁵. Freud himself had set just such a tone before leaving Vienna. In a letter to Jones written on 13th May 1938 Freud remarked "I hope that in England (Anna) will also be able to do much for analysis, but she will not intrude"⁶. The available evidence seems to suggest that, insofar as friction continued to manifest itself between the British Kleinians and the Viennese émigrés, this was not due to the latter.

Practical seminars on the child were regularly conducted by Anna Freud at the London Institute in 1938-39⁷. During the first

¹Conducted by Miss Pearl King. Interview with Ilse Hellman, (Appendix XI).

²Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, op. cit.

³Schmideberg (1935), reviewing Anna Freud (1934a).

⁴Sharpe (1946), Sheehan-Dare (1945).

⁵Lantos (1966).

⁶E. Freud (Ed) (1960), p.444.

⁷'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1940), Vol.21.

winter of World War Two Elizabeth Rosenberg attended seminars by both Anna Freud and Grete Bibring, and notes this as part of the extended interest generated by the earlier informal contacts¹.

Of Anna Freud's students of the period Elizabeth Geleerd is of particular note. Dutch born (died 1969), Geleerd began her psychoanalytic training in Vienna in 1936, and continued this in London from 1938-40. She then left for the U.S.A., and in 1945 became Elizabeth Geleerd Loewenstein². A courageous and independent thinker Geleerd presented her views forcefully and capably, even when these centred upon such professionally awkward areas as the technical validity of Melanie Klein - contra - Anna Freud³. Geleerd's work on adolescence is briefly cited by Anna Freud in two of the latter's most important publications⁴.

In February 1939 Anna Freud and Max Schur joined forces in disagreeing with their new consultant, Wilfred Trotter, over the question of Freud's recurrent cancer⁵. It was Wilfred Trotter who, in 1903, had first drawn the attention of Ernest Jones to an early English review of psychoanalysis in Brain⁶.

Schur⁷ notes that during these months Anna Freud's routine involved seeing patients, training candidates, organising the exodus of the whole continental group and being on more or less 24-hour duty as her father's nurse, regularly applying 'orthoform' and so on.

¹Zetzel (1969).

²Tartakoff (1970).

³Geleerd (1963).

⁴Anna Freud (1958b), (1965a).

⁵Jones (1957), chap.6.

⁶Jones (1955), chap.2.

⁷Schur (1972).

In March 1939 Heinz Hartmann, "one of Freud's favourite pupils", visited Anna Freud and her father, and then left for New York; and Marie Bonaparte came over several times from Paris¹.

On 30th June 1939 a joint-meeting of the British and French Psa. Societies included a paper on 'Sublimation and sexualisation' by Anna Freud². The same paper was apparently given as a lecture to the British Society in 1940, and is cited as 'Sexualisation and sublimation' by Friedlander³. Though not published at the time it may well have been incorporated into a later work⁴.

Sometime in July 1939 the Freuds welcomed Hanns Sachs, "one of the very last visitors"⁵ i.e. before Freud's death. Some years later Anna Freud would contribute a Preface⁶ to Sachs' posthumous book⁷.

Max Schur, as personal physician, moved temporarily into No.20 Maresfield Gardens on September 1st, so as to be on hand during Freud's last days. One of the few important details kept from Anna Freud at this time was apparently her father's 'euthanasia pact' of many years standing with Schur. Virtually Freud's last words, spoken to Schur, were "Sagen sie es der Anna"⁸.

Anna Freud's much revered father died on 23rd September 1939. He was cremated at nearby Golders Green. Stefan Zweig and Ernest

¹Schur (1972).

²'Bulletin Report of the I.P.A.', Journal, (1940), Vol.21.

³Friedlander ((1945)1947).

⁴Anna Freud (1948a).

⁵Jones (1957), chap. 6.

⁶Anna Freud (1948b).

⁷Sachs (1948).

⁸"Tell Anna about this". In Schur (1972).

Jones read funeral addresses¹, whilst Anna Freud and her family were joined by the Lampls from Holland, Marie Bonaparte from Paris and a great many students and followers from London and elsewhere. Ever since, on the anniversaries of Freud's birth² and death³, a small group of close followers has attended with Anna Freud at her father's tomb.

The work of training and therapy continued. The Australian-born educational psychologist Ruth Thomas (b.1902) met Anna Freud for the first time in 1939, when she applied for training at the London Institute of Psychoanalysis and "chose Miss Freud as my analyst"⁴. During and after the war years Ruth Thomas was Educational Psychologist first to the Central Association for Mental Welfare, and later the National Council for Mental Health, and was a contributor to the then influential journal New Era in Home and School.

The non-Kleinian group of the British Society, enlarged now by the influx of their colleagues from Vienna, had started certain discussion groups - "keeping themselves sharp"⁵ - as one commentator remarks. The initiative for these private meetings appears to have stemmed largely from Kate Friedlander⁶, and the group soon took on the form of a regular 'Wednesday Seminar' led by Anna Freud at her own home. The choice of Wednesday was doubtless no mere chance. One is reminded here of Freud's 'Wednesday Psychological Society' of the

¹Jones (1957), chap. 6.

²6th May 1856.

³23rd September 1939.

⁴Letter of Ruth Thomas to this study, 21st April 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁵Armytage (1976).

⁶Lantos (1966).

early 1900's, and the subsequent Wednesday Evening Meetings of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society which Anna Freud attended from 1918 onwards. In more recent years the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic also holds its case conferences and other important scientific meetings on a Wednesday (see Chapter 7).

Eva Rosenfeld was one of those who regularly attended - "Bombs or no bombs"¹ - at Anna Freud's wartime Wednesday Seminars, and others included Barbara Lantos and Kate Friedlander², Barbara Low, the Hoffers, Elizabeth R. Zetzel and Dorothy Burlingham³.

No formal lectures were arranged at the London Institute, owing to the then prevailing war conditions. However, from January 1940 through to 1942 the records show Anna Freud conducting a regular fortnightly practical seminar for students training at the Institute⁴. During this same early period in London there appeared Sigmund Freud's *Gesammelte Werke*⁵, the completest edition to that date of Freud's collected works, albeit in German only. The editorial and publication labours were undertaken by Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Edward Bibring, Willi Hoffer, Ernst Kris and Otto Isakower.

THE HAMPSTEAD WAR NURSERIES

With the onset of the Luftwaffe bombing 'Blitz' on London in the autumn of 1940 large numbers of people were made homeless, including many children who could not for one reason or another be evacuated

¹Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, op. cit.

²Lantos (1966).

³Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, op. cit.

⁴'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1941), 22, p.100; (1942), 23, p.48.

⁵Imago Publishing Co., London, 1941.

to the country. In response to this acute emergency, Anna Freud and her closest associates opened a Children's Rest Centre at No. 13 Wedderburn Road, Hampstead in October 1940¹. The precarious financial basis of the venture was soon happily stabilised through the intervention of the American Foster Parents Plan for War Children Inc. of New York. The Organising Director (Gt. Britain) of this charity was for many years virtually the only writer to have ever prefaced a work by Anna Freud². More recently Dorothy Burlingham has also shared that rare privilege³.

The American Foster Parents Plan sponsored between 30 and 40 war-time projects in England, and the Hampstead Nurseries had the distinction of being the largest of these relief 'colonies'². The sponsors required reports to be submitted monthly, and by the time the first such 'Monthly Report' was written in February 1941 some 25 children ranging in ages from 6 months to 9 years had been taken in⁴.

Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham together co-directed the developing Hampstead War Nursery, with Josephine Stross as paediatrician. A small team of young nursery assistants was headed by Hedwig Schwarz, and she it was who around 1940-41 introduced the young trainee Hannah Engl (b.1923) into the nursery work. Almost forty years later, and now as Mrs. Hansi Kennedy, the latter has joined Anna Freud in being a co-director of the latest Hampstead Child-Therapy

¹ Writings, Vol. III, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

² Muggeridge (1942), in Anna Freud (1942a).

³ In Anna Freud (1973e).

⁴ 'Monthly Report No. 1, February 1941', Writings, Vol. III, chap. 1.

Clinic¹, and is an obvious and knowledgeable informant for all the Hampstead ventures from 1940 onwards. Other early staff included James Robertson a social worker who made pioneering films of child development in wartime nurseries and more recently is associated with the Tavistock Institute; and Julia Weiss, initially as book-keeper and later Anna Freud's personal secretary, a position she continues in to this day.

Liselotte Frankl, then a student at the Institute of Psychoanalysis, assisted with such early preparations as the sorting of clothes, but states² that she was not actually a staff member. An outstanding trainee-assistant of the war years was Sara Kut (1920-1973), later Mrs. Sara Rosenfeld³.

In December 1940 Ilse Hellman (b.1908) first met Anna Freud, and relates the circumstances as follows⁴:-

"There had been a 'flu outbreak amongst the staff of the Hampstead Nursery, and I received a telephone call to go and help out for the day. I went, and was working on the floor with a small group of infants, when someone came in quietly, and stood in the background observing. Later, she introduced herself as Anna Freud, and offered me the post of Superintendent of the proposed new nursery".

The 'new house' or Babies Rest Centre, catering exclusively for the youngest infants and toddlers up to 2½ years of age, was opened at No. 5 Netherhall Gardens N.W.3. in June 1941. By 3rd July 1941 some 29 young infants had been taken in there, in addition to the 32 at the 'old house', which 13 Wedderburn Road now became known

¹Interview with Hansi Kennedy, London 1st June 1977. See: Appendix XI.

²Letters etc. of Liselotte Frankl, op. cit.

³Anna Freud (1973, Unpublished); Appendix II.

⁴Interview with Ilse Hellman, op. cit. See: Appendix XI.

as¹. There was much attention given to sunlight and fresh air for the pallid 'shelter children'. The nurseries were run partly on the familiar Montessorian lines, and partly as an experimental setting for the collection of scientific observations on 'artificial war orphans' in residential care. Ilse Hellman² and Sara Kut³ both note the careful recording on index-cards of all relevant observations made on the nursery children, and Anna Freud encouraged all her staff to carry on similar recording from the very start of their training. Many years later at least one prominent Hampstead researcher would refer back for corroboration of his views to "The sleep-pattern charts of children at the Hampstead War Nurseries"⁴.

Two refugee sisters, Sophie Dann (b.1900) and Gertrud Dann (b.1908), were respective heads of the 'Babies' and 'Toddlers' departments of the War Nursery. Sophie Dann, a trained social-worker and nurse, had originally met Anna Freud on 31st December 1940 when applying to 20 Maresfield Gardens for the post of private nurse to Minna Bernays⁵. After the war, and through her work with the 'concentration camp children', Sophie Dann joined the small distinctive group of Anna Freud's scientific co-authors⁶. Gertrud Dann continues to this day to be Librarian of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, and is extremely knowledgeable regarding Anna Freud's publications.

¹Monthly Report No.6, July 1941', in Writings, Vol.III, p.67f.

²Interview, op. cit.

³Unpublished Report, cited in Writings, Vol. III, p.535f.

⁴Nagera (1966).

⁵Letter of Sophie Dann to this study, 2nd June 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁶Anna Freud (1951f).

On 23rd August 1941 some 18 'older' children from the Rest Centre at 13 Wedderburn Road were taken out to the 'Country House' New Barn, Lindsell Essex, which now comprised the third and final house of the Hampstead War Nursery¹. It was these three houses together which were "included in the Foster Parents Plan for War Children as a colony under the name of the 'Hampstead Nursery' ..."². The Superintendent of the 'Country House' was Alice Goldberger (b. 1897), who was appointed by Anna Freud after the latter heard of her kindergarten for the children of internees at a camp on the Isle of Man³.

With the evacuation to the Essex home of all the older children, the original Rest Centre at 13 Wedderburn Road was closed for repairs and overhaul. By September 1941 the remaining two houses held some 80 children, comprising 50 infants at 5 Netherhall Gardens and 30 older children at New Barn, Essex⁴. By December 1941 these 80 residential children were supplemented by a further 20 children who received regular help but on a non-residential basis. Only two new residents were taken in for October 1941. One of them was 4½ year-old Minna, who was first visited by Anna Freud on the platform of Regents Park Tube-Station which had served as her sleeping quarters for the past 12 months⁵.

The general approach of Anna Freud and her group at this time is worth quoting:-

¹'Monthly Report No.7, August 1941', Writings, III, p.80.

²Muggeridge (1942).

³Letter of Alice Goldberger to this study, 22nd June 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁴'Monthly Report No.8, September 1941', Writings, III, p. 87.

⁵'Monthly Report No.9, October 1941', in Writings, III, p.105.

"We try to attain hospital standards as far as cleanliness, hygiene, medical supervision and diet are concerned, and try to combine that with the freedom and educational possibilities of nursery life"¹.

Within this general child-orientated approach much valuable work of a scientific and pioneering kind was of course also undertaken.

EARLY MATERNAL DEPRIVATION STUDIES

Time and again in the 'Monthly Reports' of the Hampstead War Nursery it is emphasised that the real trauma for the younger evacuee children was their abrupt separation from the mother or mother-substitute ('mothering figure'). The much-publicised picture of the 'bomb-shocked' child, by contrast, simply did not bear scrutiny. "We have little knowledge of such states in children"² wrote Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham. The chronic effects of prolonged shelter life and the general disruption of the family in response to the war were also ranked as greater trauma than actual bombing³.

On 29th October 1941 Anna Freud was invited to give a short talk on 'The need of the small child to be mothered'⁴, to the Nursery School Association of Great Britain Conference on Wartime Nurseries held under the chairmanship of Lord Horder⁵. The same topic afterwards occupied some of the regular staff-meetings of the Hampstead Nursery group. These staff-meetings and seminars were held on the top floor

¹'Monthly Report No.9, October 1941', in Writings III, p.105.

²Writings, III, p.73.

³ibid., p.127, ('Monthly Report No.10, November 1941').

⁴Unpublished, until incorporated into Writings, Vol.III, pp.125-131.

⁵Writings, III, p.125.

of No.5 Netherhall Gardens, and were attended by staff and trainees of the War Nursery together with certain 'friends of the Hampstead Nursery', e.g. Mrs. Ralph Clarke¹. Other frequent attenders included analysts such as Barbara Lantos and Kate Friedlander²; and probably also Hedwig and Willi Hoffer and James and Joyce Robertson, all of whom were closely associated with Anna Freud and the Hampstead War Nursery.

Other workers were to make independent contributions to the field which now, after John Bowlby's celebrated report³, is so inextricably associated with a 'maternal deprivation' syndrome. Foremost amongst these at the time were probably Susan Isaacs working with evacuee children in Cambridge; and Clare Brittain and D. W. Winnicott working similarly in Oxford. Eva Rosenfeld, sharing her time between London and Oxford, also joined Clare Brittain at that time⁴. All the published wartime studies of child-evacuees were ably reviewed by Katherine Wolf⁵, whose bibliography ran to 229 items. Wolf draws particular attention to the work of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham but is critical of much else, since methodologically and statistically there is little homogeneity, and data were often collected hurriedly and under adverse conditions.

By October-November 1941 there were some 20 girl-trainees aged 16-21 working in the Hampstead War Nursery, and the decision was taken to begin "a purely private and unofficial training scheme"⁶

¹Letter, etc. of Gertrud Dann.

²Lantos (1966).

³Maternal Care and Mental Health, W.H.O., 1951.

⁴Interview with Eva Rosenfeld, op. cit.

⁵Wolf (1945).

⁶Writings, III, p.122.

in order to more thoroughly ground them in the common (i.e. psychoanalytical) basis of their work with children. This important undertaking, developments of which continue to the present day, merits detailed consideration.

PROTOTYPE TRAINING SCHEME: SYSTEMATISED OBSERVATIONS OF INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

As early as March 1941, in the third month of their coming together, the staff of the Hampstead Nursery had begun the habit of holding a short, almost daily, lunch-break meeting¹. Topics discussed included:-

1. Observations of children's war games and conversations.
2. Thumb-sucking and toilet-training.
3. Toddler aggression and ways of handling it.
4. Parental attitudes and war experiences.
5. Individual children and their difficulties.

By November 1941 systematisation of teaching had arrived at a viable curriculum, and time-tables were posted in the houses of the Nursery. Theoretical instruction filled the day-time rest-hours, and involved courses of lectures from 2.15-3.15 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays². The major fields covered were:-

Physical health and sickness	...	30 lectures
Mental development (sensory, intellectual; toys; testing)	...	16 lectures
Emotional & Instinctual Development	...	Introduction, followed by regular literature seminar.

There were also short courses on management, cooking and sewing.

¹'Monthly Report No.2, March 1941', in Writings, III, p.23.

²'Monthly Report No.10, November 1941', in Writings, III, pp.123-125.

Practical work, as an integral part of daily routine, emphasised baby and toddler gymnastics and tuition in Montessori methods.

In June, July and August 1942 the regular meetings were used for the writing of answers to set question-papers. All staff-members from the most senior to the most junior were required to complete answer-papers, and these were followed up one week later by summaries and lively discussions. Topics covered in this fully interactional approach included Instinctual development and its disturbances (feeding and sleeping difficulties), Character formation (the appearance of disgust, boastfulness), Nursery education and the role of adults. Staff were also asked to categorise their own daily activities according to whether they were seen as directed towards (a) the child's bodily development, (b) his intellectual development or (c) his transformation of instinctual drives¹.

During subsequent war-years certain advanced students of the Hampstead Nursery were temporarily invited further afield, for example into local L.E.A. schools². This and related training requirements caused acute difficulties to certain of the children, as their 'special nurse' or favourite was required to move around the various departments and houses of the War Nursery. Thus, Miles aged 3½ years complained bitterly at the loss of his student-nurse. He had "changed hands too frequently", and showed the bad effects of such experiences³.

Statistics are available for the numbers of students trained in the wartime Hampstead Nursery scheme. These show that 66 students received training which varied from under one year to over four

¹Writings, III, pp.274-5.

²ibid., p.328.

³ibid., pp.444-5.

years in duration. Three years was considered optimum for full training, and 14 students received training of three years^{or} longer¹.

Throughout 1942 the Hampstead War Nursery functioned with only two of its three houses, whilst the overhauled 13 Wedderburn Road remained without official clearance for continued use. In March 1942 a large group of some 90 infant and elementary schoolteachers visited the Hampstead 'colony', as part of an official course on nursery work in wartime². In June 1942 the number of children in care reached a peak of 127, though 120 was now the usual monthly average³. A survey on 'The Disbanding of a Residential Nursery' carried out in December 1942 estimated that of 83 residential children then in the Hampstead colony 59% (49) could probably be immediately reunited with their parents if war conditions ceased, whilst 41% (34) were judged to be permanently 'homeless' for various reasons⁴.

Throughout 1943 the monthly total of children in care averaged 120, and in February a measles outbreak brought the original Rest Centre house once more into use, this time as a sickroom⁵. The 'Monthly Report' for November 1943 contained in outline⁶ the subsequent major wartime publication on residential nursery work⁷. This important book is referred to in the report of May 1944⁸, and

¹Writings, III, p.539.

²'Monthly Report No.14, March 1942', in Writings, III, p.218.

³Writings, III, p.247.

⁴ibid., p.309.

⁵Writings, III, p.324-5.

⁶ibid., p.350. The outline is there omitted so as to avoid duplication with its fuller presentation in Pt. II.

⁷Anna Freud (1944a).

⁸Writings, III, p.397.

presumably became available early in 1944. An entirely different publication of approximately the same period was a collection of colour plates taken in and around the Hampstead Nursery by a refugee photographer¹. Though now out of print, a copy is kept in the Library of the present Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic².

With the onset of the renewed heavy aerial bombardment of Southern England in June 1944, most of the children and staff of the Hampstead Nursery were evacuated to the country house. By July only 13 young infants and babies were left in the London house, whilst 74 older children were at New Barn, Essex³. These new arrangements were turned to good effect with the noting of yet more valuable observations, this time regarding changes in the children's attachments, jealousies and so forth during their enforced interpersonal reshuffling.

