

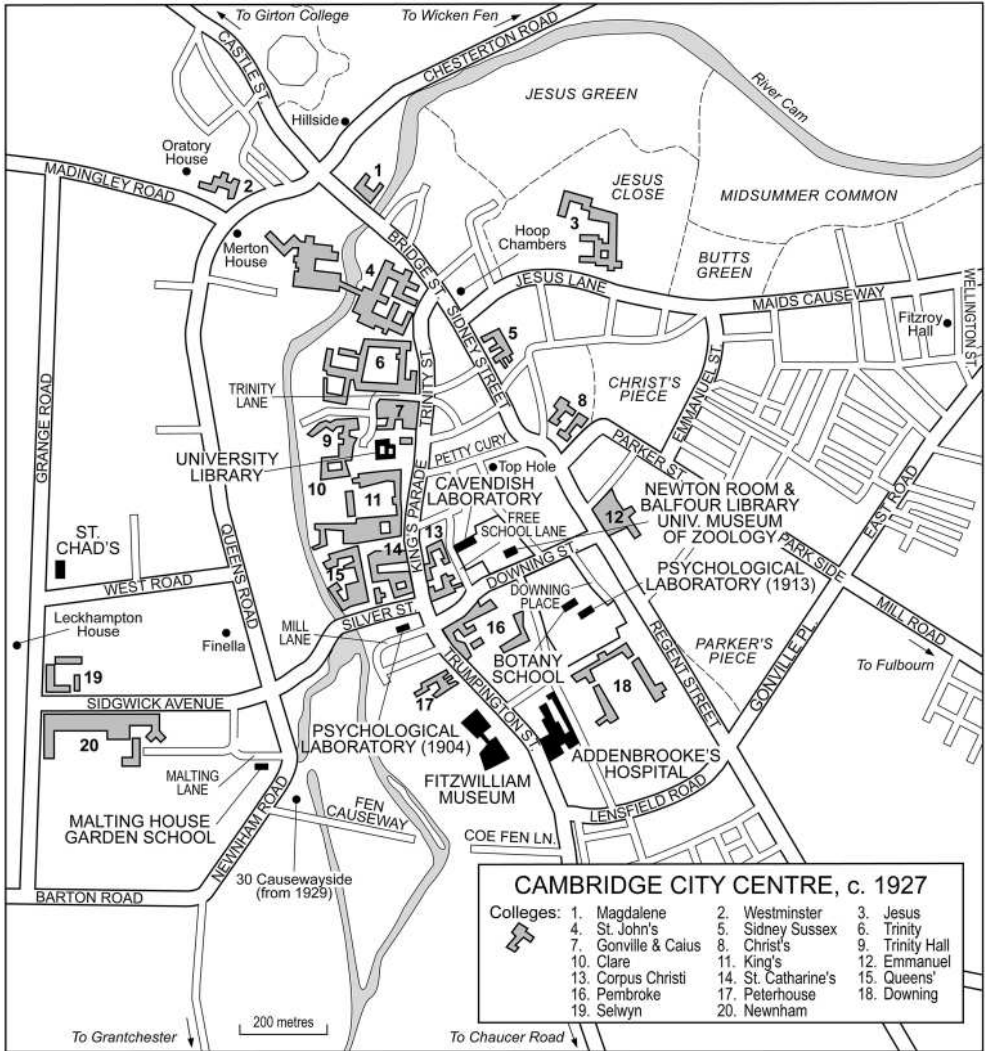
FREUD IN CAMBRIDGE

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.

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Cambridge city centre, c. 1927.

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Thinking in Cases

Truth Games: Lies, Money, and Psychoanalysis

Dispatches from the Freud Wars: Psychoanalysis and Its Passions

Freud's Women, with Lisa Appignanesi

The Seductions of Psychoanalysis: Freud, Lacan and Derrida

Language and the Origins of Psychoanalysis

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Whiteness (co-editor) with Andrew Baldwin and Audrey Kobayashi

Emotion, Place and Culture (co-editor) with Mick Smith, Joyce Davidson and
Liz Bondi

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FREUD IN CAMBRIDGE

JOHN FORRESTER AND LAURA CAMERON



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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.

