UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Southampton Education School

Doctorate in Education

Learning from linked lives: Narrativising the individual and group biographies of the guests at the 25th Jubilee dinner of the British Psychoanalytical Society at The Savoy, London, on 8th March 1939.

A prosopographical analysis of the character and influence of the formative and significant figures present at the dinner.

Julie Anne Greer

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Education

June 2014

Errata

Changes from original submission (April 2016), marked with *

P75 Post script research enabled the retrieval of Barbara Low's original birth certificate under the name Alice Leonora Low, 1874, not 1877 as previously stated from her obituary.

P119 Melanie Klein's training analysis was with Karl Abraham in Germany and not Hans Sachs as stated in the original thesis.

P119 Prof. Robert Hinshelwood notes that Klein did not psychoanalyse her own children, as stated, but made observations on them which she later drew on as she developed her technique as a child analyst from 1922.

P138 Remastered photograph of the Jubilee dinner, taken from an original photograph and includes Anthony Monck Mason Payne.

Faldezer should read Falzeder throughout. Apologies to Professor Falzeder.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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LEARNING FROM LINKED LIVES: NARRATIVISING THE INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP BIOGRAPHIES OF THE GUESTS AT THE 25TH JUBILEE DINNER OF THE BRITISH PSYCHOANALYTICAL SOCIETY AT THE SAVOY, LONDON, ON 8TH MARCH 1939.

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF THE FORMATIVE AND SIGNIFICANT FIGURES PRESENT AT THE DINNER.

By Julie Anne Greer

On 8th March 1939, two hundred and twelve people accepted an invitation to join the postponed celebrations for the Silver Jubilee of the British Psychoanalytical Society, at the renowned hotel The Savoy, in London. Presiding over the dinner, as he had done over the Society for the preceding years, Ernest Jones would not have been able to conceal his pride at gathering so many celebrated and esteemed guests; authors, artists, explorers, Ministers of State, Peers of the Realm, physicians, philosophers and psychoanalysts.

This thesis is a prosopography drawn from the original seating plan for the dinner. Aided by rich supporting data, including photographs, archive materials, correspondence and reminiscences, this research presents a collective of biographical information on the guests and seeks out the connections between them: one story from many. This work offers new information and ideas on how the links between the lives of the guests were key to assimilating Freud's theories into the mainstay of our cultural reference and in enabling psychoanalysis, the 'talking cure', to be recognised as a science and a legitimate alternative to the mind-works that had gone before.

Drawing on a feminist paradigm and using explanations of social, cultural and symbolic capital to interpret the data, this thesis presents many findings that are new to the public domain and a scope for research that extends beyond these pages.

‘Only connect’

Howards End, E.M. Forster (1910).

Setting

Official photograph of the Silver Jubilee dinner of the British Psychoanalytical Society, held at the Lancaster Ballroom, The Savoy, London, 8th March 1939.
Image courtesy of Institute of Psychoanalysis

Lancaster Ballroom, The Savoy, London, 2014.
Image courtesy of The Savoy

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Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, JULIE ANNE GREER declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Learning from linked lives: Narrativising the individual and group biographies of the guests at the 25th Jubilee dinner of the British Psychoanalytical Society at The Savoy, London, on 8th March 1939.

A prosopographical analysis of the character and influence of the formative and significant figures present at the dinner.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. Parts of this work have been published as: GREER, J. (2012) The Riddle of Ernest Jones. In SPARKES, A (ed.) *Auto/Biography Yearbook*. Nottingham: Russell Press.

Signed: .....

Date: .....

Acknowledgements

There are so many people who have supported this research by providing rich sources of data from their own archives to help bring colour to the lives of the many dinner guests. In particular I would like to thank; Jon Smith, archivist at Trinity College, Cambridge; Helen Berwick, Old Etonian Association Administrator at Eton College; Alexandra Aslett, Librarian and Archivist at St Paul's School, London; Jill Shepherd, Librarian at Wellington College; Dr Terry Rogers, archivist at Malborough College; Anne Thomson, archivist at Newnham College Cambridge; Hannah Westall at Girton College Cambridge; Frieda Midgley at Kettles Yard, Cambridge, Amanda Ingram, archivist at St Hugh's' Oxford.

Thank you to museum and library staff for enabling me to access collections that have proved so invaluable; Colin Gale archivist at Bethlem, Museum of the Mind; the staff at the Freud Museum and the staff at the Wellcome Library, London and Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales); also, Susan Floyd and other library staff at Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin and the librarians at the Special Collection at the University of Sussex and the University of Southampton.

Thank you to the Winnicott Trust for permission to reference material; to Professor Brett Kahr for his time and permission to refer to our conversation and also to Professor Steiner for permission to quote from his unpublished paper. Thank you to Christopher Whittick, senior archivist at East Sussex archives for permission to quote from the Earl de la Warr's anti appeasement speech; to the University of Sussex for permission to reproduce my photograph of Virginia Woolf's engagement diary and to the Society of Authors as the Literary Representative of the Estate of Virginia Woolf. Also thanks to Meg Andrews for allowing me to print the photograph of her headscarf. Thank you to Susan Scott, archivist at The Savoy, for allowing me to stand in the Lancaster Ballroom, where the dinner took place and for permission to reproduce the photograph, and to Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru for permission to print material.

I am really grateful to Joanne Halford, for always being welcoming when I needed to search the archives at the Institute of Psychoanalysis and to Ken Robinson, honorary archivist at the Institute of Psychoanalysis for his early encouragement and permission to reproduce photographs.

I would like to thank all the family members of the dinner guests who have helped me over the last few months, especially Nicholas and Penny Bradshaw for their permission to reproduce the Taylor family correspondence. Thanks to Diana Brimblecombe and Hazel Bentall for sharing their memories of Eric and Melanie Klein and to Diana Briscoe for taking the time to talk with me. A special thank you, of course, to my own lovely family and to friends who have encouraged me along the way.

Thank you as well to the Governors and staff of Cherbourg Primary School for supporting me in this ongoing learning journey.

But my biggest appreciation is to Michael Erben, without whom I would have been a far less scholarly Miss Marple.

Definitions and Abbreviations

B.M.A.	British Medical Association.
B.M.J.	British Medical Journal.
B.P.A.S.	British Psychoanalytical Society.
[d.r.]	Deductive reasoning (where a range of data and reason has been used to try to establish the identity of a guest).
F.P.S.I.	Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals.
F.R.C.P.	Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.
F.R.C.S.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.
F.R.S.	Fellow of the Royal Society.
I.R.A.	Irish Republican Army.
n.d.	No verifiable date for an item of data.
N.U.W.M.	National Unemployed Workers' Movement.
O.D.N.B.	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary.
[p]	Photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.
R.P.A.	Rationalist Press Association.
S.P.R.	Society for Psychical Research.
S.M.A.	Socialist Medical Association.

Chapter 1

Introduction

20 Maresfield Gardens
7th March 1939

Dear Jones,

It is still quite remarkable how unsuspectingly we human beings approach the future. When you told me shortly before the war about founding an analytic society in London, I could not foresee that a quarter of a century later I would be living so near to it and you; I would have thought it even less possible that despite this proximity I would not be able to take part in your celebratory meeting.

But our impotence forces us to accept everything that fate brings. Consequently I have to content myself with sending your jubilant society a cordial greeting and hearty congratulations from afar and yet so near. The events of recent years have so ordained that London has become chief venue and centre of the psychoanalytical movement. May the society discharge the functions thus devolving upon it in the most brilliant manner.

Your old
Sigm. Freud

(Paskausas, 1993, p.769)

On the 8th March 1939, Ernest Jones, President of the British Psychoanalytical Society[1], (B.P.A.S.) sat at the centre of the top table in the Lancaster Ballroom at The Savoy, London, surrounded by friends, family, colleagues, supporters and other interested parties. He recalled in his diary that it was one of the best days of his life, (Molnar, 1992, p.258). Never self effacing, and with Sigmund Freud's letter playing in his mind, Jones must have felt huge pride in his achievements of the last twenty five years since the B.P.A.S. was formed, culminating in this grand affair. Two hundred and twelve guests are recorded on the seating plan; some still celebrated today, others renowned at the time and forgotten now, but with traces of their lives still bearing witness to their successes. Many of the guests were important to the society, or within

[1] Throughout the thesis I have applied consistency in writing the term psychoanalysis. It was frequently hyphenated in the early years as psycho-analysis, and referred to in shorthand in many notes and letters as ψα. Except where I have reproduced the content of letters, I have written it as we see it in most instances today.

their field, but less evidence of their lives remains. For many of the guests there is a wealth of data; rich source evidence of correspondence, diaries, notes and papers from analysis and established biographies. For others there is just access to a baseline of information on birth dates, ages, relationships and group participation. For a few, frustratingly mostly women, there is little evidence to locate them in time and place and their lives (and their birth names) remain lost.

On a damp day in February 2012, I arrived at the Institute of Psychoanalysis in West London, in search of a copy of the seating plan for the dinner and from the moment I began to examine the names and their confluence I was lost to a life time of research. I knew I held an opportunity to learn about the psychoanalytical movement of that time in quite a different way, gathering information from the collective biographies of the guests and finding one story from many. It quickly became my intention to write a temporal narrative, deeply illustrative of that evening on March 8th 1939. I wanted to produce a hermeneutic analysis of thoughts and themes, both for that time and to offer reflection for our contemporary selves. Researching multiple lives simultaneously holds the potential to be chaotic, which is partly what makes it such a thrilling and organic experience. But in order to make it research, rather than nothing more than an elaborate and speculative genealogy, I chose to use prosopography as a key methodology, so that I could pull away from the individual and into the ties that bind them. A feminist paradigm drove me to name the women in my study, many of whom are bleached by being identified only by their husbands' names. Through creative and diverse sources I have endeavoured to bring colour to these lives and the richer the material, the better able I have been to find the less obvious links between these biographies. I have occasionally been sidetracked by the idiosyncratic, (e.g. trying to authenticate a reference to Alice Winnicott receiving messages from a deceased T.E. Lawrence through her parrot), but a prosopographical methodology required me to be disciplined and mostly generic, leading to findings based on the analysis of authentic enquiry and verified data.

There is a danger that prosopography can lend itself to a dry and quantitative approach, but this doesn't have to be the case. For this thesis I am fortunate to be able to profit from original source data, letters, photos and even home film. Erben (1996, p.57) gives a taste of what can be hoped for with a combination of prosopographical method, and an epistemological clarity.

> We cannot redo the past. We can only produce an account of it, a modern narrative that relates to it. In this attempt to approximate the lives of others we make mystery itself not comprehensible, but part of a comprehensible mode of enquiry. The past arrives in the present as an historical conflation of structures and subjectives. Narratological research does not attempt to surgically separate structure from subjectivity but rather to accept their overlap and examine it as the preliminary theses of a new dialectic.

In his paper which investigates the form and structure of the psychoanalytic 'family tree', Falzeder (1998) recognises the lack of psychoanalytic historiography, not least because researchers have tended to concentrate their historical studies on Freud himself, with 'comparatively little literature on his chief co-workers, confidants, and disciples' (p.127). This thesis goes a small way to redress this, albeit with a concentration of those around Jones, with the role of women highlighted in particular. Falzeder suggests that 'perhaps nowhere else in science are personal relationships…so closely intertwined with the handing over of knowledge, professional competence, and tradition as in psychoanalysis' (p.169). It is my intention to capitalise on those relationships; take them apart, examine their component parts, put them back together again and explain why the together-ness of them works.

The dominant lens through which I have chosen to collect, collate and interpret the data is auto/biography. Although I would ask how much 'choice' is realistic if we are to allow ourselves to truly employ auto/biographical paradigm? Day Sclater (2005, p.163) writes;

> One of the most interesting things about reading and writing auto/biography is discovering the different ways we make sense of the world. Through producing and consuming life writing, we enter a kaleidoscope of meaning making that can transform our lives and our worlds. We see the world as others see it, and it changes our own.

It was never my intention to employ psychoanalytical processes in my writing; I am not a psychoanalyst. But, inevitably, as I tried to compile a historical and sociological biography of a movement through prosopography, I found that the more I learnt about Freud and psychoanalysis along the way, the more my intuitive inference and deductions were influenced by what I now knew that I hadn't known before.

Sendak, M (1970) online image

Thoughts in the middle of the night have frequently been pertinent to my writing process, drawn from half sleep and possibly from my unconscious, but as I fell asleep reflecting on this final and first chapter, I awoke in the dark hours with a clear picture of Micky (to the left) and Maurice Sendak's (1970) verse from *In the Night Kitchen* repeating in my head, 'I'm in the milk and the milk's in me'. Perhaps no coincidence that this children's tale is one that deeply draws on psychoanalytical roots. But this phantasy made me realise that I had come full circle in my reflections. It wasn't necessary to add any footnotes of me, of my thoughts; the Auto was already in the Biography. There is no need to explain Auto/Biography further at any other point in this thesis, like the writing through a stick of rock it is evident throughout and each reader must interpret the findings with their own lens guiding them.

The thesis is produced in chapters, outlined below. There is a movement from the theoretical, to individual biographies, group biography and generalised findings, following the process of prosopography that I used. The findings chapter draws its own conclusions, and so I have employed the last chapter to raise questions about further study.

Rationale (Chapter 2)

In this chapter I explain why this area of study is important to me from an auto/ biographical viewpoint and the impact it has had on me as a researcher and consequently on other areas of my life. I raise the implications for the understanding of self through writing of others. I outline the process of finding one story from many, and of then repeating that process over again until a narrative is produced, deeply illustrative of that evening on March 8th 1939. I will detail the historical context of the meal in relation to the World Wars, to class and primarily to the development of the British Psychoanalytical Society. I explain that the sample group is significant on account of their social and symbolic capital and the spheres of interconnecting influence. I give reasons for my choice of a few guests with detailed biographies and an introduction to the symbolic capital of the evening.

A brief historical context (Chapter 3)

'Peace in our time'
A commemorative silk headscarf, from 1938, showing Hitler, Mussolini and the Munich treaty, one example is displayed in the Imperial War Museum, London.

Images courtesy of www.meg-andrews.com

This chapter offers a brief outline of some of the events and circumstances that would have impacted on the lives of the dinner guests; the economic aftermath of a critical depression, the diplomatic tightrope walk of appeasement, the stark inequality between those who had so much wealth and (or) social capital and those who had so little. I will try to illustrate 1939 with some data that are rarely referenced now, but which must have made a significant impression at the time, such as the IRA bombing campaign in the first eight months of 1939. I will give explanation of the setting, The Savoy, and its place culturally in the London scene of 1939.

Theorisation (Chapter 4)

Referencing Hinshelwood's (1995) paper on points of cultural access, this chapter outlines the theories of influence on the psychoanalytical movement represented by those at the dinner (out/in) and by Freud and psychoanalysis on groups of guests as well (in/out). I explain symbolic capital and describe the context of the main areas as outlined by philosophical, political, personal and professional. This includes a brief theoretical analysis of the impact of GE Moore, Bertrand Russell and the Apostles and the Bloomsbury group. Ideas promoted through literature by DH Lawrence, HG Wells and Virginia Woolf for example also demonstrated the two-way influence of psychoanalytical notions. The connectedness of the movements, the influence of political and progressive movements such as Fabianism and feminism, and the people and personalities who represent these groups at the dinner, are explored in the findings

chapter. There is a brief explanation of early Freudian theories, although it is not necessary for prosopographical study to explain these in any detail, other than sociological and historical. This chapter also explores the relationship between medicine and psychoanalysis and the importance of the reporting of the decision of the British Medical Association in 1929 in relation to psychoanalysis.

Methodology (Chapter 5)

> Prosopography is concerned with what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connexion between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the social, economic and other institutions of their time (Keats Rohan, 2007).

This chapter details and describes prosopography as a methodology, its relevance to this study and its effective use in academic research. I critique prosopography and outline the problems and pitfalls as well as analysing its fitness for purpose for this thesis. I detail the parameters that were used in researching the seating plan and include a brief critique of Bourdieuian prosopography, as illustrated by Broady (2002) in order to explore the importance of symbolic capital to the field of psychoanalysis in 1939. Broady writes that in a Bourdieu inspired prosopography the 'prime objective is to understand not the individuals or their interactions but the history and structure of the field itself – which in turn gives sociological meaning to the trajectories and destiny of the individuals' (p.382).

I discuss the impact of taking a feminist paradigm on the collection and collation of data and offer a practical illustration of the processes employed and raise issues of bias, inaccuracies and repeated mistruths and the inference of omission in auto/biographical writing.

Jones (Chapter 6)

Jones is recognised as the pivotal figure not just in establishing and promoting psychoanalysis in England (albeit, primarily in London), but internationally. His role in Freud's secret committee was extremely important and I explain the etiquette of collegiality which enabled this group to communicate their thoughts, papers,

Jones and Countess de la Warr, at the Savoy, 1939. Image courtesy of the Institute of Psychoanalysis

disagreements and admiration, as it establishes a framework for the interpretation of similar data sources between guests at the dinner. In bringing Freud's work to wider audiences he seemed indefatigable in his writing and networking and in his controlling and protectionism of Freud's theories. But although he was missionary rather than visionary, it was Jones who had led the society to this high point. There is a great deal written about Jones, not least by Jones himself, but this chapter brings out some less known details of his life to try to describe his somewhat mercurial personality, his attractiveness and his ambition and to suggest how these qualities enabled him to bring together a room of figures at the peak of their own careers, and why the areas they represented were important to him.

Illustrative biographies (Chapters 7-9)

Three guests are illustrated to demonstrate the connectedness of the individual lives to the groups already described and to test the effectiveness of the prosopographical methodology. I have illuminated key women from the dinner who represent a range of groupings. Barbara Low, Alice Buxton Winnicott and Enid McLeod are all fascinating woman whose lives provide comparative and contrasting data for analysis. Their biographies provide interesting and informative detail, much of which has been out of the public domain.

Findings and Discussion (Chapter 10)

In this central chapter I present the findings of the prosopographical study and offer in-depth analysis and reflection on my conclusions. I describe the dinner using source information and make inference and explanation of who was invited and what their perceived importance was to the Society. Using the areas of philosophical, political, personal and professional I offer analysis from the data researched and describe the groups involved and their influence on psychoanalysis and how it in turn influenced them. As well as this focus on individuals and groups the chapter also explores the impact of these people and ideas on the development more generally of the psychoanalytical movement and particularly on training, education and the debate between medical and non medical practitioners.

Throughout this thesis I assert my commitment to balancing the biographical detail with enduring and novel sociological meaning. I explain the importance of the work primarily for the new knowledge it offers about the formation of psychoanalysis in England and

how the roots laid down by Jones in particular impacted internationally and across time. I hope that this thesis will also serve as a model for further prosopographical study and just the beginning of my own research into the links between these lives.

Chapter 2
Rationale

Can I pinpoint the moment when a passing interest became more of an obsession and when this compulsion in turn was better trained into the discipline of research? Probably not; but it is that blurring of lines that mirrors the problems of seeking definition in the lines of enquiry that I have chosen to take, (the nature of choice being a key element in any study, but particularly pertinent to auto/biographical study where a virtue is made of displaying choices made and analysing the reasons for them). We are all many layered. The difficult task is in deciding whether to dissect the lives of individuals into component parts, or layers, that can be categorised and labelled and associated to other individuals, or to try to reveal the connectedness of groups of individuals through a hermeneutic analysis of aspects of inner selves which have a commonality with others.

In any group of people though, there are always those who stand out more than others and in order to draw out one story from many, it seemed necessary to begin with individual biographies. Initially, and perhaps inevitably, I was drawn to the more famous; Ernest Jones and H.G. Wells. Then I dwelt for a while on the slightly salacious (or the romantic), for example the three women who had loved H.G.Wells, who all sat within close proximity of each other and Wells at the dinner; Rebecca West, Amber Blanco White and Mary Hutchinson. Then from Hutchinson (whose mother was a Strachey) I went off in the direction of Bloomsbury, seeking references and immersing myself in the subjects. Along the way I learnt techniques for epistolary research and fortuitously came upon Virginia Woolf's pocket appointment diaries. Excitingly, I was able to use this new acquisition by the University of Sussex to confirm that Virginia did indeed make a date to meet up with Melanie Klein, following their first meeting at the dinner,[2] just one example of data that I have been able to bring into the public domain.

It was important to feel as well as think, and determined to make my educative self formation as analytical a process as I could, I found myself wanting to stand where my subjects had stood, touch what they had touched, to learn about myself through learning about others. A theme that is illustrative throughout the thesis. Not always an

[2] March 8th 1939. Virginia Woolf writes a description of the dinner in her long hand diary and adds; 'set upon and committed to ask to dinner Mrs Klein.' In her pocket diary are recorded the following entries in her pencilled hand; Tuesday March 14th, Mrs Klein dine 8.15 and Saturday March 25th, Ms Klein 5.30. Whether she kept those appointments or not is for speculation, the meetings didn't warrant any additional mention in her narrative diary.

emotionally comfortable process and frequently self critical, it continues to be an important part of reflection and reflexivity. Through diary, drawings and recorded speech I have tried to record the process, as illustrated by a note to self on my Dictaphone[3], after I had bought a vase made by Alice Buxton Winnicott, one of the women on whom I have focussed,

> I guess it could be argued…that…I…have…um, does it, oh you see I don't know enough, does it come from ego? Does it come from…I guess it comes from ego doesn't it…that my need to…to…link and associate with all these people is about them being part, then, of my universe…of, um…(sigh) of, of, of the past revolving around me and the present, putting me at the centre. Is is that right? I don't want that to be the case, I'm just, it suddenly occurred to me, um, you know, that that in my pride at connecting in the ways that I do… that, that was a sort of almost a…a stepping out of, um, act of, but maybe it's a, it's a bringing others in…um, um, and maybe that's not such a good thing…um, about myself. Interesting… (12th Oct. 2013).

But as I broadened the range of my enquiry and butterfly-stopped on other names on the seating plan I found that a feminist paradigm was driving me to name the women in my study who were bleached by being identified only by their husband's names. It became hugely important to me to use creative and diverse sources to bring colour to these lives and to find the less obvious links between these biographies. I was frequently and too easily sidetracked by the idiosyncratic but determined to ensure that this prosopographical study would ultimately be disciplined and generic, allowing for inference and analysis that would lead to new learning. Once I had all the information however, it was important to me to commit to writing a creative narrative that was factual and accessible to a wide audience. To illustrate the process, it was important to highlight mini biographies of three of the women who I came to later in my study; Barbara Low, Alice Buxton Winnicott and Enid McLeod. Low was an educationalist and early psychoanalyst and a key figure in the B.P.A.S., but very little is known about her. Winnicott, was a painter and potter, but again our knowledge of her was limited to a few lines in biographies of her husband. Lastly, McLeod, a career diplomat, she was successful in a man's world, but only known through her own words from her autobiography. These are three fascinating women, who each made a contribution to society in very different ways, all with their own differing links to psychoanalysis, but

[3] This has been transcribed without edit, the commas refer to short gaps, or natural clause breaks and the ellipsis to longer pauses

together representative of a sea change in the perceptions of others about the capacity of women to take on new roles for this brief time, before post WWII economics sent most women back into their homes.

This thesis is not a history of psychoanalysis. Others have done this very ably, since Steiner (2001, p.1) decried the lack of such analysis, not least the most recent work of Shapira (2013) *The War Inside*, which focuses on the Freud/Klein controversial discussions between 1941 and 1945 and offers some insight into the history of the B.P.A.S. prior to this period, but saves her best analysis for the era of the discussions and their subsequent impact on psychoanalysis. Instead I want to capture a moment in time, a few hours in March 1939, and to unpick the stitching that held this moment together. Inevitably there is history in this thesis. Indeed I have strived for accuracy and validity through multiple referencing of information, but I am in this thesis; the association of history and auto/biography and auto/biography and history deliberately and definitively blurred.