With VE-day on 8th May 1945 the Hampstead War Nursery entered the final phase of its work, namely the resettling of the children into homes of their own. Between May and November 1945 some 62 remaining resident children were resettled "in slow stages"⁴, beginning with those who could return immediately to viable family units. The various houses of the wartime 'colony' closed piecemeal as leases expired. Staff left gradually for other posts, and there was no 'last day' farewell celebration⁵. The house at 5 Netherhall Gardens closed in June 1945. The last resident children left by

¹Suschitzky (c.1943-44).

²Gertrud Dann kindly unearthed this for the present writer.

³Writings, III, p.418.

⁴ibid., pp.504-5.

⁵Interview with Hansi Kennedy, op. cit.

1st September, and from September to December 1945 the Hampstead Nursery handed back premises and closed its books¹. Throughout the war period the Nursery had cared for a daily average of 80 residential children, and in contrast to official government policy the Hampstead group did not send children to billets at 5 years old². In this and other careful ways a total of 191 resident children were supported for varying periods of the wartime emergency conditions. Understandably, the wartime nursery was judged to have been "completely different"³ to the earlier Jackson Nursery in Vienna.

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In addition to her active involvement with the Hampstead War Nursery project, Anna Freud gave a weekly practical seminar at the London Institute of Psychoanalysis throughout 1942-43. The influential Training Committee there included Anna Freud, together with Glover, Rickman, Strachey, Payne, Brierly, Sharpe and Klein⁴, though presumably the last-named was 'in absentia' only.

At a meeting of the British Psychoanalytic Society held on 18th March 1942 Anna Freud presented 'Excerpts from an annual report on work in a wartime nursery', and this was followed up on 22nd April 1942 by a continued discussion led by Dorothy Burlingham, who spoke on the effects of evacuation on children⁵. This work,

¹'Final Report, No.56, Sept-Dec.1945', in Writings III, p.530.

²Writings, III, p.532.

³Letter of Anna Freud to this study, 29th July 1976. See: Appendix X.

⁴'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal,(1944), 25, 182-3.

⁵'report of the British Psa. Society', Journal,(1942), Vol.23.

originally written up in January 1942 as the First Annual Report¹ of the Hampstead War Nursery, was also published in New Era², whose editor Beatrice Ensor attended meetings and seminars of the Hampstead Nursery. During the war years in fact, this first annual 'Report' was the only 'Monthly Report' to be actually published in addition to being despatched to the organisers of the American Foster Parents Plan Inc. Such was the importance and currency of the report it was also made available in book form³ in 1942, and selections of the British edition were re-issued in the U.S.A. in 1943 under the title War and Children. A condensed précis of the essential data of the report was also included, with acknowledgement, in a contribution by Edward Glover⁴.

It seems likely that Anna Freud attended the Oxford 'Summer School' of the Nursery Association of Great Britain held in mid-1942⁵. At that period Anna Freud had close links with the Nursery School Association, and was "an active member of the Executive, and repeatedly a speaker at the Summer Schools"⁶. However, as regards a public lecture at Caxton Hall in October 1943 given under the auspices of the National Council for Mental Health⁷, I can find no confirmation. Certain close associates of Anna Freud during the war years were

¹'Report No.12', in Writings, Vol. III, pp.142-211.

²Vol.23, April-May 1942, pp.57-85.

³Anna Freud (1942a).

⁴Glover (1942)

⁵Writings, III, p.275.

⁶Anna Freud (1960b).

⁷Cited in Armytage (1976), p.96.

when interviewed¹ unable to recall any public lectures of hers from those years.

Anneliese Schnurmann (b.1908), then working as a nurse with the W.V.S., first met Anna Freud in 1942 and began working in the Hampstead War Nurseries that November². During this same year Ruth Thomas³ finally began her training analysis with Anna Freud, whilst Ilse Hellman⁴, after a year's work in the War Nursery and at Anna Freud's prompting, applied to the London Institute of Psychoanalysis for formal training. Her analyst was Dorothy Burlingham.

WARTIME KLEINIAN CONTROVERSY

In 1943 the theoretical divergencies within the British Psycho-analytical Society between the group centred about Melanie Klein on the one hand, and the 'orthodox' freudians now centred about Anna Freud on the other hand, once more broke to the surface. This time however the situation was - at least initially - more controlled in a manner conducive to scientific progress.

Barbara Lantos records the fact that the previous year and in a bid to take any 'personal element' out of the controversies within the Society, Anna Freud had proposed that the earlier haphazard and 'emotional' discussions be replaced by systematic discussion of well-prepared papers⁵. This suggestion was quickly adopted, and discussion meetings continued over the following three years. More recently

¹Ilse Hellman, op. cit., Hansi Kennedy, op. cit. See: Appendix XI.

²Letter of Anneliese Schnurmann to this study, 22nd July 1977. See: Appendix XI.

³Letter of Ruth Thomas, op. cit.

⁴Interview with Ilse Hellman, op. cit.

⁵Lantos (1966).

the whole series of 'controversial discussions of the British Psa. Society' has become available¹.

On 27th January 1943 Anna Freud and others contributed to the discussion of a paper on 'The nature and function of phantasy' by Susan Isaacs (1885-1945), and further contributions to the theme were made on 7th April². Even these 'controlled' discussions were apparently not without difficulties and repercussions, and by 1944 Sylvia Payne as an 'independent' was called forward to preside over some settlement of what had become an internal crisis within the British Psa. Society³. Around this time Edward Glover attempted to persuade Anna Freud to form a separate 'breakaway' society, but she declined⁴. Glover subsequently resigned all his positions within the British Society, after having as he later admits⁵ greatly overestimated the strength and support of the Kleinian apostasy. The whole question of a resolution of these internal difficulties had to await the immediate post-war period. Meanwhile Anna Freud's name did not appear on the Training Committee of the British Society for 1944-45⁶, nor for 1945-46⁷. Professionally speaking this appears to have been an altogether difficult period for Anna Freud, as is further shown by the problems encountered during efforts to publish a new English translation of her technical lectures of 1927. The new edition eventually became

¹ British Psa. Soc. (1967), *The 1943 'controversial' discussions*, Sci. Bull. Brit. Psa. Soc. & Inst. Psychoanal, No. 10.

² 'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1944), 25, 182-3.

³ W. Hoffer, '75th birthday tribute to Sylvia Payne', Journal, (1955), Vol. 3.

⁴ Interview with Ilse Hellman, op. cit.

⁵ Glover (1966).

⁶ The committee comprised Bowlby, Balint, Strachey, Scott, Sylvia Payne, Susan Isaacs and Melanie Klein: 'Report of British Psa. Society', Journal, (1946), 27, 80-81.

⁷ This committee comprised Bowlby, Scott, Rickman, Sylvia Payne, Susan Isaacs, Melanie Klein and Adrian Stephen: *ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

available in 1946¹, and as the author notes in her Preface it was not her fault that the material was being presented to the English reader at such a late date. The book was, she continued, "rejected when offered to the International Psychoanalytical Library for publication, and the matter lapsed, so far as England was concerned"¹.

At the height of the wartime 'Kleinian controversy' Anna Freud apparently undertook to have privately printed an account of the theoretical views underlying work in the Hampstead War Nursery². The title could not be traced or verified but is cited by Michael Balint, who presumably possessed or read a copy and notes it as "sharply criticising the ideas of M. Klein et al"³. No mention is made of the work in the publishing-history notes to the recent volume of Anna Freud's *Collected Writings* which covers work in the Hampstead War Nursery⁴. The conclusion suggests itself that perhaps the authors later wished withdrawn any inflammatory or unduly 'strong' views on the 'controversial issues' regarding theoretical differences. Certainly in her later publications Anna Freud has achieved significant points of contact and rapprochement with Melanie Klein's work, particularly with regard to Klein's important concept of the 'good' and 'bad' mother objects for example⁵.

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At a meeting of the British Psa. Society on 5th May 1943 Anna Freud

¹Anna Freud (1946d). This is a 'composite' edition, comprising Anna Freud (1927a), (1928a) and (1945a), together with a new and outspoken Preface.

²A. Freud & D. Burlingham, Hampstead Nursery, London, 1941-45. Privately printed.

³M. Balint, (1945), 'Individual differences of behaviour in early infancy', in Balint (1957)

⁴Writings, Vol.III, pp.xxvii-xxx

⁵Anna Freud (1954a), (1956a), (1958a); Writings, IV, 297 & 324; V, 119,

read a paper 'On the early social behaviour of infants: a preliminary report on some observations'¹. The paper was not published in its original form, but may well have been expanded into the later work arguing the case for and against residential nurseries². In January-February 1944 there appeared two short papers on sex education contributed to the Health Education Journal³; and during this same period Anna Freud was an 'adviser on childhood problems' in the correspondence columns of Nursery World⁴.

¹'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1944), 25, 182-3.

²Anna Freud (1944a).

³Anna Freud (1944b), (1944c).

⁴Writings, III, pp.483-4.

CHAPTER SIX

LONDON & POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

I: General Professional Activities
(1945-c.1980)

The year 1945 saw Anna Freud once again undertaking the various labours of General Secretary of the International Psychoanalytic Association. Her wartime predecessor had been Edward Glover, now withdrawn from all active offices following the 'internal crisis' of the British Psa. Society. As editor of the first post-war I.P.A. Bulletin, Anna Freud noted that "After the long break in the relations between the International Association and the branch societies ... the first reports of psychoanalytic activity in German-occupied territory have arrived from the French Psa. Society"¹. Anna Freud continued to edit these bulletin reports until 1949, when Grete Bibring became General Secretary of the I.P.A.

'THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHILD'

A new scientific journal appeared in the child analysis field in 1945, and heralded the return to securer working conditions. It was named The Psychoanalytic Study of The Child, and took the format of an annual published simultaneously in London and New York. The title-page of the opening issue (Fig.XII) shows Anna Freud as co-editor, in a most distinguished company of students of the child and psychoanalysis. In their Preface to the first annual volume the joint-editors state as their intention that of emphasising contributions which "centre on psychoanalytic hypotheses ... It is hoped that from this centre contacts with neighbouring fields will be established"². The tangible success of this last aim is today well-attested by over 30 impressive annual volumes, which together document much of the best of the post-war work in the field of child analysis together with its ramifications into education, genetic psychology, paediatrics and other cognate disciplines.

¹I.P.A. Bulletin Report, Journal, (1945), 26, p.84.

²Editorial Preface, PSC, (1945), Vol.1.

Fig. XII.

'The Psychoanalytic Study of The Child',
With Anna Freud as Co-Editor, (1945-).

The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child

VOLUME I

1945

AN ANNUAL

EDITORIAL BOARD

Great Britain

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The anglo-american origins of this important organ for child analysis research lie in the closing stages of the Second World War. Thirty years later the circumstances received some outline in a special historical note by the then editors Ruth S. Eissler, Anna Freud, Marianne Kris and Albert J. Solnit¹. There it was noted as "a remarkable feat" for a period when communications between the two countries were slow or even completely disrupted. A further problem was the finding of a willing publisher for such a new venture, and A. S. Kagan of International Universities Press is gratefully acknowledged as having undertaken this aspect. Elsewhere, in an editorial insertion² bearing the names Anna Freud, Ruth S. Eissler, Marianne Kris, Seymour Lustman and Lottie M. Newman, it is stated that Heinz Hartmann "founded The Psychoanalytic Study of The Child, together with Anna Freud and Ernst Kris in 1945". Certainly, and for many years now, the title pages of the journal have carried a sub-heading 'Founding Editors' under which are placed the names Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann and Ernst Kris.

Despite the unquestioned authoritativeness of the above editorial remarks the general picture they present requires one or two modifications in the light of important facts raised by another author. Thus Sandor Lorand, in his historical account of psychoanalysis in New York since 1925³, notes that at the end of World War Two he was approached by Josef Rifkin, founder of the International Universities Press. Rifkin asked Lorand to organise a Yearbook of Psychoanalysis and a Yearbook of Child Analysis.

¹'Thirty years later', PSC (1975), 30, pp. xi-xlv.

²'Obituary : Heinz Hartmann', PSC, (1970), Vol.25.

³Lorand (1969).

Lorand undertook the former task, but for the latter he directed Rifkin to Ernst Kris and René Spitz. Both publications began in 1945. Spitz does not appear to have played a prominent role in organising the child analysis annual, though he did carry out the role of co-editor until his death almost thirty years later. Ernst Kris presumably drew Heinz Hartmann and Anna Freud into the new venture, and perhaps also coined the new title as an alternative to the proposed 'Yearbook'.

Anna Freud's initial contribution to the new annual was an important and subsequently much-cited paper entitled 'Indications for child analysis'¹. A year later this formed a new part to an important book on technique², and more recently has given its title to the appropriate volume of Anna Freud's Collected Writings³.

KLEINIAN RAPPROCHEMENT

In 1946 the long series of 'controversial discussions' of the British Psychoanalytical Society came to a close. This was marked by an historic 'Extraordinary Meeting' held on 26th June 1946⁴. Resolutions were passed to the effect that (i) all analytic schools of thought accepted by a substantive part of the society should be represented in the training curriculum, and (ii) a committee of six people be formed to discuss training proposals. Of the six members two each were to be nominated by Sylvia Payne, Anna Freud and Melanie Klein.

From the evidence of her publications Anna Freud was not slow in putting into effect the conciliatory implications of these resolutions. Already in 1946, in her masterly survey of infantile

¹Anna Freud (1945a).

²Anna Freud (1946d).

³Anna Freud (1968h).

⁴'Extraordinary meeting on training proposals', Report of the British Psa. Society, Journal, (1946), 27, p.82.

feeding disturbances¹, she had included Melanie Klein's contribution on aggression in a non-partisan and informative manner, and had further noted the use made of Klein's theories in the systematic investigations of Merrell Middlemore². Ever since, and even after Klein's death in 1960, Anna Freud has never in her published writings reverted to direct criticism of Melanie Klein and her theories, but has tended to regularly introduce that author and her work in a neutral or positive fashion. Appendix IX below lists at the appropriate entry all the known occasions on which Anna Freud mentions Melanie Klein or her work, and these references may be further grouped as follows, (a) critical comments (1927-1945) and (b) non-critical comments (1946-1975 etc.).

Something of Anna Freud's motivation and reasoning for rigorously maintaining this latter approach to Klein's work may be seen in certain of her remarks in 'A short history of child analysis'³, which remarks also show her as a sound judge of scientific priorities and totally opposed to unproductive argument of the 'internecine warfare' kind. Thus, Anna Freud laments that "It was not to the advantage of the development of child analysis that from the outset" it proceeded on two lines distinct from one another⁴. After briefly reviewing in identical neutral tone the main ideas of both her own 'school' and Melanie Klein's, the author notes "one point, nevertheless, on which the two schools were in full agreement"⁵. This was the form in which each school offered instruction to candidates, and the value of this to Anna Freud, intent as she is upon maintaining the validity and rigour

¹Anna Freud (1946a).

²Middlemore (1941).

³Anna Freud (1966e).

⁴Writings, VII, p.51.

⁵ibid., p.53

of psychoanalysis as science, was that "we had seen too much of the danger of 'wild analysts' in the adult field to wish to produce a similar breed for the treatment of children"¹. In this later phase of her approach to the 'Kleinian controversy' then, we see Anna Freud at her best as a scientific-rationalist thinker. She avoids points of a controversial nature and likely to lead to sterile theoretical arguments of a repetitive kind; she works in an integrative and synthetic fashion, utilising data which are assessed not in terms of their origin and authorship but in terms of their existing corroboration and probable validity; and, where she cannot accept but cannot refute, she presents differing viewpoints lucidly and with great clarity for the benefit of others who may later be able to go a little further than she herself. No scientific 'Weltanschauung' can hope for completeness without a strict adherence to these principles, and in Anna Freud's hands, as in her illustrious father's hands, science and the worldly cause find themselves well served.

Other authors have not always proved capable of following Anna Freud's example in handling the 'controversial issues', as witness the 'mêlée' developing from the discussion of the 'Symposium on child analysis' at the 1961 Edinburgh International Congress². More recently, poorly-researched 'Kleinian critiques' continue to emerge³.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND EDUCATION

period

The post-war¹ saw an immediate resurgence of psychoanalytic publications dealing with the theme of education. The new annual The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child initially carried a special section devoted to 'Psychoanalysis and Education', with early contributions from Otto Fenichel, Editha Sterba and most valuably

¹Writings, VII, p.51.

²Bick (1962), Geleerd (1962), Hellman (1962a).

³Yorke (1971).

Willi Hoffer¹. On the 19th November 1946, and under the auspices of the nascent U.N.E.S.C.O. programme, Anna Freud visited the University of the Sorbonne, Paris, to deliver a lecture entitled 'Problèmes d'adaptation posés par l'éducation des enfants qui ont souffert de la guerre'². To the best of the present writer's knowledge this has never been translated, and is only available in the original French.

In her U.N.E.S.C.O. conference-paper Anna Freud acknowledges that it was thanks to her father that the adult-centred child education of the early part of the century had begun to give way to the proper paedagogical study of the child. However, whereas university teachers had admitted the study of adolescence, that of the early stages of childhood still merited little respect. Anna Freud thus criticises educationists not on moral but on psychological grounds. In arguing for the special efficacy of psychoanalysis in relation to the more child-centred educator she notes the First World War as witnessing the beginnings of acceptance for psychoanalytic ideas, whilst the Second World War "fut d'un grand profit au monde pédagogique"³ if only people would learn the lesson. After presenting the familiar stages of emotional-psychic development of the young child Anna Freud then points to the significance for early schooling of the formation of stable groups around 'artificial mothers'. Of all the lessons arising from the wartime studies of evacuees in residential nursery settings this is probably the most valuable, and at the same time the most readily translated into common school practice.

¹Hoffer (1945).

²Anna Freud (1946c).

³Anna Freud (1946c), p.184.

Just as the pre-war Vienna Psa. Institute had catered for the psychological instruction of teachers with its celebrated 'Course for Educators' organised by Willi Hoffer and Anna Freud, so did the post-war institutes also take up this same task. During 1947-48 a student of Anna Freud's, Elizabeth Geleerd, ran an 'Extension course and seminar for schoolteachers' at the New York Psa. Institute School of Applied Psychoanalysis¹; whilst at the Philadelphia Psa. Institute a Dr. Liss gave a practical programme of 5 sessions on 'The relation between the functions of the teacher and psychoanalyst' for candidates in their fourth year of training. This latter theme was also the subject of a paper by Edward Glover², who viewed teachers and therapists as complementary to each other; noted transference manifestations operative in teaching as well as in psychoanalytic settings; and like Freud many years earlier warned educators not to attempt to mould the child.

The many occasions on which, during the ensuing years, Anna Freud would contribute papers to specifically educational themes, are part-listed in Appendix VI below.

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During 1946-47 Anna Freud was once again listed on the important Training Committee of the British Psa. Society, together with Sylvia Payne (chairman), Bowlby, Gillespie, Rickman, Klein and Stephen³. Courses of lectures and seminars at the London Institute were arranged in two parallel streams in accordance with the proposals adopted at the Extraordinary Business Meeting of June 1946, and

¹I.P.A. Bulletin & Branch Society Reports, Journal, (1948), 29, 188ff.

²Glover (1950).

³'Report of the London Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1946-47', Journal, (1948), 29, 191-2.

following the long series of 'controversial discussions'. Anna Freud conducted 'Course B' including 5 seminars for 1st and 2nd year candidates, and gave to 1st year candidates a course of 8 lectures on 'Principles of psycho-analysis'¹. The independent child analysis training programme initiated around this time by Anna Freud and Kate Friedlander is discussed elsewhere (Chapter 7).