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 Schaffer, 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

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

We have drawn upon many sources for the book, chiefly from archives. 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.

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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.

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, Philip 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

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An earlier version of Chapter 2 appeared as Laura Cameron and John Forrester, “A nice type of the English scientist”: Tansley and Freud’, in *History Workshop Journal* 48 (Autumn 1999), 64–100 and D. Pick and L. Roper (eds.), *Dreams and History*, London: Routledge, 2004.

Parts of Chapter 3 have appeared in Laura Cameron and John Forrester, ‘Freud in the field: psychoanalysis, fieldwork and geographical imaginations in interwar Cambridge’, in P. Kingsbury and S. Pile (eds.), *Psychoanalytic Geographies*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, and in John Forrester, ‘The English Freud: W.H.R. Rivers, dreaming and the making of the early twentieth century human sciences’, in Sally Alexander and Barbara Taylor (eds.), *History and Psyche: Culture, Psychoanalysis, and the Past*, London: Palgrave, 2012, pp. 71–104.

Parts of Chapters 4 and 6 have appeared in Laura Cameron and John Forrester, ‘Tansley’s psychoanalytic network: an episode out of the early history of psychoanalysis in England’, *Psychoanalysis and History* 2(2) (2000), 189–256. Parts of Chapter 4 also appeared in John Forrester, ‘The psychoanalytic passion of J.D. Bernal in 1920s Cambridge’, *British Journal of Psychotherapy* 26 (2010), 397–404. Earlier versions of parts of Chapter 6 were also published in John Forrester, ‘Freud in Cambridge’, *Critical Quarterly* 46(2) (2004), 1–26.

An earlier version of Chapter 7 appeared as Laura Cameron, ‘Science, nature and hatred: “finding out” at the Malting House Garden School, 1924–29’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006), 851–72.

An earlier version of Chapter 8 appeared in John Forrester, “A sort of devil” (Keynes on Freud, 1925): reflections on a century of Freud-criticism’, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 14(2) (2003), 70–85.

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 unpublished 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 documents by Susan and Nathan Isaacs relating to the Malting House School.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------|---|
| AA | Lord Adrian Archives, Trinity College Cambridge Archives |
| ABB | Andrew Brown, <i>J.D. Bernal: The Sage of Science</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005 |
| AF | See FA |
| AFSF | See SFAF |
| AGTSEA | <i>Three Contributions by Sir Arthur Tansley, F.R.S.</i> , The Sigmund Freud Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC |
| BAAS | British Association for the Advancement of Science |
| BF | Perry Meisel and Walter Kendrick, <i>Bloomsbury/Freud: The Letters of James and Alix Strachey 1924–1925</i> , London: Chatto & Windus, 1986 |
| <i>BIPA</i> | <i>Bulletin of the International Psycho-Analytical Association</i> |
| <i>BJMP</i> | <i>British Journal of Medical Psychology</i> |
| BLSF | British Library Strachey Papers |
| <i>BMFRS</i> | <i>Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society</i> |
| <i>BMJ</i> | <i>British Medical Journal</i> |
| BPas | Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society |
| BPCUL | Bernal Papers, Cambridge University Library |
| BPS | Archives of the British Psychological Society |
| BR | The Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University |
| BRA | Bertrand Russell, <i>Autobiography</i> . Followed by volume number: <i>The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell</i> , Vol. I, 1872–1914, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967; <i>The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell</i> , Vol. II, 1914–1944, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968; <i>The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell</i> , Vol. III, 1944–1967, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969 |