As Honorary Archivist at the Institute of Psychoanalysis in 1998, Ricardo Steiner wrote a cogent and enthusiastic speech at another event for the Society; that of Pearl King's 80th birthday[4]. In the paper, Steiner outlines the input of psychoanalysis over more than fifty years, being sensitive not to encroach into years that could be deemed contemporary at the time. He didn't want his speech to be a celebration of the past, by acknowledging current sins and limitations in comparison with the 'irresistible lightness of the past' (p.1), but instead he chose to talk about the past and its relationship with the present. This prosopography is conversely talking about the past and its relationship to that past, interconnected with my current relationship with that process.

Steiner set his scope to 'examine the relationship between some of the principle figures, work and events in our Society and the external world' (p.2). He identified that the establishment of the B.P.A.S. enabled the development of a distinct form of therapy and an 'explorative discipline aiming at the creation of a new model of both the psyche and social and political issues' (p.3). Steiner points to Jones' success in reaching a wider audience with his outstanding psychoanalytical interpretation of *Hamlet* in 1913 and in his decision, with others, to include non medical colleagues, which allowed more women for example, and gave more opportunities for expansion in areas of British

[4] Pearl King was a post WWII psychoanalyst and archivist who, amongst other achievements, founded the collection at the Institute of Psychoanalysis to form their archive. Steiner allowed the speech to be reproduced for the first edition of the British Psychoanalytical and Institute of Psychoanalysis website in 2001.

cultural life which were not controlled exclusively by psychiatric medicine or by the natural sciences' (p.3). He recognises Jones, Eder, Low and Sharpe as being instrumental in the dissemination of psychoanalysis in the educational field and Eder and Jones as having an influence on how politics could be viewed from a psychoanalytical perspective and how psychoanalysis impacted on political perspectives. This became particularly true during WWII with psychoanalysts working with battle affected disorders, (e.g. Bion, Rickman) and with children, young people and delinquency, (Winnicott, Bowlby), both areas in which governmental and social policy was influenced by psychoanalysis.

Steiner also succinctly highlights the role of the Woolfs' Hogarth Press in publishing many of the early works of psychoanalysis for English speakers. A number of the B.P.A.S. were involved in translations; Low, Riviere, Kitty Jones, and of course the Stracheys, Alix and James, who were the connection to the Woolfs and then on to Bloomsbury and the Cambridge Apostles (Orr, 1989). Another friend of Virginia's, through her sister Vanessa and Clive Bell, was Roger Fry, an eminent art critic, who published a book in 1924 about the relationship between psychoanalysis and the arts, *The Artist and Psychoanalysis.* Steiner notes the importance of Fry, alongside D.H. Lawrence and Lytton Strachey. It is interesting to note however that whilst each of these three, amongst others, recognised psychoanalysis as the zeitgeist and perhaps felt duly compelled to write of it within their works, their frequent disdain for the movement could be viewed as slightly ironic. Their individual roles in referencing psychoanalysis combined to ensure that the new psychology was thoroughly embedded within London's cultural scene in particular, by the time of the Jubilee dinner.

Throughout the data gathering process, I am struck by the ever increasing circles of connectedness among the diners. Through education in particular, the guests share a cultural capital that each would have recognised in the other. Although it could be argued that the circles were inclusive and not elitist, (in that education from a wide variety of institutions was valued), there are relatively few who didn't have a university or teaching hospital experience and those that didn't had other forms of social or cultural capital with which to trade a place at the table. Bourdieu (translated by Wacquant, 2013) expanded on ideas of symbolic capital and social class when he referred to *signs of recognition*. He described how certain properties could be accepted as capital within a given society or epoch, and yet at other times, or within other groups, these signs may not have the same worth (p.297). Bourdieu was referring in

his paper to material goods, such as clothes, or style of home, but the idea is eminently transferable to recognising the worth of psychoanalysis as having its own capital at this time and in this place. A connection to psychoanalysis, either directly or indirectly was the main sign of recognition, the main symbolic capital of the night.

Chapter 3
A brief historical context

Reminiscing about the debutante season of 1939, Dinah Brand, niece of Lady Astor referred to ‘an extraordinary season…Sort of before the deluge. I think the adults may have had a feeling that there were mad days and dark clouds ahead and we were going to have a wonderful time while the Season lasted’ (Lambert 1989, p.59). Undaunted (or impelled) by poverty, depression, unemployment, fascism and the omnipresence of yet another war, the 1939 season for the rich and titled was the usual round of magnificent ball followed by magnificent ball, but with added glamour, pomp and ceremony. With the exception of a few at the B.P.A.S. dinner that March, such as Lord Ivor Churchill and the Earl and Countess de la Warr, most of the diners were not from the upper classes. However, many were on the fringes of high society, sharing in events (such as Jones and his fellow figure skaters, or the Bloomsburys and the patrons of the arts), but others who dined that night would have been excluded from society’s ‘top table’ on account of their race, birth or their means.

In this brief chapter I propose to illustrate some of the events and feelings of the late 1930s and the manners and behaviours of the ruling classes are important in setting this scene and highlighting disparities that had elsewhere caused revolution. Whilst the middle classes were dining (dinners at The Savoy, for example, were held regularly throughout this period) and the upper classes were partying, the level of unemployment had been high for more than ten years. In 1938 there were still 10% of the eligible working population without work, down from its height of 17% in 1932 (Garside 1990, p.5). In January 1939 UK unemployment stood at two million (with a population estimated to be at around 46 million). During this winter the National Unemployed Workers Movement (N.U.W.M.) were determined to keep the focus on their plight at home, rather than foreign policy. They marched on restaurants like the Ritz Grill, highlighting their own hunger and they lay down en masse, including in the middle of Oxford Street at the height of Christmas shopping. In the spring of 1939 the protests continued and the N.U.W.M. interrupted a number of formal dinners, including a world conference on recreation and leisure at The Savoy and an Allied Brewers dinner.

Interestingly (although generally lost to history) the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) ran a concerted campaign of bombing in English cities in 1939 with many deaths and casualties. According to Evans (2013, p.1) there was an IRA bomb incident in or

around a major British city almost every other day in the first nine months of 1939. In February 1939, for example, two bombs went off in underground stations, Leicester Square and Tottenham Court Road, shutting down the Houses of Parliament (p.5). These events must have had an impact on the majority of the dinner guests who lived in and around London, although a few guests such as Michael Balint lived in Manchester and Liverpool, from where the campaign was coordinated.

With history imprinting the dates of 1939 – 45 in our minds, it is easy to forget that clearly observable traditional international German aggression had made war seem imminent to the population for more than eighteen months prior to the September 1939 onset, with a host of preparations being made that were already affecting people's lives. By 28th September 1938, William Townsend, an artist, noted that at the National Gallery,

> the central galleries were already closed and while we were there some others were being shut up, but there were still Goyas and Grecos to see and the Venetians and the French and the English and we managed to enjoy them, and to be interested in the strange manoeuvres by which the glass was removed from the huge Van Dyck equestrian portrait.

Townsend continued, 'It seemed to us then the last afternoon before war' (Gardiner 2010, p.734). It took almost a year for war to be declared.

Chamberlain was opting for appeasement and not only signed the Munich Agreement on 29th September 1938 ('Peace in our time'), but also asked Hitler in a private conversation to sign a joint pact ruling out war between Britain and Germany. Although this was fiercely criticised within a few months, and often mocked now, the decision wasn't unpopular at the time and for a brief time Chamberlain was a hero. Relieved and delighted that their lives didn't have to be uprooted by another war, Virginia Woolf wrote in her diary, "What a shave!"

In response to Kristallnacht, November 9th-10th, Chamberlain rejected the idea of formal protest to the German government, but acknowledged that the British government needed to do something 'to alleviate the terrible fate of the Jews in Germany'. This didn't extend to altering the controls on Jewish immigration, which meant that Jews were only allowed in if they would not be a charge on the state and if an employer was

willing to state that they would employ them and that they wouldn't be taking the job of a UK citizen.

> This economic nationalism in effect meant that almost the only people fleeing Nazi persecution who were allowed into Britain were the wealthy, the distinguished, or women prepared to work as domestics or men who could alleviate the chronic shortage of rural workers (Gardiner 2010, p.741).

Some in the Cabinet were starting to voice concerns quite publicly and in December 1938, the Earl de la Warr gave a speech that was not in line with his Government's policy. Newly moved from Privy Seal to President of the Board of Education, but still in a Cabinet post, he must have found Chamberlain's conservatism frequently at odds with his self proclaimed socialism, but on the issue of Germany, he was sure that armaments were the only answer to Germany's aims. In his emotive speech he writes,

> The one bright spot that emerged from the crisis of September was the assurance that all were prepared to pull their weight. It is in times of crisis that a nation is tested. We all loathed the idea of war. But every man or woman was ready last September. If fight we must, our cause will triumph not because we have adopted Dictator methods of regimentation, but because we can call upon human beings inspired by the will that comes from freedom and conviction, and the bitter determination that will burn itself into our hearts if our efforts at peace are finally rebuffed (De la Warr 1938).

Amongst his papers in the East Sussex archives there are many letters congratulating him on his 'courageous speech'.

In January 1939 star-studded concerts raised money for Jewish refugees, but this caused backlash from demonstrators who used the plight of the unemployed to argue against helping those outside Britain. The NUWM was quick to distance itself from this sentiment asking for relief for both the unemployed and refugees (Gardiner 2010, p.745). At the same time Franco was advancing on Barcelona as the Spanish civil war was reaching a climax, the city heavily bombed by Italian air forces and back home, in preparation for a different war, the first Anderson shelter was built in a garden in Islington in February 1939.

This was a really cold winter and there was a terrible sense of 'doom in the air' (p.743), but life went on. Bette Davies won the Best Actress Oscar in February, *Vogue* ran a feature on Space Age Woman and Julian Huxley and his friends in the Half Hundred Club dined at the Isobar restaurant (part of the Isokon flats development) and London Zoo (where Huxley lived) for less than ten shillings a head; the club purporting to be an antidote to high living dining clubs. During this time, H.G. Wells, was proposing his own solutions to world problems, albeit to a wider audience. He had been busy with a lecture tour of the USA promoting the idea of the '*World Brain'*, in a series of lectures and papers developed over the previous few years and published under the same title in 1937. He had a vision to 'promote public access to truth and to a vision of human unity' and through these lectures he further proposed an encyclopaedia 'compiled by a group of progressive thinkers that would update and distribute sound information and ideas' (Sherborne 2010, p.319); another example of Wells' prescience. During 1938 and early 1939 however he was creating controversy at home and abroad publically criticising the Nazis for their treatment of Jews, whilst voicing his opinion of the treatment of Palestinians by Zionists, which some interpreted as anti-semitic (p.323), a charge which upset Freud. But he was full of such dichotomies, such as admiring Freud and disliking psychoanalysis. Like so many during this time of global political and economic uncertainty though, Wells was 'depressed by the state of the world'.

Whilst some chose to dance in opulence to ignore this state, others were subsumed by their poverty, needing instead to live by minutiae rather than big ideas. It may also have been true that poor access to information meant that much of the population felt powerless to feel they had any real say in the trajectory of impending events. Amongst many of the diners at The Savoy on 8th March, there were individuals who were actively involved in practically making a difference for persecuted Jewish professionals and their families whilst others had the ear of Governments and could impact on policy. Many at the dinner were involved in movements, such as the Fabian Society, which offered a sympathetic solidarity to the plight of the poor and oppressed, but in truth most of the diners were still worlds away from the realities faced by the majority of the population.

One week after the dinner on 15th March, German tanks rolled into Prague. It was the death knell to Chamberlain's Munich agreement and on 3rd September Great Britain declared war on Germany.

Chapter 4
Theorisation

This chapter will outline the theories that have influenced my own paradigms for the interpretation of the data derived from the prosopographical study of the seating plan.

4.1 Beginnings

In 1893 Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer gave a paper in Vienna entitled *Studien über Hysterie,* which was the culmination of several years' work by Breuer and his younger colleague, which began with Breuer's treatment of a female patient. With the use of hypnosis, the patient was enabled to address her manifest symptoms of hysteria, by speaking about things of which she was consciously unaware. From the outset, this paper aroused interest in Europe and it was presented several months later in London, to the Society for Psychical Research by F.W.H. Myers (Hinshelwood 1995, p.135).

In *Studies in Hysteria*, published in 1895 (English translation 1955), Freud and Breuer printed the work and Freud wrote in the introduction that we 'suffer mainly from reminiscences' (p.7). Moran (2010, p.23) argues that this early observation was at the heart of Freud's approach to the neuroses and carried a central conviction associated with the role of memory in psychic life, which Freud maintained throughout his life and work. In his editorial introduction to *Studies on Hysteria*, James Strachey (1955, p.xviii) explains how Freud and Breuer wrote of hysterical symptoms as being 'mnemic symbols' or symbols of the suppressed memory. Freud and Breuer's pioneering early work with patients recognised that if a trauma was not sufficiently abreacted then memories would persist unconsciously and it was from these memories that the hysteric suffered. The important clinical aim was 'therefore to bring such memories to consciousness and so abreaction and consequent relief' (Moran 2010, p.24). Although hypnosis served a purpose in this early work, hence the interest from the British Psychical Society, there needed to be some further explanation.

> What was needed, therefore, was a theory that incorporated both the notion of an unconscious and of the process of splitting that explains the presence of unconscious memory. Initially Freud and Breuer proposed an explanation in terms of a tendency to dissociation and with it hypnoid states (abnormal states of consciousness) to account for the phenomenon. Nevertheless… it was not

> long before Freud set out on his own path with the fruitful concept of defence (Moran 2010, p.24).

One of the most controversial elements to Freud's theories was his proposal that children are born with a sexual consciousness and that repression of this knowledge at the age of three or four results in childhood amnesia, or a lack of any memories from being a baby or young infant. Ernest Jones certainly leads the reader of his autobiography to believe that it was his own early exploration of Freudian theory, (and the extent and effect these repressed childhood memories played in young patients exhibiting physiological symptoms), that led to his career in London hospitals coming to an abrupt end in 1908 (see chapter on Jones).

There is no need to further expand on Freudianism in this thesis beyond Moran's concise summation, which captures the reason it was so breathlessly compelling to those in search of a new science.

> The crux of Freud's achievement is that by way of a 'talking cure' he gives us the subject who comes to be, through language, within a context that recognizes dimensions of human complexity. He gives us the subject of psychoanalysis (Moran 2010, p.129).

For this purpose, it is enough to know that Freud's theories struck a chord with the intellectual and popular movements that were ripening within the receptive climate of the epoch. Freud the doctor, scientist, correspondent, father, husband and friend provides a fascinating biography worthy of many hours of reading and discovery, but again, not useful for this purpose. By March 1939, he was a very ill man and out of place in a new-old home in Hampstead, London. To effectively research the links between the lives of those present at the Savoy dinner, Freud and psychoanalysis without doubt provide the symbolic capital of the evening, but a more detailed knowledge of Freudianism will neither embellish nor detract from the findings. However, the influence, impact and dissemination of Freud's ideas are crucial to this thesis.

Citing Wollheim, Falzeder (1998, p.127) writes in his paper, 'Family Tree Matters', 'It would be hard to find in the history of ideas, even in the history of religion, someone whose influence was so immediate, so broad and so deep'.

4.2 Filiations

Falzeder's paper looks at the impact of filiations, (who was analysed by whom, and who in turn analysed whom) and provided a useful stimulus for this thesis. He recognises Karl Abrahams and the Berlin group as being the most effective as a centre of training analysis, with a wide range of psychoanalysts from all over Europe drawn to seek analysis with Abrahams or Sachs. Many of the guests at the dinner had been analysed in Germany including, Barbara Low, Alice and Michael Balint, Rudolf Loewenstein, Sylvia Payne, Edward Glover, Ella Freeman Sharpe and Melanie Klein. Others such as James and Alix Strachey and James Glover, (who had died young in 1926) weren't present but also had a great influence on British psychoanalysis. There were many others who also joined those mentioned above in becoming important clinicians and theoreticians in their own right, following their analysis in Germany. Falzeder (1998, p.148) argues that Berlin was successful in the 1920's because Abrahams was loyal to Freud without being an 'idolator' and because he introduced standardised training and encouraged a relationship between analyst and analysand that was more akin to that of a general practitioner and less inclined to promote difficult issues of transference.

It could be argued that Jones emulated the Berlin school in setting up training for analysts, or perhaps just recognised when he saw good practice. Alternatively and compatibly, Jones was also likely to be refining and distilling the practice that had already been established with the setting up of the Medico-Psychological Clinic in 1913 by Jessie Turner, 'in four rooms in some quiet place within easy reach of University College, where patients could come for treatment' for 'half a crown'. The proposals outlined in the British Medical Journal of July 19th (1913, p.132) talked of 'all forms of psychic treatment', including psychoanalysis, hypnosis, 'persuasion and re-education', but distanced themselves from psychic practices. With the re-launched British Psychoanalytical Society in 1919, Jones saw the opportunity to promote psychoanalytic practices of which Freud would approve, but whilst Crichton Miller's Tavistock Clinic, which opened in 1920, offered a training ground for many of the dinner guests, Jones was still determined to have a training clinic over which he could exercise more control, hence the opening of the London Clinic in 1926.

However, on the subject of uniformity of approach, there is evidence of lively debate within the B.P.A.S. and although Jones may often have been clear if he didn't like something that was said (or indeed expressed views that were in themselves not

popular with others), the debate was tolerated. Although Jones was didactic, there is no evidence that he succeeded in enforcing a uniform method of psychoanalysis, even if that was what he had wanted. The Controversial Discussions are perhaps a peak point in him not being able to control the directions in which analysis was going at the end of the 1930s, but with the skills of Sylvia Payne, Jones managed a tour de force in facilitating an effective compromise.

4.3 Points of cultural access

Hinshelwood's 1995 paper, 'Psychoanalysis in Britain: Points of Cultural Access', refers to the period up to the end of WWI and covers 'who, when and why Freud and his ideas were first noticed during the early years of psychoanalysis'. He identifies seven different 'cultural locations' which were influenced in some way by their adoption of Freud's ideas. A fascinating paper, which I cannot hope to condense in a few words, Hinshelwood makes the case that those in each location appropriated their own 'Freud'. 'Psychoanalysis was shrunk by each cultural site until Freud presented what the eyes of its members wanted to see' (p.148).

By collating and analysing all the published notices and references to Freud in those early years, Hinshelwood outlines the seven points of cultural access as; i.) the interest in the theory of hysteria from the Society of Psychical Research; ii.) the interest in psychoanalytical theories of sexuality by Havelock Ellis and the consequent and subsequent attitudes in sexual freedom; iii.) the reaction to pessimistic attitudes to British psychiatry in the early part of the century; iv.) the work of W.H.R. Rivers and others, even prior to the WWI in creating 'an empirical science of psychology embracing scientific psychoanalysis'; v.) the referencing of psychoanalysis in novels and the creative process, by writers such as those in the Bloomsbury Group; vi.) the adoption of Freud's child development theories by progressive educationalists and, vii.) the 'struggle of philosophers, including Bertrand Russell, to comprehend the implications of the psychoanalytic view of the unconscious.'

Hinshelwood outlines the importance of the time and the location of these new ideas in relation to Darwin and a secular view.

> Darwin's theory invited the rigorous application of science to man, and the scientific and biological approach had profound repercussions on psychiatry and psychology as well as on religious conviction. Moral certainties about sex,

> education and the relations of people to each other and to society were all suddenly laid open to question (p.136).

All of these threads are relevant to many guests at the dinner and some, like Karin Stephen (née Costelloe) engages with several of these points. She was an esteemed pupil (and niece) of Bertrand Russell; she was influenced whilst at Cambridge by the President of the Society for Psychical Research, Henri Bergson; she was a member of the Bloomsbury Group through her marriage to Virginia Woolf's brother, Adrian and through the group it is fair to speculate that she may have had links to the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology. It is the fluidity of this 'influencing of and influence on' people, movements and events, which I have endeavoured to illustrate through this prosopography and Hinshelwood's points of cultural access have been important in this process. Jones placed himself within many of these groups too and if we take Hinshelwood's view that each cultural site held a different view of Freud, it is interesting to surmise as to how much Jones was able to influence the view from each site, and how much any conformity of Freudian views was indeed down to Jones' proselytising of the man and promotion of his ideas.

One access point which Jones appeared to have little sway within however was the literary world. However pioneering psychoanalysts, close to Jones, were able to exert some influence in turn. Authors such as D.H. Lawrence picked up and further promoted the movement within his novels, albeit inadvertently as his writing is often critical of psychoanalysis, but he was undoubtedly influenced by the Eders and Barbara Low, as well as their niece the author Ivy Low. She in turn was great friends and contemporaries with other writers such as Katherine Mansfield and Rebecca West. The Bloomsbury Group's points of access to early psychoanalytic discussions were through A.W. Verral who ran the Society for Psychical Research from his home drawing the interest of Cambridge Apostles like himself. Verral was also the uncle of Joan Riviere, an accomplished psychoanalyst and translator of Freud (and analysand of Jones). Apostles such as Adrian Stephen and Lytton Strachey were also influenced by the teachings of G.E. Moore and his *Principia Ethica*, arguing a non-naturalist position that moral judgements are objectively true or false and that intuitively man will be able to reflect and understand his own moral route. Moore is often referred to as Bloomsbury's prophet (Regan, 2012) and the perceptions of the sexual freedoms of the group are often attributed to their interpretation of Moore's teachings. It certainly meant that, whether or not they subscribed to Freudianism, they were sympathetic with the premise of psychoanalysis.

Acknowledging Hinshelwood's points of access, Rait (2004) also argues against 'revisionists' such as Jones, who in his autobiography makes a case for a slow burn of acceptance of psychoanalysis (whilst of course taking a great deal of credit). She cites Rapp, who analysed forty-six general interest magazines in Britain between 1912 and 1919 and argued that his findings showed that an 'eclectic, diluted interpretation of Freudianism emerged that was quite popular with the lay public' at this time, although the majority of the medico-psychological community were 'largely hostile' (p.77). Rait concludes her own research however, that a substantial number of highly influential figures were incorporating psychoanalytic methods into their practices, and advocating their use, as early as 1911. Hinshelwood and Rait demonstrate the early excitement of Freudianism, perhaps because it resonated with a post enlightenment search for self, but the fact that this wide interest across many spheres may seem at odds with Jones' own version of the development of psychoanalysis, doesn't take away from his achievements. If anything it enhances his success in driving a British view of Freud and psychoanalysis that was largely undiluted and recognised by the medical profession as scientific.

In his paper 'The (Ir)resistible Lightness of our Past (2001) Steiner writes of the importance of the decision of the British Medical Association in 1929, as to whether or not psychoanalysis was a science and what form psychoanalysis should take. Following twenty-eight meetings, discourse, papers and argument from Jones and those he directed to speak on Freud's (and the B.P.A.S's) behalf the conclusion was deeply significant and reported in British Medical Journal as, 'the followers of Freud's claim are entitled to use the definition of psychoanalysts and the use and definition of the term are just and must be respected'. Steiner explains why the decision held such importance.

> This became the Magna Carta of psychoanalysis in Britain. Without it, psychoanalysis would not have been able to survive as a respectable discipline in the austere British medical world of the time. The efforts made by Jones and his associates to build up a scientific image for psychoanalysis can also be detected in certain aspects of the first translation of Freud's work. Jones and his friends accomplished a memorable political and institutional task in persuading the outside world of the legitimacy not only of Freud's theories but also of the British Psychoanalytical Society and of the Institute as custodians and developers of those ideas.

4.4 Capital

The paradigms employed in the interpretation of the data collected from these multiple biographies and which act as drivers in my decisions as to which threads to pursue, are predominantly forms of capital, including symbolic capital, feminism and auto/biography. I am not intending to consciously unravel the origins of 'auto', or my feminist lens, it is who I am, but the definitions of capital need some more explanation for the purposes of this thesis.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013, p.293) argue that social reality can be read in two ways; 'those who arm themselves with an objectivist usage of statistics' and 'those which endeavour to decipher meanings and to uncover the cognitive operations through which agents produce and decipher them'. This thesis is grounded in a desire to achieve the latter.

