Freud may never have set foot in Cambridge – that hub for the twentieth century’s most influential thinkers and scientists – but his intellectual impact there in the years between the two World Wars was immense. This is a story that has long languished untold, buried under different accounts of the dissemination of psychoanalysis. John Forrester and Laura Cameron present a fascinating and deeply textured history of the ways in which a set of Freudian ideas about the workings of the human mind, sexuality and the unconscious affected Cambridge men and women – from A.G. Tansley and W.H.R. Rivers to Bertrand Russell, Bernal, Strachey, and Wittgenstein – shaping their thinking across a range of disciplines from biology to anthropology; from philosophy to psychology, education and literature. Freud in Cambridge will be welcomed as a major intervention by literary scholars, historians, psychoanalysts and all readers interested in twentieth-century intellectual and scientific life.

John Forrester (25 August 1949 – 24 November 2015) was Professor of History and Philosophy of the Sciences in the University of Cambridge and head of the HPS department for seven years. He was Editor of the journal Psychoanalysis and History from 2005 to 2014 and authored Freud’s Women (1992) with Lisa Appignanesi, Dispatches from the Freud Wars (1997) and Truth Games (1997), amongst others. He published over fifty papers in scholarly journals, principally concerned with the history and philosophy of psychoanalysis. His work on cases as a genre and as a style of reasoning was posthumously published as Thinking in Cases (2016).

Laura Cameron is an Associate Professor of historical geography at Queen’s University in Kingston, Canada. She is the author of Openings: A Meditation on History, Method and Sumas Lake (1997), and co-editor of Emotion, Place and Culture (2009) and Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness (2011), and has published numerous papers on the history of fieldwork, psychoanalysis, ecology and sound.
Cambridge city centre, c. 1927.
FREUD IN CAMBRIDGE

JOHN FORRESTER AND LAURA CAMERON
Contents

List of Illustrations  page viii
Preface           xi
Acknowledgements xv
List of Abbreviations xvii

1 Introduction 1
2 Tansley’s Dream 7
3 W.H.R. Rivers, the English Freud 57
4 Becoming Freudian in Cambridge: Undergraduates and Psychoanalysis 100
5 Discipline Formation – Psychology, English, Philosophy 203
6 The 1925 Group 363
7 The Malting House Garden School 432
8 A Psychoanalytic Debate in 1925 475
9 Bloomsbury Analysts 505
10 Freud in Cambridge? 613

Bibliography 649
Index 681
# Illustrations

FrontispieceCambridge city centre, c. 1927. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Arthur George Tansley, IPE 1949. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Arthur Tansley as a Cambridge undergraduate, c. 1893. By permission of the Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Arthur and Edith Tansley, IPE 1913. By permission of the Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>E. Margaret ‘Margot’ Hume at Newnham College, 1909. By permission of the Principal and Fellows, Newnham College, Cambridge.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>William Halse Rivers Rivers, c. 1917. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John’s College, Cambridge.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>W.H.R. Rivers, photo by Layard, Atchin, 1914. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (P.3556.ACH1).</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>W.H.R. Rivers and the Torres Straits Expedition, 1898. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (N.23035.ACH2).</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Charles Kay Ogden, c. 1916. Courtesy of McMaster University Library.</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>The Cambridge Magazine bookshops Advertisement, 1921. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Ernest Pickworth Farrow, by Harold Jeffreys, c. 1916. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John’s College, Cambridge.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Illustrations


4.7 Kingsley Martin on the Brains Trust, 1943. © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS.


4.10 W.J.H. ‘Sebastian’ Sprott, Richard Braithwaite, and Mary Sprott, early 1920s. By permission of Duncan Sprott.

5.1 Charles Myers recording, Torres Straits, 1898. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (P.950.ACH1).

5.2 Henry Head and W.H.R. Rivers during an experiment in nerve division, c. 1903. By permission of the Department of Psychology Archive, University of Cambridge.

5.3 John Thompson MacCurdy in his Corpus Christi College rooms. By permission of the Department of Psychology Archive, University of Cambridge.

5.4 Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune, 1933. Margaret Mead Papers and the South Pacific Ethnographic Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

5.5 Ivor Armstrong Richards, 1924. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

5.6 Bertrand Russell with pram, c. 1921. Courtesy of McMaster University Library.


6.1 John Rickman, c. 1925. By permission of the Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library.

6.2 Lionel Penrose, 1922. By permission of UCL Library Services, Special Collections.

List of Illustrations


6.5 Harold Jeffreys in his St John’s College rooms. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John’s College, Cambridge.