On 27th March 1947 Anna Freud gave in London a lecture on 'The sleeping difficulties of the young child'. An outline of this, though not published until over twenty years later², served as the basis for several later lectures on the same theme, including a talk at the Cassel Hospital on 7th October 1949. For this work on sleep disturbances, as also for that on feeding disturbances³, the author was indebted to the enormous numbers of relevant observations made possible through the care of infant evacuees during the war years.

There was no annual volume of The Psychoanalytic Study of The Child in 1947, nor the following year. Anna Freud did however contribute two separate chapters to R. W. B. Ellis' Child Health & Development⁴, and was evidently busy also in other directions. From 24th-27th May 1947 there was a Meeting of European Psycho-Analysts held in Amsterdam. Anna Freud attended, presenting a paper on 'Transformation of instinct in early childhood'⁵, and was again in Amsterdam on 25th October, no doubt staying with her close friends the Lampls. This latter occasion was the opening of the Dutch

¹ 'Report of the London Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1946-47', Journal, (1948), 29, 191-2.

² Anna Freud (1968e).

³ Anna Freud (1946a), (1947a).

⁴ Anna Freud (1947a), (1947b).

⁵ Unpublished, but added to (1947b) as final part. See: Writings, IV, p.470ff.

Psychoanalytic Society's new Institute and Out-Patient Clinic, in a splendid house provided by the Amsterdam Town Council. Hans Lampl and Jeanne Lampl-de Groot had played a major part in the success of this venture. Anna Freud attended the opening session, giving a "very interesting lecture on the connection between the theory and technique of psychoanalysis"¹. The year also saw Anna Freud continuing her work on 'Course B' at the London Institute of Psychoanalysis, and in this she was joined by her close colleagues Willi Hoffer, Barbara Lantos, Kate Friedlander and Hedwig Hoffer². The series of lectures to 1st year candidates on 'Principles of psychoanalysis' was also continued.

On 9th December 1947 Anna Freud contributed a 15 minute paper to a 'Symposium on aggression' held by the Section of Psychiatry of the Royal Society of Medicine³. This was the first of three such appearances which Anna Freud would make in front of this distinguished body, the others being in 1958 and 1975 respectively.

The theme of aggression continued to absorb attention in the post-war academic world, and provided a focus for the majority of contributors at the International Congress on Mental Health which took place in London in August 1948. Anna Freud however was quick to point out that "The recent war has, in fact, taught us nothing about aggression which might not have been learned before"⁴, and the general study of human relationships and child development has "at all times" provided material for the observation of

¹'Report of the Dutch Psa. Society', Journal,(1947), 28, 209.

²'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal,(1948), 29, 191-2.

³Anna Freud (1949f).

⁴Anna Freud (1949g).

aggressive behaviour¹. One is reminded here of the occasion two years earlier when Anna Freud had stated, contrary to much popular opinion which still exists today, that "La guerre ne fut d'aucun profit aux enfants"². Too much of a realist to be misled by the deception that 'every cloud has a silver lining', Anna Freud presents an eloquent and studied rationale for the essential uselessness of wars to the student of the affairs of childhood.

The 1948 U.N.E.S.C.O. conference in Paris took as its theme mental attitudes affecting international understanding. Anna Freud's contribution was to look at instinct-driven human behaviour³, and her title, in the original only, was 'Educational and psychological techniques for changing mental attitudes affecting international understanding'⁴. In 1953 the same paper formed a chapter in the commemorative 'Festschrift' volume for Marie Bonaparte⁵, who was one of only a small handful of colleagues thus honoured by Anna Freud's scientific works⁶. The year 1948 also saw Anna Freud contributing the first of the many Prefaces she would subsequently write for other people's works. The recipient was Hanns Sachs, and here⁷ as on many later occasions Anna Freud demonstrates a detailed and personal acquaintance with the early historical development of her subject.

¹Anna Freud (1949g), Writings, IV, pp.61-62.

²Anna Freud (1946c).

³Anna Freud (1953d).

⁴Writings, IV, p.498n.

⁵Loewenstein, R.M., (Ed), Drives, Affects, Behaviour, New York, I.U.P., 1953.

⁶Others being Eitingon, Aichhorn, Lampl-de Groot, Hartmann.

⁷Anna Freud (1948b).

The I.P.A. Bulletin for 1948 edited by Anna Freud¹ contained for the first time since 1939 a full list of members for all branch societies. A number of the component societies - those of Detroit, Paris, Palestine and the Swiss Psa. Society - show Anna Freud elected as an Honorary Member. Many similar acknowledgements of her growing eminence throughout the psychoanalytical world would follow in later years, including honorary memberships of the American Psa. Association and the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis in 1950; the New York Psa. Society in 1955; and more recently the psa. societies of Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Western New England, Vienna, Germany and Sweden. Sometime during 1948, as noted by Hoffer², Anna Freud and Kate Friedlander travelled to Geneva to give lectures as part of a post-graduate course organised by Professor Bovet. August Aichhorn also made the journey, from Vienna, and the confluence of these three remarkable analysts can only be described as a uniquely valuable acquisition for any university course on childhood development. Tragically within the space of a year or so both these gifted and influential friends were to be taken from Anna Freud. Aichhorn died aged 71 in October 1949. His obituary notice³ was one of only *four* such pieces which the author *has* published for her closest colleagues⁴, and in it she noted "personal friends who felt his loss deeply"⁵. Kate Friedlander died at the early age of 47. She had won medical degrees from Innsbruck, Berlin, Edinburgh and London, and came to play a key role in stimulating Anna Freud to initiate the Hampstead Child-Therapy

¹Journal, (1948), Vol. 29, pp. 260ff.

²Hoffer (1949).

³Anna Freud (1951k).

⁴The others being Willi Hoffer (Anna Freud 1968d) and James Strachey (Anna Freud 1969r). Cf. also Anna Freud (1973, Unpublished). *Edith B. Jackson now joins the list, (Anna Freud, 1978c).*

⁵Writings, IV, p. 627.

Training Course in 1947 (See: Chapter 7). She had recently and sympathetically reviewed Anna Freud's *The Psychoanalytical Treatment of Children*¹ and regretted, as had the author herself, the long delay in its publication in England². These technical recommendations of Anna Freud's were fundamental to Kate Friedlander's analytical thinking, as shown in her classic work on child guidance³.

From the 15th-19th August 1949 the Sixteenth International Psa. Congress was held in Zurich. Anna Freud attended as I.P.A. Secretary, and once more edited the now customarily extensive and valuable congress report⁴. She also presented her own paper at the 5th scientific session. The theme was that of male homosexuality⁵, a topic to which the author would devote considerable and productive attention in the ensuing two to three years, arriving then at her significant concept of 'emotional surrender' (Hörigkeit) of the completest kind⁶ and the antithesis of this as found in states of negativism. Anna Freud also provided the commentary during the showing of Willi Hoffer's wartime films of infant feeding behaviour in the Hampstead Nursery; she was asked to store at her home old records of the I.P.A., much as she had throughout the war years stored bundles of her father's voluminous correspondence in the cellars of 20, Maresfield Gardens; and she was elected a Member of

¹Anna Freud (1946d).

²Friedlander (1947).

³Friedlander ((1945)1947).

⁴'Report of the 16th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1949), 30, 178ff.

⁵Anna Freud (1949b).

⁶Anna Freud (1951c), (1952d), and (1968g), *Writings*, IV, chap.10.

Council together with Marie Bonaparte, Jeanne Lampl-de Groot and Heinz Hartmann.

In thanking Ernest Jones the retiring President of the International Association, Anna Freud reminded the members of Jones' strenuous efforts during the struggle to extricate continental analysts, including her own father, from the Nazis. She also, and from long and personal experience, gave great insight into the difficulties of holding high office in the I.P.A., and noted Jones' great tenacity in that respect¹.

Anna Freud's published works for 1949 included an important contribution on social maladjustment for the Aichhorn 'Festschrift'²; a Forward to a book by a Viennese colleague who had emigrated to America³; a cautionary paper on nursery school education⁴; and a contribution for many years available only in the German original and dealing with the preadolescent's relations to parents⁵. A fuller chronological hand-list of all Anna Freud's known publications is presented in Appendix I below.

U.S. VISITS AND WIDER INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

With the sudden and personally-felt loss of August Aichhorn and Kate Friedlander both in the same year 1949, it may well have seemed to Anna Freud that the European psychoanalytic scene had been emptied of a vital source of energy and prospect. Perhaps it is no mere coincidence that by the following year, 1950, Anna Freud was accepting invitations to embark upon her first American lecture-tour, with

¹Report of 16th Congress, op. cit., p.189.

²Anna Freud (1949a).

³Anna Freud (1949c). In Edith Buxbaum's book, (1949).

⁴Anna Freud (1949d).

⁵Anna Freud (1949e).

subsequent long U.S. visits every few years over the next two decades. This is not to suggest that, with the continued association of colleagues such as Aichhorn and Friedlander, Anna Freud would have encouraged a 'European school' in contrast to an 'American school' of psychoanalysis. On the contrary, the evidence of the 'Kleinian controversy' within the British Society had shown that fundamentally Anna Freud was politically non-schismatic and non-divisive. It may well be however that in different circumstances America would have beckoned for longer, and eventually have received less attention.

On 22nd April 1950 the degree of Doctor of Laws, LL.D. *honoris causa*, was conferred upon Anna Freud, in a ceremony which took place at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. It marked the recipient's first visit to the U.S.A., and was her first though by no means last such academic award. Forty years earlier her father Sigmund Freud had received the same degree from the same university.

The citation for the present occasion was read by Heinz Werner of the Department of Psychology at Clark, who presented a brief curriculum vitae for Anna Freud, noted her father's earlier visit and added that "It is eminently fitting that on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Clark University, we should honour Anna Freud, eminent psychologist, who has creatively extended her father's work in psychoanalysis"¹.

Anna Freud presented two scientific papers at the invitation of the Psychology Department of Clark University. On 20th April 1950 in a major academic contribution she discussed 'The contributions of psychoanalysis to genetic psychology'², and included Piaget,

¹'Anna Freud, LL.D.', News and Notes, Journal, (1950), Vol. 31.

²Anna Freud (1951a).

Kurt Lewin, Mowrer and Kluckhohn, Henry Murray, R. R. Sears and Hilgard amongst the non-analytical researchers discussed. On 21st April she read 'Child psychiatry'¹. That same day Anna Freud also visited the Worcester Child Guidance Centre, reading a paper on 'Infantile disturbances of feeding and sleeping'² the content of which was largely based upon the author's previous post-war studies of eating and sleep disturbances.

Earlier in her tour, on 17th April at the New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute, Anna Freud lectured on the theme of male homosexuality³ in a presentation closely following that of her Zurich congress paper of the previous year. This difficult theme which the author approached with a new emphasis on concepts of passivity and identification, was only slowly worked out in a series of papers spanning 1949-1952. Even then, apart from brief early abstracts, the work largely went unpublished until almost twenty years later⁴.

On 19th April before a joint audience from Radcliffe College and Harvard University Department of Social Relations Anna Freud discussed the applications of psychoanalysis to problems of citizenship and parenthood. The lecture, though only available in abstract⁵, is of unquestioned interest to teachers. In it the author identifies three parental 'types', viz. (i) those who have repressed their own conflicts and permit little individual happiness to the child, (ii) those who remain conscious of their conflicts

¹Unpublished. An abstract is available (Anna Freud 1951e).

²Anna Freud (1951f) (abstract only).

³Anna Freud (1951c).

⁴Anna Freud (1968g).

⁵Anna Freud (1951d).

and permit the child to be happy at the expense of citizenship and (iii) those who possess some analytic knowledge and dread the pathogenic consequences of repression. In clarifying the fallacies inherent in all of these attitudes, the author suggests that the way to better parenthood rests rather in the exploration by the parents of their own childhood experiences.

After leaving Clark University, Anna Freud LL.D. attended a symposium entitled 'Problems of Child Development' at the Austen Riggs Foundation Stockbridge, Mass. Others present - many of them colleagues of Anna Freud in Vienna, together with other child analysts and child psychiatrists - included Grete Bibring, Berta Bornstein, Helene Deutsch, Erik Erikson, Elizabeth Geleerd, Phyllis Greenacre, Heinz Hartmann, Mary O'Neal Hawkins, Bertram Lewin, Rudolph Loewenstein, Margaret Mahler, Marian Putnam, Beata Rank, Melitta Sperling, René Spitz, Emmy Sylvester, Robert Waelder and as chairman Robert P. Knight. The opening address was spoken by Ernst Kris¹. Anna Freud's contribution to the symposium - a paper dealing with 'Observations on child development'² - was in effect a major milestone in the formulation of her views, and comes in the same year that Ernst Kris opened his Experimental Laboratory, forerunner of the modern Yale Child Study Centre. In her paper the author related many wartime nursery observations to important current theoretical issues such as reconstruction, developmental chronology and discrepancies between theory and observation. Of the other Stockbridge Symposium contributors, Anna Freud³ makes special note of Ernst Kris, Dorothy Burlingham and Marian Putnam et al.

¹Preface, Notes, PSC, (1951), Vol.6.

²Anna Freud (1951b).

³Writings, IV, p.143n.

Anna Freud's first American tour - a marathon of 18 days - closed with more lectures, to Western Reserve Medical School on April 26th when the theme was the illness and hospitalisation of the child¹; a public lecture in Detroit; and on 27th April a lecture in Detroit to the American Psychoanalytical Association².

Abstracts of all Anna Freud's major lectures presented during this first U.S. tour were prepared by the author herself, and appeared in the Bulletin of the American Psychoanalytic Association³.

It was during this first U.S. visit that Anna Freud, when in New York for the first time, saw her old Viennese colleague and teacher Paul Federn for the very last time. The ailing Federn had sent his son Ernst to Anna Freud's lecture, and was greatly pleased when late one evening and accompanied by Max Schur and Willi Hoffer she paid him a visit. Federn it seems spoke of some money which he still owed Freud from the Vienna days, but Anna Freud "assured Federn that her father had never mentioned any debt. As for herself, she said, she felt that her debt to Federn far exceeded any obligation on his part"⁴.

The visits undertaken by Anna Freud to the U.S.A. from 1950-1970 are detailed in Fig. XIII, thus avoiding a repetitive and extended chronological account in the text. Beginning with more or less bi-annual visits through the 1950's a 'peak' occurs from 1962-1966, when the subject travelled at least once a year and several times in one year 1964. Of particular note in this extremely

¹Anna Freud (1951g).

²Anna Freud (1951i).

³Vol.7, (1951), Pt.2, pp. 117-130: 'The Anna Freud Lectures in America - 1950'.

⁴Weiss (1966).

FIG. XIII

Visits to the U.S.A. undertaken by Anna Freud, 1950-1970

DATE	REFERENCE	ITINERY	PUBLICATIONS (ANNA FREUD)
April 1950	<u>Bull. Amer. Psa. Assn.</u> , (1951), 7, 117-130.	New York; Worcester; Stockbridge; Detroit	(1951a) (1951b) & Abstracts (1951c-i)
Oct 1952	Thomson (1968)	Cleveland; Harvard	(1952b) (1953c) (1968g)
May 1954	Furman (1957) Katan (1959)	New York; Philadelphia; Atlantic City	(1954a) (1954b) (1954c) (1954d) (1955b) (1974c)
Sept 1956	Katan (1959) Rangell (1963a)	Cleveland, Ohio	(1969d) (1969e)
Sept 1957	Spitz (1958)	Worcester; New York.	(1958a) (1958b) (1960e)
April 1959	Gitelson (1962) Valenstein (1962) Rangell (1963)	Los Angeles; Boston; San Francisco.	See: Appendix II (Unpublished)
Sept 1960	Katan (1961) Wangh (1962) Nagera (1963) Neubauer (1967)	New York	'Four Lectures' See: Appendix II.
Sept 1962	Rangell (1963)	Topeka, Kansas	(1963b)
Spring 1963	-	Yale Law School	(1965j)
April 1964	Rangell (1967)	Yale Law School; New York	(1965j) (1969k-m)
June 1964	-	Philadelphia	(1967d)
Nov 1964	-	New York	(1965g) (1966a)
Oct 1965	Lustman (1967a)	Washington; New York	-
April 1966	Beigler ((1967)1974)	Yale; Topeka	(1966f) (1967c) (1966e)
Dec 1966	-	Chicago	(1971g)
April 1968	Shapiro (1974)	New York; Yale	(1968c) (1969a) (1971h) (1971i)
April-May 1970	Kohrman et al (1971)	Yale, New Haven	(1970a)

busy and full phase of Anna Freud's life and work are her Ernst Kris Memorial Lecture¹, read at the New York Academy of Medicine on 2nd September 1957; her paper for the 35th anniversary of the Worcester Youth Guidance Centre, also of September 1957, in which the author returned "to the subject of adolescence after an interval of twenty years"²; her C.F. Menninger Memorial Lecture read before the Topeka Psa. Society on 21st September 1962 and published in a special 'Anna Freud Number' of the Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic³; and the 18th Freud Anniversary Lecture read in New York on 16th April 1968⁴. Though space does not here permit it a great deal could be written on Anna Freud's Association with the U.S.A. and the important developments arising from that extended and on-going association. Many of the more important turnings in the author's scientific work and thought received their first publication after presentation as verbal communications on her American lecture-tours⁵, and this was also the case during the gestation period (1960-65) of Anna Freud's foremost contribution of recent years, the *Normality And Pathology In Childhood*⁶. The precursors of this important book are discussed at the appropriate point below.

If a separate and full account were to be attempted of Anna Freud's 'America' chapter it would quite possibly rank in scientific importance alongside the latter-day 'Hampstead Clinic' chapter. In actual fact of course the work we see in both chapters is thereby

¹Anna Freud (1958a).

²Anna Freud (1958b).

³Anna Freud (1963b).

⁴Anna Freud (1969a).

⁵e.g. Anna Freud (1951b), (1958a), (1966f), (1970a).

⁶Anna Freud (1965a).

artificially robbed of its essential unity. This unity stems from the common denominator found in the person and thought of its author Anna Freud, and the true relationship between her post-war American and London activities is almost certainly of the nature of a cyclic-catalytic relation, i.e. mutually and reciprocally stimulating and enriching.

If Anna Freud's international emergence as a pre-eminent psycho-analytic and child study figure was ever in doubt, the post-war Americans soon dispelled that doubt. Many eminent members of their fraternity have expended such warmth, enthusiasm and labour upon the task of acknowledging our subject's scientific leadership in her field¹ that it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that, like her father before her in the early part of the century, she is more highly regarded abroad than in the country of her residence.

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Back in London the elections of the British Psa. Society for July 1950 saw Anna Freud again a member of the Training Committee, together with Rickman, Hoffer, Balint, Winnicott, Gillespie and Melanie Klein². Training and supervisory activities and lectures and seminars to candidates all continued to secure Anna Freud's attention.

The first volume of Sigmund Freud's published correspondence in German appeared in 1950, with Marie Bonaparte, Anna Freud and Ernst Kris as editors (Herausgeber). The volume contained Freud's letters to Wilhelm Fliess, and the 'Vorwort' indicates that Anna

¹See for example: Panel (1963), Meers (1966), Pumpian-Mindlin (1966), Anderson (1967), Lustman (1967), D. Kaplan (1968), Ekstein & Motto (1969), Ross (1971a), L. Kaplan (1971), Greenson (1972).

²'Report of British Psa. Society', Journal (1954), 35, p.385.

Freud made the detailed selection of letters whilst Kris provided an introduction and notes¹. An English translation by Eric Mosbacher and James Strachey followed within a few years² with the editors unchanged.

In Paris from 18th-27th September 1950 an International Congress of Psychiatry met. Anna Freud attended the discussion group led by Franz Alexander on 'Evolution and present trends of psychoanalysis', and gave as her paper an account of the evolution of psychoanalytic child psychology³. Other notable analysts present included Marie Bonaparte, Raymond de Saussure and Melanie Klein.