The various forms of capital are always a resource and always give advantage and are of themselves valorising, e.g. in economics capital is valorised money. The forms of capital relevant to this work are social, cultural and symbolic capital. Social capital is a resource which is gained from a sustained network of communication and influence. Cultural capital cannot exist without social capital (although the reverse is not true). Cultural capital is indicated by a shared disposition relating to specific products of intellectual and/or aesthetic distinction. It represents a resource within social capital and the sharing of cultural capital creates a sense of collective identity and group position. However, it can also exacerbate social inequality, e.g. Eton boys in government. At the time of the meal, social and cultural capital potentially held greater value, as the manifest examples of these forms of capital were held by fewer than today, where economic capital is a more dominant model.

Symbolic capital is a resource often unperceived by others and relates to honour, élan, dress, accent, manners and, in this instance, a shared knowledge of psychoanalysis and an understanding of Freud's work. An outsider would not be necessarily aware of this symbolic capital unless they too had a share in it. Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013, p.293) wrote that social agents can be characterised by material properties and by symbolic properties 'which are affixed upon them through a relationship with subjects capable of perceiving and evaluating them and which demand to be grasped according to their specific logic'. It is these symbolic properties that I have endeavoured to illustrate through the biographies of the guests and it is interesting to ponder on

whether the symbolic capital was ‘perceived and evaluated’ by those at the time, or whether it is in the interpretation that the capital exists. Conversations with a small number of descendents of the guests (another example of serendipitous encounters) suggest to me that the symbolism of the evening may hold even greater capital for those in the present, but perhaps this is nostalgic capital (Dickinson and Erben, 2006).

Examples of these forms of capital for the purpose of this prosopography are:
Social capital – found in generic forms of friendships, for example, love affairs; sexual relationships; schools and universities; affiliations; membership of professional bodies and societies.
Cultural capital – ‘people like us’. Evident in specific forms of social capital such as shared experience; qualifications; alumnus; residency; cultural identity.
Symbolic capital – i.e. embodied cultural capital. Examples are skills; credentials; tastes; interests; accents; manners.

I am conscious that I can do little justice to major thinkers, academics and movements of the last one hundred and fifty years in condensing them to a few hundred words. Each point of access alone has prompted swathes of research and study. Library shelves are full of works on the links between early twentieth century literature and psychoanalysis. ‘Freud is the most heavily cited author in social sciences and arts and humanities indices’ (Megill in Falzeder 1998, p.127) and so it has been my intention to do no more than give a taster of what has influenced my choices and interpretations throughout the prosopographical findings detailed over the next few chapters. The points of cultural access have indeed been very influential in providing a framework on which to build my own database, but as the information increased and more groupings were necessary, such as role in WWI, or age at death, a natural categorisation became clear that worked across the points of access. It is these broad areas that reappear throughout the biographical enquiries and findings; links between and within areas of the philosophical, political, personal and professional lives of the guests.

Chapter 5
Methodology

5.1 Defining prosopography

> **Pronunciation:** Brit. /ˌprɒsə(ʊ)ˈpɒgrəfi/ ,
> **Etymology:** < post-classical Latin *prosopographia* description of a person's appearance, description of an individual's life < ancient Greek *πρόσωπον* face, person (see prosopon n.) + post-classical Latin *-graphia* Compare French *prosopographie* description of the personal appearance, deportment, etc. of an individual, German *Prosopographie*
> 1. The description of the form or personal appearance of an individual; an instance of this. Now rare.
> 2. A study or description of an individual's life, career, etc.; *esp.* a collection of such studies focusing on the public careers and relationships of a group in a particular place and period; a collective biography. As a mass noun: the study of such descriptions, esp. as an aspect of classical history; such studies or histories as a genre (OED, 2007).

It is interesting to look at the etymology and definitions of prosopography; a word that is rooted in establishing the who? what? and why? of a person or group of people and the mainstay of the auto/biographer. The main purpose of this chapter is to critique prosopography as a method and to determine its fitness for purpose in researching what brought the guests together on that evening of 8th March 1939, beyond the surface of their invitation.

Prosopography has been in selected but regular use as a research methodology since Theodore Mommsen compiled a prosopography of the key figures in the Roman Empire. According to Verboven et al (2007, p.42) ‘the first edition of Prosopographia Imperii Romani (1897-1898) signified the birth of modern prosopography’. My impression from reading a number of sources is that prosopography is quite a small but competitive academic field, with writers and researchers acknowledging each other but being quick to point out the failings of studies to validate their own. Most commonly applied in historical studies, there are also sociological and educational studies that have been served by this method. To an extent this study crosses the boundaries of all three of these areas, but my intention is for the research to stand alone as an example

of an effective prosopography which has resonance within each of these fields and is not exclusive to any. By drawing on a range of sources it was useful to know the pitfalls in advance, but equally hard to avoid new ones. By describing my own approaches I hope I have offered some new ideas on the use of this method. Although I found that I needed to rely on a limited number of those with expertise there was clearly a depth of knowledge from which it was important to learn however. There is generally consensus on the definition;

> Prosopography is concerned with what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connexion between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the social, economic and other institutions of their time (Keats Rohan 2007, p.141).

Verboven et al. (2007, p.67) state that the method 'strives to understand phenomena that transcend the level of the individual actors and emphasise the study of external features of individual lives. Whereas, Mogdalino (2003, p.42) contributes that prosopography is most useful;

> In the study of societies where the number of recorded individuals is relatively modest, and where the records do not lend themselves to the construction of major biographies, or yield enough new information to make the rewriting of biographies a major imperative.

In the frequently cited 'Prosopography', Lawrence Stone (1971, p.61) writes that 'good research depends on a constant interplay between the hypothesis and the evidence, the former undergoing repeated modification in the light of the latter'. Prosopography can bring a structure to the collection and collation of multiple biographies, thus avoiding a galimaufry, or jumble of facts and fancies. Once the template was decided it certainly allowed scope for quilting; finding pattern in a series of seemingly unrelated materials, i.e. which strands of an individual's life could be linked to others; education, age, friends in common. As a research tool, prosopography also needed to produce more than a series of 'dramatis personae' from the front page of a play (Keats Rohan 2003, p.1), although it has to be said that many of the lives of the dinner guests offered enough intrigue to be in a play and indeed several were drawn on as characters in

various novels of the time[5].

Broady (2002, p.381) outlines the 'French prosopographical tradition' used by Pierre Bourdieu and his collaborators and stresses the importance of recognising the holdings of symbolic capital, specific to the field as a distinguishing trait of this type of prosopography. As I began my research I was aware of the need to give reference to Bourdieu and his ideas on capital, but I was not prepared for how pertinent and relevant social, cultural and symbolic capital would be in interpreting the links between the lives.

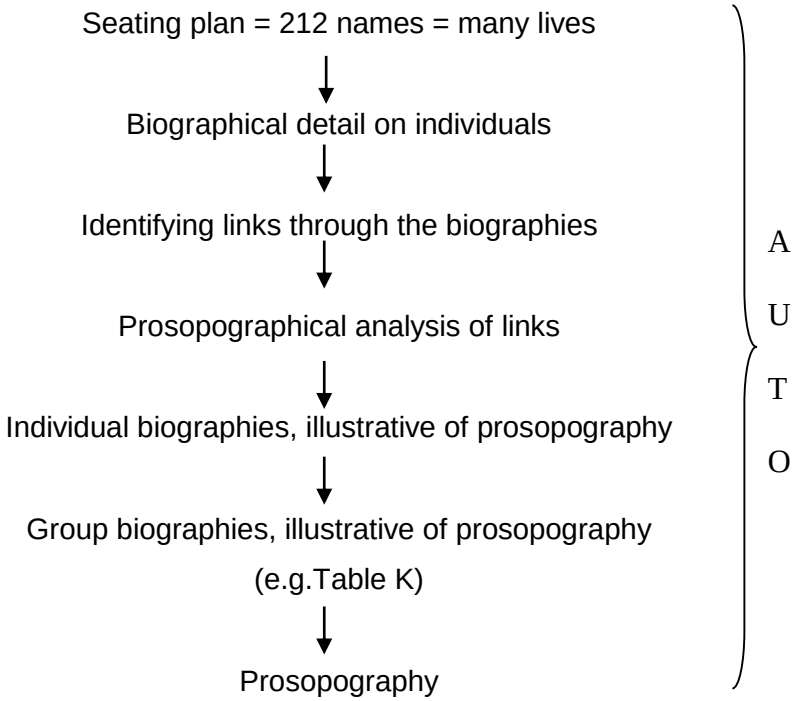
5.2 Why prosopography?

Borrowing from Sir Lewis Namier's[6] observation that bringing five hundred men together does not a millipede make, as they remain five hundred men (Keats Rohan 2007, p.141), it was important not to dream up an octopus to give me an insight to the eight dinner guests on Table F for example. Being together didn't make them something different or separate as a group but rather, what each of them brought to the tables of themselves, did make a difference to how I viewed them as a group. I didn't want to lose sight of the individual nature of each guest, and so I needed to examine each life in detail. Through the information that I gleaned I was then able to explore the links between the lives, ensuring there was always data to evidence any inferences and deductions and consequently produce a prosopography and not just a series of individual biographies. However, as I researched and wrote, I realised that there were some individual lives that I wanted to illustrate both for their biographical detail and to highlight the links to the symbolic capital of the evening; psychoanalysis. I wanted to achieve a balance between the individual life and the influences on, and influence of, the group assembled and what I hope I have achieved over the following chapters is a process of biographising individuals, drawing out their links to others and then drawing conclusions on the group against the main theoretical strands; i.e. Bourdieuian notions of capital; Falzeder's filiations and Hinshelwood's points of cultural access, as outlined in the previous chapter. Throughout the whole process I was aware of myself as other; observer, interpreter, interlocutor. All roles to which I was bringing my own beliefs,

[5] This is a good illustration of the process outlined by Stone, as when I wrote this it led me to considering whether 'guests outlined in novels' was a link which could be tested and authenticated. It didn't lead anywhere new and those who were featured in novels, such as Amber Blanco White and Mary Hutchinson seemed to be on account of their relationships to the authors and no additional pattern emerged. It only served to demonstrate the social capital these individuals held and wasn't a significant enough data set to add to the prosopographical findings and so I didn't pursue it any further. I include this footnote as a good example of the organic process of prosopography, and of the discipline of knowing when to pursue a notion further and when to stop.

[6] NAMIER, L. (1929) The Structure and Politics at the Accession of George III. London:Macmillan.

prejudices (known and unknown) and prior knowledge. But the auto in biography is vital to both understand and embrace if it is to make a genuine impact on my own educative self formation (*Bildung*), or if it is to allow future readers to engage and empathise with the data and analysis.



Which lives to illustrate in more detail was a decision that evolved over the period of writing and my final choices were made from both a prosopographical and feminist perspective. Ernest Jones was unavoidably the link between all the guests and embodied the symbolic capital of the evening. My study would have been incomplete without insight into the man and how he worked. For the other three biographies I wanted to highlight the role and influence of women, within the field that I was researching. All three women chosen; Low, McLeod and Winnicott, were relatively unknown, compared to other guests in their respective professions, such as Melanie Klein (psychoanalyst), Virginia Woolf (author), or Duncan Grant (artist). None of these three women had work that had really translated into the 21st century, although each had achieved enough to be brought back to the fore. As I researched each of them I was struck by how random is the question of who remains celebrated and who effectively remains in the past, for each of these women in their time had achieved great success, had operated in male dominated professions and established reputations on account of their professional output. However, it could be argued that Low had demurred herself into obscurity; McLeod is not remembered beyond her autobiography, possibly on account of her open sexuality and Winnicott was summarily

dismissed, on account of her husband's biographers all writing within the context of his second marriage. Yet each of these women deserved to have their lives acknowledged and every one of them was able to offer insights into the links between themselves and other guests; often surprising links which would never have come to the fore without a prosopographical approach. I have been able to establish a previously unpublished link between Low and Samuel Koteliansky, a key figure within literary and artistic circles; between McLeod and early psychoanalysts Crichton Miller and Ernst and Marianne Kris, and to verify the legitimacy of the link between Alice Buxton Winnicott and T.E. Lawrence, a link which had previously been implied to be a fantasy and used to belittle her in the eyes of others. They are also an important trio of women for the purposes of the prosopography because they all represent different fields of cultural capital. Low was the daughter of a previously wealthy migrant family, fallen on hard times financially, but whose early endeavours had left the older children with enough social capital and determination that the achievements of the oldest siblings conferred capital onto Low and her sister, from which they both benefitted. McLeod was from a lower middle class family, but was intelligent and driven enough to be accepted at Oxford. Partly on account of the people she met there she was exponentially fortuitous throughout the rest of her life and being 'lucky' led to her making more connections and having more 'lucky breaks'. Winnicott in contrast was from a privileged and wealthy upper middle class background, influenced by the intelligence and intellectual range of both her parents, (possibly not always to her benefit).

It is important to indicate the differences and yet the symbiotic nature of biography and prosopography. Keats Rohan (2007, p.140) refers to biography as a 'red blooded animal, eager to mark out and defend its territory'. She describes biography as having the potential to be both 'political and polemic', as illustrated by Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1891), but denounces 'group-specific biographical dictionaries' as part of modern prosopography as 'almost bloodless in comparison'. Stone (1971, p.49) is even more harshly descriptive, likening the collector of biographies to 'the same category of anal-erotic males as the collectors of butterflies, postage stamps or cigarette cards'. Keats Rohan argues against the terms group biography or collective biography as a description of prosopography, continuing that, 'prosopography does not privilege biography, it merely collects and exploits structured biographical data'. Whilst I understand that she wishes potential prosopographers to avoid writing a series of biographies purely on account of each personage having a link to a movement, organisation or idea, I would argue that it is important not to detach from individual lives, but instead to write (auto/)biography that is influenced by

prosopography and consequently produce a prosopography that is rich in biographical detail.

For an effective prosopography there needs to be a delicate balance between exploring rich source detail about individual lives (their biographies) and producing a prosopography which expands on the connections in a systematic way. A balance is also required between any interpretation being evidenced and secure, and yet illustrative of ideas and ideals of the time.[7] Verboven et al. (2007, p.37) argue that prosopography is not interested in the unique. 'The individual and exceptional is important only insofar as it provides information on the collective and the 'normal''. Yet it seems important not to let the blood of the once living drain away, in the search purely for the commonness in the life histories. However, in order to insure that the seating plan did not become the quilt of a mad woman, tacking on large unruly hexagons into a pattern of squares, it was important to impose discipline on my data collection.

Stone (1971, p.47) outlines two schools which employ prosopography and this is subsequently echoed by others writing in the field. There is the elitist school; those who detail the lives of a small group of individuals, usually powerful political figures and their families and those who surround them. Stone makes a case that this group sees the world as operating with political motivations and so has 'owed little or nothing to the social sciences' and has been 'largely innocent of conscious sociological or psychological theory'. The other school he describes as being the 'statistically minded mass school', which looks more for statistical correlations to test social theory than to explore the lives of 'great men'. An example of this latter school might be Burke's (2010) study of the relationships between educational thought and school design and renewal. She writes how five archival collections were investigated in detail, based around key figures in planning, architecture and educational theory, but the analysis focussed on the impact of their work and ideas rather than the lives of those involved. She describes how 'published and unpublished papers, plans, photographs, diaries, letters, log books, recorded interviews and documentary film', have been examined and cross-referenced.

[7] Whilst I can place myself physically at the scene in 2014, I cannot presume to know what it was like to be at the Savoy that evening in 1939. However, I have a responsibility to ensure that accuracy of data and use of source materials such as letters and diaries are taken into account so that any interpretations give reference to the context, manners and priorities of the time and do not just reflect our current social mores.

For a study of the seating plan though, I looked to the former school of prosopography. The guests at the Savoy dinner were indeed an influential elite, with groups and individuals influencing much of science, medicine, the arts, journalism and of course the future direction of psychoanalysis during this period. Stone's criticism of the elitist school was important to overcome and brought me back to the need to clearly locate and reference all of the influences on my interpretations of the data. Lewis Namier is the most commonly cited prosopographer of the last century, with his seminal work of *The structure of politics at the Accession of George III*, London: Macmillan (1929) and for his project on *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790*. Namier's biographer, Linda Colley (1989, p.73) described him as 'the child of a positivistic age which found it comforting to reduce large and complex phenomena to more manageable facts'. Influenced by Freud, for him 'the key to individual and group behaviour had always to be sought in human nature' (Cunningham 2001, p.435). It could be argued that there is no better maxim illustrative of human nature than 'know a man by his friends'. Indeed, Carter (1984, p.14) drawing on Lasswel and Lerner (1965) in *World Revolutionary Elites*, writes that to understand powerful individuals you must look at the group behind those individuals. Carter was proposing then that students should be trained in asking key questions about the company of US political figures in order to develop 'non critical members of the electorate' (p.17) who are able to critique.

It was clear from the early exploration of the seating plan that relationships, intra and inter, would be key data for a prosopography. There was a potential danger pertinent to this field however, in making assumptions about those relationships on the minimum of data and on using stereotypical behaviour of a few to lead to assumptions about others, for example in relation to who had affairs with whom. Consequently it was important to reference source data and cross reference wherever possible, although this meant that not all leads could be tied up neatly and some highly probable links could not be attributed and so were left out of the conclusions, or raised as questions but not answered. A number of biographers have used interviews with the children of a deceased subject to bring insight, but often children have little knowledge or inclination to discuss the sexual proclivities of their mother or father and so this may lead the biographer to interpret other known facts about the subject in ways that would not be true to the life that had been lived. However, descendents can bring a wealth of

information about a subject that cannot be gleaned from other sources and can help to build another layer of biography.[8]

Quite simply though, Stone (1971, p.71) makes a good case for prosopography when he writes;

> It introduces the novice student to a very wide range of sources, it teaches him to evaluate his evidence and to apply his judgment to resolve contradictions, it demands meticulous accuracy and the arrangement of information on a methodical basis, and it offers a topic which can readily be expanded or cut down by modifying the size of the sample in order to meet the requirements of available time and resources.

5.3 Structuring a prosopography

Knowing what it is and what its uses can be, the next stage was to consider how a prosopographical method might best be employed.

> On the basis of a prosopography we can study the evolution of an institution more thoroughly: what was the background of those who gave shape to this institution, which ideas succeeded when there were changes in the structures? Which interests were aimed at: those of the institution or those of the persons (and their relations) working in them? (Verboven et al. 2007, p.49).

Verboven et al. (2007, p.47) write that a 'good prosopography' needs to 'start from a well formulated research objective, with clearly defined research targets determining which questions will be asked. Creativity and innovation are essential in this early phase of the inquiry'. Keats Rohan emphasises this point and states that there are two stages to prosopography; creation and exploration and three subsequent steps: One; to define the groups and decide the questions. Two; to create an 'Index of Names' and then an 'Index of Persons'. Three; to set up a biographical catalogue or lexicon of the information about each individual against the question asked. Verboven et al. go further and recommend that all biographies are then composed according to a single model, based on a questionnaire. Whilst I recognised the need for structure and common

[8] I have recently written a paper; 'Using present reminisces and family narratives to illustrate and illuminate personalities of the past to further our biographical understanding', delivered at 2014 Auto/Biography conference, Wolfson College, Oxford.

questions, I chose not to be tied to the single model of biographising the guests as I felt it would be too constraining. I believe I would have missed some important and new data had I followed this model.

I needed to be aware of my overarching question, which was whether prosopography was an effective tool for researching the links between the lives of the dinner guests. But within that framework I was sensitive to my paradigms; auto/biography, feminism (ontology), whilst holding my referencing theories in my mind; Hinshelwood's points of cultural access, Falzeder's filiations and Bourdieuian capital (epistemology) and then I was able to pose the following questions:

> What are the forms of cultural and symbolic capital evident amongst the guests and how do they impact on the lives of others in the room and on the psychoanalytic movement?
> Does each table hold its own symbolic capital, on account of the decisions made of who sat where?
> What were the names, characteristics and achievements of the women in the room who hadn't been given their own names?
> What was the significance of education in forming links between the guests?
> What was the range of professions represented by the guests and were people linked to psychoanalysis through their profession, or by other forms of cultural capital?
> What was the impact of migrants on the groupings and relationships? Was this different for those who were Jewish?
> Who wasn't there that could/should have been?
> What was the significance of the ages of the guests?
> What was the significance of their place of abode?
> How were the guests linked to psychoanalysis, or to Jones?
> What were the guest's connections to the medical profession, (if any)?

This is not a definitive list, as many questions came and went, or offered little significance, but these were the main questions I posed and many of these have been analysed and answered in Chapter 10, Findings and Discussion.

Having a framework of questions meant that I could avoid random data collection, although I was keen that any good morsel of information about a guest wasn't overlooked until I was sure it wasn't going to lead to a new grouping. This was where

the discipline needed to be applied, as it was important not to use data if no one else shared the link and a group could not be formed around it, (however delicious a piece of information that might be). However, Verboven et al. (2007, p.49) do argue that 'especially at the start of a new research project it is preferable to gather as much information as possible without directly standardizing the structure of the answers'.

Keats Rohan (2007, p.147) also suggests that wherever possible, 'the first requirement is a qualitative database containing transcripts or other relevant reproductions of the source material, independent of but linkable to the subsequent quantitative database'. I gave a lot of thought as to how to keep the data; punch cards, spreadsheets, or filing cabinets, but in the end it made most sense to use an Excel spreadsheet. This meant I could expand any row to fit the amount of data I had in note form and also allowed me to add columns as new data sets presented themselves as significant. For example, at one point I added 'Role in WWI' as I had come across a few conscientious objectors, such as Adrian Stephen and Duncan Grant, but this type of data was time consuming to ascertain and after finding information on ten percent of the guests it was clear there was no particular pattern and roles were varied. A higher incidence of conscientious objectors could be attributed to the Bloomsbury philosophy (and didn't extend to their response to WWII).

Any system needs to be functional, fit for purpose, flexible, accessible and be able to transfer the data from one source to another. With some help, I learnt how to use macros and this meant I could click on a 'button' at the top of each column and this sorted the guests into alphabetical order against that criteria. If I wanted to look at who went to which school, I clicked on the button at the top of Column J and could easily see who went to Eton, who went to St Paul's. I then cross referenced that with dates of birth, to see where guests were at the school at the same time. I have reproduced several of the data sets as appendices, but the screen shot overleaf gives a better impression of what the complete spreadsheet looks like.

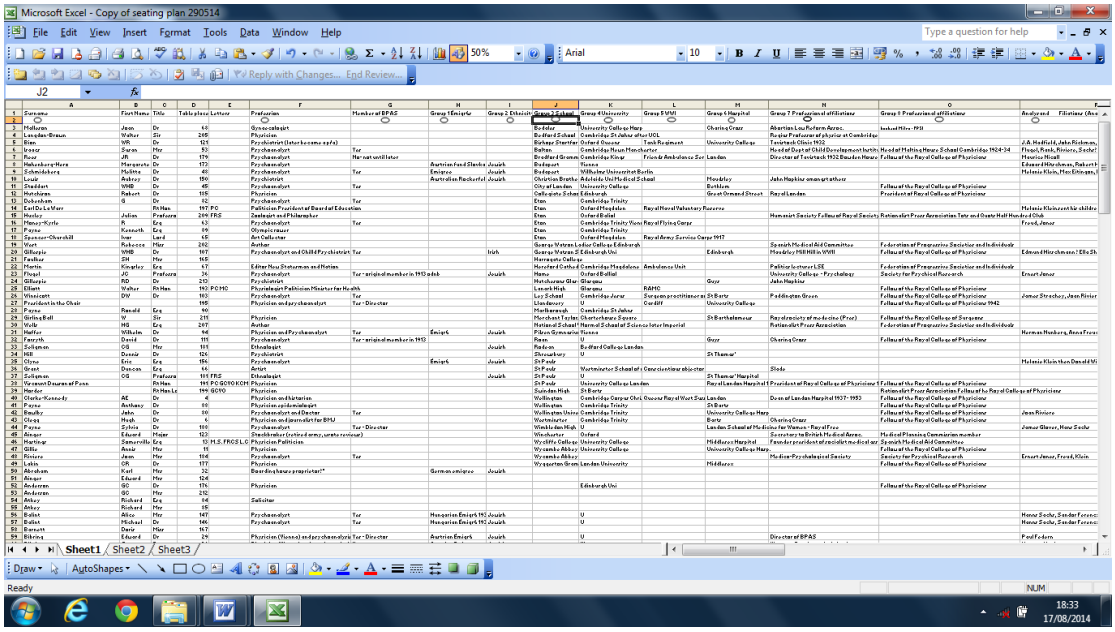


Table 1. Screenshot of Excel spreadsheet, used to collate the data

I kept brief notes in the end columns and a list of references and then each guest had a corresponding long hand page of facts, impressions and quotations which added detail to the prosopographical analysis.