6.6 Lionel Penrose, chess dream position. By permission of UCL Library Services, Special Collections.

7.1 Malting House Garden School, 1927. Still from a film produced by Mary Field of British Instructional Films Ltd reproduced from van der Eyken and Turner, 1969, plate 1, with permission from Janet Pyke.

7.2 Geoffrey and Margaret Pyke on honeymoon, 1918. Courtesy of HarperCollins and with permission from Janet Pyke.

7.3 Susan Isaacs with children at the Malting House School. By permission of Janet Pyke.

7.4 Malting House children with a gramophone. By permission of Janet Pyke.


7.6 Children working in the Malting House science laboratory. By permission of Janet Pyke.


8.1 John Maynard Keynes writing, portrait by Roger Fry. Private Collection / The Stapleton Collection / Bridgeman Images.


Preface

This book is the product of research jointly sustained, mostly over long distances, for over eighteen years. John Forrester, whose sweeping knowledge of the human and physical sciences, as well as the history of psychoanalysis, was essential to the envisioning and final completion of this book, died six weeks after our manuscript was submitted to Cambridge University Press.

In our last conversation, John said we still needed to say something about how this enterprise began. We did not consider that I would be telling the story without him, and although I do so now with deep sadness, the beginning also underscores John’s astonishing character. In a project whose hallmarks throughout were surprise, tenacity and inexhaustible excitement, it was Arthur Tansley’s dream, but above all John’s intellectual generosity, that set things in motion back in the spring of 1997.

As a postgraduate in historical geography, my studies focused in part on Sir Arthur George Tansley, the British ecologist who introduced the term ‘ecosystem’ and whose papers were then housed in some drawers at the Department of Plant Sciences, University of Cambridge. Although Tansley had written a book about psychoanalysis in 1920, this aspect of his life was largely unexplored. On a lead from Michael Molnar of the Freud Museum, I had corresponded with Kurt Eissler for permission to view the Tansley files held in the notorious ZR Section of the Sigmund Freud Archives at the Library of Congress. Eissler’s eight word reply ‘I do not recall an interview with Tansley’ was as close as I got to the Freud Archive until I contacted John Forrester, then Reader in the History and Philosophy of Science, about the psychoanalytic papers that I had been examining over in Plant Sciences. One document appeared to be a letter from Freud to Tansley concerning the first patient of psychoanalysis, Anna O. With this ‘find’ which we published in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis, John helped me engage Eissler in further negotiations. Within a few months, I received notice that the material was no longer restricted: thanks to John, I was in.

xi
Tansley’s contribution to the Freud Archive, as it turned out, was his own dream and self-analysis. His dream story made a fascinating case study in the significance of dreams in history, enabling an examination of the part they might play in an individual’s life. It was also a jolting reminder of a time and a place when psychoanalysis was recognized as a science, when it was a marker of scientific modernity to be psychoanalysed, and when a dream, as a matter of course, had the radical potential to change an academic’s life. We published joint papers on Tansley and his psychoanalytic networks: harbinger of things to come, John’s inaugural lecture in May 2002 was entitled ‘Freud in Cambridge’. Our massive research and email files continued to expand as I returned to Canada with my family to take up a position at Queen’s University. We then planned a book, based on our earlier papers as well as research we each had been pursuing on related topics, including John’s study of the life of W.H.R. Rivers (see Chapter 3) and my work on the Malting House School (see Chapter 7). Administrative loads, competing projects and health challenges slowed us down but the research continued and the book nonetheless grew, fleshed out over the ensuing years, and enlarged, most substantively so by John (Chapters 5 and 9) once he had leave from being Head of the Cambridge Department of History and Philosophy of Science in 2013. Although we worked collaboratively, his brilliance and iron will pulled it all together.

In helping us realize – and sustain – this work, we have been assisted by numerous people. As the research took place over two continents and nearly two decades, I am certain to forget someone and I apologize now for any omission. Sincere thanks, first of all, to John’s wife, Lisa Appignanesi, who provided excellent insights and editorial suggestions all along the way and who has come to know this book and its making so well from beginning to end. Daniel Pick has been a close and careful first external reader and his enthusiasm buoyed John at the last. John would also have liked to thank the many colleagues who sustained him in his work, including Simon Schafer, Liba Taub and Jim Secord, as well as the excellent Tamara Hug. He was particularly grateful to the Department of History and Philosophy of Science for supporting the research, long gestation, and publication of this book. The King’s College Research Centre, then run by Simon Goldhill, now Director of CRASSH, hosted three work in progress seminars in May 2011 on different sections of the book. These were enormously helpful. We are both also grateful to Sarah Caro, our commissioning editor at Cambridge University Press, and to her successors, Richard Fisher, and most recently, Lucy Rhymer, for seeing the work through to publication. We are thankful, as well, for the coordinating
Preface

...efforts of Cassi Roberts and the very fine and thoughtful copyediting skills of Frances Brown.