By the early 1950's Anna Freud's professional life may be viewed as being securely grounded in the following four interlocking and demanding directions:-

1. a busy private practice of some five analytical hours daily, and now centred upon adult patients and candidates in training,
2. high office and involvement in both the business and scientific affairs of the International Psychoanalytic Association and the bi-annual I.P.A. Congresses (Fig. XIV below),
3. expanding interest in the U.S.A., and the undertaking of lecture-tours and other visits at least bi-annually and for certain periods more frequently,
4. gradual expansion and refinement of the clinical services and research interests of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic (Chapter 7 below).

It is difficult to over-emphasise the fundamental significance of 1. above as the empirical source of that soundness and rigour which

¹Freud (1950A).

²Imago P.C. London 1954.

³Anna Freud (1950a).

is a hallmark of Anna Freud's theorising. Additionally, it carries radical implications for certain sections of the education service & teaching professions - particularly for the current breed of *quasi-educational* and essentially non-teaching 'experts' - as is made clear elsewhere (Chapter 10 below).

To this already full and daunting work regime there must be added the constant and arduous obligation of authorship and responsibility for the publication of much scientific material. Moreover, 'special events' not readily assignable to any of the above-mentioned categories would continue to appear rather frequently amongst Anna Freud's formal activities.

Almost inevitably our subject's direct involvement with the British Psa. Society was gradually 'run down' in the period 1951-55. Anna Freud appears to have ceased holding formal office or council positions from 1951-52¹, whereas courses of lectures and seminars continued until 1955 when she still gave a single regular seminar as part of 'Course B' to 3rd year candidates. After that time Anna Freud's name no longer appears in the day-to-day organised activities of the British Psa. Society. However, society news notices do still make note of her other activities, international honours and so forth, and show her to be still regarded as an esteemed and active member of the British Society.

As was done for the U.S. lecture-tours, brief details of Anna Freud's participation at the International Psa. Congresses for 1950-1970 have been placed into a synoptic table (Fig. XIV). As being of particular note for educators we may point to Anna Freud's 1961 Edinburgh Congress paper on the theory of the parent-infant rela-

¹Bulletin Reports, British Psa. Society 1950-55 etc., in Journal, (1954), 35, 385-6 etc.

tionship¹; and her 1967 Copenhagen Congress presentation on the theme of acting out², with valuable comments on the age-adequate 'acting out' phenomena of pre-latency and adolescence respectively. As was the case for the U.S. visits earlier discussed in brief only, a great deal more could be written regarding the International Psa. Association in these years. However, attention must now be directed to certain other important matters arising in Anna Freud's professional life.

On 14th February 1951 the Sigmund Freud Archives Inc. came into being, formed by a group of internationally eminent psychoanalysts and with headquarters in New York and document archives in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Anna Freud became an honorary member of the Archives together with Albert Einstein, Ludwig Jekels and Thomas Mann³. As the subject indicated in her first communication to the present study, all her own correspondence and unpublished papers are to be deposited in the Library of Congress archives "so they are together with my father's"⁴.

From 19th July to 10th August 1952 the World Federation for Mental Health held an international seminar on 'Mental Health and Infant Development' under the chairmanship of Kenneth Soddy at Bishop Otter Training College, Chichester, England⁵. Those present included John Bowlby, Margaret Mead, Edith B. Jackson, René Spitz and workers from a number of allied fields and professions. Anna Freud presented a talk⁶ in which she drew heavily upon her experiences in two world wars. As on a previous occasion in Paris in 1946, the speaker vigorously denied the special efficacy of war-

¹Anna Freud (1962d).

²Anna Freud (1968a).

³'Notes', Psychoanalytic Quarterly, (1951), 20, 660.

⁴Letter of Anna Freud, 11th May 1976. See: Appendix X.

⁵Soddy (1955), Vol.1.

⁶Anna Freud (1955a).

FIG. XIV

INTERNATIONAL PSYCHOANALYTICAL CONGRESSES
ATTENDED BY ANNA FREUD, 1950-1970

CONGRESS	SOURCE (I.P.A. BULLETIN)*	INVOLVEMENT OF SUBJECT	PUBLICATIONS (ANNA FREUD)
17th Amsterdam 1951	<u>Journal</u> (1952), 33.	Joint Vice-President. Spoke on post-war German Gesellschaft, affiliation of lay analysts & international character of I.P.A.	(1952d) (1952e)
18th London 1953	ibid. (1954), 35.	Joint Vice-President. Discussion contra M. Klein over question of Argentinian analysts.	(1954e) (1967b)
19th Geneva 1955	ibid. (1956), 37.	Vice-Pres. Declined presidential nomination.	-
20th Paris 1957	ibid. (1958), 39.	I.P.A. Vice-President. Panel presenter on 'Direct Child Observation'.	(1969g)
21st Copenhagen 1959	ibid. (1960), 41.	I.P.A. Vice-President. Chairman of Symposium. Pre-Congress 'Technical at Homes'.	-
22nd Edinburgh 1961	ibid. (1962), 43.	Joint Vice-President. Panel discussant on 'Curative Factors'	(1962d)
23rd Stockholm 1963	ibid. (1964), 45.	Joint Vice-President. Discussant to symposium on 'Homosexuality'.	-
24th Amsterdam 1965	ibid. (1966), 47.	Joint Vice-President. Co-ordinator of Congress theme (obsessional neurosis).	(1966b)
25th Copenhagen 1967	ibid. (1968), 49.	Joint Vice-President. Panel moderator and discussant.	(1968a) (1968b)
26th Rome 1969	ibid. (1970), 51.	Absent, but re-elected joint Vice-President of I.P.A.	-

* Reports of I.P.A. Congresses

time emergency conditions in providing opportunities for child studies, and noted that "deprived children can be found and studied in foundling homes, orphanages and under the effect of hospitalization ... day nurseries ... convalescent homes ..."¹. In short, the wartime experiences with evacuee children served to highlight previous errors of scientific neglect in the face of the numerous peacetime opportunities for similar child study and observation.

The Sigmund Freud Centenary Celebrations of 6th May 1956 inevitably involved Anna Freud, and events were variously held in London by the British Psa. Society, the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic and the International Psa. Association. Miss Freud's home at 20 Maresfield Gardens formed a natural focus for much of the activity. The London County Council placed a commemorative plaque on the house, and after the unveiling Anna Freud hosted a reception at which Ernest Jones gave an afternoon public address². In keeping with a generally shy nature and a reticence in public, Anna Freud played only a minimal public part in what was, after all, an occasion of tremendous significance for her in particular. When pressed as to the question of any oration by Anna Freud at this time one informant and eye-witness demurred and commented "Oh no, she would not push herself forward like that"³.

The 1957 Ernest Jones Lecture of the British Psa. Society was given by the anthropologist Margaret Mead on January 30th in the Barnes Hall of the Royal Society of Medicine in London⁴. Her theme was 'Changing patterns of parent-child relations in an urban world'. D. W. Winnicott chaired the meeting. In proposing the vote of thanks to Margaret Mead, Anna Freud enthusiastically noted the lecturer's great skill and experience in studying primitive cultures and "her particular field of work is the world itself, in which she moves with

¹Anna Freud (1955a).

²'I.P.A. Announcement', Journal (1955), 36, 440.

³Interview with Ilse Hellman, op. cit. (Appendix XI).

⁴'News & Notes', Journal (1957), 38, 302.

ease"¹. Anna Freud like others in the highly-qualified audience had "listened with envy to Margaret Mead", and had felt that "she demonstrated the reality which lies behind the phantasies of the early mother-relationship which we have to unearth in our patients" (ibid). True, continued Anna Freud, she and Margaret Mead "work on different sides of the same picture", and there were differences in emphasis. Nevertheless "we meet again in acknowledging the importance (of) the early production of mental attitudes such as fear, distrust, confidence, security" and so forth (ibid). A decade later, in reviewing Anna Freud's important *Normality and Pathology in Childhood*², Margaret Mead would herself confirm how closely her own work had interacted over the years with Anna Freud's formulations. During her field-studies in Bali in the 1930's Margaret Mead had received a copy of Anna Freud's *The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence*, and had thereby been greatly assisted in the organisation of very many comparative observations on character formation³.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES OF THE 1960's

A National Conference of the Nursery School Association of Great Britain - now the British Association for Early Childhood Education - was held on 1st July 1960 in the William Beveridge Hall of the Senate House of the University of London. The invited lecturers were Anna Freud and W. D. Wall, sometime Director of the N.F.E.R. and Professor of the Psychology of Education, University of London Institute of Education.⁴ In a letter of 12th May 1976 to

¹'News & Notes', op. cit.

²Anna Freud (1965a).

³Mead (1967).

⁴Now retired - letter of 9th Feb. 1979.

the present writer, Professor Wall regretted having no suitable 'archive' materials on Anna Freud, and noted that "She and I followed each other at a conference ... I think the talks concerned were planned completely separately and without collusion". The conference organisers subsequently made available a small pamphlet containing both lectures¹. In it the conference chairman R. W. Ferguson noted the close connection with the Margaret Macmillan Centenary Year.

In her lecture - originally entitled 'Why children go wrong' - Anna Freud noted that her own connection with the Nursery School Association extended back some 20 years to her involvement with war-time evacuee children. At that time notes the author, and under the pressure exerted by war-time conditions, nursery schools went through "what may well be called a heroic period"². In examining more recent developments the author looked at L.e.a. diagnostic procedures for problem children, and the question of when teachers in training should be introduced to the differences between normality and abnormality in childhood. A "comprehensive psychopathology of childhood", she notes, seems too bewildering a picture to expose all nursery teachers to. Interestingly this talk presents one of the earliest instances of Anna Freud emphasising the now celebrated concept of 'lines of development', and here she shows clearly how the developmental criteria involved were regularly relied upon in the war-time Hampstead Nursery³.

On 14th April 1962 Anna Freud attended as guest speaker the 18th Child Guidance Inter-Clinic Conference for Staffs of Child Guidance

¹Wall, W. D. and Freud A. (1962), *The Enrichment of Childhood*, London.

²Anna Freud (1960b).

³Writings, V, pp. 319-320, 'Entrance into nursery school: The psychological prerequisites'.

Clinics, held in London under the chairmanship of A. D. B. Clarke. In a paper originally entitled 'Assessments of normality and pathology' - later published under a revised title¹ taken from the conference Proceedings - Anna Freud eschewed any possibility of a false identification of her expertise. She was she stated "neither psychiatrist, nor psychologist, nor psychiatric social worker, nor even a child therapist"², but belonged to a particular field, psychoanalysis. The author then turned to a discussion of the interrelations between the various children's services, and pointed out that during her training and professional work as a psychoanalyst "I also taught normal children; acted as a consultant for teachers of problem children; treated neurotic children; co-operated theoretically in work with delinquent adolescents; organised a day nursery for toddlers, residential nurseries for evacuated war children, a nursery group and advisory service for the blind"³ and so on. From her own extensive and pioneering experiences the author argued cogently for 'a basic training in childhood' before specialisation began, and pointed to the role of child guidance clinics as centres of such co-ordinated activity. The essential scientific content of this and related contemporary publications by Anna Freud - especially insofar as that content centres upon the author's Developmental Profile as a diagnostic tool - is considered in Chapter 9.

In July 1962 London played host to the 9th World Assembly of the World Organisation for Early Childhood Education. Largely at the invitation of one Miss Pickard on behalf of the Organisation Mondiale, Anna Freud spoke on 'The emotional and social development

¹Anna Freud (1962b).

²Writings, V, p.352.

³ibid., p.353.

of young children¹, and here discussed adult-child differences with respect to the following four areas (a) egocentricity, (b) emotionality, (c) time-sense and (d) language use.

In 1966 Anna Freud was awarded the honorary degree of LL.D. by the University of Sheffield England, and in the same year received an honorary Sc.D. from the University of Chicago, Illinois. In 1967 she was awarded the C.B.E. in London². Earlier, on 12th June 1964, Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia had conferred its honorary D.Sc. upon Miss Freud³, and at a reception afterwards the toastmaster was her old Vienna colleague Robert Waelder, then Professor of Psychoanalysis at Jefferson. In October 1965 Anna Freud was invited to the White House Washington D.C., there to receive the first Dolley Madison Award for Outstanding Service to Children⁴. The occasion was the 150th anniversary of the Hillcrest Children's Centre. During subsequent years Anna Freud's notable academic laurels came to include the Sc.D. (Hon.) of Yale University New Haven in 1968; the M.D. (Hon.) of Vienna University in 1972⁵; and the D.Sc. (Hon.) of Columbia University New York in 1978⁶.

THE STUDY OF NORMALITY IN CHILDHOOD

With the publication in 1965 of her book *Normality and Pathology in Childhood*⁷ Anna Freud gave to psychoanalysis and the world her

¹Anna Freud (1962a).

²Letter of Anna Freud, 29th July 1976. See: Appendix X.

³'Announcement II', Journal, (1964), 45, 625.

⁴Lustman (1967a).

⁵Letter of Anna Freud, op. cit.

⁶Bulletin of the Hampstead Clinic, (1978), Vol.1, Pt.2, facing p.114.

⁷Anna Freud (1965a); New York 1965, London 1966.

second monumental scientific contribution, comparable in certain respects with her earlier classic contribution *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*¹. In particular, and in the manner of presentation of the work to the world, the author followed her previous habit of developing the major elements of the work gradually in a series of shorter papers over a number of years. This protracted methodology reflects in effect one of Anna Freud's enduring scientific qualities, namely a healthy reluctance to publish work until it is sufficiently integrated with the best existing theoretical frameworks and corroborated against further observation.

As early as April 1959, though with even earlier antecedents, an unpublished medical faculty lecture at the University of California Los Angeles witnessed Anna Freud discussing the ego tasks appropriate to 'The concept of normality'². The following year, in the notable series of four Anna Freud Lectures² to the New York Psychoanalytic Society, the author surveyed 'The assessment of normality' in her first lecture. According to Humberto Nagera the four New York lectures contained "the basic elements for the Developmental Profile"⁴, which latter lies at the heart of the *Normality and Pathology in Childhood*. From 1962, in a series of applications for grant-aid to the National Institute of Mental Health Washington D.C., Anna Freud noted that "Our long-term aim is a new approach ... with special regard to the Variations of Normality and the Imbalance of Lines of Development"⁵.

¹Anna Freud (1936a); Vienna 1936, London 1937.

²Mimeo copy, Library of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.

³A. Freud, 'Four contributions to the psychoanalytic study of the child', New York, 15th-18th September 1960. See: Psychoanalytic Quarterly, (1960), 29, 147, (Notes).

⁴Nagera (1963).

⁵Anna Freud (1969j).

Actual 'pre-publication' of certain of the most important parts of the *Normality and Pathology in Childhood* began in 1962 and continued over the next year or so. A synopsis of this 'historical development' of the final book is presented in Fig. XV. In a 'New Forward' to the 1966 reprint of *The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence*, Anna Freud¹ noted the essential continuity between that work and the later *Normality and Pathology in Childhood*. The actual scientific contributions of each of these works are dealt with, from the viewpoint of an educator, in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 respectively.

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In January 1966 Anna Freud was in Zurich, to present her contribution² to the Swiss Psycho-Analytical Society's celebrations held in honour of the 79th birthday of René Spitz. In a valuable comparison of the work of Spitz and of herself the author noted that such an undertaking was "long overdue (and) profitable". The further interaction of the works of Anna Freud and Spitz leads to other efforts to attain much that appears 'profitable' (see: Chapter 12).

In 1967 Willi Hoffer died. Analysed by Nunberg in 1921-22, Hoffer later worked closely with Anna Freud in Vienna. After the Viennese exodus to England he was "undoubtedly a key figure in the group whose nucleus was constituted by the Viennese colleagues who were particularly close professionally to Miss Anna Freud"³. Anna Freud herself contributed an obituary for Hoffer⁴, thereby ranking his

¹Anna Freud (1966d).

²Anna Freud (1967a).

³W.H. Gillespie, 'Obituary notice on W. Hoffer', Journal, (1969), Vol.50, pp.261ff.

⁴Anna Freud (1968d).

FIG. XV

SYNOPSIS FOR THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANNA FREUD'S
'NORMALITY AND PATHOLOGY IN CHILDHOOD', (1965)

ORIGINAL PUBLICATION (ANNA FREUD)	CORRESPONDING SECTION OF ANNA FREUD (1965a)
(1962c)	Chapter 4: 'Draft of Diagnostic Profile'
(1963a)	Chapter 3, (II): 'The concept of Developmental Lines'
(1963b)	Chapter 3, (III): 'Regression as a Principle in Normal Development'
*(1965b)	Chapter 1, (part)

* In September 1962 in a lecture as Visiting Sloan Professor, Topeka Kansas, Anna Freud presented a paper with the same title as her later (1965b) paper. Since no abstract or further information is available on the earlier lecture no definite conclusions can be drawn regarding its place in the development of the author's thought.

See: Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, (Topeka), (1963),
Vol.27, No.3, (The Anna Freud Number).

importance to her along side that of August Aichhorn¹ and James Strachey². Paradoxically, when in 1971 Volume VII of 'The Writings of Anna Freud' was published Hoffer's obituary was omitted whilst Strachey's was included. However Hoffer's obituary had already been published twice by Anna Freud, first in The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child³ and then in the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis⁴, and it may well be that this sufficiently explains the 'selection' by an author who wherever possible had always resisted repetitiveness - Cf. for example the omission from her Collected Writings of a number of other works which in themselves are *here* considered valuable⁵. There is also the possibility that selection of materials was forced upon the author, and that Vol.VII of the 'Writings' was much truncated perhaps for financial and economic reasons before publication. Certainly there is evidence to show that Anna Freud early envisaged a much larger and more comprehensive Vol.VII, as when she cites⁶ two lectures of 1966 at Guy's Hospital Medical School and the University of Amsterdam respectively, and refers to their projected inclusion in Vol.VII of 'Writings'. Neither of the two works in question did in fact receive publication in 'Writings'.

The 7-volume collected series of 'The Writings of Anna Freud' began appearing in New York and London around 1966-68. The first volume to actually bear the series-title was Vol.IV, which dealt with materials

¹Anna Freud (1951k).

²Anna Freud (1969r).

³Anna Freud (1968d).

⁴(1969), Vol.50, pp.265-266.

⁵Anna Freud (1931a), (1955a). See also: Appendix III.

⁶Bibliography, Writings IV, pp.649-650.

published in the period 1945-1956¹. The U.S. editions published by International Universities Press of New York display on their covers the series-title, volume number and specific title. The British editions published by Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis in London provided the specific title only. In addition, and somewhat anachronistically, the British editions also carried the unsystematic numeration of the 'International Psycho-Analytical Library Series'². The general editor of the latter series was Masud R. Khan to c.1974, and John D. Sutherland thereafter. However, it is not clear who provided the substantial editorial introductions to certain of the volumes of 'Writings'³.

The sequence of appearance of the volumes was as follows:

Vol. IV, (1968); Vol. V, (1969); Vol. VII, (1971); Vol. III, (1973); and Vol. I, (1974).

The two other volumes - Vol. II and Vol. VI - were independent books which had previously been available⁴. Sometime after 1968 these latter two were assigned their proper chronological place in the complete sequence of the 'Writings'⁵. A synoptic Table of the various Volumes of Anna Freud's 'Writings' forms part of Appendix I, where it precedes the chronological hand-list of Anna Freud's publications.

During the period 1945-1970 Anna Freud trained or otherwise stimulated and gathered about her in London an ever-widening circle of active students and followers, colleagues and associates. Some of the more prominent included Joseph Sandler, W. Ernest Freud, Martin

¹Anna Freud (1968h).

²e.g. Vol. I carried the number 99 on dust-jacket and title-page.