Verboven et al. (2007, p.60) identify what I saw as a key advantage to using prosopography to research the seating plan, stating that it enables an understanding of both formal and informal relations between 'historical actors', as;

> '…we gain insight into both formal and informal relations between members of the target population. It helps us to understand how and which relations are typically formed in a particular milieu. Thus, prosopography provides a good and in some cases essential basis for a sociography because it shows the social dynamics of a particular society at work.

Bearing in mind that not all guests at the dinner are direct members of the British Psychoanalytical Society, nevertheless, prosopography brings a clarity to their inter and intra relationships.

5.4 Avoiding potential pitfalls

I understand the desire to establish ground rules for the use of prosopography, to maintain its weight as a method and it was important to ensure any study of the seating

plan was validated by drawing on the structure and systems recommended. Keats Rohan for example, even provides an online tutorial to ensure the prospective prosopographer applies the rules[9].

As a result of reading mostly other critiques, as opposed to some of the great works derived from prosopography, my perception however is that there is more written about the potential problems of methodology than examples of good practice. It is my intention that this work will act as a resource to future prosopographers, but when I began it was important for me to consider possible methodological pitfalls in advance of my own research. I have added to Carney's (1973, p.176) list of potential problems for the modern prosopographer to avoid:

- Textual perversion. This is where a paucity of data leads the researcher to make inferences and deductions without substantiation, which are then offered as new and definitive findings[10]. This can also lead to bio-mythology where the reader no longer knows which details about a subject have a factual basis and which have just become part of the mythology surrounding the person. It is of course important to raise questions about possible links, following analysis of the data, but where there is doubt there is a responsibility on the researcher to write this clearly. I came across many 'facts' in biographies that I found to be misleading or false and it helped me to ensure that I could validate and reference all my findings to avoid future misrepresentation and untruths.
- Implausibility structure; placing too much value on 'maybe' and 'perhaps'. A step further away from the data than the pitfall outlined above, this is more for the realm of the novelist than the prosopographer. Creativity and fantasy are given more emphasis than probabilities based on fact and the results are 'rarely logically compelling'.
- A writing style driven either by 'filling the gaps', or from over emphasis on the justification of the hypothesis, which can lead to over emotive wording or acrid and cryptic phrases, according to Carney. For the seating plan there was no shortage of data, but my commitment had always been to making the writing accessible to a wide audience and so

[9] http://prosopography.modhist.ox.ac.uk/tutorial/tutorial
[10] Verboven (2007, p.58) refers to these consequences of a lack of data as 'the dark number'.

I needed to find a writing style that allowed for academic rigour, but could engage the interest of a non academic audience too. It would be fair to say that my writing is at times emotive, with ‘auto’ impacting on ‘biography’ but this was a conscious decision to engage the reader empathetically and not driven by a need to cover any gaps. As for justifying my hypothesis, I continue to be excited by the findings I am making as my prosopographical study extends beyond the thesis. I am unapologetic in attempting to share that excitement through my choice of words.

- Technique shortfall. Carney outlines the need to be able to combine skills in ‘data-grubbing’ for biographical facts and the techniques to analyse them with academic professionalism. A skill in one, without the other leaves the analysis lacking. This is the real crux of a successful prosopography.
- Having one’s cake and eating it; i.e. arguing away inconvenient evidence that goes against a favoured hypothesis. A prosopography is a long term work of devotion and dedication. There are few ‘easy wins’ or short cuts. I understand that it could be tempting to ‘lose’ data that called into question an area of study that you had been working on for a month, but in making clear that there is an exception to the rule, it is more likely that the prosopographer will achieve more authenticity overall. I had really hoped that data on Amber Blanco White would provide a detailed biography that would be effective in illustrating prosopographical analysis, but even though I was distracted by the story of her life, I realised that the information I held on her was not illustrative of her links with other guests. Her connections to psychoanalysis were unproven and speculative and I although I had some interesting data from Newnham College, Cambridge, there was not enough information that wasn’t already in the public domain. Blanco White is fascinating and I am sure with some more diligent research, hers would make an interesting biography, but not for the purposes of this prosopography.

Carney (1973, p.165) also outlines the complexities of analysing intention. He discusses the interplay between subjects and how there are dangers in assuming that one action will lead to a certain other reaction from another subject as there are in fact multiple possibilities. He states that a prosopographer must demonstrate the state of play between subjects, as merely to assume is not scientific, nor yet even ‘social

scientific'. Much of the correspondence that remains in archives is one sided, with the exception of some carbon copies of letters sent that had been kept by the subject. Where only one side remained, such as the letters of Low to Nehls (see Chapter 7, Barbara Low), there were many opportunities to interpret the intention behind her words and the actions she described, and more pertinently to infer what Nehls may have written in the gaps. However, it was important to make it clear where I was offering an interpretation. The danger, as highlighted earlier, is in these interpretations then being passed on by future researchers as fact.

Carney writes that the analysis of decision making can be almost impossible in reference to the classical prosopographer as there is very little known of the childhood of ancient elite subjects for example, but by the very nature of their profession and the wealth of letter writing and intra subject analysis, the problems of interpreting any decisions made by the groups at the Savoy dinner were somewhat different. One of the difficulties I faced was that there was an abundance of data for a significant number of the subjects and very little for the rest. I had to consider whether I should limit the study to those on whom there was comparable source material, or to ensure that I had a basic amount of data on all and then build on the wealth from a significant number to support analysis applied to others within identified groups, e.g. those who have recently arrived from Austria, or psychoanalysts. Writing about the O.D.N.B. Booth (2005, p.273) agrees that 'representation will seldom appear quite fair or proportionate in any prosopography', but then 'fair' is far better understood once separated from the notion of the 'same' and different proportions can still be fair depending on how the points are illustrated and evidenced. As the data collection advanced[11] it became clear that with time and tenacity I could gather answers to some of the key questions on a large proportion of the guests and so I committed to having a large data set for table allocation; profession; birth name, or any previous married names for the women; year of birth and consequently the age at the meal. With the latter information, a new data set evolved as I became interested in how old each of the guests were when they died. I found that when I embarked on a new question and data set there was always a moment's hesitation as I assessed the number of search hours and potential dead ends that this seemingly small decision would entail. I wouldn't have wanted to add 'age of death' for example and then only completed the information on a few guests, when I knew that data were accessible for the majority. So at the point of adding a question, I needed to make a bargain with myself that I was committing to finding as

[11] This is an ongoing process and with such a rich field and diverse subjects, I continue to gather new information weekly.

many of the answers as I could. The problems of establishing age at death are useful to highlight as they arose in other data sets. My main source of information was from the National Archives, but it was difficult to find the data with any degree of accuracy where there was:

- a more common name, like Taylor or Wilson
- no verifiable data on the subject's birth (maiden) name
- no information on where the subject may have been living at point of death
- a likelihood that the subject had either been born, or died in another country
- a paucity of other researched data, such as biographies, obituaries, newspaper articles or archived material, such as alumnus records.

Other problems are; the potential for exaggeration and distortion, if a study is based on fragmentary evidence, (Stone 1971, p.58); or conversely the danger of not making any connections between groups, but just producing a series of case studies, (Cunningham 2001, p.439).

Focussing on progressivism in education, Cunningham explores several studies which fall short of prosopography. He argues that John Shotton's (1992) paper on Libertarian Education would have benefited from exploring the transmission and dissemination engaged in by activists. These issues were not pertinent to the study of the seating plan as there was a wealth of data available. However, where data were less rich, it was often possible to make informed speculation based on supporting source data, bringing meaning to the narratives.

One study of over 250 individuals involved in the New Education Fellowship has 'detailed description, chronologically arranged', but has no biographical detail or outlines of the posts and careers that the individuals held within the organisation and offers no insight into any of the links between the N.E.F. and other organisations. Cunningham (2001, p.438) offers a critique of Richard Selleck's (1968) work on the new education, seemingly admiring the range of groups into which the main players could be classified and then located as groups within a social and political background. Cunningham suggests that where this work falls short of an ideal of prosopography is that its organising structure is ultimately chronological rather than as a set of relationships.

Verboven et al. (2007, p.64) also warn of the dangers of interpreting every correlation between data as an effective link. ‘The correlation may derive from external factors invisible in the database (for instance because they were not included in the questionnaire), or may even be purely incidental.’

5.5 Considerations

One of my key objectives in this research was to consider whether prosopography was a suitable and effective methodology for researching the links of profession, paternity[12] and passion of the dinner guests. I needed to address the issues of time, representation, (including bias), method, compatible methods, interpretation, myself and others and the style in which the study was then written. I hope I have demonstrated that these can all be directly addressed through a prosopographical methodology. Keats Rohan (2003, p.3) writes;

> A prosopography is based upon a minute examination of its sources, to which it forms a series of detailed footnotes. Such inquiry is led by an evidential network in which information is often drawn from many types of source, which are corroborated and consolidated or in some way refined by constant comparison of the different sources. The resulting prosopography functions as a new source, a metasource, in which some of the defects of the base sources are remedied.

I carefully considered each of these suggested parameters for building biographies prior to deciding on my data sets and the list can serve as a useful resource:

Personal and family life

- naming; surname, maiden name, previous married names
- life dates (birth, marriage, death, date of arrival in UK)
- geographical data (place of birth, place of residence, consulting rooms etc.)
- close family (parents, brothers, sisters, step family, in laws etc.)
- extended family and family friends
- origin (social origin, cultural origin etc.)
- marriage and offspring

[12] A useful alliteration, but perhaps a more accurate phrase would be; what they did, where they came from and what interested them. It is an ironic use of the word paternity, when what I am describing is my determination to name the women as separate from their husband’s names, but of course, that leaves them with their father’s name.

- relationships, sexual liaison, friendships
- youth and education
- religious conviction
- political affiliations
- misdemeanours, (illegal, anti social)
- social milieu and networks (factions and parties, membership of corporations, movements, unions etc., donations given or received)
- contemporary namesakes (perhaps to discover ties in a later stage of the research)

Career

- specific preparation for professional life (education, school, university)
- age in the different phases
- salary, other forms of allowance and gifts
- professional qualifications (earnt and honoured)
- employers or employees
- analysands, analysts

Material position (personal and family)

- immovables (houses, land)
- movables (furniture, money, bank accounts etc.)
- capital (transport, machines, raw materials)
- income
- debts

Culture

- religious foundations
- patron
- iconography (family arms, paintings, portraits, photographs, movies)
- characterisation (in novels, poetry or paintings)

Time – dates and span

- relationships
- correspondence
- meetings and conferences

Sources for these are many and varied and therefore it was important to look at original source data where possible to ensure the information gathered was untainted by other interpretations. I found it useful however to sometimes use others' interpretations of same or similar data to cross reference and verify or challenge ideas. This was particularly pertinent when studying the biographies of Donald Winnicott whilst trying to uncover any details of his first wife, Alice. Luckily, many of the guests were prolific letter writers, and although many of the originals are now in archives in United States universities, there was a wealth of data online, although some sites were harder to access. Genealogical data were readily available and accessible, (particularly if search dates weren't too wide) and most of the guests were alive in the last English census to which there is public access (1911). Shipping information was also available, although I only used it effectively once to establish that Eric Clyne had not appeared to live in the United States as mentioned by a biographer. I didn't use data from probate or bankruptcy information, but they are useful sources for the biographer. Gazetteers such as the 'London Chronicle' proved useful on several occasions and often pointed in another direction. For example in tracking down the youngest Payne sibling, a record of his army career gave me enough information to find which school he had attended. Professional associations, such as the British Institute of Psychoanalysis and the British Medical Council hold detailed archives, as well as libraries such as the Wellcome and the British Library. Diaries and appointment books were a useful data source, not just of the guests, but of some key figures who were missing from the seating plan. For example, it was useful to know from Sigmund Freud's diary who visited him in London who also appears on the guest list, although it was not easy to know purpose or the relationship, it was possible to infer the social and cultural importance of being one of only a small number of people to have seen him during this period of his life. Cross referencing this information with lists of who was analysed by Freud was also an interesting if inconclusive exercise. Freud's appointment list would appear to be far more on account of the perceived value of each guest, than whether he had ever analysed them.

Time was a consideration. The dinner is a moment in time, but the data were gathered from a period of time, both prior to the dinner and from the lives led after the dinner. I am unsure whether the narrative which has evolved from the data can be defined temporally however. Writing the 'I' into the biographies is an acknowledgement that this prosopography will always be grounded in the present, even though it is about the past. I think that whilst the occasion and the moment in time were incidental to the links between the lives and the loves of the guests, the former could not have happened

without those links being in existence. Time was also an issue for locating cultural views and values. Actions and experiences were often of their time and so interpretation taken from this time needed to be challenged and checked more carefully, so that assumptions were not made and judgements brought to bear on the past using knowledge from the present.

5.6 Interpreting the data

Broady (2002, p.381) offers some insight into the use of Bourdieuian prosopography. He refers to collective biographies of subjects, especially their holdings of symbolic capital specific to their field. Broady further defines a field as existing;

> where people are struggling over something they share, where something specific is at stake (…) where investments and entrance-fees are expected from new pretenders, where there are specific rules of the game, specific stakes, rewards and sign of authority' (p.382).

As mentioned at the start of this chapter exploring the extent of symbolic capital to the field of psychoanalysis in 1939, became increasingly pertinent and prominent as I extended database. Broady adds that in a Bourdieu inspired prosopography the 'prime objective is to understand not the individuals or their interactions but the history and structure of the field itself – which in turn gives sociological meaning to the trajectories and destiny of the individuals' (p382). Indeed a prosopography of progressive ideas and this became the key mechanism for interpretation.

As outlined earlier, there is a fine balance to be sought in interpreting the data. As researcher I will be located within any interpretation of the analysis, because I will have already decided both consciously and unconsciously on the direction and importance of which questions to ask and which I believe to be more representative of the subject than others. Whilst Carney (1973, p.171) cautions against 'impressionistic intuitivism', there is merit in controlled imagination. When looking at the interplay between two subjects, (bearing in mind that many of the subjects had complex interplay with individual others seated at the dinner), Carney suggests that with any *A* and *B* there are six personae involved as each person is:

> The person he appears to be;
> The person he thinks he is;

> The person he actually is.
>
> *A*'s perception of the issue may not be at all like *B*'s perception of *A*'s perception of the issue. *B*'s perception of *A*'s perception of his – *B*'s – perception of the issue will also be in there, further confusing things.

Concluding his paper on a prosopography of progressivism in education, Cunningham (2001, p.451) wrote that he had wanted to use prosopography to 'provide an alternative lens', 'a framework within which component parts could be endlessly rearranged' as he continued to 'revisit and research the complexities and contradictions' of his area of study. In spite of the many pitfalls and dangers in employing prosopography, I hope that this thesis shows it to be an effective methodology, well matched to the task of producing an authentic and serious study from structured analysis of the links in the lives of the guests at the Jubilee dinner. It has been my intention to present that analysis in a way that brings life to the tables again, balancing the biographical detail with enduring and novel sociological meaning.

5.7 Prosopography in practice

Two techniques that I found to be important to successful prosopography I have defined as serendipitous intuitivism and optimistic tangentialism. The first describes the relationship between luck and instinct. Do I perceive that I have been lucky in the lines of enquiry I have made because of an external guiding hand (fate), or is serendipity possible because of innate and unconscious understanding of the potential in those lines of enquiry, guided by knowledge assimilated and absorbed; I didn't know that I knew? The second phrase also has the potential to be driven by the unconscious, but is aligned to a style in which the learner is a risk taker, weighing up the probability of success, and, on finding more success than failure overall in any area of learning, is consequently optimistic about taking another risk on a tangential line of enquiry the next time.[13]

A disciplined mixture of chance and design therefore, it was important from the start of my research to allow my enquiries to go off in directions that might seem at odds with an initial enquiry. It was equally important to know when to terminate that line before

[13] Much has been written about with regards to these learning behaviour orientations in children, which is applicable to new learning at any age. Vygotsky (1978) left his legacy of the zone of proximal development to describe how young children learn best when encouraged to step outside a safe zone and Elliott and Dweck (1988) further developed the notion of a learning orientation towards mastery as opposed to the more limiting performance orientation.

too much time or energy was spent on an interesting biographical detail that wouldn't add anything to the collective enquiry. Working initially from the seating plan, the research took on a different dimension when I obtained a quality copy of a photograph of people at Tables A to N (Appendix A) including most of the top table. My starting point for the majority of the guests was to locate them within the records of births, marriages and deaths in England and Wales. I used the *GenesReunited* search engine for this purpose, although there are several other websites that would be as useful. I used *ScotlandsPeople* to establish birth information on those who were born in Scotland. I was determined to authenticate my data and even where references could be sourced from books, websites or academic papers, I quickly realised the importance of verifying data, as I found many inconsistencies and inaccuracies in dates in particular. It was also important from the outset, to begin my own database and with some technical help I used macros, so that as I added a new dataset, I could sort the guests by the new criteria. A need to authenticate information from other sources also led to contact with archivists at a number of public schools and universities, which often brought new knowledge and connections.

Once I had begun the work of matching people to their records I also realised that it had become imperative for me to employ a feminist paradigm, as I undertook the task of naming the women, who were only known by their husband's names or whose lives were frequently overshadowed by those of a husband. The more I researched, the stronger was my emotional response to the achievements of women like Alice Buxton Winnicott and Grace Maud Briscoe and the more determined I became to write of their biographical details in a way that was factual and authentic, so that the resulting qualitative research would have a relevance and validity that would stand up to scrutiny. An informal conversation with Lady Briscoe's granddaughter gave me a lead that a photo existed of her researching radium with Marie Curie. My excitement was palpable, but whilst the photo is a rare example of an un-posed photo of Lady Briscoe and another woman at work in a laboratory, the stillness required by the techniques of the time had proved too difficult for the other woman and the blurred image is impossible to verify as Marie Curie. Just because I want something to be, doesn't make it so and therefore I have to be disciplined in not including it. The lack of a proof of a celebrity co worker doesn't in any way detract from Briscoe's achievements in the understanding of radium in the treatment of breast cancer for instance.

I would often begin a search by selecting a name seemingly at random[14] and then searching for obituaries, entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and using academic library search engines. *Google images* were often an interesting source of a new lead as it often prompted me in the direction of websites that I wouldn't otherwise have seen. It also enabled me to begin the long and separate task of verifying the identity of many of the guests in the photograph. The National Portrait Gallery archives have also proved useful for that purpose.

One of the most revealing sources of new information came from correspondence found in a variety of archives, both in Britain and the United States. Letters enabled me to locate a person in time and emotional space, with rich possibilities of inference and meaning from the author's own words and feelings. Because of the cultural capital of many of the guests, there were perhaps an unusual number of auto-biographies on which I could draw as well, leading to links and knowledge that I couldn't have expected.

An example of the process I undertook was in establishing the biographical details for Dr G Debenham, marked on the seating plan as being on Table I. Debenham was not a man to promote himself in print, so I couldn't find any papers or publications in his name, but his name appeared in minutes related to the Controversial Discussions between Klein and Anna Freud, as to which way the B.P.A.S. should agree policy on the psychoanalytical treatment of children, which inferred he was a psychoanalyst and not just a physician. Using the P.E.P. (Psychoanalytical Electronic Publishing) directory, I found a Gilbert R. Debenham and traced his name in a series of lists of members of the B.P.A.S. with addresses; the most recent (in 1962) showed that he had lived in Dorchester at this time. From there it became a reasonable assumption that he may have retired there and died there, so the death records for a Gilbert. R. Debenham in Dorchester confirmed his full name and year of birth, as Gilbert Ridley Debenham, born 1906. With this level of detail I was then able to find his marriage. Marriage records show a 1935 marriage in Holborn for Gilbert Ridley to Violet M Higgins, death records for Violet M Debenham in Dorset, led me to Violet Mary, born in 1909 and whose death was registered in Poole in 1994. This could all just be coincidence, but the mere odds of it being the couple from the seating plan lessen, the more serendipitous the information appears to be.

[14] Like choosing a new piece of material for a quilt, it seems random, but the choice is informed by the unconscious.

As a regular process I ran many of the names through the National Portrait Gallery search facility to look for matches and whilst looking for an image to see if I could match Debenham to the photograph of one of the guests on Table I, I came across an image of Sir Ernest Ridley Debenham of Debenhams store fame. A middle name of Ridley was too much of a coincidence, so I consulted *Burke's Peerage* and there was Gilbert Ridley, sixth child and second son of Sir Ernest and later to claim the baronetcy. Eton and Trinity alma mater were later both confirmed by the respective archivists. I had not only found detail on a quiet man, but more importantly had established links with others, not only at the dinner, but more specifically on his table, through education, place of abode (whilst in London), through profession and friendship.

I cannot tire of the endless detective work, hypothesising on connection or circumstance and then testing those theories to the full. Some quickly fail and disappear, others take longer and seem to be going somewhere, only to find that a date puts that lead in the wrong time frame or the detail is no longer plausible for other reasons. The best leads are like having a great game of Mah Jong, as every tile you pick up adds value to the tiles you already hold and even the unconnected tiles as seasons and flowers you can use once you have completed Mah Jong. For the uninitiated, discovering good biographical veins brings the person to life, as each new detail is revealed, almost as though the knowledge and naming of a detail about a person makes the difference between them having lived or being lost. It is compulsive, time consuming, enriching and enjoyable, but importantly it has brought new knowledge and it has already made a difference to family members of those who were forgotten or misrepresented. I have no doubts that prosopography has been an effective method for ensuring that the lives of the guests and the links between them and with psychoanalysis are no longer lost to the past.

Chapter 6
Alfred Ernest Jones

1875-1958

Image courtesy of the Institute of Psychoanalysis

6.1 A politician in psychoanalyst's clothing.

Like him or loathe him, you cannot deny Ernest Jones his place in the history of psychoanalysis in Britain, and indeed worldwide. Summarising opinion of him, Maddox (2006) in her introduction to *Freud's Wizard*, refers to his 'alleged arrogance, autocracy, dishonesty and not least, hagiography', the latter referring to his reverential, yet acclaimed biography of Sigmund Freud. But that is only half the picture; he is also described by various others as having prodigious energy, administrative skill, literary ability, acerbic wit and as being a great organiser and politician. Joan Riviere claimed in one letter (Maddox 2006, p.30) that Jones was 'irresistible to women', and wrote many pages to him devoting her love, but then as many words expressing her distaste for him, (whether as a result of being caught up in the transference between analyst and analysand, or bereft from a love affair remains unclear). It is however clear that he had drive and ambition from an early age and I hope to examine in this chapter some of the less well known papers and archive material that may shed some light on the man who was able to charm, revile and rally so many influential people, whilst creating the British Psychoanalytical movement.

Ernest Jones has considerable claim to be the most significant individual (personally, politically and organisationally) in the history of psychoanalysis in Britain. He co-founded in 1913 the London Psycho-Analytic Society (later the British Psycho-Analytic Society) and was a major figure on the psychoanalytic international stage. In 1920 he founded the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* and as early as 1912 he organised the five leading psychoanalysts of the day to form a secret committee to protect and ensure Freud's reputation. He has been called by Riccardo Steiner (1993) "undoubtedly the finest organiser and politician in the first generation of Freud's

followers" and his three-volume *Sigmund Freud* is one of the major biographies of the 20th century. Jones' remarkable energy for administration and proselytising extended into his personal life. He had affairs with women who alternately adored and rejected him and he led a daring and reckless life but in a controlled and productive manner. While much of his story is well known I wish to examine in this article some of the lesser known archive material to shed light upon a man who was able to charm and lambast (sometimes at the same time) so many influential figures, whilst simultaneously rallying them and creating the British Psychoanalytic movement. Archive audio of the psychologist Sir Cyril Burt talking about Jones was broadcast as part of a Radio 4 'All in the Mind', first aired on 19th December 2007.