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List of Abbreviations

- BRCP Bertrand Russell, *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, London: Routledge, 1983— followed by volume number and page
- CD W.H.R. Rivers, *Conflict and Dream*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1923
- CM *The Cambridge Magazine*
- CR *The Cambridge Review*
- Crampton Colin Crampton, 'The Cambridge School. The life, work and influence of James Ward, W.H.R. Rivers, C.S. Myers and Sir Frederic Bartlett' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1978)
- 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*
- FA E. Falzeder (ed.), *The Complete Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham 1907–1925*, London and New York: Karnac, 2002. FA = Freud to Abraham; AF = Abraham to Freud. Followed by letter date and page number
- FEC Frederic E. Clements Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming
- FJ R. Andrew Paskauskas (ed.), *The Complete Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Ernest Jones 1908–1939*, introduction by Riccardo Steiner, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993. FJ = Freud to Jones; JF = Jones to Freud. Followed by letter date and page number
- FK Pearl King and Riccardo Steiner (eds.), *The Freud–Klein Controversies 1941–45*, London and New York: Tavistock/Routledge, 1991
- FPD Frances Partridge, *Diaries, 1939–1972*, London: Phoenix, 2001
- FPM Frances Partridge, *Memories* (1981), London: Phoenix, 1996
- FRP Frank Ramsey Papers, King's College, Cambridge, Modern Archive
- Holroyd Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey: The New Biography*, New York and London: Norton, 1995

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- 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 1911–20 G.V.C. (ed.), *Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, Supplement, 1911–1920*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922
- 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
- Jones Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work*, 3 vols., London: Hogarth Press, 1953–57, followed by volume and page number
- JBPpAs Ernest Jones Papers, Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society
- KMFF Kingsley Martin, *Father Figures: A First Volume of Autobiography, 1897–1931*, London: Hutchinson, 1966
- Lighthouse* Jean MacGibbon, *There's the Lighthouse*, London: James & James, 1997
- LLS Paul Levy (ed.), *The Letters of Lytton Strachey*, London: Viking, 2005
- LoCAF Anna Freud Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
- LoCSF The Sigmund Freud Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
- MBR I Ray Monk, *Bertrand Russell: The Spirit of Solitude*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1996
- MBR II Ray Monk, *Bertrand Russell: The Ghost of Madness, 1921–1970*, London: Jonathan Cape, 2000
- MLW Ray Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1990

| | |
|-------------|---|
| MST | Moral Sciences Tripos |
| NST | Natural Sciences Tripos |
| ODNB | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 |
| OP | C.K. Ogden Papers, McMaster University Libraries |
| PC | I.A. Richards, <i>Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment</i> (1929), London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930 |
| 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 |
| SE | <i>The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud</i> (24 volumes), edited by James Strachey in collaboration with Anna Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson, London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953–74, followed by volume number and page number |
| SFAF | Ingeborg Meyer-Palmedo (ed.), <i>Sigmund Freud–Anna Freud: Correspondence 1904–1938</i> , Cambridge: Polity, 2013. SFAF = Sigmund to Anna; AFSF = Anna to Sigmund |
| Skid | Robert Skidelsky, <i>John Maynard Keynes</i> , Vol. I, <i>Hopes Betrayed 1883–1920</i> , London: Macmillan, 1983; <i>John Maynard Keynes</i> , Vol. II, <i>The Economist as Saviour 1920–1937</i> , London: Macmillan, 1992, followed by volume and page number |
| SPR | Society for Psychical Research |
| SSP | Sebastian Sprott Papers, Modern Archive, King's College, Cambridge |
| TA | Arthur Tansley Archives, Cambridge University Library |
| VWD | Virginia Woolf, <i>Diaries</i> , followed by volume number and page. <i>The Diary of Virginia Woolf</i> , Vol. I, 1915–1919, ed. A.O. Bell, New York: Mariner Press, 1979; <i>The Diary of</i> |

List of Abbreviations

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- Virginia Woolf*, Vol. II, 1920–1924, ed. A.O. Bell, New York: Mariner Press, 1980; *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. III, 1925–1930, ed. A.O. Bell, New York: Mariner Press, 1981; *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. IV, 1931–1935, ed. A.O. Bell, New York: Mariner Press, 1983
- VWE Virginia Woolf, *Collected Essays*, Vol. III, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967
- VWL Virginia Woolf, *Letters*, followed by volume number and page. Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. II, 1912–1922, ed. N. Nicolson and J. Trautmann. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976; *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. III, 1923–1928, ed. N. Nicolson and J. Trautmann. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1977