³e.g. Vol. IV (pp.v-ix), and Vol. V (pp.v-vii).

⁴The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence (Anna Freud (1936a); and Normality and Pathology in Childhood (Anna Freud (1965a).

⁵Editorial Note, Writings, IV, pp. v-ix.

James¹, Cecily de Monchaux¹, John Klauber, Clifford Yorke and Moses Laufer. Others returned to America, there to strengthen or begin little 'Anna Freud Groups' abroad. Amongst these we may note Ishak Ramzy (Topeka), Christoph Heinicke (Los Angeles), Erna Furman (Cleveland), Dale Meers (Washington) and Humberto Nagera (Ann Arbor).

1970 ONWARDS

The decade began with Anna Freud then 74 years of age presenting major papers on three separate occasions and in three different countries. On 18th April 1970 in New Haven Connecticut she read to the Western New England Psa. Society a paper which continued and further developed the author's earlier diagnostic initiative, and showed her opposed on both personal and scientific grounds to crude labelling in terms of manifest symptomology ('psychiatric name-calling')². A further U.S. commitment at this time stemmed from an invitation extended by Seymour Lustman (1920-1971), then Professor of Psychiatry and Child Study at Yale's Child Study Centre. As the Master of Davenport College at Yale University Lustman prevailed upon Anna Freud to accept the post of Fellow-in-Residence, and to share with him over an extended period the teaching of an undergraduate course on 'Normal and abnormal development in childhood and adolescence'³.

On 27th-28th June 1970 the European Psychoanalytic Federation organised in Geneva a symposium on 'Child analysis as a subspeciality of psychoanalysis', to which Anna Freud contributed⁴. The organising body had

¹Now 'independent' or otherwise non-orthodox freudian.

²Anna Freud (1970a).

³Lustman (1973).

⁴Anna Freud (1971b).

been brought into being at the 1969 Rome International Psa. Congress. Though absent from the congress, Anna Freud was elected as Honorary President of the new Federation¹.

From 2nd-4th October 1970 the British Psa. Society hosted in London a Conference of English-Speaking Psychoanalysts from European Countries. The theme of 'Changing concepts of infantile neuroses and their effect on theory and technique' received contributions from a number of 'orthodox' freudians, including Joseph Sandler, Clifford Yorke and Anna Freud². Associated with the events of this conference was the unveiling near Swiss Cottage, N.W.3, on 2nd October of the Oscar Niemon statue of Sigmund Freud. This had largely been the project of D. W. Winnicott (1897-1971)³. Sometime President of the British Psa. Society and a noted 'independent', Winnicott's life-work 'through paediatrics to psychoanalysis' is variously and frequently cited by Anna Freud⁴.

VIENNA RE-VISITED

The signal event of 1971 was undoubtedly the holding of the 27th International Psychoanalytic Congress in Vienna from 25th-30th July. The scientific proceedings of the congress coincided with significant other local events of psychoanalytic relevance, and provided an opportunity par excellence for the symbolic 'return' of Anna Freud to the place of her original work and recognition.

Vienna 1971 was much more than any personal 'pilgrimage' for ex-refugees however, and in a very real sense it witnessed the psycho-analytical world confirming that the single most eminent and respected

¹'Report of the Rome Congress', Journal,(1970), Vol.51.

²Anna Freud (1971a).

³'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal,(1971), Vol.52.

⁴See: Appendix IX.

individual, presiding in a general way over their science, was Anna Freud of Vienna and London. Two years earlier, when invitations to hold the 1971 Congress were extended by the branch societies of Paris, Mexico City, New York, New Delhi and Vienna, the then President of the I.P.A. noted that "Concerning Vienna, once we know that the membership wishes to have it there we can state that Miss Freud is willing to attend and participate"¹. The records show that Vienna was indeed chosen.

The 1971 Congress theme was 'Aggression'², and in a fashion widely acknowledged as being as valuable as it was unique, Anna Freud closed the scientific proceedings with a major paper on the main congress theme³. In the subsequent evaluation session a number of the contributors - including Martin Waugh (New York), Joel Zac (Argentina), Helen Tartakoff (Cambridge, Mass.), Luis Feder (Mexico) and Kenneth Calder (U.K.) - paid tribute to the masterful clarity with which Anna Freud had illuminated such a difficult theme⁴. Anna Freud's now unique position seemed to receive confirmation even from the customary bi-annual 'role of honour', which included now the names of Eduardo Weiss, Herman Nunberg and Heinz Hartmann as recently deceased, and left only the relatively inactive Helene Deutsch with more years seniority.

Another event of great significance took place in Vienna in July 1971. This was the visit of Congress members to the old Freud House at Berggasse 19, now turned into a permanent museum by the Sigmund Freud Society (Gesellschaft). The museum had been opened to the public on

¹P. J. Van der Leeuw, 'Report of the 26th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1970), Vol.51.

²'Report of the 27th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1972), 53, 83-113.

³Anna Freud (1972a).

⁴Report of the 27th Congress, op. cit.

15th June 1971, and on 1st August 1973 a similar public opening took place of Anna Freud's former consultation and living-rooms, together with a special exhibit of 'Bergasse-1938: The Engelman Pictures'¹. From her London home Anna Freud donated to the museum much of the original furniture of Freud's waiting-room together with books, pictures and antiques from her father's collection². During the International Congress in Vienna Anna Freud requested the floor, and spoke at some length of the nature and importance of the museum³. One of her suggestions dealt with the manner in which the museum could quickly and cheaply amass a representative library, by having every analyst-author present to it one copy of each major publication. The inaugural number of the Sigmund Freud House Bulletin would later carry an Introduction by Anna Freud⁴.

At the close of the 1971 Vienna Congress Anna Freud was again elected Joint Vice-President of the I.P.A. together with Gillespie, van der Leeuw, Ritvo, Kohut, Lebovici, Dahlheim, Valenstein and Mitscherlich.

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In April 1973 Anna Freud returned once more to the U.S.A., there to present the 20th Annual Freud Memorial Lecture to the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis. The old Bulletin of the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis was re-shaped into a new format Journal of the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis. The first issue of the new journal was a special 'Anna Freud Number', and contained her 20th Freud Anniversary Lecture⁵ together with the previously un-

¹'Programme Report & News', Sigmund Freud House Bulletin, (1975), 1, p.32.

²Leupold-Löwenthal & Lobner (1975).

³'Report of 27th Congress, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

⁴Anna Freud (1975e).

⁵Anna Freud (1974d).

published 1st Freud Anniversary Lecture¹, which Anna Freud^{had} delivered in Philadelphia in 1954.

Anna Freud did not attend the 28th International Psa. Congress, held in Paris in July 1973². However, the 29th Congress of the I.P.A. was held in London from 20th - 25th July 1975, and this was attended by Anna Freud who at the age of 79 now finally allowed her colleagues to grant her the title of an Honorary President of the International Association³. The presence of the new Honorary President was far from being merely decorative however, and she presented the opening discussion paper⁴ to the session dealing with 'Changes in psycho-analytic practice and experience'. Anna Freud's remarks here bore a strong historical and evaluative quality, as did also her comments on the role of child analysis in adult training presented earlier to the 6th Pre-Congress on Training⁵.

In July 1976 the Association for Child Psychoanalysis met in London in Anna Freud's presence. Her remarks were spoken with "the privilege of age"⁶, and began with a now almost customary flourish of historical breadth and sagacity before dealing with current clinical and theoretical matters.

The 30th International Psa. Congress was held in Jerusalem in October 1977. Anna Freud, whilst not attending in person, nevertheless contributed the inaugural lecture for the Sigmund Freud Chair of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. This was read simultaneously by Arthur Valenstein in Jerusalem and by Anna Freud in London on 19th

¹Anna Freud (1974c).

²'Report of the 28th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1974), Vol.55.

³'Report of the 29th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1976), Vol.57.

⁴Anna Freud (1976a).

⁵London, 1975. Reported by Robert S. Wallerstein, Journal, (1976), 57, 198-199.

⁶Anna Freud (1977e).

October 1977¹. A number of Anna Freud's close colleagues from Hampstead journeyed to Jerusalem - Hansi Kennedy, Maria Berger, Alex Holder and Elspeth Earle.

We may fittingly close this already overly-long chapter of Anna Freud's general professional life and work with her latest notable exploit, entered into even as these pages were written. On 17th May 1978, at Columbia University, New York, Anna Freud was awarded the degree of Doctor of Science, 'honoris causa'. She was then 82 years of age. In the official citation, William J. McGill noted that "From your observations have come an extraordinary series of scientific contributions"². It would scarcely be possible to find a more fitting epithet for Anna Freud.

¹Staff Bulletin, October 1977, Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, London.

²Bulletin of the Hampstead Clinic, (1978), 1, (2), facing p.114.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LONDON AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS
II : THE HAMPSTEAD CHILD-THERAPY CLINIC
(1947-c.1980)

ORIGINS: PIONEERS AND CHILD-EVACUEE WORKERS

Following the termination in late 1945 of the Hampstead War Nursery private venture (Chapter 5), almost two years were to elapse before a natural sequel emerged in the form of the private Hampstead Child-Therapy Training Course. For the first four or five years of its existence this Course ran sans established clinic facilities, and even sans buildings other than the homes of its organisers.

Mrs. Hansi Kennedy, currently a co-director of the Hampstead Clinic and formerly a trainee-assistant in the Hampstead War Nursery, has recently and authoritatively written of these two ventures and their associated training courses that "... both organisations were found(ed), nurtured, directed and inspired by Anna Freud. ..."¹. This terse statement cannot be accepted as adequately covering the relevant facts. In particular it omits, and by omission negates, the important early role of Kate Friedlander.

The 'Training Prospectus'² of the Hampstead Clinic notes that "In 1947 Miss Anna Freud founded the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course in co-operation with the late Dr. Kate Friedlander", (p.5). Even this statement appears to ascribe a secondary role to Kate Friedlander. Other reliable authorities³ have by contrast emphasised the fact that Kate Friedlander's success in establishing the West Sussex Child Guidance Service in the years 1944-1946 was instrumental in stimulating and encouraging the post-war Hampstead venture. Ilse Hellman described Kate Friedlander as "a friend of Miss Freud's", who had suggested the continuation of the teaching and training programme begun in the Hampstead War Nursery. The present Hampstead Training Course and Clinic had witnessed a "gradual emergence" from

¹Kennedy (1978).

²Undated, c.1970. Author unspecified. Copy from Anna Freud, 29th July 1976.

³Jacobs (1946), Lantos (1966), Glover (1966).

1945-1951, and Miss Freud had "continued to be influenced" by Kate Friedlander up to the time of the latter's premature death in 1949¹. An even closer associate of Kate Friedlander and Anna Freud at the time notes that after "some initial hesitation" Anna Freud entered into the plan, and established the course for trainees².

In recent years Anna Freud has herself published statements which clearly acknowledge Kate Friedlander's contribution as being crucial to subsequent developments. On 3rd October 1973 at a Memorial Meeting held in Hampstead, Anna Freud named Kate Friedlander as "the real initiator of our training course"³. Also noted was the pressure generated by trainees of the earlier Hampstead War Nursery, who had expressed a desire for further training and had approached "a number of senior analysts"⁴ with their views. These two factors - the organisational ability and pioneering drive of Kate Friedlander, and the interested workers and students from the wartime nursery - were given place of honour as the means by which "the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course came into being"⁵.

In addition to Anna Freud and Kate Friedlander, other senior analysts joining the new venture included Dorothy Burlingham, and Willi and Hedwig Hoffer⁶. Other lecturers, seminar-leaders and supervisors included Barbara Lantos, Margarete Ruben, Hedwig Schwarz, Liselotte Frankl, Ruth Thomas and Ilse Hellman⁷. Most of these continue to

¹Interview with Ilse Hellman, op. cit. See: Appendix XI.

²Lantos (1966).

³Anna Freud (1973), in 'Sara Rosenfeld: Tributes Paid to Sara Rosenfeld at the Memorial Meeting Held at the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic on 3rd October 1973'. Mimeo Copy, Library of the Hampstead Clinic.

⁴Sandler & Novick (1969).

⁵Anna Freud (1975b).

⁶Letter of Mrs. Hanna Kennedy to this Study, 28th April 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁷Letter of Anneliese Schnurmann to this Study, 22nd July 1977. See: Appendix XI.

work at Hampstead to the present day.

In 1947 the first germinal group of trainee child-therapists comprised six previous workers from the Hampstead War Nursery, namely:

Joanna Kohler, later J. Benkendorf (Cleveland, Ohio)
Alice Wallentin, later A. Rolnick (Cleveland, Ohio)
Sara Kut, later S. Rosenfeld (London, deceased).
Hanna Engl, later H. Kennedy (London)
Alice Goldberger (London)
Anneliese Schnurmann (London)¹

A seventh member was Lily Neurath (1902-1969), who had been associated with the I. P. Verlag in pre-war Vienna and was extremely knowledgeable concerning publications by Sigmund Freud², and these seven were later joined by an Australian psychologist Ivy Bennett (later I. Gwynne-Thomas of Kansas, Missouri), who had trained in adult analysis at the London Institute³.

Anna Freud undertook the training analysis of Alice Goldberger⁴, Kate Friedlander that of Anneliese Schnurmann⁵ and Willi Hoffer that of Lily Neurath⁶. Other training analysts included Dorothy Burlingham, Barbara Lantos and Hedwig Hoffer.

During training the students worked with cases of their own in either of two existing clinics, where several of them had previously been employed as psychologists or therapists. These establishments were

¹Letter of Anneliese Schnurmann - See: Appendix XI; interview with Hansi Kennedy, *ibid*.

²Information by Gertrud Dann, Librarian, Hampstead Clinic (1977).

³Interview with Ilse Hellman - See: Appendix XI.

⁴Letter of Alice Goldberger - See: Appendix XI.

⁵Letter of Anneliese Schnurmann - See: Appendix XI.

⁶Letter (No.2) of Liselotte Frankl - See: Appendix XI.

the West Sussex Child-Guidance Service Clinic(s) directed by Kate Friedlander, and the East London Child-Guidance Clinic directed by Augusta Bonnard¹. Seminars and lectures were held in the homes of training-analysts and lecturers, and the first books owned by the course were housed simply on a book-shelf in Anna Freud's home. Owing to their previous experience and training the members of this inaugural class of Hampstead students were allowed to begin at year 2 of the course, and most qualified in the summer of 1949¹.

In the same year 1949 there was established the Association of Child Psychotherapists (Non-Medical), largely through the efforts of Kenneth Soddy², Jess Guthrie and John Bowlby³. The Hampstead Child Therapy Training Course was accepted by the new Association, as was the new Tavistock Clinic Course (1949-) and the long standing Institute of Child Psychology Course (1933 -) associated with Margaret Lowenfeld. The two other parallel courses also available through the Association are those of the Society of Analytical Psychology (Jungian), and of the British Association of Psychotherapists (Freudian & Jungian).

The initial 3-year training programme at Hampstead is now a 4-year course. Appendix XIV lists the names and centres of work of over 70 analytical child-therapists who qualified between 1947 and c. 1970, whilst a more recent review⁴ states that 101 such therapists have graduated, with approximately equal numbers working in Britain and the United States.

It seems almost inevitable that such a training-course, geared to the emergence of a highly skilled work force, would generate its

¹Letter of Hansi Kennedy, 28th April 1977. See: Appendix XI.

²Medical Director, National Association for Mental Health.

³Guthrie (1971).

⁴Kennedy (1978).

own impetus towards the logical further establishment of a clinic, with departments for training, therapy and research, and able to offer employment and opportunities to previous students. This consolidation of the fruits of the initial training venture was to come about within two or three years of the first class of students completing the course.

After the abrupt loss of Kate Friedlander in 1949 the task of bringing the Hampstead Clinic to fruition was undertaken by Anna Freud in association with Dorothy Burlingham, Josephine Stross and Ruth Thomas¹. Financial support came from American trusts, and recently Anna Freud has singled out Helen Ross and Maxwell Hahn of the Field Foundation (New York) as "the true founders of the Clinic and the donors of our first house, No 12 Maresfield Gardens"². Elsewhere Helen Ross, Muriel Gardiner and Kurt Eissler are noted as "establishing, housing and tirelessly assisting"³ the organisation of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic. The treatment centre began to function on 1st January 1952⁴, and one eye-witness recalls that in July 1952 she was treating two child-cases at 12 Maresfield Gardens⁵. A number of senior analysts and other medically-qualified people - including Augusta Bonnard, Josephine Stross and Willi Hoffer - acted as honorary consultants⁶.

It would appear that about this time and in the sixth decade of her life Anna Freud gave up the actual analysing of child cases, and left to younger people the arduous therapeutic role per se⁷.

¹Interview with Ilse Hellman (Appendix XI).

²Anna Freud (1975b).

³'Acknowledgements', Writings, Vol.VI.

⁴Writings, V, p.4.

⁵Letter of Anneliese Schnurmann (Appendix XI).

⁶Sandler & Novick (1969).

⁷Hedwig Schwarz (U.K.), in 'Report of the 28th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1974), Vol.55.

Anna Freud's relinquishment of her direct child-therapeutic role, together with her continued presence as training-analyst, supervisory and control analyst and consultant could only be to the advantage of the less experienced Hampstead students and therapists. Thus students hesitantly presenting their first case-material could have the advantage of experienced criticism, without having their case-histories and results suffer adverse comparison from more polished reports and more certain therapeutic outcomes. From Anna Freud's point of view her vast practical experience and thorough theoretical grounding would enable her vicariously, and from frequent and detailed reports, to all but 'live through' the students actual analytical sequence with the child.

In many ways the liaison thereby produced appears ideal - as judged by the scientific results emerging from it - and the complex web of supervisory meetings, seminars, research-group discussions and general clinic meetings which quickly grew up, served to keep both sides of the liaison in touch. Material illustrative of this valuable potential for scientific collaboration is clearly evident in an early paper by one student-worker. Read initially at a general meeting of the Hampstead Clinic Course the paper¹ cites valuable unpublished discussion comments by Anna Freud, in addition to relating actual clinical material to the corpus of Anna Freud's published works. Over the ensuing 20 or 30 years many other students and members of the Hampstead Clinic would document further instances of the value of their liaison with Anna Freud in both formal and informal groups, and of the striking relevance to their work of Anna Freud's comments².

¹Harries (1952).

²Bergen (1958), Lussier (1960), Sandler (1960), Sandler et. al. (1962), Nagera (1963) (1966), Rosenfeld & Sprince (1963) (1965), Thomas (1966), Colonna (1968), Novick (1970), Novick & Kelly (1970), Sprince (1971), Hayman (1972), Radford (1973), Evans (1975), Holder (1975), Sandler, Kennedy & Tyson (1975); and from Topeka, Ramzy & Wallerstein (1958).

The Sigmund Freud Centenary Celebrations of May 1956 included special scientific meetings at the Hampstead Clinic, with major presentations by invited overseas guest-speakers of long-standing association with Anna Freud and psychoanalysis. On May 3rd Elizabeth Geleerd read a paper on 'Clinical contributions to the problem of the early mother-child relationship'¹, whilst on May 4th Heinz Hartmann presented his 'Notes on the reality principle'². Following the centenary celebrations large amounts of money were collected especially in England and the U.S.A., and bodies such as the Freud Centenary Fund (England), the Grant Foundation (New York) and the Wolfson Foundation (England) directed funds towards Anna Freud's Hampstead projects. In 1956 the New-Land Foundation (New York) presented No.21 Maresfield Gardens as the Hampstead Clinic's second house, whilst in 1967 the Lita Hazen Charitable Trust (California) similarly donated the third house No.14 Maresfield Gardens³.

In the years immediately following the 1956 centenary some of the Hampstead Clinic's most valuable 'extensions' were organised, including a Well-Baby Clinic directed by Josephine Stross and a Nursery School Unit with Mrs. M. Friedmann as head teacher. For research into specialised areas a number of study groups were also formed. Prominent amongst these was the 'Group for the study of borderline children', which under Sara Rosenfeld's gifted leadership outlasted many of its contemporaries⁴.