> Jones held the whole movement together. There was a great tendency for Freud's disciples to split away and found minor schools of their own. It was Jones who held the society and the movement together in spite of the criticism from without and the conflict from within.

It takes skill, energy, personality and determination to make long lasting change, and there is no doubt that Alfred Ernest Jones used his abundance of these characteristics to ensure that Freud's ideas were not only brought to the English speaking world, but that psychoanalysis would also have a status and an acceptance from the medical profession by the time of the British Psychoanalytical Society's Silver Jubilee in 1938.

It is likely that his goal oriented approach to life, his ambition, his innate ability to recognise which ideas and/or people were most likely to impact on his prospects were only slightly overshadowed by his need for attention. He sought respect and yet he wasn't patient, (or confident) enough to trust that that would come his way on account of his knowledge and deeds alone. Never really trusting others, he needed to control and manage in order to ensure he was respected and he used power and his acerbic use of language so to do. Although he disliked authority, (which was verified in his analysis with Ferenczi), Jones was quite hierarchical and it is likely that he sought and valued the respect of those who were less inclined to demonstrate it, rather than from those who deferred easily. There is no doubt that Jones garnered great recognition from colleagues and other professionals for what he achieved for psycho-analysis, but aside from adulatory letters that he kept, most of which are heavy scented with transference, much of his correspondence suggests *dis*respect, most sharply from the Bloomsbury set that Jones liked to court.

In this chapter I intend to show through lesser known correspondence and detail how Jones' characteristics and personality contributed to his successes as well as his failures and how in many ways, as missionary to Freud's visionary, he was a masterful politician.

There are three important biographies of Jones; by Maddox (2010), Brome (1982) and of course Jones' posthumously published autobiography, *Free Associations* (1959). There is also *The complete correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Ernest Jones, 1908–1939*, edited by Paskauskas (1993). There is so much rich information in each of these it is tempting to reproduce the detail, but in this chapter it is my intention to bring lesser known facts and impressions to give you my version of aspects of Jones' biography. I needed to make sense of an incredibly busy life and so have produced a chronology of the key events in Jones' life from a number of sources and this is included as an Appendix I.

On *Free Associations,* I would like to offer one thought however. Jones refers in his text to 'the dishonesty of the world in *rebus sexualibus'*, (p.21). The more I have read his words and immersed myself in his life, the more I think that Jones left his auto biography as a Freudian puzzle for the reader to solve. He leaves so many clues, that at first seem clumsy and even louche, but in the context of it being a rebus, in which he reveals his sexual identity, his accounts of events, his stories and choice of words make more sense. I find it a compelling idea, but for further exploration at another time.

6.2 Canon of work

Ernest Jones was a prolific writer. From 1904 to his posthumous auto-biography in 1959 he published books or papers every year, with the exception of 1906, 1932, 1937 and the Second World War years. He wrote up medical and neurological research early on in his career and then published internationally on psycho analysis for the rest of his life. Interestingly he often sought publication in journals and in print away from the various Psychoanalytical press, in order to reach a wider audience, but perhaps also continuing to seek recognition from medical disciplines, (certainly prior to 1929, when the British Medical Association recognised the term 'psychoanalysis'). He enjoyed oration and published many of his speeches and he also wrote many reviews. His reviews often reveal his competitive nature and surly fear that others' knowledge somehow belittled his own. He uses the means of review to trump with his own

demonstration of the subject. For example, in his review of a paper on ‘Laughter’ in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* (Aug. 1915) he writes;

> As may be expected, the whole book is written in Professor Bergson's pleasing style, and is full of suggestive hints and fresh points of view. The most significant contribution, one which pervades the book throughout, is the view of laughter as a social censor. Even if this hypothesis is substantiated by detailed investigation, however, it cannot rank as a complete theory of laughter, or of the comic, until it is supplemented by some explanation, not given by the author, of the most striking feature of laughter, its capacity for yielding pleasure.

Jones viewed being published as an important means of peer recognition and validation, but perhaps also a way of solidifying ephemeral notions. He wrote in order to make sense of ideas and perhaps to have some personal ownership of other people’s ideas and in this he was very successful. His paper in 1910, ‘The Oedipus-Complex as An Explanation of Hamlet's Mystery: A Study in Motive’, was an exploration of ideas initially brokered by Freud in the *Interpretation of Dreams* (1899). Jones then published his work as a book, *Hamlet and Oedipus* in 1949, to critical acclaim and it remains an influential and important work in the interpretation and study of Hamlet. His three volume biography of Freud was a culmination of his life’s work and it is as interesting to read as a revelation of Jones as it is important in our understanding of Freud. In Jones’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry Shamdasani writes that, ‘No other single work has been more influential in shaping the subsequent perception of Freud’. Influenced by Jungian theory, Shamdasani seems unconvinced in Jones’ Freud, and highlights criticism of Jones for covering up the less appealing aspects of Freud and his theories. Jones’ ability to reframe events in his own life were no doubt extended to his memories of Freud and his interpretation of the documentation to which he had access to complete his work. It is unlikely that Jones would have viewed it as inaccurate or partial. For contemporary scholars it remains important and valuable, not least as an excellent example of interpretation, with ‘auto’ as part of biography.

In Jones’ autobiography he offers the reader many examples of seemingly revelatory reflections and reflexive interpretations. Jones may have wanted to take Polonius’ advice to his son to heart, ‘Above all to thine own self be true’, but it seems he wasn’t able to do much more than self-flagellate in his reflections as he always fails to take responsibility, or to change. Brome (1982, p.25) highlights this persistent paradox in

Jones' life, that when he occasionally scrutinised himself, 'with devastating honesty' he continued to 'give full play to the traits in his character which he condemned'.

The exception to this may be his sexual life, as all references to children, relationships with his patients (either real of through transference) and sexual relations with others cease after his marriage to Kitty. Brome asserts that in spite of dividing his time between Sussex and London, thus breaking the 'iron clasp of conventional marriage' Jones 'took no advantage of his freedom', (p.162). I would suggest that it is unlikely that Jones changed his sexual character; he became more discreet, lost his libido, or found other outlets. His second marriage in 1919 coincided with his reforming of the London Society into the British Society for Psychoanalysis and also Freud's proposal for Jones to chair the International Society, which he took over in 1922. His increased importance and ability to influence and control the development of psychoanalysis would have offered him ways of assuaging or fuelling his narcissistic needs.

There can only be speculation on the two incidents in which Jones was accused of sexual indecency to children which he refers to in *Free Associations*[15], but Maddox (2006) gives us a thorough account of press details that remain. As she points out, it is interesting that there would have been no easily accessible record of these events if Jones hadn't kept them. But what can we conclude from his need to keep them? Did he have a pathological need for attention and validation, whatever the act, or such a strong belief in his innocence that there was no problem in maintaining a dispassionate record? Perhaps he kept it as a reminder of the folly of his younger self; either of his reckless disregard for how his zealous interpretation of Freud's new theories could be interpreted by others, or, perhaps, of the danger of giving free reign to sexual drives.

From an interview with Kitty Jones in 1977, Brome (1982, p.41) leaves us with a provocative insight into Jones' reactions to the Court case in 1906,

> 'With all his professional activities suspended, as the weeks slipped away [Jones'] anxieties multiplied and he found himself "developing a sort of shame-facedness as if [he] were in some way to blame for the whole thing." He spoke of the stirring of unconscious sources of guilt "probably of sexual origin" without referring to the unexpressed sexual response many adults have to children at

[15] Interestingly Jones writes about the two incidents that led to his 'exile' in Canada in a chapter entitled 'Harley Street'. The preceding chapter called 'Failure' deals with him not being able to secure the position he hoped at University College Hospital and his subsequent drifting around positions.

> the unconscious level. That Jones was now a deeply sensual man with a very active sexual life was clear from many sources.

The 'truth' of the matter however, is now largely irrelevant, but for the purpose of this chapter it is important to examine Jones' self representation and to consider his relationship with sex as an extension of power and control. Jones seemed to take no responsibility for his own actions, nor did he acknowledge the role he played in his being dismissed after the second incident involving a child, (bearing in mind he had also been forced to resign from a previous role for being absent without permission). His writings lead the reader to imagine that it is Fate that is against him, or the gods plotting and manoeuvring people and events. He leaves a sense that he just happened to be in the way.

We cannot prove or disprove what Jones said to the children in both these instances, but in his own writings he uses sexual language in a way that seems designed to shock or shake people's perceptions. He is convinced by Freud that children have sexual identities, and this seems to be backed up by his own memories of his childhood. Alongside a combination of being ambitious, zealous and arrogant, it is also likely that he used sexual language as a controlling mechanism and because it thrilled him. In *Free Associations*, he uses sexual language liberally in describing his childhood and yet interestingly only uses inference and discretion in relation to his adult relationships. His fascination with Otto Gross in Munich and his frequent early affairs and illicit relationships with women, suggest that whilst professionally he wanted to impress those he viewed as having power, in his personal life he was far more attracted to risk takers and liked to take risks himself. His relationships with servants and patients might also lead us to conclude that he could never resist those who were weak and subordinate either. His biographers agree that Jones seemed transformed by his marriage to Jokl. He was forty when he married her and it may be that she really was the right girl, at the right point in his self analysis. But perhaps it is more likely that he wanted to leave the impression that his drive for professional success surpassed all other drives, as he began to attain the recognition he had always craved.

Jones' unwavering belief in the value of his own contribution gave him significant motivation to write for a wider audience. In his personal and professional correspondence there are clear demonstrations of power and control with many correspondents, but another drive in his letter writing is to be noticed (and then acknowledged), by those he perceived as holding more cultural capital than him,

perhaps in the hope that their influence would increase his own standing. His befriending of Jung and then Freud runs in parallel with his courting of senior medical figures such as Sir Victor Horsley and Dr CK Clarke in Toronto.

In 1931 he wrote a book on *The Elements of Figure Skating*. Although he learnt to skate as a boy, he took to the ice rinks of London in the 1930s when it became a popular recreational pursuit of the upper classes. According to Maddox (2006, p.204) Jones used skating to 'practise the art of making friends in high places', amongst whom was Sir Samuel Hoare, who was later useful in 1938 when, as Home Secretary, he enabled Jones' to complete permits to bring a number of Jewish psychoanalysts out of Austria and Germany. Getting a bronze medal for skating was not enough for Jones. He wrote the book as his default position for demonstrating his skills to all.

6.3 Formative events from his childhood

I find much of Jones' writing to be seemingly revelatory; perhaps a window to his soul. Not so much for what he writes, but for what the reader can infer. As a psychoanalyst, so intent on his own self analysis for so long, it seems unlikely that he wasn't aware of the power of inference, both in his letters and in his academic writing.

In his paper, 'Some Problems of Adolescence', delivered to the British Psychological Society in 1922, Jones puts forward his theories, built on Freud's own work, of adolescence as a second childhood; a recapitulation of the lessons learnt in early infancy about sexuality, which are then lost through repression in childhood. He examines some distinguishing attributes between childhood and adulthood which include a boldness of thought in children, the increased relationship between action and 'the rest of the personality' in adulthood prompting greater inhibition, and the prevalence of egocentricity in the *phantasies* of childhood. There are interesting parallels between what he presents in the paper as generalised Freudian observations of the 'emotional and imaginative traits' in the ages and what he shares with the reader thirty years later in his autobiography. Did he know when he wrote his original paper how much he was sharing of himself, or conversely, did hindsight and a lifetime of psychoanalysis lead him to take ownership of this generalised adolescence for himself? In *Free Associations* Jones (1959) refers in several places to 'a sense of guilt in the spheres of religion and sex'. He wrote;

> Those years from sixteen to eighteen, were indubitably the most stirring and formative of my life. The starting point was the problem of religion, which covered more personal sexual ones. Since the age of ten I had never been able to give my adherence to any particular creed, but my conscience troubled me badly and impelled me to seek in every direction for enlightenment (p.59)

In 1922 he had presented his paper 'Some Problems on Adolescence' describing how children will make themselves the hero of their own fantasies. He suggests that adults have developed the ability to subdue themselves in their fictions, and therefore miss the point of a child placing themselves at the centre;

> …we miss the note of yearning or aspiration, that reaching out to something beyond the individual self, an endeavour even to attain to the infinite, with which we are familiar particularly in late adolescence. It may assume manifold forms, religious, artistic, poetical, or purely social, but in all of them the characteristic mark is the feeling that the self is incomplete or even unsatisfactory and the intense desire to get into contact with something, an idea or a being, outside the self (Jones 1922a, p.36).

In his autobiography he consciously makes up for the 'absence of data concerning childhood sexuality in biographies', by writing with rather coy explicitness about his encounters with sex as a youngster. He offers the information that 'the practice of coitus was familiar to me at the ages of six and seven, after which I suspended it and did not resume it till I was twenty-four; it was common enough practice among the village children' (p.21). Interestingly he makes a distinction in the following lines between coitus and procreation, yet as both a doctor and a Latin speaker he could not have been mistaken by the meaning of coitus. Yet he doesn't elaborate any further but instead exemplifies the confession he makes in his preface that while he has been 'entirely truthful' about his sexual and love life, 'the record is incomplete.'
His examples of sexual talk amongst the boys in the village are surprising and somewhat out of place with the rest of his narrative. Are there unconscious or deliberately subliminal clues between the lines? The need to use sexualised language is both a strategy to seek power, and an attention seeking tool and may also fulfil a need for sexual stimulus, not uncommon amongst those who were themselves abused as children. He recounts early memories of his welsh speaking 'servant' who acted as a nurse and who was responsible for giving him a not unusual childhood fear of Hell and two words for his penis; 'she taught me two words to designate the male organ,

one for it in a flaccid state, the other in an erect.' He adds, 'It was an opulence of vocabulary I have not encountered since' (p.30). Whether these words were in Welsh or English is unclear but his own use of opulence, meaning great abundance or profusion, could be regarded as contrived in this context. Was he playing with the reader?

In a letter to Freud, dated 14th October 1913, (Paskauskas, 1985) Jones refers to his 'unhappy childhood', of which there is not really a suggestion in his autobiography. It would seem that the years had enabled him to reframe his childhood into professionally tuned recounts. He does make reference to bullying, particularly at Llandovery College and, as in his home town, he refers to the language of the boys at the college as 'obscene'. He claimed that apart from 'mild affairs' homosexuality had no serious vogue in the school and that there was no pederastia and mutual masturbation was strongly frowned upon (p.40). In his unpublished thesis, Paskauskas (1985) notes that 'Jones' self analysis revealed a particularly strong homosexual component which had been more deeply repressed than the heterosexual one in his psychological development' (p.303). The 'mild affairs' may have had more significance had he not either suppressed the memory or been so troubled by his religious and sexual guilt. He uses some bizarre turns of phrase which don't seem to be attributable to the time or culture, but it is important not to forget that he was a psychoanalyst and a man skilled in swaying other's ideas and emotions. There is a danger however, in responding to his text in a predictable way, poring over the sexual references and drawing out inferences like a youthful self with a borrowed copy of Lady Chatterley's Lover.

With regards to his formative relationships, Paskauskas (1985) notes that contemporary psychoanalytical theory would suggest that Jones 'experienced an unconscious identification with his mother'. Jones also refers to his mother in his letters to Freud and mentions her as featuring in his dreams. Jones' own account suggests some passive aggression towards his mother and perhaps relevant to the time, he also diminishes the extent of her role. He mentions that his mother had rheumatic fever when he was three months old and that that had 'disturbed [their] intimacy' and consequently she fed him on 'patented and well advertised milk foods'. He seems to lay blame on her for his 'puny and ailing' demeanour and his 'not very happy disposition', due to his claims of vitamin deficiency. Did he feel aggrieved that he was 'torn from the breast too soon?' He continues;

> A mother's influence, though more profound, is less tangible. My mother's influence over me did not continue much beyond the age of eight, and it made no direct contribution to my intellectual development, whereas my father's certainly did – between the age of eight and thirteen. She was a most tender and affectionate mother, and completely devoted to me (Jones 1959, p.26).

Jones argues that he had good attachments to his parents and regarded himself as 'a bond of union between them', even though he goes to great lengths later to describe their love match (p.13). Yet in describing himself constantly at the centre of everything and everyone, it seems clear that his attachments, whilst perhaps emotionally intense, did little to equip him to move beyond an egocentric stage. He may have fought with his father several times and dismissed his achievements with disarming praise; 'I found his conversation less and less interesting, whereas in my childhood it had been inspiring' (p.25), but his seeming need to rehearse an Oedipal conflict with Freud, throughout his early adult life, suggests that he had many unresolved issues with his parents and from his childhood. His ability to write his narrative as he wished his life had been is, at least, consistent.

6.4 Personal Correspondence

It would appear that the same qualities that attracted people to Jones were also an outlet for his deepest flaws; his quick wit and eloquent use of language, his mercurial nature, his passion, ambition and intelligence. When these qualities were turned towards you, they were seductive, engaging and encompassing, but when turned against you they became acidic. To these characteristics can be added a number of others, which did not have an inverse-positive. He has variously been described as; narcissistic, arrogant, emotionally detached, autocratic, controlling, and potentially abusive. A combination that can be found in many powerful people, including politicians. The drive needed to make sustainable change, the manipulation required to bring disparate personalities, egos and professional etiquettes together and share in a vision; the barriers to communication that had to be overcome across several languages and cultures; and the arrogance essential to persist in bringing the teachings and ideas of essentially one man to many, in the face of criticism and derision; Jones possessed all of these and more and succeeded in bringing psychoanalysis to the English speaking world and achieving a prominence for the new science that it held by the time of Freud's death in 1939. I am not going to write here about the vital relationship that Jones had with Freud as there are so many excellent

papers and biographies that cover this. Perhaps, as I've tried to illustrate throughout, the best way to uncover their relationship is through their correspondence, which Paskauskus (1985 and 1993) spent many years editing and cross referencing. I cannot add to that work, but I can develop more views of Jones through some of his other correspondence.

For example, Melanie Klein's letter to Jones, following the Jubilee dinner at The Savoy sums up his achievements well.

11th March 1939

My dear Dr Jones,

Now that the official celebration is over, I would like to tell you what I personally feel at this occasion.

We all who are identified with Psycho-analysis and more especially with Psycho-analysis in England, owe you so much that it seems futile to try to express one's gratitude in words. What you have done for the development of theory and the growth of our science will endure for always;-that is to say if Psycho-analysis survives. If it does, it will again largely be due to your efforts and achievements. You have created the movement in England and carried it through innumerable difficulties and hardships to its present position. You have for years wisely guided the International through troubled times. And it is owing to you that Psycho-Analysis and its future is now centralised in London.

Now, I want to thank you for your personal friendship, and for your help and encouragement in what is of infinitely greater importance to us both, than personal feelings, - namely our work. I shall never forget that is [sic] was you who brought me to England and made it possible for me to carry out, and develop, my work in spite of all opposition.

Lastly I would like to tell you how deeply gratified I am by the appreciation of my work which you expressed on Wednesday night. There again it is not only a case of personal gratification, I have heard from a number of people whose work you esteem that they feel greatly encouraged by what you have said about my work and I know your words will also prove helpful to all those who look to you for guidance at a critical time for Psycho-Analysis.

Wishing you continued success and personal happiness in the future and with kindest regards

Yours truly, Melanie Klein.

But even this letter is not without political significance, as Klein was keen to encourage Jones onto her side in the impending split between Anna Freud and herself. Jones in fact did a diplomatic job of steering a course mostly through the middle over the next few years of dissonance, but he was certainly not averse to playing the two women off against each other.

Jones' tactic was to tell each of the adversaries that he was on her side. On 21st January 1942 he wrote to Anna Freud to assure her that she was wrong to think he had no faith in her judgement. On the contrary, he said: although Mrs Klein had forcibly called attention to 'the existence of such mechanisms as introjection and projection at an earlier age than was generally believed possible…she has neither a scientific nor an orderly mind, and her presentations are lamentable'. He called Klein neurotic, with a tendency to be 'verrannt' – that is stubbornly attached to her views. On the very same day, writing to Klein, Jones described Anna as 'an indigestible morsel'. She has no pioneering originality' (Maddox 2006, p.247).

It is easy to read these letters seventy years later and to make a judgement that Jones was disingenuous in the way he writes to the women, but it *is* possible to hold two differing, but not incompatible, views about a close colleague and letters were used as a form of conversation, saying one thing to one and another thing to an other; liking someone, but not averse to criticising them to someone else. However, there is some quite compelling evidence that Jones quite frequently tried to control others through his communications and so he may have quite consciously flattered the recipient whilst criticising others as a deliberate tactic.

A letter from Edith Eder is interesting, not so much for the nature of the relationship that it alludes to, but for the implications it raises about the content of the original letter that Jones sent to prompt this reply. In this excerpt from a letter dated 6th April 1914, Eder appears to retaliate in response to Jones' words. It is important to note that Edith was a close friend with a keen interest in psychoanalysis, shortly before she was to undergo an analysis with Jung, but she was also the wife of a colleague, of whom Jones had a life long professional and personal jealousy.

> Finally, as to what you've said of myself [and if you feel this is taking an unfair advantage, making rather your abhorred "scene" on paper, I'll remind you that you haven't got to show "Christ-like patience" or explain anything: you've but to read, damn gently +fling t. letter to t. flames.] I was horribly hurt + raging at first,

> spłent a sleepless night + wretched day: I wonder if you realise what a thing it is you've implied? – how bitter to hear? In my fatuity I had actually thought t. relationship between us was something rather worth having, that inspite of the very big difficulties inherent in the situation, we had managed to establish something sure and creative. I recognised fully that it meant much more to me that you – I, for instance, would have liked to have talked ψa about once a week with you, I have v. much to ask + learn) but we can't expect equal friendships any more than equal loves + I took v. gladly what you cld give me. I realised you ha~~v~~ed some grudge or inhibition agst me always, but that it was of this bitterness, that you see me as a kind of wild beast–like thing, pleasant + entertaining + clever perhaps, but never to be trusted not to turn and spring + tear round(?) – of that I had not t. faintest suspicion + I curse my own stupidity.

Eder's choice of words would suggest that Jones had sent an equally demanding, and potentially frustrated, letter. Earlier in the same letter Eder suggests that Jones has felt knocked back and queried her view of him as a 'successful lover', although this seems to be in relation to his common law wife at the time, Lina, and not to Edith as others have implied. However, this letter and other letters from both Edith and Joan Riviere are remarkably impassioned for women with whom Jones claimed not to have had sexual relations. Perhaps it is the temptation not the consummation that elicits such emotion.

Riviere writes to Jones in a letter dated Oct 12th 1919, that he was 'irresistible to women, meeting them on their own ground' and continues dramatically, 'how many times will you kill me Bluebeard, I shall always love you. I want you to be happy, yes, with *her*' (Brome 1982, p.119) There is a large amount of correspondence that remains from Riviere to Jones, much of which is stream of consciousness and although she professes love, there is dispute as to whether there was an affair between them. Hughes (1999, p.11) states that Riviere 'experienced a deep transference love for Jones into which she seemed to have no insight, and apparently she was not helped to find it.' There was certainly transference and counter transference and the boundaries were blurred, but Jones was not the only psychoanalyst to confuse the analyst/analysand relationship.

Jones' mercurial nature is exemplified in a correspondence with Barbara Low, Edith Eder's sister. This set of correspondence relates to an article that a newspaper published on 5th February 1922. *Lloyd's Sunday News* had interviewed Barbara Low

and asked her to proof read the article, prior to publication, but not before final editing. The press cutting reveals that the journalist had given prominence to the role of David Eder in the early development of psychoanalysis in England. Barbara Low may have been contacted for the article as she was librarian to the British Psychoanalytical Society at the time, but she was also well connected socially and, more crucially to this illustration of Jones, she was Edith Eder's sister, (and consequently David Eder's sister in law).