...For help with materials from the A.G. Tansley Collection when it was still based in Plant Sciences, we thank David Briggs, and the late poet-librarian, Richard Savage. For assistance in navigating other Cambridge and UK collections, we are grateful to: Jonathan Harrison, The Library, St John’s College; Jacqueline Cox and Rosalind Grooms, King’s College and the University Archives; Joanna Ball, John Marais and Jonathan Smith, Wren Library and Archives, Trinity College; Anne Thomson, Newnham College; the Archive Centre, King’s College; the Department of Psychology Archives; the staff of the Cambridgeshire Record Office; and Mike Petty and Chris Jakes, the Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library. We thank also Michael Molnar and the Freud Museum, London; Ken Robinson, Allie Dillon, Gina Douglas, Jill Duncan and Polly Rossdale, Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society; Archives and Manuscripts of the British Library; the British Psychological Society; J.W. Belsham and Norman Leverets, Spalding Gentlemen’s Society; the staff of the Wellcome Library; Sarah Aitchison, Institute of Education, University of London; Steve Roud, Croydon Local Studies Library and Archives Service, Central Library; Paul Rowan, Croydon Natural History Society.

...Farther afield, we are grateful to: the late Lydia Marinelli, Daniella Seebacher and the Sigmund Freud Museum in Vienna; the Department of Library Services, University of South Africa; Lesley Hart, University of Cape Town Libraries; Harold Blum and the late Kurt Eissler, The Sigmund Freud Archives, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Leslie Shores, American Heritage Centre, University of Wyoming; Jennifer Morrow, Hiram College Archives, Ohio; Stephen Yearl, Yale University Library; and, in Canada, Kathy Gray and Ken Blackwell, who assisted with The Bertrand Russell Archives and the CK Ogden Fonds at McMaster University.

...Many people opened their homes and/or private archives to us. We appreciate the hospitality of Margaret Lythgoe-Goldstein, David Owers, Adrian Pyke, Janet Pyke and David Wills. Oral interviews also inform this book and we are grateful to the late Frances Barnes, the late Anna Dickens, Richard Grove, the late Lady Bertha Jeffreys, the Hon. Anne Keynes, Dan McKenzie, the late Frances Partridge, Janet Pyke, the late Martin Tomlinson, the late Helen Thompson and the late Richard West.
Preface

Research for this book was funded in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Junior Research Fellowship at Churchill College, Queen’s University and the Canada Research Chairs Program. We experienced enormous generosity from the research community and our writing and thinking have benefited from discussion with colleagues over the years in numerous conferences and seminars. In addition to those recognized in ‘Acknowledgements’, we would like to thank the Master of Sidney Sussex College, the late Sir Gabriel Horn, and the Librarian of the College for providing information on C.R.A. Thacker. Many thanks to Roy Foster, Colm Toibin, the late June Levine and in particular Mitch Elliott for information concerning Jonty Hanaghan. Thank you to Geoffrey Batten for information on Lella and Philip Sargent Florence. For help in the research process we also thank Bill Adams, Lady Lucy Adrian, Peder Anker, Peter Ayres, Alan Baker, Tim Bayliss-Smith, Drew Bednasek, German Berrios, Liz Bondi, Pete de Bolla, Mike Brearley, Andrew Brown, John Burnham, Gabriel Citron, Peter Cunningham, Mary Daniels, Joyce Davidson, Elizabeth Dougherty, Felix Driver, Mary Jane Drummond, Willem van der Eyken, Elizabeth Gagen, Peter Goheen, Paul Harris, Mike Heffernan, David Howie, Sir Michael Holroyd, Sarah Igo, Mary Jacobus, Edgar Jones, Heike Jöns, Gerry Kearns, Martin Kusch, Paul Kingsbury, Denis Linehan, Marin Levy, Roger Lohmann, Katrina Lythgoe, Elizabeth Lunbeck, David Matless, Hugh Mellor, Andreas Mayer, John Mollon, David Palfrey, Bronwyn Parry, Ian Patterson, Steve Pile, Jane Reid, the late Paul Roazen, William Rowley, Janet Sayers, John Sheail, Karl Snyder, Philipp Stickler, Deborah Thom, Caroline Thomas, Edward Timms, Steve Trudgill, Andrew Webber, Paul Whittle and Jack Whitehead. Bloomsbury/Freud, edited by Perry Meisel and the late Walter Kendrick, was a continual inspiration.