About this time too Anna Freud directed one of her students, Bianca Gordon, into a close co-operation with the Woolwich group of hospitals.

¹Geleerd (1956).

²Hartmann (1956).

³Anna Freud (1975b), Kennedy (1978).

⁴Agnes Bene, 'Tributes Paid to Sara Rosenfeld', op. cit., 1973.

Thus began the 'Woolwich Experiment' in paediatrics and maternity nursing, published 13 years later¹ as part of the Hampstead Clinic's contribution to preventive mental health work in the community. These applied aspects of the Clinic's work powerfully complement its other three major roles, viz. research, therapy and training. The modern-day Clinic has therefore "set itself a four-fold aim: to learn, to treat, to teach and to apply psycho-analytic knowledge to educational and preventive purposes"². Exception is here taken to a 'simpler' delineation of the Clinic's work as having only three aspects, viz. "training, service and research"³. The term 'service' is insufficiently precise, and all the Clinic's various activities could with little trouble be defined under such a vague concept.

Around 1957 Anna Freud, as Director of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, began submitting research applications to various funds and grant-aid bodies. These applications⁴ contained extensive details of the Clinic's on-going and proposed work and research. The major research projects of the period, as described in applications for grant-aid and in other sources, are detailed in Fig. XVI. Included are certain early aspects of the notable 'Hampstead Psychoanalytic Index'. Other projects were evolved later, including the very important 'Assessment of Childhood Pathology' which headed a series of applications to the National Institute of Mental Health, Washington D.C. in the years 1962-66⁵. This latter project is

¹Gordon (1970), Anna Freud (1970b).

²Anna Freud (1975b, p.ix).

³Kennedy (1978).

⁴Writings, V, chap. 1 & 2.

⁵Writings, V, chap. 3, Pts. I-III.

perhaps better known as the 'Developmental Profile'. Together, the HAMPSTEAD INDEX and the DEVELOPMENTAL PROFILE probably represent the most fruitful and far-reaching of present-day endeavours in the fields of developmental child psychology and child analysis. The Index is described in more detail here whilst the Profile, which is the more intimately linked to Anna Freud's published writings, is discussed elsewhere (Chapter 9).

THE HAMPSTEAD INDEX PROJECT

On May 13th 1958, before the Section of Psychiatry of the Royal Society of Medicine with Erwin Stengel presiding, Anna Freud presented a paper entitled 'Clinical studies in psycho-analysis: Research project of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic'¹. In this the author noted an on-going methodological research project involving pooling of analytical case-material, and for the first time made public the planned retrieval-system for the project's summarised and classified data. The term 'subject index' was here used.

In front of the same audience Cecily de Monchaux² elaborated upon this theme, indicating that Dorothy Burlingham around 1954 had first suggested 'indexing' as a means of increasing the accessibility for research and teaching purposes of the Clinic's accumulated case-material. A pilot-scheme had collated the differing index-categories used by individual therapists in 50 case-reports, and from these indications had derived a set of common categories for subsequent use.

At its simplest the Index provides a set of categories e.g. for symptoms. Under each subject-category is filed a series of cards, indicating in which particular clinical cases that symptom appeared. However, since analytical data is typically over-determined and

¹Anna Freud (1958d).

²De Monchaux (1958).

capable of conceptual many-sidedness, a multi-dimensional classification is also adopted, whereby any unit-observation may be further followed up and retrieved in terms of the several viewpoints of psychoanalytic metapsychology. These latter dimensions are nowadays generally recognised as five in all, viz. Freud's classic three (the dynamic, economic and structural viewpoints) together with the genetic and, following later theorists (Hartmann, Rapaport & Gill), the adaptive viewpoint¹. In the early accounts of the Hampstead Index three main dimensions appear to predominate, viz. the dynamic, structural and genetic-developmental, to which de Monchaux² attempts to add object-relationships as a fourth. In this she is somewhat at variance with the more 'orthodox' freudians, and soon after ceases to be associated with the Hampstead Index.

Cross-indexing is a feature of the Index material, and several conceptual pathways may be explored in fully elucidating a behavioural item.

In her preface to 'The Hampstead Psychoanalytic Index'³ Anna Freud notes the project as a "laborious method" which it is hoped will produce something akin to a "collective analytic memory" at the disposal of the single worker⁴. Whilst the concept is brilliant and enduring the laborious methodology should eventually be superceded by adequate programming and a computerised retrieval-system. Though no mention is previously made of such it would clearly be the logical next step. A central 'collective analytic memory' or data bank could then support innumerable computer-linked terminals in clinical

¹Writings, VII, p.153 and note.

²De Monchaux (1958).

³Bolland & Sandler et. al., (1965).

⁴Anna Freud (1965c).

and research establishments around the world.

The Index itself soon began to generate new questions, problem areas and avenues of research. Some of the study-groups evolved to meet this new conceptual growth are listed in Fig. XVI. Prominent in most of these groups is Joseph Sandler, Director of the Hampstead Index Project. In a recent study¹ in which Anna Freud was closely involved, attention was focused upon 'Treatment situation and technique' as just one of the ten major sections into which the modern Index is divided. Each major section has its own 'Manual', which provides appropriate headings and definitions to assist workers in indexing their case material. From the relevant manual on 'Treatment situation and technique' the authors reproduce some 46 sub-headings under which different aspects of the treatment situation may be indexed and cross-referenced. This degree of refinement and definition has only emerged gradually and at some cost. The enduring problem of definition of even basic psychoanalytic terms and concepts was one of the earliest and most fundamental to emerge from the Index Project, since worker-indexers had to be agreed on both a common use for terms and a common theoretical model². Eventually a whole series of important monographs³ was to emerge, dealing with the definition of basic psychoanalytic concepts.

More recently another member of the Hampstead Index Department has outlined the work there⁴. The description of the card index per se lacks clarity to an outsider, but the useful comment is made that the Index "serves the systematic collection of clinical material in line with a theoretical orientation", this latter being of course

¹Sandler et. al., (1975).

²Sandler & Rosenblatt (1962).

³Hampstead Library Series (1969-1970), Vols. 1-4, Cf. Anna Freud (1969b).

⁴Holder (1977).

FIG. XVI

MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECTS INITIATED AT THE HAMPSTEAD
CHILD-THERAPY CLINIC, c.1957-58

<u>RESEARCH PROJECT</u>	<u>SOURCE/DESCRIPTION</u>
Adolescent Project	Writings, V, 13; Hellman (1958)
Borderline Cases Study	Writings, V, 14.
Motherless Children Project	Writings, V, 15-16.
Blind Children Study	Writings, V, 16-17.
Identical Twins Study	Burlingham (1958).
*Pooling of Case Material (The 'Index' Project)	De Monchaux (1958); Writings, V, 21-23.
Simultaneous Analysis of Mother & Child	Writings, V, 18-19.
Comparisons of Observational & Analytical Data	Writings, V, 19-21.
Diagnostic Interviewing and Subsequent Analytical Material	Frankl (1958)

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INDEX PROJECT : Later Developments

Metapsychology Study Group	Sandler (1960)
Classification of Superego Material	Sandler et. al. (1962)
Phantasy Research Group	Sandler & Nagera (1963)
Diagnostic Research Group	Nagera (1963)
Clinical Concept Research Group	Nagera (1964)
Depression Research Group	Sandler & Joffe (1965)
Object-Relations (Revision of Manual)	Edgecumbe & Burgner (1972)

classical psychoanalysis as lately developed by Anna Freud and other notable leading theorists.

The Hampstead Index has not gone uncriticised as a research instrument. Seymour Lustman¹, then a research psychoanalyst at the Yale Child Study Centre, considered that success remains as yet to be demonstrated for this approach to large masses of analytical material. Problems of compressibility, fragmentation and loss of meaning when taken out of context are the major potential drawbacks which he envisages. More recently Sula Wolff² concludes that the Hampstead Clinic's unique data may even yet not have been collected in an analysable (i.e. pre-considered and systematic) form, "and may never lend themselves to the kind of presentation envisaged by the Clinic's founder". The negative indications noted by Wolff are lack of definitive conclusions and research findings and an imprecise scientific style. Whilst carefully reasoned critiques of the above kind are rare in the literature, many other authors have heaped praise upon the Index Project³. It is undoubtedly the great good fortune of the Hampstead projects, and of Anna Freud herself, to have attracted studied criticism as well as laudatory applause.

In the present study the view is maintained that, certainly in principle and to a great extent in practice the value of indexing, of establishing a "collective analytical memory" and of multi-dimensional abstracting and collating, is proven and of great efficacy. Indeed, so diffuse and nebulous has psychoanalytic case-material heretofore been that it now appears extraordinary that over half a century of intensive work should have elapsed before a rigorous indexing project emerged. Many early and tentative

¹Lustman (1963).

²Wolff (1976).

³e.g. Pumpian-Mindlin (1966), Kanzer & Blum (1967), Ross (1971), Knapp (1972).

analytical propositions and hypotheses were either case-specific or based on insufficient numbers of observations. With the facility of a 'central analytical data bank' many earlier conclusions and recommendations may soon, even by psychoanalysts, be judged in need of further investigation and corroboration. There can be little doubt that in the forefront of any such widespread revision of psychoanalytical findings would appear the work of the Hampstead Psychoanalytic Index.

As noted above (Chapter 1) the present study also employed indexing in its preliminary phase of data acquisition and collation. The justification and rationale for this lay in the fact that the analytical literature being surveyed was every bit as multi-dimensional and concept-profuse as was the case material of the original Index Project. The present study's card-file index, with its master-index of cross-referenced 'key cards', provided not only an accessory 'memory bank' for simple retrieval problems but also a supplementary 'association cortex' for lateral thinking.

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During 1962 Anna Freud received in Hampstead an important visitor from the U.S.A. This was Helen Ross then of New York and now of Washington D.C., and previously a member and student of Anna Freud's Vienna child-analysis seminars of the 1930's. After a six-week stay Helen Ross reported her findings to the American Psychoanalytic Association in December 1962¹. Data had been collected on the number of cases in analysis; methods and research orientation; special projects; and the adaptation of the Hampstead Clinic type of organisation to American needs. Special attention was drawn to the close interaction between research and training, with students being early drawn in as co-members of the various special project groups.

¹Ross (1963). Cf. Panel (1963).

This latter procedure seems to be yet another way in which Anna Freud shows herself concerned to shorten the slow and laborious period of candidacy and studentship in psychoanalytic affairs. As such it constitutes a refinement of earlier 'home-conversation' and other tutorial methods which this particular teacher has consistently sought to introduce throughout her lengthy career.

In 1965 the editors of The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child - Ruth S. Eissler, Anna Freud, Marianne Kris and Heinz Hartmann - announced the establishment of a new Monograph Series. The first volumes were to deal with the "various phases of the research work done at the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course & Clinic in London by Anna Freud and her collaborators"¹. Monograph No.1 in the new series actually dealt with the Hampstead Psychoanalytic Index, and with the case of 'Andy' as an example of its clinical application².

In July 1967 Norman S. Anderson, Director of Community Mental Health Centre, Salt Lake City Utah, visited the Hampstead Clinic for three weeks. On his return Anderson presented a 'Report'³ on his visit to the 42nd Annual Meeting of the Utah Mental Health Association held on 24th October 1967. The author notes that whilst Anna Freud's scientific eminence would enable her to claim any reasonable salary in her directorship of the Hampstead Clinic she is in fact "the only member of the staff not on the payroll", and maintains herself with 5 hours of private analytical practice daily.

In July 1972 the Hampstead Clinic welcomed 292 colleagues from the world of psychoanalysis and allied professions, whose members came to hear the scientific papers and other addresses which constituted the Clinic's special programme in celebration of its 20th anniversary. Anna Freud made the opening address, contributed to a

¹Editorial (1965).

²Bolland & Sandler (1965).

³Anderson (1967).

symposium discussion on 'Training at Hampstead' and spoke the closing remarks, after Kurt Eissler¹. She was then 76 years of age. The published proceedings of the event also contained a contribution by Anna Freud on the Clinic's nursery school². Other contributors were A. J. Solnit (Yale), Joseph Goldstein (Yale), Kurt Eissler (New York); and from Hampstead Sara Rosenfeld, Agnes Bene, Hanna Kennedy, Ilse Hellman, Maria Berger, Bianca Gordon, Rose Edgecumbe, Clifford Yorke, Patricia Radford, Stanley Wiseberg, Thomas Freeman, Joseph Sandler, Dorothy Burlingham, Ruth Thomas and I. Elkan. That the occasion gave rise to a scientific as opposed to a purely social event was entirely "According to the Clinic's custom"³.

CHILD ANALYSIS TRAINING: CONFLICT & RESOLUTION (1967-1972)

During the late 1960's the question of accredited training in child analysis came to a head, no doubt partly as a result of the by now large numbers of workers trained - in child analysis but not in adult analysis - by courses such as that at Hampstead. At the 25th I.P.A. Congress held in Copenhagen in 1967, special attention had been drawn to the 'Independent Child-Analysis Training Courses'⁴. These were:

1. the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course, which by then had qualified 68 psychoanalytic child-therapists; and as 'offshoots' of the Hampstead Course -
2. the Cleveland, Ohio training-course,
3. the Leyden, Holland training-course.

The group in Cleveland Ohio had been organised by Anny Katan and Robert Furman, and included a number of staff-members who had trained

¹Hampstead Clinic ((1972)1975).

²Anna Freud (1975a).

³Anna Freud (1975b).

⁴'Report of the 25th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1968), Vol.49.

in the Hampstead Clinic Course. The training programme had begun in Cleveland in 1958. A prototype clinic was founded in 1964, and in 1966 the dual organisation became the Cleveland Centre for Research in Child Development¹.

The group in Leyden Holland was organised by the Dutch analyst J. P. Teuns², with regular exchange visits by the Hampstead Clinic staff. Joseph Sandler in particular was sometime visiting Professor of Psychoanalysis at Leyden University around 1965-67. The early Leyden Foundation for Child Psychotherapy handed over full responsibility for the child analysis training programme on 1st January 1971 to the Dutch Psa. Society³. The association between Leyden and the Freud's is one of the longest-standing in psychoanalytic history⁴. In July 1965 Anna Freud herself was in Leyden, and read a paper for the 35th anniversary of the Leyden Child-Guidance Clinic⁵.

Following the 1967 Congress, the Dutch Psa. Society exerted pressure aimed at equalising the status of (a) those trained solely in child analysis and (b) those trained in adult analysis. At the next I.P.A. Congress in Rome in 1969 this gave rise to much controversy. Anna Freud did not attend the Rome Congress. Certain members of the British Psa. Society - in particular A. Limentani, Hanna Segal and Masud Khan - objected to the Dutch proposal that persons trained in child analysis but not in adult analysis should be eligible for full membership of their local psychoanalytic society⁶. The objectors pointed to the large

¹Cleveland (1976).

²Writings, VII, p.54

³'Bulletin Report of the I.P.A.', Journal, (1972), 53, pp. 113-137.

⁴See: Fig.I and Chapter 1.

⁵Anna Freud (1966c).

⁶'Report of the 26th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1970), Vol.51.

numbers of such analytical child-therapists at the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, and argued that the proposal might create a situation of 'imbalance' within the British Society. Behind this argument, presumably, lay anxieties of a recurrence of the partisan controversies and confrontations which had dogged the British Psa. Society in the 1930's and 1940's.

By the time of the 27th I.P.A. Congress, held in Vienna in 1971 and attended by Anna Freud, the latter had made application for the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course and Clinic to be admitted to the International Association as an independent Study Group¹. In his remarks to the Congress, Leo Rangell as President of the I.P.A. noted that the Hampstead Group had recently undertaken to include training in adult analysis in their curriculum, and further that the Hampstead Clinic staff already included more than the required number of fully qualified (adult-trained) analysts to secure Study Group status. The I.P.A. Council accordingly accepted the Hampstead Child Clinic as a new Study Group of the International Psa. Association². A Norwegian Study Group was accepted at the same time.

After the 1971 Congress Anna Freud subsequently withdrew her application for separate Study Group status, as was noted by Leo Rangell in his presidential remarks to the 28th I.P.A. Congress held in Paris in 1973³. This latter Congress was not attended by Anna Freud, but it was made clear that the Hampstead Clinic had in the meantime been co-operating closely with the British Psa. Society regarding training matters, and with a view to developing

¹'Report of the 27th Int. Psa. Congress', Journal, (1972), Vol.53.

²Report of Executive Council, in 1 above.

³'Report of the 28th I.P.A. Congress', Journal, (1974), Vol.55.

acceptable parallel courses. An agreement on shared training was reached, and on 15th May 1972 an historic statement was signed by W. H. Gillespie for the British Psa. Society and by Anna Freud for the Hampstead Clinic¹.

The Hampstead Clinic was henceforth to be known as The Hampstead Centre for the Psychoanalytic Study and Treatment of Children. The old name still retains currency at the time of writing, though Hansi Kennedy has recently attempted to assert the newer designation². Certainly the new title would be more in line with other such Centres, e.g. the Yale Child Study Centre and the Cleveland Centre for Research in Child Development. Nevertheless, the new Bulletin of the Hampstead Clinic promises to perpetuate the old name for some time yet.

Anna Freud's preference for a shared training scheme in association with the more eclectic British Psa. Society is consistent with her earlier dismissal of Edward Glover's wartime suggestion for a 'breakaway' group or society at the height of the 'Kleinian controversy'. In both of these historical episodes Anna Freud emerges as a figure who avoids internecine divisiveness and works towards productive co-existence wherever possible. Both the Hampstead Clinic and the British Society thereby benefit by not being in confrontation and disharmony, and no doubt in other ways too.

Students and candidates are likewise advantaged, in that after a basic course in adult analysis they may choose whether to pursue child analysis at the Hampstead Clinic or with the British Psa. Society. The combined training in child and adult analysis now takes 6 years³.

¹'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1974), 55, 147.

²Kennedy (1978).

³Interview with Ilse Hellman, (Appendix XI); Kennedy (1978).

I believe that Anna Freud's impressive non-partisanship in these matters stems from her close identification with her father's belief in the value of psychoanalysis as a discipline, to be kept as the higher goal of allegiance above even personal loyalty to himself, and certainly above personal incompatibilities and difficulties. Ernest Jones records that Freud was "deeply concerned with the transmission of his main function in life, the care of psychoanalysis ... We were trustees for that 'child' ..." ¹. Eva Rosenfeld tells how, during her analysis with Freud, she had once tried to keep a fact from him in the belief that its disclosure would in some way sadden him. Freud 'corrected' his pupil's technical abuse of the fundamental rule of free association with the words "We have only one aim and only one loyalty, to psychoanalysis. If you break this rule you injure something much more important than any consideration you owe to me" ². This was, relates Eva Rosenfeld, her most significant 'lesson' in analytical technique.

It is in this sense, I believe, that we can best view Anna Freud's attitude to all controversial issues relating to psychoanalysis, and we arrive therefore at a 'major principle' for assessing her life and work.

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From January to July 1973 an extended visit to Hampstead was made by Sidney Blatt, Professor of Psychology at Yale University and a member of the Western New England Psa. Society. In a key paper on 'object-representation' the author ³ presents a detailed know-

¹Jones (1957), p.46.

²Cited in Jones (1957), p.163.

³Blatt (1974).

ledge of Anna Freud's work on object-relations. In the same period Thomas Lopez was associated with the Educational Unit and Blind Children Study Group of the Hampstead Clinic, later moving to the Centre for Preventive Psychiatry, White Plains, New York. This author¹ notes that the 'treatment year' at Hampstead is organised into 3 terms of some 3½ months each, interrupted by vacation breaks of 2 weeks at Christmas and Easter and 6 weeks in the summer. In the absence of intruding congresses, lecture-tours or other duties, it would seem that most holidays and week-ends are spent by Anna Freud out of London, at the country cottage which she shares with Dorothy Burlingham².