The post at this time could be sent and arrive at its destination within an hour or so across a city such as London and it would appear that two letters went back and forth on the Sunday (12.02.22), followed by Low's reply on the 13th, Jones' more placatory reply on the 14th and a follow up letter from Low on the Friday (17.02.22)

Low writes to Jones on 12th February with a copy of the article and excuses herself for it not having more about the society and the journal.

Jones responds;

Feb. 12th 1922

Dear Barbara,

When you insisted so strongly, and as I now recall, so uneasily that I shouldn't like your interview in Lloyd's I innocently thought it was because you were not satisfied with the account of Psa. I thought no more about the matter till one day this week I got the following letter from a poor woman in Derby. "As I cannot find Dr Eder's address will you please tell me if you are a pupil of his for I read in Lloyd's that you are this year the President of the society for carrying out his work". Being curious to know what could have given her this impression, I ordered a copy.

I found that the only book on Psa mentioned in the article was one that did not even profess to deal with the subject, being an account of treatment of shell-shock by hypnotism. Until the last paragraph in the second column no name was mentioned in connection with Psa, and then only mine, except someone whom no one but yourself would dream of regarding as a leader of the movement, and of whom it is even a question whether in sober truth he has not hindered it more than he ever helped it.

That Freud's name is not mentioned throughout may possibly be the fault of the interviewer, though I understand that you corrected the proofs

yourself, but the facts I have just quoted and the prominence given to them evidently come from another source. The two comments that occur to me are these: such fantastic unmanageability of your family complexes must not only prove a serious hindrance to your analytic capacity, but evidently blind you to the effects you produce, which can even be the opposite to what you otherwise wish. And secondly, what the Society must think ought to be obvious even to your blindness, so that you are acting seriously against David's interests in any future relationship he may wish to establish in the analytical world…

The opening line of Jones' reply, reproduced above, appears to refer to a conversation with Low some time before and given that it is unlikely that he would not have sought a copy, at point of publication, of an article he knew to be imminent, and given that he is reacting to Low's passive-aggressive letter, I can only speculate on the existence of the 'poor woman from Derby'.

The next day (13.02.22), Barbara sends him an emotional and mainly defensive response, which had been written the evening before on receipt of Jones' letter. Although Low is defiant in places, it is clear she must have written to Lloyds already for a retraction/amendment.

13 Guildford Street
WC1
Monday night
[12.02.22]

I have just had your letter _ I can hardly trust myself to answer it now _ only I feel I must ask you whether you mean deliberately to make an attack on myself, + David. Your letter is inexplicable otherwise. I should like, if you give your permission (I cannot, of course, do so without) to show the letter to David, for he went through a good deal of the proof with me, + so did Edith, and felt that it was the best we could make of it. It is true that various things, after that, were dropped out (as I have already said in my letter of to-day to you) about the Sociey, Press, + Journal, but that hardly affects what you raise in your letter. David did not read the reference to himself, I should add. I am responsible for that

I shall be glad if you will let me know about this + also what is the opinion of the Society_if any of the members have yet read the Article.

Barbara

Jones then writes back on the Tuesday in a completely different manner, even though he had a carbon copy of his original letter and must have realised that it was perfectly possible to construe his letter as an attack.

42 York Terrace, N.W.1.
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxx[16]
Feb. 14th 1922

Dear Barbara,

You must be in a greater muddle over the matter than I thought if you could possibly construe my letter as an attack of any sort. It was intended in the most friendly way to draw you attention to an excessive subjectivity which, for personal reasons, you evidently did not recognise. I was also concerned lest you should in such ways further injure David's interests.

I need hardly say that my letter was intended for you alone, and I should be sorry if you made matters still worse by showing it to anyone else.

I think it would be a good idea to discuss your resolution before the associate members, but I do not see how this could be done at the beginning of the meeting in the presence of strangers, and also with a strange guest being kept waiting.

Yours

Friday, Low writes again, still worried that she has upset the 'society' and wanting to meet to discuss. Given that many other references suggest that Jones' style was autocratic, it is probably valid to infer that Low did not want to upset Jones in particular. Out of fear or affection, (or a mixture of both), it is difficult to say.

What is surprisingly well illustrated by these examples is Jones' mercurial change of mood; his ability to 'reframe' events that did not suit his perception of himself, or his vision of how he wished those events to have been and his narcissism which compelled him to keep this revelatory correspondence, with the article attached to the papers, including the carbon copies of the letters he sent.

[16] The crosses on his letter dated 14th Feb 1922 presumably covering up the address on the headed paper he used, which does not show up on the carbon. He may have been using up old headed paper (he only moved to York Terrace in 1921), although it seems unlikely he wouldn't have had new headed paper printed. It may be that he wanted to underline that he no longer thought the matter worthy of best paper. The first letter he wrote appears to have been on blank paper, although as we only see the carbon, it may be his new headed paper was an address at the top centre of the page.

Interestingly, Low was one of the most regular house guests to sign the Visitors' book at the Platt. She spent several days at the house most years between 1921 and 1929 including over the New Year break in 1922. There is very little correspondence from Low, but her relationship with Jones would appear to be nearly as complex as the relationship her sister, Edith, had with him. From Katherine's letters to Jones in 1920 and in 1924 it is reasonable to assume that the friendship is not between Low and Jones' wife. On 4.9.20 Kitty writes to Jones in London, 'I am rather against inviting Barbara to come here. When? Just when you came back after a long absence and want to tell me a lot without any witness…I am getting to see through her little ways' (Brome 1982, p.140). And later on 6th August 1924, Mrs Jones writes to her husband again, 'Barbara gets more impossible and never learns from experience' (p.162). We don't have a record of how Jones writes to Katherine about Barbara. There is a surprising lack of correspondence between Low and Jones amongst his papers in the Institute of Psychoanalysis' archives. When I asked about this, the archivist, Joanne Halford, told me that Jones was in the habit of burning and destroying letters when he fell out with someone. In a letter to Freud dated 14th October 1913 (Paskauskas, 1985) Jones reveals this painful therapeutic process of revelation, reflection, destruction and renewal, which he began after his short analysis with Ferenczi.

> I am completely engrossed these days in the emotional task of arranging, or destroying, masses of old letters, documents, etc. It is painful work, for it unrolls in a pitiless way the story of my past life, which is far from being altogether agreeable. It is a story of much turmoil and turbulence; an unhappy childhood followed by ten years of uninterrupted success, and now gradually settling down to a more substantial basis where, shorn of many illusions, I trust it will enable me to do something sufficiently worth while to justify myself.

6.5 Professional correspondence

It is interesting to reflect first on the tangled nature of diplomacy and the degree of manipulation that the successful engagement of disparate parties requires. In describing Jones as 'manipulative', it is important to consider that manipulation is an essential skill in persuasion and in winning over hearts and minds at this early point of a new science in a sceptical western world. But I also use the word in the knowledge that there are negative connotations, which seems appropriate given the seemingly collective view of Jones' need to control, by those who worked with him, such as Joan Riviere and James and Alix Strachey. In correspondence the Stracheys refer to Jones

as autocratic in several places and are generally quite dismissive and often mocking of him, for example in discussing her brother in law, Lytton's depressive nature and the need to seek analysis Alix writes to James in February 1925;

> What you say about Lytton is rather grim. Why have his symptoms got worse…It's impossible to think of him wrestling with Dr Sachs on the sofa – no, no. Or Jones? – no, *no*, NO (Meisel and Kendrick 1986, p.199).

In published extracts of memoirs, Karin and Adrian Stephen's daughter refers to Jones as the 'virtual dictator of psychoanalysis and describes how her mother never forgave Jones for insisting that she and Adrian undertook medical training, even though she agreed it was extremely useful to her in later life when she moved to the United States (Rosenbaum 1995, p.381). These opinions have to be put in the context of class and a sense of intellectual superiority that many of the Bloomsbury crowd held towards Jones. His high graded qualifications were seemingly unimpressive to Cambridge graduates, such as Strachey and Stephen.

Writing in 1985, John Bowlby recalls Jones amongst other psychoanalysts. It is important to recognise that Bowlby was elderly when he wrote these notes, but he was recalling events he witnessed as a relatively young and junior member of the British Psychoanalytical Society in the late 1930s when many of the members were in their fifties or older. Acknowledging his contribution to the Society he wrote of Jones,

> I never warmed to Ernest Jones who struck me as a rather dried-up character. When in the chair at meetings he would show his disagreement with a speaker by a scowl. Rather surprisingly he took virtually no part in the lectures and seminars given to students in the mid-thirties. On one occasion only we had a clinical seminar at his house, and he is the only analyst I have ever heard advocate that the analyst be a white sheet. And I gathered that with some patients he said virtually nothing.

One anonymous source's recollection would be at odds with the 'blank sheet' view however. In a conversation with her father in the 1960's, the lady's father revealed that he had benefited from psychoanalysis with Ernest Jones. He told her that although there had only been a few meetings, Jones had explained (or helped him understand), some things about himself that had bothered him. In hindsight, the woman wishes she had asked more questions, but she recalls that her impression was that Jones had not

been 'a blank sheet'. As she added, ‘In any case in a few meetings nothing would be achieved if the analyst did the blank sheet thing’.

A good example of Jones as professional manipulator however, is in his correspondence with Dr Charles Payne. In the winter of 1911/12 Payne had travelled from New York State to stay in Toronto with his family, so that he could have analysis with Jones. The letters in the archives of the Institute of Psychoanalysis show a range of emotion and phases that Payne appears to go through as he moves beyond his analysis. The three letters dated April 1912, refer to a large cheque that he has sent to Jones in payment, the Titanic disaster and enquiries after Jones ‘wife’, who had clearly been suffering ‘symptoms’ that were impacting on her mental health[17]. In the first letter he writes that Jones had been mentioned in a ‘modern American play’ about a double personality. There is little doubt that Jones would have enjoyed that reference.

Payne’s early letters are rich with transference. His outpourings of thanks and devotion to Jones are effusive and cover many pages in a loose handwritten script. An example of his style of expression can be found in a letter dated 26th April 1912;

> If you will make people feel so well you must expect to get lots of letters telling of their increased enjoyment of life…I hardly know where to begin to describe my continued improvement, it is all so wonderful and so good. My wife says it is like a miracle, I am so different…From being a confirmed pessimist I seem to be becoming a confirmed optimist. My moods, from being as changeable as the wind are becoming fixed in a continuous cheerful self-confident almost aggressive attitude which lasts from the time I awaken until I go to sleep at night. The old dissociation seems to have gone completely with a consequent change in my whole attitude toward life. From being afraid to say my soul was my own, I now go ahead and do things with a zest and enthusiasm.

It is clear that Payne perceives himself as having genuinely recovered from a long bout of depression and was able to recognise the differences in himself now, compared with his previous state. Contemporary thoughts might be that these are examples of a high state as part of a bi-polar condition, but there is not enough evidence to suggest that Payne had recurrences of his depression. Blurring the relationship between analysis

[17] Loe Kann, who began a common law relationship with Jones in London in 1906 and went with him to Toronto as his Mrs Jones. Jones told his parents, amongst others, that they were married, whilst seeming to flaunt the illegitimacy of their relationship to other people. Kann was at this time in a poor state of mental health and eventually Jones asks Freud to help her.

and professional interaction, as was common for many at the time, including Freud, later letters from Payne suggest that Jones had asked Payne to translate a number of papers. There is then a gap in correspondence until 1914, when the letters are more business like. In it he lets Jones know that he has been offered translations from Jelliffe, a physician and psychoanalyst who had begun publishing periodicals and articles in New York. It is unlikely that Payne would not have been aware that Jones would have seen Jelliffe as a rival, but this may be a way of him making a move to establish himself away from a dependency on Jones, or it may be because he is reacting to something Jones has done.

There does seem to be a pattern that Jones has trouble maintaining equanimity in his relationships. It may be difficult to judge what the letters infer about Jones however, as the very fact that many of his correspondents were in analysis, suggests that there was an emotional fragility about them anyhow.[18] However, it may be that he pushed people away as they came too close, or as he began to feel himself getting close to them, but that he then tries to pull them back to him when he feels he is losing them, (this type of behaviour now might be attributed to attachment difficulties). This would account for the changing nature of much of his correspondence, including with Freud. Another account may lie in Jones' controlling nature, which meant that he needed to position himself by word, and deed, in control of who was doing what, who was publishing what, and who was translating what. If he felt others were challenging that role he became quite sharp and petulant.

In the published letters of Alix and James Strachey, (Meisel and Kendrick, 1986), there are several references to their view of Jones, but there is a particularly apt comment in one letter dated 10th January 1925 which refers to discussions about setting up a Clinic. James Strachey writes, '…Rickman and Glover are both evidently keen on the subject; and Jones deadly indifferent – according to R. because he sees that the days of his autocracy are numbered'. James Strachey, (brother of Lytton) and his wife Alix were life long translators of Freud's work. Like many of the Bloomsbury set they were intellectually stimulating but physically lethargic and so although there are letters in which they mock Jones they are bound to him and reliant on him for his vigour and tenacity to make their translations appear in print. Alix and James were notably absent

[18] Payne, for example, writes to Jones about his own practice and patients and in a letter in March 1914, he writes; 'I thought I had one coming form N.Y. but with the characteristic uncertainty of neurotic patients, he did something else' (26/03/14).

from the dinner. It is hard to imagine that Jones didn't invite them (indeed it is unlikely that Woolf and Grant would have turned up had there been a snub to one of their own), but the Stracheys turned up their own noses at what they might have seen as Jones' posturing in the public eye. Although Jones undoubtedly used the evening to demonstrate on an international stage, the point to which he had brought British Psychoanalysis, the Stracheys would have been wrong if they thought such a feat would have happened by osmosis. Bloomsbury was deliberately confined and defined. Many heard of the term, but it was exclusive to those in the set. Jones enabled psychoanalysis not only to be disseminated across many spheres of influence but experienced by many, rich and poor. Both the Institute of Psychoanalysis and the Medico-Psycho clinics were proud of their pro-bono work. Whether this extended to the deprived poor or just the poor upper classes is less clear.

Returning to correspondence from Dr Payne, this resumes briefly on 11th November 1914 when Payne begins to assert his opinions and argues with Jones on his manipulating of the American Psychoanalytical Society and their interest in Jung. It is clear from the text that Jones had tried to outmanoeuvre Abraham Brill, President of the New York Psychoanalytical Society and translator of Freud's work in U.S. at this time, by asking Payne to translate Freud's 'article for the Review'. Payne bluntly refuses. By the end of the month Freud had received Payne's letter asking if he could translate the article. Freud said yes but to liaise with Brill. Payne asks Brill and Brill says no because he was Freud's 'exclusive translator'. Payne writes to Freud thanking him for the honour, but saying Brill won't allow him. I read these letters as a real insight into Jones the manipulator who was well away from the touch-paper, when the firework is lit; except that the plan appears to backfire. On 28th November 1914 Payne writes, almost as an afterthought – 'One thing more about the Freud article. Freud said in his letter that he had heard that you had offered the translation to the P/A Review; this he said seemed to him "unbelievable" '. Payne would have known the impact of this sentence on Jones. In the last letter of Payne's which Jones kept, dated 21st January 1916, Payne is more conciliatory. Still attributing his self confidence and business confidence to Jones, he writes about the death of his father and how his father had been a topic of his psychoanalysis. Was this finally closure on Jones as well as on his father?

Some good examples of Jones in his political role as President of the International Psychoanalytical Association, playing out his roles as conciliator, controller, manager and diplomat are found in the correspondence between members of the New York

Psychoanalytical Society, Eitingon in Jerusalem, Bibring and Anna Freud in Vienna and Jones in London, following a dispute over the reporting of the 1936 Marienbad Congress in 1937. The details are included as an Appendix J.

Freud and his followers in 1922, online image

Some of the most important insights into Jones' jealous (and zealous) control of his position within the International movement are found in the Rundbriefe, an open letter to the group, and in his correspondence with Freud. Initially five members, at Jones' suggestion, Freud had gathered his inner circle, or secret committee around his ideas, each in possession [illegible] 1922 there were seven members, (left to right and front to back in the photograph); Freud, Ferenczi, Sachs, Rank, Abrahams, Eitingon and Jones. The Rundbriefe began as a means of focussing on psychoanalysis as a movement and were intended to include local developments, training information, press attention and news relating to their Societies. It is easy to focus on how this group and their correspondence failed to meet its intentions. The doctors used the Rundbriefe all too frequently to complain to all about one, venting their frustrations or annoyance. Freud wrote to Jones in 1922 thanking him for making his letters more 'kind and considerate', but later in the year accused him of 'bad management and inability to get on with people', (Maddox 206, p.174), Freud demonstrating that he could also be curt and discourteous in his pursuit of honesty. But these letters need to be taken in the context of time. The committee's correspondence was the regular means of communication, overcoming barriers of distance, language, culture and experience. It is surprising to read letters in which people write as a stream of consciousness, as a written form of the way they spoke, but because of that, we get a chance to see how Jones may have communicated beyond the page, flitting from sharp words to cajoling praise, to tender or empathetic phrase. The committee used the Rundbriefe as an ongoing conversation, voicing criticisms and celebrating successes, which if it had happened orally, would have been of the moment and not used to reflect negatively on the nature of the communication. Set in the context of time, the need to overcome harsh criticism from without and the competitive protectionism of ideas that were being taken in new directions by former colleagues, such as Jung, the Inner Circle demonstrates an etiquette of collegiality that was unusual if not unique. It could be argued that the conflicts played out in the Rundbriefe were an important dynamic that was needed to succeed and in retrospect the committee proved effective in ensuring the primacy of Freudian ideas during the

first half of the twentieth century in the Western world and in securing the place of psychoanalysis today. There is interesting symbolism and metaphor about the way in which the group operated, and the secrecy and devotion lent an almost religious fervour to the movement, which was important in its early establishment. Jones' understood the need for these demonstrations of power and the significance of this becomes apparent in an examination of his choice of venue for the jubilee dinner.

An interesting and relevant example of his need to place himself at the historical heart of everything is in Jones' assertion that he attended one of the opening nights of the Mikado at The Savoy. He states that he was nine when the family stayed in Bloomsbury and made their theatre trip. The Mikado opened to rave revues in March 1885, when Jones would have been six. It was perhaps this early association that Jones made between The Savoy and glamour, high society and enhanced social capital that meant that the Lancaster Ballroom at The Savoy was the obvious choice for Jones when organising the Jubilee dinner. Even in these difficult and dark days when the onset of war was a reality, there was an additional kudos for Jones in demonstrating that he could throw caution to the wind and host a glittering collection of like minds at this dinner. I imagine he took great pride in the detail. There is a back of a menu with a scribbled list of drinks and cigarettes, and a tally for the bar-tab that may well have been Jones calculation on the night. In the same archive at the Institute of Psychoanalysis there is a list of B.P.A.S. members, with ticks by the side of their names. Was this used by Jones or Kitty as they sent the invitations out? It is fascinating to hold these originals making my own connection with the evening in question.

6.6 Conclusion

It is a difficulty for the auto/biographical researcher that so many details can be known about a subject and yet in reassembling these facts and impressions, it is a cubist image that emerges. A complex, changeable, driven character; the impressions left us by Jones' peers, lovers, analysands and family seem almost designed to confuse. Is this what he would have wanted? I think the fact that people are still aware of him more than a hundred years after he founded the British Psychoanalytical Society and that he is remembered with both hostility and admiration would have appealed to his vanity and ego.

There is so much more mystery than I can write here; his complex relationship with Freud, his treatment of Loe Kann, his first marriage to Morfydd Owen and his involvement in her tragic death, his professional relationships and their intricacies and intrigues, his relationship with the early American Psychoanalysts and his involvement in Jung's break off from Freud. But from each of these, the interpretation of the evidence is almost always ambiguous, on account of that melange of 'super goodness and underhandedness'. Jones had a prodigious energy and an almost unseemly resilience that must have impacted on the feelings and emotions of those who were in contact with him.

It has been impossible not to get emotionally involved with Jones over the months of research; I frequently found myself reading or writing with distaste for the man, before finding myself in awe of what he had achieved. Like Riviere and Eder before me, is it possible I was experiencing some transference for Jones across the years?

As a psychoanalyst, skilled in tactical manoeuvering and diplomacy, Jones could well have been aware of the trails he was leaving in his wake. Had he made conscious decisions about which letters and articles he would keep and which he should destroy? Had he hoped to keep his own memory alive by promoting himself as an unanswered puzzle? Or, perhaps, like so many people who claim to know themselves, he was never brave enough to reveal an unguarded consciousness. Instead he may have been distracted by complex relationships and desires that only revealed his manifest characteristics. Perhaps he had developed so many layers that the origins of his traits and personality remained hidden in his unconscious mind. For the purposes of this prosopography however, it has been important to establish the character of the man without whom the Jubilee dinner would perhaps never have taken place and, potentially, without Jones Freud would not still be in a collective Western consciousness.

Chapter 7
Barbara Low

1874-1955*

> I of course, was in no way a Pioneer. When the first little Group was formed, of about 6 or 7 Doctors, under leadership of Dr. Jones, I was one of them, the only woman. Then by degrees it expanded into the P.A. Society – for a long time I was the only Jew in it![19] The little bit of "Pioneering" I did was to write the 1st small Text-Book on P.A. ("P.A, a Brief Outline of the Freudian Theory") which had a good deal of success, + Freud approved of it.
> (Low to Nehls, 11th Sept. 1955, Low's underlines)

Barbara Low: a section from the official photograph of the Jubilee dinner, 8th March 1939, courtesy of the Institute of Psychoanalysis

According to her obituary (Franklin, 1956) Barbara Low was born 78 years prior to her death in 1955. The register of her death also records her birth as being 1877, but there appeared to be little trace of a birth record matching her name or estimated year of birth. In addition, the family appeared to have stopped completing the census return after 1871, leaving no evidence of Barbara at this time[20]. Even her elder brother's biography, *The Lost Historian: a memoir of Sir Sydney Low*, (Chapman-Huston, 1936), gave no mention of the youngest two girls by name, even though they had both achieved status and acknowledgement in their own fields by this time. However, as a postscript to my initial research, a chance reference in Sir Sidney Low's original diary gave a clue to Barbara's name at birth, enabling me to find her birth certificate in the name of Alice Leonora Low, born 29th July 1874.

The children's father, Maximillian Low, had come to England, having fought as part of the 1848 attempt at revolution in Hungary. His wife, Therese, joined him in 1855 from Austria, where he had gone to ask for her hand from her father, a rabbi. Thereafter a child was born every two years, until Barbara arrived in 1877. According to Chapman-Huston, "Eighteen seventy eight was a bad year for the Low family. Maximilian lost

[19] As David Eder was also a founder member and secretary of the London Pscyho-Analytical Society, Low must be referring to the period when Eder stopped attending, with others, when he became more influenced by Jung than Freud.
[20] Census data for England for the family; 1851, 1861 and1871, prior to the birth of Edith or Barbara.
*See list of errata, p.ii

everything he possessed" (p.42). The family went from having a large house with servants, important friends and good education to a very different life. The family dissolved as the older boys all went their separate ways, either to America, or left education to find work. For Edith and Barbara, the 'good old days' would have only come from family narratives, with no first hand experience and their father never seemed to recover the energy he had needed to become so successful in the City in his youth. Chapman-Huston suggests there was something 'unstable' about Maximilian, an inability to 'stay the course'. If this wasn't enough to leave some lasting impressions on Edith and Barbara in particular, then their mother died in 1886, when they were just eleven and nine years old respectively. It is reasonable to speculate that following the loss of their mother, it was the older sisters who took on the care of the younger children and the brothers who probably took on the financial support for them. The eldest child, Marie Anne, didn't marry until she was forty one; no coincidence perhaps that Barbara was then twenty years old and coming of age. Florence, who was ten years older than Barbara, would remain close to her youngest sister throughout their life and they lived out their last years together, with Florence outliving Barbara by a year. However these arrangements were decided, the education of the younger girls would appear to have been as important to the remaining family, as it was when they had greater means. Barbara went to Mary Buss' Collegiate School for Girls in Camden, a pioneering school run by a suffragist, and she then went on to University College, London. Her obituary, written by Marjorie Franklin who would have known her well as an 'older stateswoman' of psychoanalysis, when she joined the B.P.A.S. in the 1920s, highlights her career; teacher training at Maria Grey Training College, teaching at a girls' schools and then at Hackney Downs School for Boys during WW1. She then went on to lecture at the L.C.C. Training College for Teachers at Fulham, on education, history and literature. Late in her life she wrote to Nehls;

> "…about the only thing I've ever been able to do successfully is Lecturing, + that I have really enjoyed – but not the Writing I have done except Reviewing." (Low to Nehls,16th Feb. 1954).