John would have wanted me to express his abiding thanks not only to Lisa, but to his children and their partners, Katrina Forrester and Jamie Martin, Josh Appignanesi and Devorah Baum, as well as the grandson who filled his last years with joy, little Manny. On my side, thanks to Matthew Rogalsky, my partner in life for over thirty years, and our son Arden: their love and music infused the project throughout. Lastly, my eternal gratitude to John, himself, for sharing in the finest of archival adventures.

LAURA CAMERON
Acknowledgements


We thank the late Anna Dickens and the late Martin Tomlinson for permission to quote from the materials which their grandfather, Sir Arthur Tansley, submitted to the Sigmund Freud archives; Joan Godwin for
permission to quote from Tansley’s published work; Sigmund Freud
Copyrights for permission to quote from unpublished letters of Sigmund
Freud; Tom Roberts of Sigmund Freud Copyrights for making Ernst
Falzeder’s transcriptions of Freud’s letters to Rickman available to us;
Ernst Falzeder for making available a series of transcriptions of unpub-
lished letters, including Freud’s letters to Abraham, the Rundbriefe, and
other letters amongst the Committee’s membership; Michael Young for
making available unpublished materials relating to Malinowski; Adrian
Cunningham and Lord Layard for sharing unpublished materials by John
Layard; Janet Pyke who gave access to the Pyke Archive and who has given
permission to cite, quote and reproduce several documents; Karina
Williamson for permission to cite and quote from manuscripts and docu-
ments by Susan and Nathan Isaacs relating to the Malting House School.
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Lord Adrian Archives, Trinity College Cambridge Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>See FA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFSF</td>
<td>See SFAF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAAS</td>
<td>British Association for the Advancement of Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIPA</td>
<td><em>Bulletin of the International Psycho-Analytical Association</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJMP</td>
<td>British Journal of Medical Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLSP</td>
<td>British Library Strachey Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMFRS</td>
<td><em>Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMJ</td>
<td>British Medical Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPAS</td>
<td>Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPCUL</td>
<td>Bernal Papers, Cambridge University Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPS</td>
<td>Archives of the British Psychological Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR</td>
<td>The Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations


CM *The Cambridge Magazine*

CR *The Cambridge Review*


CRO Cambridgeshire Record Office

CU Cambridge University

CUEP Archives, Department of Experimental Psychology, University of Cambridge

CUL Cambridge University Archives, University Library

CUR *Cambridge University Reporter*


FEC Frederic E. Clements Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming


FRP Frank Ramsey Papers, King’s College, Cambridge, Modern Archive

List of Abbreviations

HJPC  Papers and Correspondence of Sir Harold Jeffreys, St John’s College, Cambridge Archives

HR 1910  J.R. Tanner (ed.), Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, being a Supplement to the Calendar with a Record of University Offices, Honours and Distinctions to the Year 1910, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917


HR 1921–30  University Registry, Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, Supplement 1921–1930, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932

IJP  International Journal of Psycho-Analysis

IPA  International Psycho-Analytical Association

IPE  International Phytogeographical Excursion

IRP  International Review of Psycho-Analysis

IU  Rivers, Instinct and the Unconscious

JF  See FJ


JPBPaS  Ernest Jones Papers, Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society


Lighthouse  Jean MacGibbon, There’s the Lighthouse, London: James & James, 1997


LoCAF  Anna Freud Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

LoCSF  The Sigmund Freud Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC


List of Abbreviations

MST  Moral Sciences Tripos
NST  Natural Sciences Tripos
OP  C.K. Ogden Papers, McMaster University Libraries
PP  Lionel Penrose Papers, University College London Manuscript and Rare Books Room. Numbers immediately following ‘PP’ refer to the Box number. Now digitised at the Wellcome Library: http://wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/makers-of-modern-genetics/digitised-archives/lionel-penrose/
Pyke Papers  Pyke Papers (held in the private residence of Janet Pyke, London)
RPBPaS  John Rickman Papers, Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society
SFAF Ingeborg Meyer-Palmedo (ed.), Sigmund Freud–Anna Freud: Correspondence 1904–1938, Cambridge: Polity, 2013. SFAF = Sigmund to Anna; AFSF = Anna to Sigmund
SPR Society for Psychical Research
SSP Sebastian Sprott Papers, Modern Archive, King’s College, Cambridge
TA Arthur Tansley Archives, Cambridge University Library
List of Abbreviations