OBSERVATIONS OF EARLY INFANCY: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Central to the Hampstead Clinic's recent work on early childhood are the Well-Baby Clinic directed by the analytical paediatrician Josephine Stross, and the Well-Baby Research Group. In 1971 the members of the latter were Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Liselotte Frankl, Hansi Kennedy, W. Ernest Freud, Irene Freud, E. Model, Humberto Nagera, Marjorie Sprince and Josephine Stross³.

In the Well-Baby Clinic babies are seen weekly lengthening to monthly in the first year after birth, and bi-monthly in the second year. Mother and infant are seen by the paediatrician and a qualified child-therapist, with one student generally being present as part of training. The clinic has half-day sessions three times weekly, and anxious mothers may telephone in-between visit-schedules. As Josephine Stross herself legitimately notes, most child welfare clinics are staffed by doctors and nurses with

¹Lopez (1974).

²Interview with Eva Rosenfeld (Appendix XI).

³W. E. Freud (1971).

training only in physical and not mental health, and diagnostic consultations and follow-up at the Hampstead Clinic are both more frequent than usual and also more wide-ranging¹. From her vast experience the same author notes that around 1938 eating disturbances had been the chief child problem in Vienna, whilst bedwetting was the analogous symptom in England; and in recent years the availability of disposable nappies and of washing-machines is felt to have contributed to a contemporary reluctance of mothers "to start toilet-training too strictly and at too early an age"¹. In modern times the presenting problems of child cases are typically much more diffuse and varied than previously.

W. Ernest Freud, a key figure and major publishing-author of the Hampstead Clinic's Well-Baby Research Group, has recently argued for analytic training to "be organised around a central experience of intensive longitudinal studies of the first four to six years of the child's life"². By 'infant-observation' is understood observation of the infant, the mother and the mother-infant interactions. By this means students are grounded in what Anna Freud has termed "the solid knowledge of child development"³, a policy and strategy of obvious importance to teachers. Amongst the important points noted by W. E. Freud in his paper were the following: the presence of non-objective interference by personal 'blind spots' and preoccupations; the prevalence of the error of adultomorphizing of children's behaviour; potential value of mothers as informants; and the need to correct the widely held view of defenses as signs of abnormality which "like warts" have to be removed².

¹Stross (1977).

²W. E. Freud (1975)

³Anna Freud (1971b).

Born in Hamburg in 1914 and named Ernst Halberstadt, W. E. Freud is Anna Freud's oldest nephew. After 1920 he appears to have spent considerable time living in close association with Anna Freud and her father, and appears on Freud's 'visa-list' as 'Enkel Ernst Halberstadt' at the time of leaving Vienna in 1938. As an associate member of the British Psa. Society 'W. E. Freud' first appears in the 1954 members list¹, with full membership subsequently being gained. From his close association with the Hampstead Clinic, the obvious family tie and the strong influence of Anna Freud's work visible in his publications I would infer that W. E. Freud trained with Anna Freud, probably in the late 1940's-early 1950's. As with the work of his teacher, W. Ernest Freud's scientific contributions reflect much that is best in present-day psychoanalysis and child study, and show careful observation and testing wedded to the more acceptable areas of orthodox freudian psychology. His previously-cited paper² elegantly aligns Anna Freud's recent theoretical writings with the current empirical studies of the Hampstead Clinic, illustrating the valuable mutual interaction of theory and observation in this foremost centre of analytic child study. With their thorough scholarship and rigorous scientific grounding, W. E. Freud's papers have an enduring quality which augers well for child psychoanalysis, and mark their author as a foremost and independent child analysis researcher.

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In 1977 a series of important, almost symbolical events took place in the world of child psychoanalysis. The Sigmund Freud House Society (Gesellschaft) of Vienna, at 19 Berggasse and directed by

¹'Bulletin of the I.P.A., Members List', Journal, (1954), 35, 472.

²W. E. Freud (1975).

Harald Leupold-Löwenthal, organised a 'Vienna Symposium on Work at The Hampstead Clinic'. Contributors included Anna Freud, W. E. Freud, Ilse Hellman, Alex Holder, Hedwig Schwarz, Josephine Stross and Clifford Yorke¹. In her prefatory remarks - dated 'London, June 1977' and printed in English, German and Spanish - Anna Freud noted the special significance of the event for herself and the other former Viennese². The writer's enduring affinity for her earlier 'Vienna Phase' is well evidenced here. In reviewing the contributions to the Symposium, together with the earlier Viennese work of Hoffer, Aichhorn, Bernfeld, Jackson and herself, Anna Freud asserts quite justifiably that "There was hardly anything in the content of (the) presentations for which, though developed further in London, the foundation had not been laid more than forty years ago during work in Vienna" (op. cit.). Clearly, and like her father before her, Anna Freud had for many years successfully hidden from the world at large her close identification with Vienna. Freud himself had spent a lifetime in disparaging Vienna, as his biographer Ernest Jones remarks. Scarcely had he arrived in England in 1938 however, than Freud was writing to Max Eitingon with the sentiment of having "always greatly loved the prison from which I have been released"³. For her part Anna Freud was for over 30 years away from Vienna, though the intervening period does contain evidence of her deeper views. Thus, on 15th April 1958 the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society celebrated its 50th anniversary. Though Anna Freud did not then accompany her colleague Willi Hoffer to Vienna she did send a letter in which she congratulated Alfred Winterstein, Honorary President, who was also celebrating his 50 years of

¹Symposium (1977).

²Anna Freud (1977a).

³Jones (1957), ch.6, 'London: The End'.

membership of the Vienna Psa. Society. In her letter Anna Freud writes "I admit to some envy because I myself would have liked to achieve the same, and would have done so had not external events of grave significance interfered with my desire"¹.

During the 1977 Vienna Symposium attended by Hampstead Clinic staff, the 121st anniversary of Sigmund Freud's birthday - on 6th May 1977 - saw the unveiling ceremony ^{of the Freud Memorial} at Bellevue, Vienna. A photographic insert was placed in the Sigmund Freud House Bulletin². The memorial plaque, placed on a raised pedestal alongside which Anna Freud is seen standing, contains a text of Freud's jokingly rhetorical question written many years earlier to his friend Wilhelm Fliess³. In the letter, Freud reveals exactly when and where he had interpreted the now famous 'Dream of Irma's Injection', which largely gave rise to his celebrated statement that "a dream is the fulfillment of a wish"⁴. He wrote to his friend Fliess "Do you suppose that someday a marble tablet will be placed on the house, inscribed with these words: 'In this house, on July 24th 1895 the secret of dreams was revealed to Dr. Sigmund Freud'. At the moment there seems little prospect of it"⁵. The original event of great moment occurred in the year of Anna Freud's birth, whilst the tablet symbolising the fulfillment of her father's hidden wish was unveiled in her 81st year. Whilst the memorial is now seen free-standing in an open space with trees in the background, Ernest Jones remarks that the place was a restaurant, and Freud once took him to sit at the very table on

¹'Report of the Vienna Psa. Society', Journal, (1959), 40, 79.

²Vol.1, Pt.2, (1977), loose insert.

³Letter of 12th June 1900, in Freud (1950A, Letter 137).

⁴Freud (1900A); 1954 Strachey edn., p.121.

⁵ibid., 1954 Strachey edn., fn. to p.121; and (2) above.

the north-east corner of the terrace where 'the great event' had previously taken place¹.

With the account of this symbolic event the present survey of Anna Freud's professional life would happily have drawn to a fitting close. However, our subject is an octogenarian who simply does not know the meaning of retirement, and in 1978 she and her associates launched an impressive new quarterly publication, the Bulletin of The Hampstead Clinic. Published in London and with Anna Freud as consultant editor the Bulletin is designed solely for contributions from the Hampstead Clinic group, and represents the latest and most specialised logical development of Anna Freud's editorial labours spanning over 40 years. In the child study field these reach back to the Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik of the 1920's and 1930's, with ^{the} notable The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child spanning the interval from 1945 on.

In the opening issue of her Clinic's new Bulletin Anna Freud not only contributed an introductory preface² but from the mountain-top of her unique experience pointed out for others 'the principal task' of child analysis today³. The paper is a recapitulatory and forward-pointing 'tour de force', and bases itself upon the author's profound developmental viewpoint, which latter merits a chapter to itself (Chapter 9).

VISITING THE HAMPSTEAD CHILD CENTRE (1977-78)

In May 1976 a correspondence was entered into with the subject of this study. The aims of this correspondence were two-fold, namely (i) to elicit new evidence on certain obscure periods of

¹ Jones (1953), p.354.

² Anna Freud (1978b).

³ Anna Freud (1978a).

Anna Freud's professional career and (ii) to prepare the way for an eventual meeting with the subject herself. The complete correspondence is available in Appendix X. A supporting correspondence, entered into with a number of prominent Hampstead workers, is also available (Appendix XI). In addition to the correspondence, on 19th February 1977 I had the valuable opportunity of an early and extended interview with one of the Hampstead Clinic's senior analysts - Ilse Hellman - Noeck, Ph.d. - who by chance was staying in North Yorkshire¹. This individual was then instrumental in facilitating my eventual first visit to the Hampstead Clinic.

From Tuesday 31st May to Thursday 2nd June 1977 I based myself in North London, staying at Chalcot Square close to Primrose Hill. From there I was able to forage out, and more closely than had hitherto been possible was able to identify myself with the London sites associated with my subject. A street-plan of the central area of concern is provided (Fig. XVII).

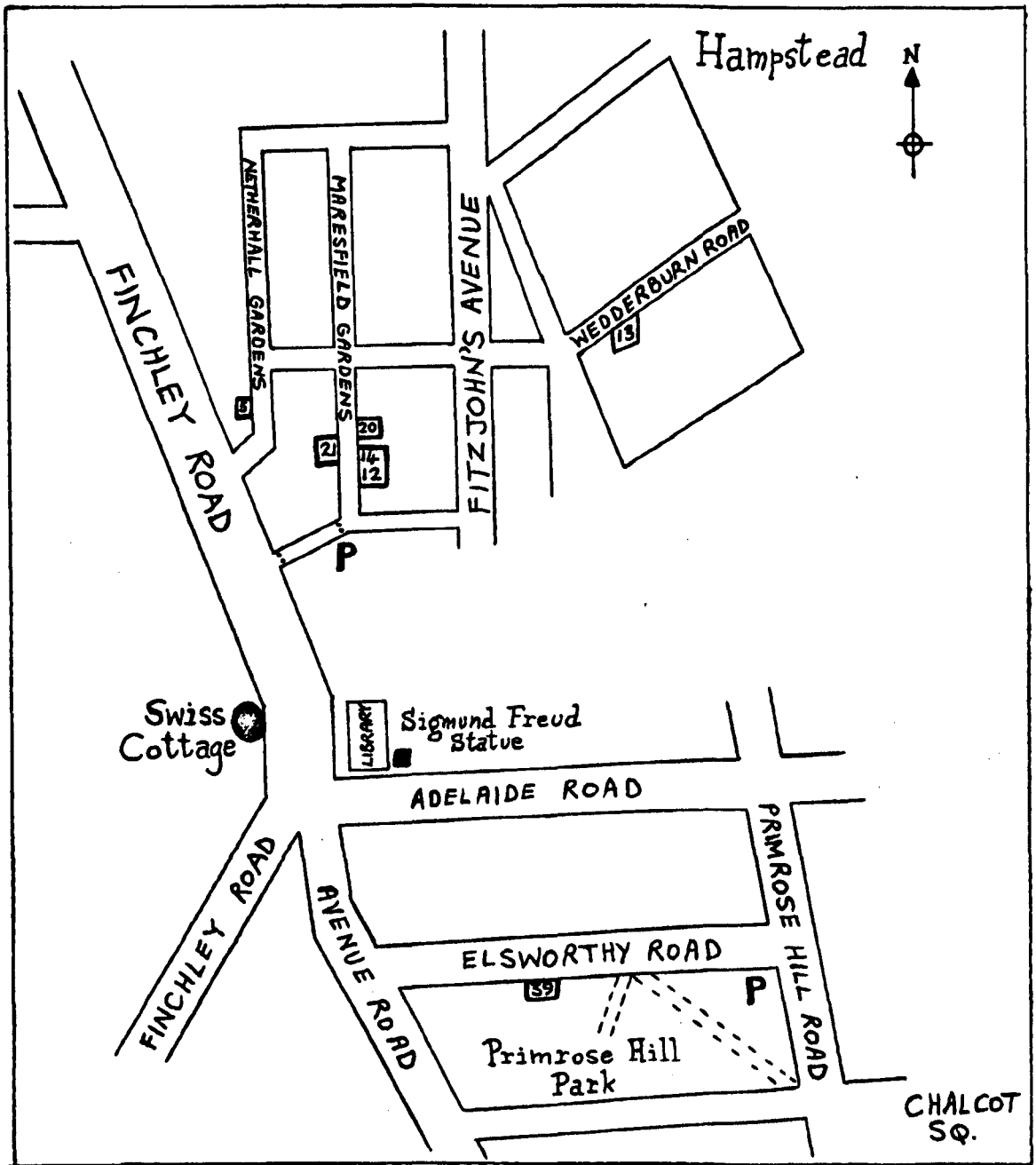
An initial foray took in Primrose Hill and Elsworthy Road, scene of Sigmund Freud and Anna's first ^{but} temporary London house². Then, at 4.30p.m. on Tuesday 31st May, a brief walk westwards brought me to St. John's Wood N.8, where I had arranged to interview Eva M. Rosenfeld. The meeting took place in Eva Rosenfeld's apartment at Elm Tree Court, where she had lived since leaving Berlin in 1936. A great many books, pictures and other 'freudiana' filled the apartment. Though in her mid-80's and suffering from a dislocated hip the hostess was charming and friendly, whilst preserving a statuesque and stately aura. Detailed interview notes are presented in Appendix XI, and were particularly helpful with regard to events in the periods 1924-31 and 1938-1941 in Anna Freud's work. Regrettably, within six or seven months of

¹See: Appendix XI.

²See: Chapter 5, and Fig. X.

Fig. XVII.

Map of North London: Sites Associated With The Present 'Anna Freud Visits' of 1977-78.



P = Primary School

this first meeting Eva Rosenfeld passed away, and only one or two telephone conversations had meanwhile partly clarified or developed points arising from our initial meeting.

On the morning of Wednesday 1st June I set out from Chalcot Square and walked towards Hampstead via Primrose Hill, Elsworthy Road, Swiss Cottage and Finchley Road. After briefly noting No.5 Netherhall Gardens, off Finchley Road and site of the 'second house' and Babies & Toddlers Department of the Hampstead War Nursery, I entered Maresfield Gardens for the first time and sensed the quiet, tree-lined seclusion which has for the past 40 or so years provided the day-to-day background for Anna Freud's life and work.

Of the three buildings of the Hampstead Clinic, No.21 Maresfield Gardens has the most impressive façade¹. This houses the Clinic's library, seminar/lecture room, administrative offices and staff canteen, and the elevated steps leading up to the clearly visible entrance provide a clear access to the visitor. The two other buildings, where therapy rooms are situated, have altogether more secluded and 'hidden' fronts, though whether by design or chance is not clear.

In the entrance hall to 21 Maresfield Gardens I was received by Mrs. Frances Salo, qualified child-therapist and the Clinic's Organiser for Non-Medical Visitors. This extremely charming and helpful official then took me along to the first of the day's important events, the weekly meeting of the Adolescent Seminar.

ADOLESCENT SEMINAR 11.00-12.00 hrs

In the absence of its usual leader Ilse Hellman, the seminar was chaired by Pauline Cohen². The presentation for the session dealt

¹See: Fig. XVIII.

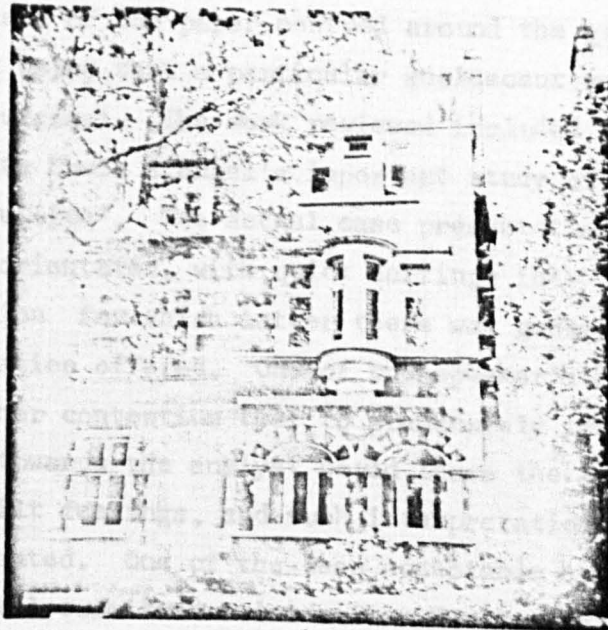
²Qualified child-therapist (See: Appendix XIV).

Fig. XVIII.

The Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, 21 Maresfield Gardens,
N.W.3.

with 'suicide in adolescents', and the case-control study was
collected at the Brent Centre for Adolescents, London. This
'walk-in' centre currently had over 80 adolescents in treatment,
under the general direction of Moses Laufer¹, secretary and
member and research associate of the Hampstead Clinic. The
presenter was Anne Hurry, a Hampstead-qualified child therapist
and currently editor of the Journal of Child Psychology.

The aim of the
to begin to
grounded in
together with
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clinically-
interpretation
to contribute
prints was
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enhanced
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the individ-



In the ensuing discussion Liselotte Frank attempted to draw
attention back to the classic contributions of Sara Paluchinsky
and Erwin Stengel respectively, but with little success in the face
of widely-voiced support for more recent work and ideas emanating,
apparently, from the Brent Centre. After listening to further
extended forays into realms of theory as hypothetical as they were
'deep', the present writer drew attention to the general lack of
corroborative evidence, e.g. from information obtainable from
parents, and also to the apparent lack of recognition of any need

¹ Laufer (1978).

with 'suicide in adolescents', and the case-material had been collected at the Brent Centre for Adolescents, London. This 'walk-in' centre currently had some 85 adolescents in treatment, under the general direction of Moses Laufer¹, sometime staff-member and research associate of the Hampstead Clinic. The case presenter was Anne Hurry, a Hampstead-qualified child therapist and currently editor of the Journal of Child Psychotherapy.

The main theme of the paper centred around the question of when to begin to worry that a particular adolescent would become genuinely suicidal. The work reviewed included that of Laufer, together with Erwin Stengel's important study of 'suicide and attempted suicide'. The actual case presentation was extremely clinically-orientated, with quick dartings into 'deep' theory and interpretation for which latter there was generally little or no corroboration offered. One of the speaker's more acceptable points was her contention that to prematurely interpret the patient's aggression towards the analyst would leave the adolescent with enhanced guilt feelings, and such interpretation was therefore contra-indicated. One of the less acceptable hypotheses was that the individual committed suicide in order to regain self-esteem.

In the ensuing discussion Liselotte Frankl attempted to draw attention back to the classic contributions of Kate Friedlander and Erwin Stengel respectively, but with little success in the face of widely-voiced support for more recent work and views emanating, apparently, from the Brent Centre. After listening to further extended forays into realms of theory as hypothetical as they were 'deep', the present writer drew attention to the general lack of corroborative evidence e.g. from information obtainable from parents, and also to the apparent lack of recognition of any need

¹Laufer (1975).

for such corroboration or for wider validation studies. Again, this seemed to run counter to the general desire of the younger and more vocal members of the seminar to argue abstrusely and hypothetically. One speaker who presented her views incisively and with more than the general run of concern for necessary scientific constraint turned out to be Marjorie Sprince¹, sometime co-author of the late Sara Rosenfeld².