As with many of her comments in this important set of letters, the tone seems unduly self deprecating, but taken in the context of the reflections of a youngest child, measuring herself against the achievements of her siblings, such modesty becomes more understandable. She doesn't say she hasn't done pioneering things, she just doesn't grade them as remarkable. All of the Low children were quite outstanding in their own right, most of them in areas that involved loquaciousness and audacity. Two

of her brothers were knighted for their services to the country, in spite of their Anglo-Jewish background, and the recent disgrace of their émigré father. It seems that Barbara wasn't a spoilt youngest child, instead she was overlooked and expected to keep up. Her elder siblings were all driven and pioneering, both girls and boys, but it is reasonable to speculate that Edith and Barbara shared the ambitions of their family, they had just arrived at a different point in the fortunes of their parents and at a time therefore, when it was less likely that the structure of the home was able to offer nurture and consistency. Letters from both Edith and Barbara available in the Institute of Psychoanalysis archives, allude to some fragility of emotions, but as both letters are to Ernest Jones, it could just be that Jones had the effect of making those close to him feel drawn to him, whilst also feeling deeply frustrated and consequently less articulate than they may have wanted to be.[21] Other examples of letters, and some responses to Barbara's letters, also offer a range of ideas about her personality and character, as I will illustrate later in the chapter.

Like Marjorie Franklin, John Bowlby first knew Barbara Low through the B.P.A.S., in the 1930s when he was a young man. In 1985, (when he was a lot older than Low was at the time on which he reflects), Bowlby wrote his *Notes on members of the British PA Society 1935-1945*. His thoughts on Low were as follows,

> Miss Low was an old-stager, small, elderly and energetic, much concerned to publicise psychoanalysis in educational circles, though I thought her missionary zeal a little simplistic at times. She frequently spoke at meetings, sometimes for rather too long.
>
> Assertive in the defence of Anna Freud and Viennese group, she was outspoken but not given to personal attacks. It was always apparent that she had the interests of psychoanalysis at heart.

From her correspondence with a number of people, it is clear that Barbara had a skill of putting herself at the heart of things generally; an instinct for the zeitgeist perhaps. As she stated in her letter to Nehls (at the beginning of the chapter), she was in at the start of the British psychoanalytical movement. It is unclear whether she met Jones through her association with David Eder, who was her sister Edith's second husband and at the time a close friend and colleague of Jones (Ellesley, 2004), but it is also possible that Low made these connections in her own right. Low trained with Hans Sachs in Berlin,

[21] See chapter on Jones for details of both letters.

in common with other analysts at the dinner, Sylvia Payne, Alice and Michael Balint, Eric Haas and Ella Freeman Sharpe, but was potentially more important to the field of psychoanalysis for the work she did to promote and provide for the society, than for her skills as a psychoanalyst.[22] Low's contribution to the psychoanalytical movement seems to be overshadowed by figures such as Melanie Klein and Joan Riviere, but her accomplishments would appear to have helped establish psychoanalysis firmly in English culture. For example, her status as a founder member and only female perhaps helped to persuade Jones of the authenticity of non medical psychoanalysts. Her authorship of the first publication in English to explain Freud's ideas, *Psychoanalysis: A Brief Account of the Freudian Theory (*1920) was approved by Freud and did much to promote the ideas to a wider audience. In the foreword Jones acknowledges her accomplishment in explaining the 'new science' 'fairly and straightforwardly'. Low (1920, p.10) explains that her wish to write the book was because so many of the translated works were inaccessible. She makes a clear distinction for readers about the use of the term Psycho-analysis as a term 'bestowed by Freud upon his own theory and practice', and not a term to be used by those who have 'developed on different lines'.

It was Barbara Low who named Freud's theory to describe the innate regressive drive for stasis, in order to relieve tension, the 'Nirvana principle', which Freud then adopted and a term which is still in use today. Her lectures were popular and reached a wide audience and her role as librarian to the B.P.A.S. established the very beginnings of a collection that remains important today, (King, P & Steiner, R. 1992, frontpages). She was a director of Imago publishing company and the University of Texas in Austin, holds a collection of letters spanning nearly thirty years between Low and John Rodker, a poet and publisher, who set up Imago and over twelve years produced translations of Freud's works that had been left behind in Vienna and destroyed. Alongside Anna Freud, it seems that Low played an important part in driving this work.

Her friendships also placed her in key positions at important times. Barbara was one of the first visitors to see Sigmund Freud upon his arrival in England, with her sister Edith, on 9th June 1938. The strength of her friendship with Jones is not easy to prove, with only a few formal and adversarial letters remaining. However, both Low and Jones write on occasions of being in the habit of destroying letters and the Visitors' Book for the Plat, the Jones house in Sussex, shows Low to be the most frequent visitor, often

[22] There is no record of anyone having been analysed by Low, but such records generally are scarce or withheld.

staying for long periods of time, including over New Year on one occasion, leaving open the possibility that she was, for a long time, friends with Jones as well as a close colleague and ally. Low's correspondence to which I have had access is formal, frequently deferential yet assertive, occasionally playful, but often with a fussy precision. At times there is a sense of neediness, for example, she writes frequently to Nehls to ask him to confirm that he has received copies of his own thesis as she returns them to him, apologising for bothering him, but needing to know to relieve her anxiety.[23] In Nehls' composite biography of D.H. Lawrence (1957, p.491) a collection of others' reminiscences, Douglas Goldring writes;

> I owe my introduction to Lawrence, in the personal sense, to S.S. Koteliansky, the Russian translator. It occurred early in 1919, when he and Miss Barbara Low were among Lawrence's closest friends, and spent their time and energy in his service precisely as if he were a little Messiah.
> …Lawrence's Psycho-Analytical studies were, I believe, largely directed and encouraged by Miss Low, whom I suspect of a considerable share in his *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*.

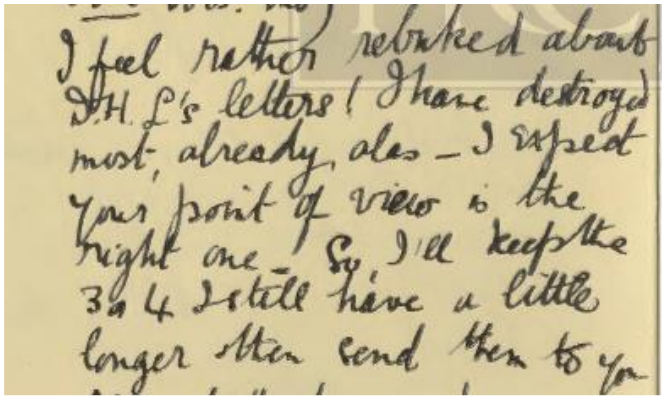
Although there are no longer any letters that remain from Barbara Low to D.H. Lawrence, we know from her correspondence with Nehls that she was the source of the five letters from 'D.H.L.' that are frequently cited in many works on Lawrence, including the three volumes of 'Collected Letters' (Cambridge University Press, various editors). This collection of letters from Low to Nehls is extremely significant. Nehls had contacted her because it was known that she had been a friend of Lawrence and he was collecting reminiscences of him through others. Over the period of eighteen months Low's letters show deepening friendship and affection and the last letter is shortly before she died. Throughout the letters she is typically precise and at other times vague and repetitious. She brings up subjects that show her relationships to key people in literature and psychoanalysis and yet deflects her own importance. She is frequently humble; polite yet assertive; reverential whilst wanting to control.

From the letters it is clear that the Lawrence and Low correspondence was much more comprehensive than the few letters that remain. On August 27th 1954, Low writes;

[23] A summary of Low's correspondence to Edward Nehls as he collated the information to write a book on D.H Lawrence (1957) is included as an Appendix K.

> I came across a batch of DHL's letters to me which I thought I had destroyed. I don't think they are of interest to you or others – they are quite personal to me mainly. Of course I like them, and when he writes (what is probably quite untrue!) "You are one of the very few people who really listen to me when I talk – most people treat me as a kind of play-boy." I much appreciate it.

Then on September 10th, clearly in response to Nehls dismay that he had missed out on a rich source of material, she adds;


I feel rather rebuked about
D.H.L's letters! I have destroyed
most already, alas – I expect
your point of view is the
right one – So I'll keep the
3 or 4 I still have a little
longer then send them to you

Section of a letter from Barbara Low to Edward Nehls, 10th Sept. 1952.
Correspondence courtesy of Harry Ransom Collection, University of Texas

The letters are fascinating for her frequent references to her own fragility, 'I am very limp both mentally and physically' (19th Oct 1954) and for the haste with which she offers friendship to him. She also quickly shows generosity towards him, both in her praise of his work and by offering him first editions of Lawrence's books if her nephew doesn't want them, (she expresses that she is worried that Edith's son will sell them as he is 'badly off'). We can assume that some of the warmth is reciprocated by her thanks to him for his kind letters, but interestingly, (and somewhat sadly), although some of the letters are reproduced, Low is not included as a significant contributor to Nehls finished book.

The small collection of her letters from Lawrence have been frequently cited to illustrate different inferences, gleaned from a variety of paradigms, but for this purpose they allow a little insight into her friendships with both D.H. Lawrence and Koteliansky, (Kot), a Russian émigré and translator. Lawrence was both mischievous and meddling between Low and Koteliansky, writing to each about the other and yet perhaps trying to play 'matchmaker', certainly trying to elicit a response from each about the other. On 10th March 1915 Lawrence writes to Low, 'I hope you quarrel with Koteliansky. He is a

very bossy and overbearing Jew (save the race!) Please quarrel with him very much', (Zytaruk & Bolton 1981, p.305). Lawrence continues in the same letter;

> When are you coming down to see us? Just let us know. The primroses are in bud, and the birds are singing. I know you love songs of the city best, 'the buses are in full tilt, and the shops are closing': but never mind, give the Lord and his handiwork a look-in now and then.
> I keep on owing you your money, until I see you. You are a bad moneylender, you will get no interest.[24]

He then writes to Koteliansky nine days later, inviting him down that coming Sunday. He adds, 'On Sunday we must stay a good deal with Barbara. Tomorrow we are free of her (p.308). On 24th March 1915 he writes to Kot again asking him to come down after Bertrand Russell has left;

> Barbara also asked if she might come for Easter. Now don't be cross, and say you don't like her. I *do* rather like her. You must like her too – and have a honeymoon in the Garden Suburb (p.310).

His letter to Kot on 8th April 1915 illustrates the gamut of responses that Low seemed to elicit in others and which I can infer from reading her later letters to Nehls.

> 'Barbara has gone. I like her, but she gets on my nerves with her eternal: 'but *do* you think' – 'but, look here, *isn't* it rather that - - - - - - -.' I want to say: 'For God's sake woman, stop haggling'. And she is so deprecating, and so persistent. Oh God! But – basta! (p.313).

There is a big break in time, but it is not difficult to see why Low kept the next letter from Lawrence. I am sure it would have made her feel wanted, perhaps loved and given her a sense of family and security that she had been witness to in the first months of her life. Writing to her from Cornwall, dated 8th July 1916, Lawrence chimes;

> My dear Barbara,
> …It is very beautiful here. We shall have a nice snug room for you. When are you coming? …Your room will be ready for you. You will be quite the princess,

[24] According to Diment, Kot blamed Lawrence's wife, Frieda, for his anti Semitism, (2011, p.315)

> a whole house to yourself. We shall have a happy time, I am sure. We want you to come (p.624).

Continuing with a theme of warm affection, Lawrence writes to Kot seven weeks later, '…We had Barbara here. I do really like her. There is something fierce and courageous in her which wins one's respect.'

The reader is left at the end of this sequence of letters with the feeling that Low and Koteliansky were never more than acquaintances, connected through Lawrence, and yet the Low Nehls letters give a tantalising glimpse of how her relationship with Kot continued after Lawrence's death. On February 10th 1955, Low writes to Nehls, now back in the United States,

> Alas, my good friend of long years' friendship (I was first introduced to him by D.H. + we became good friends) died of a heart thrombosis about 3 weeks ago. He was very eccentric, + a very gifted man: he insisted on living quite alone for many years – did all his own 'chores' + kept his house spotless and polished like a new pin. But he would not look after himself properly – (I mean look after his health, nay not enough).

Koteliansky had died on January 22nd 1955. In the same letter Low tells Nehls that she knows his executors and can ask them to see if they can find her any D.H.L. letters to pass to him. Nehls has clearly written again to tell her of the value of her letters, but she writes, 'I have torn up nearly all except 1 or 2 which are quite private' She adds that she'll look again. 'Don't think me grudging will you.' She writes again on February 18th to update him on the Koteliansky letters. She says that he had kept no copies of his letters and bequeathed all of his letters to the British Museum. Low had clearly developed a warm friendship with Koteliansky, aside from them both continuing to know many people in common[25]. However the British Library has no letters in the Koteliansky collection from Low. It is possible she had asked the executors for her own letters back. From the evidence of her letters to Nehls it is creditable to surmise that she may have thought herself and her letters not worthy of keeping at the British Library. However, Juliette Huxley, another friend of Kot, writes in her own biography, that on his death most of the letters he had ever received were found in neat bundles;

[25] Koteliansky suffered severe depression for many years, including making suicide attempts and Low may have seen him as a bit of a project, but although he spent several periods in psychiatric hospital, there is no evidence that he ever sought psychoanalysis, (Diment 2011, pp.307-312)

'some to be left to the British Museum, and others sent back to their writers' (1986, p.148). Huxley's were returned to her, so it is fair to speculate that letters from Low did exist and were returned. It is hard to believe that two such avid correspondents as Low and Kot, who were friends for forty years, didn't write to each other. But whether or not such correspondence existed, the lack of any other substantial evidence of their friendship results in yet another example of how Low's influence and worth have been diminished over time; Barbara Low doesn't even feature as someone worthy of inclusion in the 'Who's Who in Koteliansky's Life in England', an appendix to Diment's (2011) biography.

It would be seem to be the case that Low got on better with men than women. It is Lawrence who writes to her, not Frieda, and although he occasionally mentions that Frieda sends her love, it is unlikely the two women would have got on; each the antithesis of the other. In spite of being a frequent visitor to the Jones' Sussex house, The Plat, it would appear that Jones' wife had little time for her either. 'I am getting to see through her little ways', Kitty writes to Jones in 1920 (Brome 1982, p.140). And later on 6th August 1924, Mrs Jones writes to her husband again, 'Barbara gets more impossible and never learns from experience' (p.162).

Lawrence could also be unkind about Low and what was important to her. He referred to her and Dollie Radford[26] as 'such stray, blown, sooty birds' (Zytaruk & Bolton, 1981, p.639). Aside from his anti Semitic comments, perhaps one of the most spiteful things he writes about Low was in a letter to Catherine Carswell, an author friend of Barbara's niece, Ivy (Low) Litvinov;

> …I think one understands best without explanations. Aunt Barbara does not *want* to understand – her sort never does. They want a lot of works to chew over; it all *means* nothing to them, but a certain mental conceit (Bolton and Robertson 1984, p.138).

It is interesting to speculate on why three of the five Low sisters remained unmarried throughout their lives. As the youngest, Barbara would have been twenty seven at the outbreak of WWI, but she may have lost someone close to her. Perhaps their overbearing father and the burden of their mother put them off perpetuating this cycle. Alternatively, the drive and ambition instilled in them by their parents, alongside the

[26] Dollie Radford, nee Caroline Maitland, 1858-1920, poet and writer

skills and education available to them, gave them a purpose that fulfilled them; Frances through her journalism, breaking through both as a woman and for women, (Gray 2012, p.219), Florence as a career woman on the staff of *The Queen* magazine[27], and Barbara in her many roles as educationalist, lecturer and psychoanalyst. Or perhaps Barbara did have relationships through her life, but they remain a gap in what is available to the researcher, and potentially a gap that couldn't be filled by remaining family members, from whom such details are often not known or passed down. We also know that she destroyed most of her letters, believing them not to have any significance for others so there may well have been other significant friendships that are now lost to biographers.

On first reading her letters, spanning forty years, I thought that Low's writing revealed traits of *false* modesty. I imagined she was communicating 'I'm going to suggest that I am not worthy and then through my assertions prove that I am'. But whether or not that may have been her unconscious, my overwhelming thoughts by this point are that she was far too successful at convincing people of her lack of worth. In my view she was instrumental in promoting and proselytising psychoanalysis in a way that was true to Freud's intentions. She was a loyal friend who showed her upset when someone thought she has let them down, as her argument with Jones over her part in the Eder article shows (see Jones chapter). She seemed to enjoy her friendships with men, and showed in her correspondence to Nehls that she was proud of the intimacy that she was able to invoke from D.H. Lawrence.

Her writing and lectures were acknowledged in her time. For example a review by Ginsberg (1929) of Low's book *The Unconscious in Action* published in 1928, highlights the 'good case' Low makes for 'co-operation between the educator and the psychological expert'. Ginsberg critiques her view positively that the teacher should not attempt analysis but be familiar enough to identify children that need the help of an analyst and 'require treatment' and agrees the case for the teacher 'to know himself and the elements in him which have been repressed if he is to understand and deal in an intelligent manner with the primitive impulses operating in children'. He adds;

> Miss Low is particularly illuminating in her discussion of some of the familiar problems that confront the teacher in dealing with such phenomena as antagonisms between children, cases of cruelty, lying, inattentiveness,

[27] Frances, Barbara and Florence all had obituaries written about them, Barbara in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (1956) and Frances (1939) and Florence (1957) both in *The Times*.

> dreaminess, sudden arrest of development, untidiness, and the like, though naturally not all that she has to say will be accepted by those who are not in sympathy with the psycho-analytic point of view (Ginsberg, 1929).

Low was very astute and determined to be at the heart of things, but then it seems that she would accept the place away from the 'top table of events', so that when historians came to account for those accomplishments, her name was rarely in the scene. And yet I would assert that she was very much a leading lady. Whether on account of her being a Jew, or perhaps as a hangover from her childhood, Barbara Low seemed to accept however, that people would dismiss her and so gave them permission to diminish her contribution before they could do it themselves. Low's sister, Edith, was placed at the top table for the Jubilee dinner for the British Psychoanalytical Society at The Savoy, on 8th March 1939, on account of the esteem in which so many held her late husband, David Eder and perhaps as a result of the ripple tide of Jones' relationship with her as the B.P.A.S. was formed. Barbara Low didn't hold those cards with Jones, but on account of her contribution over the preceding twenty five years, there is little doubt that she deserved her own place with the dignitaries at the top table.

Chapter 8
Alice Buxton Winnicott
née Taylor

1891-1969

Self portrait - Pottery designer c.1930 online image

Alice Buxton Taylor was born in 1891 in Claverdon in Warwickshire. The 1911 census shows that Alice, who was nineteen at the time, was at 'school' but registered at home in Edgbaston with her widowed mother, one of her brothers and two sisters; Mary Norah Lupton, John Lupton, and Pauline Mary Matcham[28]. Their mother, Florence Maberly Taylor, a widow by this point, was registered as having 'means'.[29] Such idiosyncratic names, laden with family meaning, can perhaps place a heavy expectation onto a child. The following pages will show how Alice, like so many other women at the dinner, achieved so much, and yet a taint of hope unfulfilled is forever with her.

Alice's mother (a teacher before she had married), had educated all her children at home in their younger years. Alice went on to the King Edward VI High School for Girls in Birmingham. Florence Buxton had herself been a Cambridge scholar, and Alice writes in her accompanying letter to her alumni questionnaire, that she believed her mother to have been 'very brilliant when up at Newnham'. In the letter to the Registrar of the Roll of Newnham College, dated 21st October 1959, she claims with family pride that Florence was 'the first woman to come out above the men in her Tripos of 1884'.

In 1912 Alice went up to Cambridge, following her mother and older sister Mary[30] into Newnham College (1912-1915). Both Karin Costelloe and Susan Fairhurst, (who both went on to become very significant as psychoanalysts) were post graduate students at Newnham during the time that Alice was there. It is highly likely that she would have known them, even if age and stage of learning meant they were less likely to form

[28] A younger brother James Maberly Matcham is not mentioned in this census and doesn't appear to be present on the 1911 census, however there is a birth record (1899) and his inclusion on the 1901 census. It is unlikely that he was away at boarding school as his elder brother doesn't appear to have been sent away to school. He may have been sent to live with a relative who didn't include him in the census. James (he liked to be known as Jim) became a psychoanalyst and was at the B.P.A.S. dinner. He appeared to have a close, yet dependent relationship with Donald Winnicott, viewed through his correspondence.
[29] Florence was the granddaughter of Frederick H Maberly, a noted Victorian politician and clergyman (Hamilton, 2004).
[30] Alice writes that her sister held a travelling fellowship in archaeology in Greece and Rome following her graduation.

friendships. She may not have been as shining a star as some of her peers intellectually, as records show that she achieved Part 1 of the Natural Sciences Tripos in the time that other students, such as Amber Reeve, gained both parts in their areas of study, but from the body of her work that remains, from her letters, her friendships and achievements, it would be fair to conclude that Alice was both intellectually and creatively astute and pioneering. Life immediately after Cambridge was a real gap in her biography, until the archives at Newnham College yielded a scant but rich seam of information on Alice; primarily a four-sided questionnaire, completed in her own hand. In it she describes a five year period (1916-1920) in which she worked at the National Physical Laboratory in Teddington, carrying out research into ceramics and optical glass, 'where, for most of the time, I was the only woman research student'[31] She references the work as being 'in connection with the urgent needs of Government and Industry' and refers to the work as 'Refractorics', testing materials under very high temperatures and casting optical glass pots under pressure. She writes in a tiny hand, with precision, as she recalls the skilled processes and scientific experiments she had worked on forty years earlier, in contradiction with the frailty that others have imposed on her since.

In 1923, Donald Woods Winnicott married Alice. She was thirty one at the time and appears to have spent her time, on leaving the N.P.L. and prior to meeting Donald, in the company of artists. Her entry in *Artists in Britain since 1945. Vol 2* (Buckman, 2006) states that she studied and worked with important artists of the time as she studied in Richmond, Kingston, Wimbledon and Central School of Arts and Crafts[32]. She was instrumental in the foundation of several art groups including the New Kingston Group of painters.

Alice's father had been a professor of gynaecology at the University of Birmingham (Moscucci, 2004) and prior to that family records show that he worked as a distinguished medical practitioner at Charing Cross Hospital, London, meaning that he was away from home for long periods of time, living with his sister. With her brother and her grandfather also physicians, it wasn't perhaps surprising that she should end up marrying the medically trained Donald. She would also have been used to the male of the family being frequently absent, (as was Donald) and had been brought up by her mother modelling self sufficiency. Like many women of her generation, she may well

[31] Questionnaire to update Registrar of the Roll of biographical detail of alumni sent in the autumn of 1959. Newnham College archive.
[32] Her own recollections state that she was a student at Kingston, Wimbledon and St Johns Wood schools. Questionnaire, Newnham College archive.

have lost many friends and intimates in the First World War, and she is not unusual amongst the guests at the dinner, for not marrying young and indeed her own mother was thirty-one when she married. Several of her husband's biographers however emphasise Alice's age when she married, and Donald's student Masud Khan is quoted by Kahr (1996, p.44) as saying that 'taking care of [Alice] took all of his youth' which leaves little doubt that the author wants the reader to infer that Alice's age and implied mental instability were doubly harmful to Donald.