The meeting was well attended, with 20-30 members including American visitors. Anneliese Schnurmann and Alice Goldberger were amongst those later identified as attending.

Following the Adolescent Seminar I was able to use the Library of the Hampstead Clinic, and here I was greatly assisted by the knowledgeable librarian Miss Gertrud Dann, a former worker of the Hampstead War Nursery but not subsequently analytically-trained. Over lunch I had the opportunity to talk informally with several staff-members, notably Miss Alice Goldberger who had been Superintendent of the Hampstead War Nursery's 'country house' in Essex.

MEETING ANNA FREUD

In the afternoon of Wednesday 1st June, at 2.00 p.m. prompt in the long seminar-room of 21 Maresfield Gardens, the crucial meeting of the day took place. This was to be the Clinic's bi-weekly Open Case Conference chaired by Anna Freud. The session paper was 'The demand for a real relationship in the analysis of an adolescent', and the presenter was an American student Arthur Couch Ph.D., who had trained at the London Institute of Psychoanalysis and was a

¹Sprince (1962), (1971).

²Rosenfeld & Sprince (1963) (1965).

pupil of Anna Freud's.

Before going into the meeting I had requested the ever-helpful Mrs. Frances Salo to make a seating-plan of the lecture room, and on this during the course of the meeting she identified and named most of those present (Fig. XIX). Of the upwards of 50 people attending the meeting 14 were identified as Hampstead Clinic Staff-members, with a further 9 being Hampstead students in training. Five other individuals were visitors from the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia which has exchange-visit arrangements with the Hampstead Clinic. Of the rest, note should be taken of the retired English educationist J. C. Hill from Kew, Richmond, and the American psychologist-psychoanalyst Professor Sidney Blatt of Yale. The front row seating had an appearance of accepted seniority coupled with long and loyal attendance. Well-worn armchairs contrasted with the stacking-chairs behind, and the absent Josephine Stross's chair was not occupied by anyone else. From her front-corner seat Anna Freud would later spend a great deal of the meeting in apparently scanning and assessing the audience reaction behind and to the side of her.

Anna Freud rose to open the meeting, and her bright face and clear voice contrasted markedly with the pronounced stoop of a by now acutely-aged physique. In her opening remarks she warned that the case we were about to hear had been a very difficult one from the point of view of therapy, as we could soon judge for ourselves from the material to be presented.

The speaker began by acknowledging his case supervisors John Bolland¹ and M. Goldblatt, and also thanked the absent Ilse Hellman. After briefly reviewing the evolution of Freud's therapeutic approach

¹Died 1974.

Fig.XIX.

Seating Plan: Hampstead Clinic 'Open Case Conference',

Wednesday 1st.June,1977.

		Speaker Dr.A.Couch				
	J.C.H.	H.S.	A.S.	Abs.	D.B.	A.F.
	A.Go.	H.K.	V	V	V	V
	V				V	V
F.S.	M.B.	S	V	V	S	S
V	R.D.	E.E.	S		V	
	R.P.	L.F.	S	S	H	H
		H	?		V	
		S	S	H	?	H
	?	A.Ge	I.E.			
	?	C.Y.	S.B.			
	?		V			
			S.N.R.	S		

KEY: J.C.H.=J.C.Hill; H.S.=Hedwig Schwitz; A.S.=Anneliese Schnurmann; Abs.=Absent(Josephine Stross); D.B.=Dorothy Burlingham; A.F.=Anna Freud; A.Go.=Alice Goldberger; H.K.=Hansi Kennedy; F.S.=Francis Salo; M.B.=Maria Berger; R.D.=Raymond Dyer; E.E.=Elspeth Earle; R.P.=Renate Putzel; L.F.=Liselotte Frankl; A.Ge.=Agnes Gehr; I.E.=Imri Elkan; C.F.=Clifford Yorke; S.B.=Sidney Blatt; S.N.R.=Mrs.Ramsden.
 V = Visitor S = Student ? = Unknown
 H = Exchange-visit worker/student from Hahnemann College, Philadelphia,U.S.A.

from active to increasingly passive and neutral, the speaker raised the question of the place of a 'real relationship' between therapist and patient. Ralph Greenson's work on technique was noted, with its distinction between 'transference relation', 'working alliance' and 'real relation'¹. The well-known historical divergencies between Anna Freud and Melanie Klein were touched upon in brief and almost ritualistic fashion, and the speaker assured his listeners that he "fully intended" to concentrate exclusively on the 'classical-orthodox' approach of the former. The actual case material then followed.

'Ann', an adolescent girl and eldest child of a middle-class Jewish family, had an above-average I.Q. and included analytic literature in her reading. There was an early history of family illness and trauma, and the girl's most prominent presenting feature was her insistent demand for what she termed a 'real relationship'. A year of mostly silent sessions followed, at the start of which the patient early indicated her desire that the analyst should not 'interpret' her or 'analyse' her. The voluminous protracted case notes - at this point the speaker briefly indicated the thick pile of paper in front of him - were, he informed, marked by extreme repetitiveness and contained little apparent data. Some interest centred about 'Ann's' suggestion that she and the therapist should "write a joint-paper" on her case. The speaker interpreted this as part of the girl's persistent attempts to "analyse back" and achieve an equality of relationship. At some point there was a long break in treatment after which the girl resumed her analysis. The speaker closed his presentation by citing Anna Freud² on the

¹Cf. Greenson (1971).

²Anna Freud (1954c), in Writings, IV, p.373. Also cited by Greenson (1971).

'real relationship' which is recognisable alongside the patient's transference relationship. The speaker considered this to be "a valuable contribution" but cautioned that care was needed with such "technically subversive" innovations, apparently forgetting that Anna Freud had herself applied precisely the same caution in the paper cited.

Anna Freud rose once more, this time to open the discussion. She supported herself on one arm against the speaker's table whilst talking, and delivered her statements emphatically and without pause or hesitation. She did not feel that the girl was demanding a 'real relationship'. She was rather trying to fulfil a phantasy - idealised relation. Fulfilling the girl's main demand would not have led to a treatment alliance. The long silent sessions had been a particularly difficult feature of the case.

Miss Freud showed herself completely knowledgeable on the details of the case-history under consideration, and offered many illuminating facts which the original speaker had omitted. For the first time the audience's attention was drawn to the likely importance of 'Ann's' maturational development - from age 15 to 19 - and its influence on the course of the final analysis undertaken after the break in treatment. This patient, said Anna Freud, was seeking an object which would not leave her, or disappoint her or die - but all objects eventually do one or other of these things. Comments were then invited from the floor.

A long silence followed, which served to consolidate a growing impression that this particular case had already been reviewed with a finality which would neither permit nor require further elaboration. Eventually one or two senior analysts present made minor comments, notably Hedwig Schwarz, Dorothy Burlingham and Hansi Kennedy. Anna Freud stood once more, this time to qualify the original speaker's citation of her own published work. There, she insisted, she had been referring to a 'real real relationship', whereas what we had

in the case before us was a 'phantasised real relationship' in pursuit of a lasting object. "Yes", objected Hedwig Schwarz "but is that not what we are all really seeking?". "Oh yes", countered Anna Freud with mischievous sagacity "but most of us know when to accept something less and face reality". This light-hearted exchange between two of the Clinic's front-row 'heavyweights' together with its contrast to the brilliant earlier analysis presented by Anna Freud did not go unremarked by the audience, as was indicated by much laughter and chuckling at this point.

The present writer was particularly impressed by both the conceptual subtlety and the undoubted rigour of interpretation which Anna Freud brought to this material. In final summary she reiterated that no 'real relationship' could hope to fulfill this particular patient's demands, which were for complete identity and reciprocity. It remains to add that the question of 'real relationships' is of direct concern to teachers, and is discussed in greater detail from this point of view (Chapter 10).

In marked contrast and by way of an anti-climax the original speaker somewhat apologetically returned to his theme of "the blocked relationship - It was all I had to work on", and seemed overly concerned to demonstrate to the audience that he had "stayed within the classical framework" in conducting the analysis. With that the case conference was declared closed.

Following the case conference a number of interested visitors made their way to the front of the lecture-room, each accompanied by a keenly solicitous staff 'guide'. After waiting one's turn in line the staff-member made the appropriate introduction, and it was apparent that Anna Freud knew exactly to whom she was being introduced. In my case she inquired whether I now had anyone else to answer the further questions relating to my study, and I replied that Mrs. Kennedy was agreeable. I was then able to meet Hansi

Kennedy, Director Designate of the Hampstead Clinic¹, and also Dorothy Burlingham, both of whom were standing nearby. In accordance with previously made arrangements I was then shown around the various other Clinic premises at Nos. 12 and 14 Maresfield Gardens, and including therapy-rooms and the redoubtable 'Index' room, which latter is always kept locked and is available to a strictly limited number of key-holders. A brief interview was also secured with Hansi Kennedy².

The meeting with Anna Freud had at the time carried with it an aura of the 'state occasion', as suggested by those authors who have variously described her as 'The Princess Royal'³ or 'The Queen'⁴ presiding over the world of classical psychoanalysis. On later reflection however such descriptions appear over-zealous, and are by no means as complimentary as would otherwise be the case, since the subject has spent the greater part of her considerable professional life in furthering the interests of psychoanalysis as science rather than as dynastic movement. The Hampstead arrangements for meetings between Anna Freud and visitors bear undeniable aspects of efficiency and in effect benefit both the subject and her guests. It is probable that such arrangements have been evolved to cope with the unavoidably very large demands upon the time and attention of a figure of international renown, whilst formal 'stylisation' was inevitable, as with other regular diplomatic and parallel encounters.

The final day's visit to London - Thursday 2nd June 1977 - was spent working in the Hampstead Clinic Library. This offers a very comprehensive range of analytical publications including many which

¹At 1977-78 the Directors of the Hampstead Clinic are Anna Freud, Clifford Yorke and Hansi Kennedy. The Trustees are Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Kurt Eissler and Helen Ross.

²See: Appendix XI.

³Kaplan (1969).

⁴Anderson (1967).

Fig.XX.

Sigmund Freud Statue, Swiss Cottage, North London.

have proved impossible to locate through the British Universities Inter-Library Loan Service, e.g. journals such as the Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik (1926-1937) and the Publications of the American Psychoanalytic Association; and German editions of many important analytical writings, particularly of the pre-war period¹.

A visit was also made to the Sigmund Freud Statue at nearby Swiss Cottage (Fig. XX). Young children of the Hampstead Clinic Educational Unit have also been taken on outings to this site, as photographs of the nursery will testify.

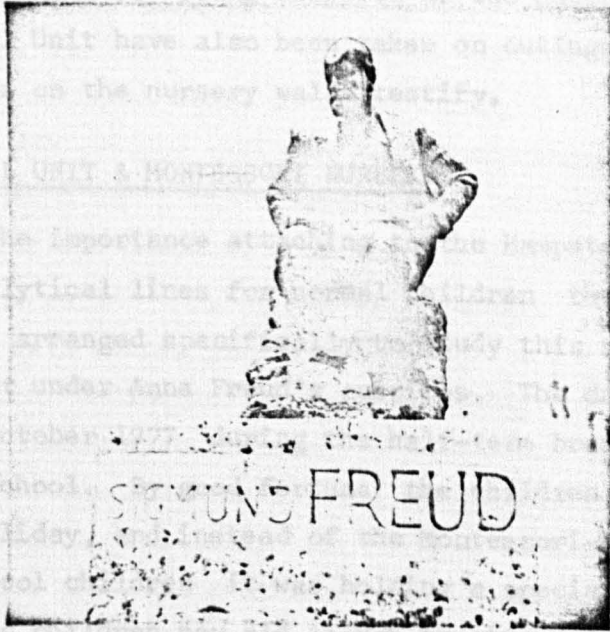
EDUCATIONAL UNIT & HAMPSTEAD CLINIC

Such was the importance attached to the Hampstead Clinic's nursery run on analytical lines for several children that a second trip to London was arranged specifically for this side of the work carried out under Anna Freud's supervision. This visit was arranged for 23rd October 1977, and was held at the present writer's school. The nursery building was also on holiday on this day, the nursery being managed by pre-school children of the Hampstead Clinic and Primery Schools. This factor subsequently allowed the making of comparative observations in infant Departments of North Yorkshire schools.

Before visiting the Hampstead educational nursery, valuable theoretical orientation was provided by two recent papers, by Anna Freud² and

¹cf. Fenberg (1932).

²Anna Freud (1975a).



have proved impossible to locate through the British Universities Inter-Library Loan Service, e.g. journals such as the Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik (1926-1937) and the Bulletin of the American Psychoanalytic Association; and German editions of many important analytical authors particularly of the pre-war period¹.

A visit was also made to the Sigmund Freud Statue at nearby Swiss Cottage (Fig. XX). Young children of the Hampstead Clinic Educational Unit have also been taken on outings to this site as photographs on the nursery walls testify.

EDUCATIONAL UNIT & MONTESSORI NURSERY

Such was the importance attaching to the Hampstead Clinic's nursery run on analytical lines for normal children that a second trip to London was arranged specifically to study this side of the work carried out under Anna Freud's auspices. The day-visit was arranged for 25th October 1977 during the half-term break of the present writer's school. By good fortune the children in Hampstead were also on holiday, and instead of the Montessori-nursery being peopled by pre-school children it was holding a special session for ex-members and children now old enough to attend local Infant and Primary Schools. This factor subsequently allowed the making of comparative observations in Infant Departments of North Yorkshire schools.

Before visiting the Hampstead educational nursery valuable theoretical orientation was provided by two recent papers, by Anna Freud² and

¹cf. Nunberg (1932).

²Anna Freud (1975a).

Rose Edgecumbe¹ respectively. The latter author was for many years the Hampstead Clinic's child-therapist adviser to the nursery unit, a post now filled by Peter Wilson whose work on referral of nursery children² has been prefaced by Anna Freud³.

Opened in May 1957 the Nursery Unit functioned initially for half-days only and took groups of some 8 children. This practice continued until 1966 when the stimulus of the U.S. 'Headstart' programme prompted the change to full-day educational working.

The headteacher - Mrs. Manna Friedmann, from whom much of this information was obtained - joined the nursery in 1957. She had previously met Anna Freud in 1946 during involvement with the programme for refugee children from Nazi concentration-camps. Mrs. Friedmann and I sat talking in the garden play-area behind No.12 Maresfield Gardens. Some 12 young children showing a wide spectrum of racial origin, colour, language and developmental level of both sexes played vigorously and with much social interaction on the mobile toys, climbing-frames, sand-pit and so forth. Their conversations and behaviour were constantly monitored by the headteacher, who frequently interjected on behalf of one or the other with advice or remonstrations. Two young female assistants to the nursery hovered nearby or were alternately busy indoors preparing later activities, breaktime drinks and so forth.

Of the children in the nursery unit some 2 or 3 are generally

¹ Edgecumbe ((1972)1975).

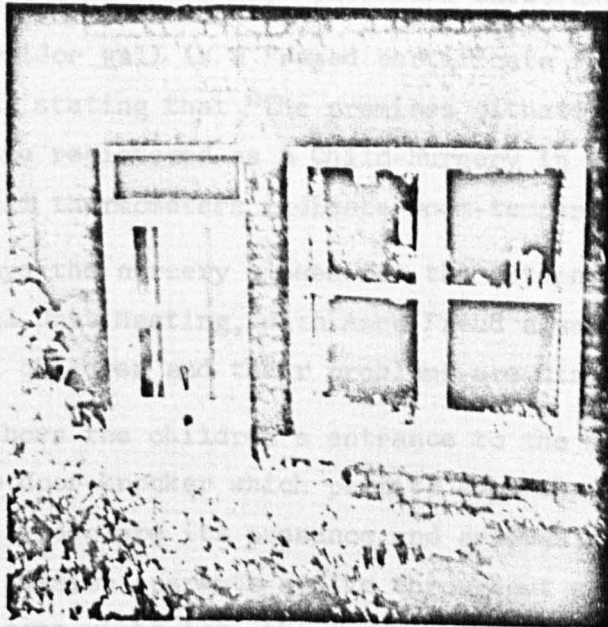
² Wilson (1977).

³ Anna Freud (1977d).

Fig. XXI.

Children's Entrance, Hampstead Clinic Nursery Unit,
12, Maresfield Gardens, N.W.3.

diagnosed as needing attention from the Clinic's other specialist services. A prominent nursery role per se is acknowledged as being verbalisation enhancement. Simple reading materials, attractive and brightly illustrated, abound in the nursery room and extra-low sinks and clothes-pegs encourage bodily independence in such basic functions as washing, dressing, etc. The educational approaches here are usually Montessori influenced.



Dr. one for the London Borough of Camden, stating that the premises situated at 12 Maresfield Gardens was the home of Anna Freud. On Thursday the nursery Educational individual Fig. XXI shows the children's entrance to the nursery, with the wooden walkway leading to the entrance. The entrance is a simple white door with a small window and a white window frame with four panes. The building is surrounded by lush greenery and flowers in the foreground. Other 'unselected' children continue their activities until called away by parents, and there is an 'idle' period in which Sally dressed and readied children stand about restlessly in waiting.

Continued contacts with the Hampstead Clinic were maintained through 1978 and 1979 by correspondence and related visits. A further day-visit was made on 21st May 1978 largely to check facts and to utilize the Clinic's specialist library facilities. Dr. Liselotte Frankl and Miss Gertrud Davis were, as always, particularly helpful.

diagnosed as needing attention from the Clinic's other specialist services. A prominent nursery role per se is acknowledged as being verbalisation enhancement. Simple reading materials, attractive and brightly illustrated, abound in the nursery rooms and extra-low sinks and clothes-pegs encourage bodily independence in such basic functions as washing, dressing, etc. The educational approaches here are heavily Montessori-influenced.

On one corridor wall is a framed certificate from the London Borough of Camden stating that "The premises situate at 12 Maresfield Gardens" are registered as a Child-Nursery in the name of Anna Freud. Wall thermometers indicate room-temperatures of 74°F.

On Thursdays the nursery closes for the afternoon. Staff attend an Educational Unit Meeting, with Anna Freud always present, and individual children and their problems are discussed.

Fig. XXI shows the children's entrance to the nursery, with the woodpecker door-knocker which permits even the smallest child to individually declare its presence and arrival. At the close of the day's session parents arrive throughout a rather wide time-band, and come right into the nursery to collect and dress children. Other 'uncollected' children continue their activities until called away by parents, and there is no 'idle' period in which fully dressed and readied children stamp about restlessly in waiting.

o-o-o-o-o-o-0-0-0-o-o-o-o-o-o

Continued contacts with the Hampstead Clinic were maintained through 1978 and 1979 by correspondence and related means. A further day-visit was made on 31st May 1978 largely to check facts and to utilise the Clinic's specialist library facilities. Dr. Liselotte Frankl and Miss Gertrud Dann were as always particularly helpful

on such occasions.

The work of the Hampstead Clinic - or The Hampstead Centre for the Psychoanalytic Study and Treatment of Children - continues to develop and diversify. From September 1978 a new One Year Course was started in non-clinical applications of child psychoanalysis for experienced workers in allied professions¹. The parallel question of the analytical training of teachers - whether necessary and what alternatives can be said to exist - is taken up again in Chapter 10.

Although in the present section discussion was limited to the 'normal schooling' educational unit at Hampstead, the Clinic of which Anna Freud is Director has in fact operated two pre-nursery groups plus two nursery schools, one for blind and one (as visited) for sighted children. The Nursery School for Blind Children in particular is "the prototype of a therapeutic nursery school" where as an example of what Anna Freud terms 'combined service' "... the aims of education and treatment are intermixed, to the degree of being almost indistinguishable"².

¹Kennedy (1978).

²Anna Freud (1966c), Writings, V, p.373.