In the same year that he married, Winnicott began a ten year analysis with James Strachey (Phillips 1988, p.37). It is fascinating that Donald Winnicott should spend nineteen years in analysis, (with several psychoanalysts after Strachey), which one of his biographers claims was in relation to his difficulties with intimacy and impotence (Kahr, 1995) and yet, quite rightly, this is deemed irrelevant to his achievements and his life work. However, in the case of poor Alice, her mental ill-health has largely defined her to date. Condensed, by biographers of her husband, to a pastiche of a 'mentally disturbed woman who rarely bathed and used to commune with the spirit of T.E. Lawrence through her parrot' (Rodman, 2003) it has required some searching and sifting to bring shape and colour to Alice. But having done so, I fail to recognise these descriptions. It is true that Winnicott arranged for his wife to undertake an analysis with Dr. Clifford Scott[33], one of Melanie Klein's students, but it is unclear how true reports of her psychosis and frailty are. However vulnerable she may or may not have been, it didn't disable her from socialising or communicating well with others. It also appears to be the case that most reports of Alice's mental ill health were collected after Winnicott divorced her to marry Clare Britton, with whom he had had an intimate, if not a sexual, relationship since their work together during WWII (Kanter, 2009).[34]

Recorded interviews with the daughters of Jim, (H.S.) and Helen Ede, held as part of Kettles Yard archive, offer some insights into Alice and Donald before the war. Elisabeth Swan (b.1921) and Mary Adams (b.1924) both remember how their father often wanted to go on holiday, taking his wife with him and leaving the girls in the care of the Winnicotts[35]. Elisabeth recounts the 'wonderful change' of going to stay at Pilgrims Lane and how Donald was so playful and interested in them;

[33] Years later Clifford Scott was also to provide analysis to Claire Winnicott (Britton), Donald's second wife (Kanter, 2009).
[34] I feel defensive concerning Alice. To date her biography has been shaped by men and the woman who replaced her and that inevitably has brought some bias to bear.
[35] Jim and Donald were friends from childhood and they had ended up living very near to each other in Hampstead.

> We were very fond of Alice too. She was, ah, a bit, ah strange, I don't know quite what word to use, she had all sorts of ideas, she thought that T.E. Lawrence had somehow got inside her parrot and was communicating with her and, ah, she was altogether a bit fey, that's the word [laughs] (Swan, 2008).

In a separate interview, Mary recalls how Alice used to love them going 'down the hill' to stay, 'because she had no children, she used to love children'. She adds;

> Oh yes, she was a potter as you probably know, so we used to have this fun to do, on the wheel, with clay and this little thing and Donald was just madly fun, he was great (Adams, 2008).

With almost no published information available it has been important to also study letters written in the years after the dinner, in order to try to piece together some of Alice's character and personality and to gain an insight into her emotional comportment at moments when she was parted from Donald both by location and then by divorce. Tamboukou (2011) has written extensively on the implications for epistolary research. She cites Stanley in identifying 'three analytical planes on which epistolary narratives can be deployed; the dialogic, the perspectival and the emergent.' The 'perspectival feature' of analysing correspondence, such as Alice's, means "that their structure and content changes according to the particular recipient and the passing of time" (p.3). It is certainly clear that any inferences I make from the letters is guided by a feminist paradigm and from them I deduce a woman who was a keen observer, thoughtful of others and their feelings and open to the beauty of the world around her. In each letter she is emphatic in writing of her love, for example; 'Dearest Donald', 'Dearest love', 'Heaps of love, ever your loving', 'I do love you very much' but I don't read this as unduly dependent, but rather a natural and affectionate writing style. Inevitably she only wrote to Donald when she was away from him, several letters were written during the war from Gloucestershire, Wales and Tangiers, and her letters (held in the collection at the Wellcome Library, London) are conversational and generous. Although she occasionally expresses a wish that he were with her, to me they read as independent and confident. However, it is unsurprising that others, such as Kahr, can read her letters and draw conclusions that are grounded in alternative paradigms. For example he describes how, once Winnicott had expressed his desire to live with Clare, one of the psychoanalyst's former colleagues 'had suggested that Donald stayed with Alice until she became strong enough to tolerate being without him'. He adds;

> No doubt her psychoanalytic treatment with Dr Clifford Scott helped to fortify her. After the end of the marriage, Winnicott continued to communicate with his wife on an intermittent basis. A small number of letters, written by Alice to her former husband after the dissolution of their marriage, have survived, and they can only be described as heartbreaking in the extreme (Kahr 1996, p.87).

I read three letters as part of a collection at the Wellcome Library, London which were all written in the years following their divorce. I couldn't discern any suggestion of 'tragedy', but rather resilience. Perhaps it is just the 'view from here'.

In her own hand, Alice describes a wide range of voluntary work, including 'the rehabilitation of down and outs in St Pancras' and drawing up schemes for potteries in 'distressed areas of South Wales'. Some of the activities may have been to support Donald's work, which she did in other ways too. Kahr writes that Winnicott would bring patients suffering mental crises home to live in the family home, often leaving Alice to care for them whilst he was away (1996, p.87)[36]. It is interesting that her pottery in Kent was a long way away from the couple's home and was perhaps an area in which she could achieve independently again.

During the time of their marriage she was an accomplished painter, potter and sculptor, with her work still quietly collectable, standing up to contemporary scrutiny[37]. In all of the biographies I have read on Winnicott, Alice's role is completely diminished and yet it was a twenty five year marriage with much affection, at least on her part during that time. In the early years of their marriage, Donald and Alice were frequent visitors to Jim Ede's house. Ede worked at the Tate Gallery during this time and was close friends with, and a collector of, many of the contemporary painters and sculptors of the time, holding regular soirees and events. This gives us an insight into a social circle that included the Bloomsbury set and other members of a creative elite, of which Alice was very much part. It is clear that Alice had a close friendship with Jim and his wife Helen. Letters in the Wellcome Library show that she went on her own to visit the couple in Tangiers and a letter in Kettles Yard from 1936 refers to her having borrowed and read a small collection of Ede's letters from T.E. Lawrence (Winnicott, 1936). She tells Ede of the effect Lawrence's writings had on her; 'I therefore love the fact of your loving him and being kind to him as you were when he needed it'. A letter written by Alice in 1942,

[36] Rudnytsky (2011, p.81) describes how twenty three year old 'Susan', whom the couple 'fostered' in 1943, following two episodes of electro convulsive therapy, was herself affected by the breakup of their marriage.
[37] Her landscapes are vibrant and her Claverdon pottery range combines a raw artisan feel with a Scandinavian motif that I find pleasing.

held by the Harry Ransom Centre at the University of Texas, suggests that Ede returned these letters to her safekeeping, perhaps when war was coming and this alludes to a trust and intimacy between Jim and Alice that was separate from his friendship with her husband. A trust demonstrated by Ede asking her to deliver the letters she held in safekeeping to Christopher Sandford for publication. It wouldn't be unreasonable to suggest that she may also have known T.E. Shaw (Lawrence), and if so, any communication with him after his death may have derived from grief and friendship rather than madness. She certainly felt a loyalty towards T.E. Shaw, (a family friend referred to Alice as having a 'crush' on him) and she also demonstrated a tenacious desire to protect the integrity of the correspondence with Jim Ede. A letter obtained from the family and held by the National Library of Wales shows her frustration on the publication of the letters in 1942 by the Golden Cockerel Press, because of errors and omissions in the transcription or editing. To most people these errors would seem minor, but either because of her scientific training, or her sense of attachment to the letters (and the friendship) she wrote to the Statesman to complain. The letter was never published.

T.E. Lawrence, bronze sculpture, by Alice Buxton Winnicott. Image courtesy of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales)

It is consistent in writings about Winnicott that his marriage to Alice was unconsummated, with sources quoting Winnicott as deriving the cause of his problems on spending too much time with his 'mothers'[38] in his first years of life (Montuori and Cancellaro, 2013). They add that his second wife, Clare Britton, had said that he had had a very happy family life [growing up], but that the cost of this happiness were the heavy restraints of his destructive and disturbing behaviour, [my translation].

A conversation with Professor Brett Kahr (who has written a biography of Donald Winnicott and is in the process of further research into the couple) enabled some of the gaps in biographical information on Alice to be filled. Kahr stated that Alice's father was a tyrannical man, who left home to live with his own sister, perhaps to protect his family from himself, or having been given no other choice by his wife and children. The data collected for any biography often derive from a family member or descendent, whose memories or understanding of circumstances are often affected by their own views and perspectives. It is interesting that informal conversations with descendents and friends

[38] Winnicott was brought up by his mother, his older sisters, his aunt and his governess

of Alice do not include Kahr's portrait of Alice's father, rather they are all quite clear that Alice and her sister Pauline in particular were immensely proud of her family, including her father. If Kahr's family witness offers a different interpretation of the family figurehead then it is understandable that he said that witnessing her father's anger at an early age could have left Alice with a fear of intimacy[39]. As a psychoanalyst, specialising in married couples, he added that whenever a marriage is unconsummated it is always as a result of a much desired unconscious wish.

Whether Donald or Alice were the main cause of this sexless marriage is not clear, but her letters show that there was not a lack of love. It may be fair to speculate however, that life within an unconsummated marriage could prove frustrating, stressful and isolating; all common symptoms of depression.

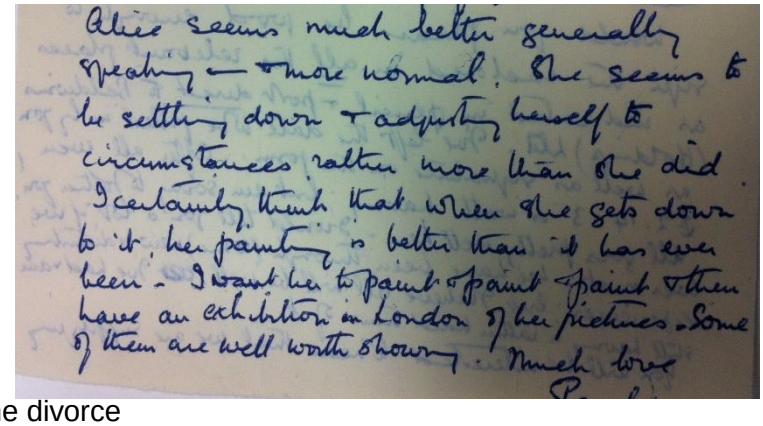
Claverdon vase, c.1936
Alice Buxton Winnicott
Author's collection

Whether or not Alice was at times mad or sad, she achieved some real success within artistic circles. She exhibited in the Royal Academy and at the Royal Cambridge Academy and in 1938 she showed her work in the South Wales Art Society 50th Anniversary Exhibition. She founded the New Kingston Group for artists and established the Claverdon range of dinner ware at Upchurch pottery in Kent, named after her place of birth, a village in Warwickshire. She died in South Wales in New Quay, Cardiganshire, where she had lived the years since her divorce from Donald, close to her sister. It is hard to know whether Alice was indeed the frail, lonely and sad figure portrayed by her husband's friends and acolytes, (several of whom gained at least some of their material from Donald's second wife Clare). It is possible to take inferences and make meaning from the inclusion of small parts of a few letters from Alice to Donald in which she seems to make sarcastic reference to being alone (Kahr 1996, p.88). And yet there may be whole sections of the letters and many other letters not included or lost, that offer an alternative insight into Alice's life with her sister in the Welsh countryside. A letter from her sister Paul (Pauline) Taylor to Donald in 1950 offers a note of continued friendship following the divorce. She asserts that she doesn't take sides, 'though naturally as her sister I feel deeply sorry for her in being left alone at her time of life, and she is somehow very helpless; but I daresay she will rise

[39] There is some evidence in correspondence that Alice's brother Jim, may also have suffered from relationship difficulties, at least with his first wife, Monique, possibly attributable to his childhood.

to the situation. In some ways the terrible shock has been good for her, - I only wish it had come earlier, when she was younger and better able to cope and reshape her life.'

In 1952 she writes again and although Paul intimates a sadness in Alice, I think her reactions, her bereavement, would fall within a range which many people would experience in this situation. Elisabeth Swan (2008) recounts that the divorce was very sad 'and to the distress of all [Donald's] friends'. She added that Jim and Helen Ede continued to see Alice 'quite a lot' after the divorce, and that she thought that Donald did too.

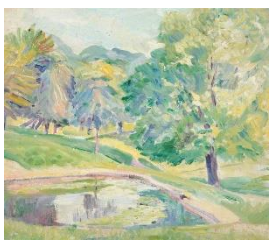

Alice seems much better generally speaking — more normal. She seems to be settling down + adjusting herself to circumstances rather more than she did. I certainly think that when she gets down to it, her painting is better than it has ever been - I want her to paint + paint + paint + then have an exhibition in London of her pictures. Some of them are well worth showing. Much love

Section of a letter from Pauline Taylor to Donald Winnicott, 1952. Correspondence courtesy of the Wellcome Library

Why is Alice's biography significant? In having incidents of fragile mental health, is she representative of the people at the dinner, or are the people at the meal representative of a section of society? Were these people attracted to psychoanalysis because they were flawed, or were they in fact lucky that they had access to psychoanalysis, as most people did not have this provision and yet most people are indeed flawed?

You can't miss Alice as you look at the photo of the dinner. The way she looks out across the room and the years with a quiet poise and a clarity made possible by her stillness, meant that she is one of the figures to whom your eyes are drawn. Finding Alice has enabled me to begin to put flesh onto the two dimensional sketches of androcentric biographers. Those who knew her recognised an 'other worldliness' about her, but also described her as ebullient, good hearted, enthusiastic and very loving. A creative, clever and driven woman, she is amongst her peers in this room and I fail to see a fragile wife, holding her husband back from happiness.


Alice Buxton Winnicott: a section from the official photograph of the Jubilee dinner, 8th March 1939, courtesy of the Institute of Psychoanalysis


A Tree Lined Pond, Hampstead Heath, n.d. by Alice Buxton Winnicott, Newnham College collection, University of Cambridge, online image

Chapter 9
Enid Devoge McLeod

1896-1985

Enid McLeod: a section from the official photograph of the Jubilee dinner, 8th March 1939, courtesy of the Institute of Psychoanalysis

Enid McLeod was born in 1896 in Bristol. The 1911 census registers her as fourteen years old and living in a household with her father Alexander, 'a travelling salesman (confectionary)'[40], born in Glasgow, her mother Lucie[41], originally from Manchester and her older brother Eric, who was sixteen. Her mother and father were relatively old when they had their children; Enid's mother was 37 years old when she had her first child. Census questions at this time asked mothers to state the number of completed years the present marriage has lasted, total number of children born alive and children still living and children who have died, so it is clear that Enid's parents married in their later thirties and their only children had survived to adulthood. Enid remarks in her autobiography, *Living Twice* (1982, p.7), that her parents did indeed marry 'latish in life'.

Enid attended Redland High School in Bristol and her early achievements enabled her to gain a place at St Hugh's College, Oxford in 1915 where she read the newly developed English Language and Literature course, completing her BA in 1920. Enid's autobiographical account illustrates her life as a series of serendipitous connections and happenchance meetings but this belies her achievements, (a C.B.E. and F.R.SL.[42]); her unique place as a woman in history (according to her alumnus record she was the first woman to hold a leading overseas British Council post) and her tenacity to become a published author and translator. The summary below, from the archive at St Hugh's College, Oxford, is in stark contrast to her narrative and yet it highlights the impressive nature of her career all the more by its brevity.

[40] Alexander is recorded as a factory manager on admission data held by St Hugh's. Enid states that her father was an intelligent man, who attended Manchester Grammar School, but whose aspirations for University were curtailed by his own father's bankruptcy (McLeod 1982, p.8)
[41] Marriage records show that Alexander married Lucie Susannah Wild in 1893 in Ormskirk, Lancashire
[42] Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature

> Research on mediaeval science (1918); secretarial training (1919); private secretary (1920); Asst secretary, League of Nations (1920); secretary to British Agent for Wall Street News (1928); member of staff of the African Research Survey, Chatham House, under Lord Hailey (1938); asst specialist in French section of Foreign Publicity Division of Min. of Information (1940); Head of French Section, Min. of Information (1944); Regional Commissioner for France, Brit. Council (1945); Director, Western European Section, Brit. Council (1946); Dep. Controller of European Div., Brit. Council (1951); Brit. Council representative in France (1954-9); Cultural Attaché, British Embassy, Paris (1955-9).

McLeod's autobiography is also remarkable for her demure candour. She had a lifelong partner in Ethel Whitehorn and a number of other 'passing passions', but she writes in such a way as to leave the reader in no doubt as to her sexual orientation, without recourse to any sapphist synonyms or clumsy description of physical intimacy. In *Living Twice* she describes an early unequal relationship with a Miss H at Oxford, which seemed to be both unhappy and cruel in many ways, but is important as it reveals a characteristic in McLeod which is apparent throughout her life; that of being terribly capable and yet reliant on extrinsic approval for her self worth. It may be that her relationship with Miss H was the foundation of this lack of confidence, or it may be that she was drawn to Miss H because each met a need in the other for a time.

Whatever the dynamics of her later relationship with Ethel Whitehorn (known as Whity to Enid and the intellectual circle they frequented), she certainly found a love. Enid describes how, in 1929, following a stint in Ceylon with her brother, Whity returned to England telling Enid about two proposals of marriage, both of which she had turned down. McLeod (1982, p.86) describes how they realised at this point that 'for neither was marriage an ideal'. She writes that although both occasionally had other attractions, they told each other;

> knowing the understanding both could rely on that these passing passions, however absorbing they might be momentarily, especially in my case, and in spite of occasional flickers of jealousy, chiefly on my side, I think, could not possibly endanger our irreplaceable and over-whelming love for each other. So it had always been in the past, and so in the future it was always to prove.

This may just suit an idealisation of her narrative, but I feel that although she constantly emphasises their friendship, there is a strong intimation that her and Ethel's

relationship was both acknowledged and embraced by those around them, by friends, family and colleagues. For example, in her Paris appointment later in life, she refers to parties held for Ethel to 'meet the staff' on her arrival and the role Ethel played in supporting her British Council duties.

A photo of a group at Pontigny c.1924. Paul Desjardins is on the left and the two young women standing bear a resemblance to Ethel Whitehorn and Enid McLeod (Pouliquen, 2011) online image

It was through Ethel that Enid attended her first *décade* of *entretiens*[43] (ten day symposia), in 1924. As a young woman Whity had become friends with some significant personalities in the European avant garde, seemingly attracted by the people rather than the movement. She was close friends with Beth[44], the daughter of 'La Petite Dame', Maria von Rysellberghe and other thinkers, painters, writers and orators, such as André Gide and Martin du Gard. Enid writes of the first discussions she attended at Pontigny,

> 'The subject was Se Raconter Soi-Même, under two aspects : I. L'Autobiographie dans la Fiction, and II. La Fiction dans l'Autobiographie. In other words the pamphlet asked : 'Est-il possible au romancier de n'être aucunement historien de soi-même' and 'Est-il possible a l'historien de soi-même de n'être aucunement romancier ?' (McLeod 1982, p.65)

Is there any way a novelist can be an auto-biographer, and is there any way an auto-biographer can be a novelist? [My translation]. It is interesting to reflect on the cross fertilisation between movements at this time and pertinent to think that I have considered these questions in the writing of this thesis. Enid writes as though her frequent stays and encounters with these friends was common place, but the importance of this time and these thinkers is summed up by Chaubet (1998, p.42);

[43] The decades were held most years in Pontigny, France, from 1910 to 1939 and organised by Paul Desjardins. These discussions attracted the key intellectuals and writers of their times and although they were essentially Franco- centric, Britons such as Lytton Strachey and Julian Bell also attended at either end of the span. Gide was the most influential figure during the three sessions that Enid attended.

[44] McLeod writes that although it was still secret even to the child, it was known to her and Ethel that Gide had fathered Beth's daughter Catherine (1982, p.58).

> Dans ce scintillement des entrelacs de la literature européenne les décadistes recherchaient une lumière pour la compréhension du présent.

In the dazzling glow created from the interweaving of European literature, the decadists searched for a light to make sense of the present, [my translation]. Many others at the dinner will have been aware and influenced by the discussions of this time but few, if any, others had the access that McLeod enjoyed.

In an initial trawl of data gathering about Enid McLeod I was unsure as to the reason why she was included in the guest list for the Silver Jubilee dinner of the British Psychoanalytical Society. But there are several links that become apparent. After Oxford, Enid was without direction for a while but she met up with an old St Hugh's friend, Lorna Southwell.

> She was at that time secretary to Dr Crichton Miller, the psychoanalyst, and apparently saw in me the right person to take the place for two months of the secretary at his nursing home Bowden House, in Harrow, while she was on leave.

> [I] particularly enjoyed working for Dr Crichton Miller, a shrewd Scot with a great sense of humour. His idea was that the patients and the staff should all live and eat together, so that the former – not a great many of them – should have the impression of life in a normal country house. This worked very well and, as we all had some idea of the degree of illness of the patients, we all had some sense of responsibility for them, even when Crichton Miller himself was not there, either working in Harley Street or at home (McLeod, 1982, p.37).

She continues, giving an insight into the level of access that an Oxford degree could afford a young woman without other relevant experience. In true auto-biographical style McLeod also manifests details of her life and leaves the reader asking many more questions about her latent or unconscious inferences.

> I had charge of all the files of the patients, which I found absorbing reading. The parts of the notes which the doctor wrote in Latin were especially illuminating, and I remember how taken aback he was when he found I could read them. But after all one could hardly have worked for a psychoanalyst, a profession of

> which I had previously known nothing, without becoming acquainted with a wide range of sexual practice, let alone perversions.
>
> But there was one thing I always resisted and that was the doctor's suggestion that I myself should be analysed, as all the rest of the staff had been. As I was not aware of any inhibitions in myself and couldn't think of any problems I had, I saw no reason for this (p.38).

Through her connection with Crichton Miller she later spent two periods working as secretary to Dr John Rees, another psychoanalyst and a fellow guest at the dinner in 1939. On close inspection of the photograph of the dinner it is clear that Enid is seated between two other key figures of the psychoanalytic world; Ernst and Marianne Kris[45]. Two years earlier in 1937 Enid had been struggling to get a publisher for her biography of Héloise. She went to her final Pontigny conference and whilst there she met Ernst Kris, who was the 'keeper of the Sculpture and Ancient Art Department of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna' as well as being 'a good friend of Freud' (McLeod 1982, p.107). She adds that he was really enthusiastic about her book and was surprised that she was receiving rejection letters from publishers. Kris had begun to practise psychoanalysis and McLeod writes that he thought 'that perhaps a course of treatment would change these depressing aspects of my life. But, even if I had been tempted by this suggestion, of course my financial position put it out of the question.'

McLeod succeeded in having her biography of Héloise, (McLeod,1938), published shortly before the dinner, to critical acclaim.

> Miss McLeod is right in asserting that no important straightforward biography had appeared before her book…The natural and obvious pleasure with which Miss McLeod has devoted herself to the subject, together with a good knowledge of the sources and the previous books regarding the lives of Abailard and Héloïse, have produced a very interesting book (Ladner 1939, p.394).

A series of letters in the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas are all written in the period after my interest in Enid, but it is worth including some of the correspondence between McLeod and Stuart Gilbert (a renowned translator and critic)

[45] Marianne was the daughter of Freud's very close friend, Oscar Rie, and was herself close to Freud and Anna. She would later be known for her work as a psychoanalyst in New York to Marilyn Monroe, amongst other celebrated names.

as they offer further insight into Enid's character. McLeod had written to Gilbert in January 1947 saying that she had no work to do at the British Council in Paris, as they had run out of money and couldn't spend any until the end of March. She asked him to try her out as a translator so that she could decide whether she was any good at it. Gilbert had then enlisted Edith to translate at least parts of a book, for which he was lead translator[46]. This book would appear to be Véry's *Le Pays Sans Etoiles*, (1945), as Gilbert refers to P.S.E. as the title, but the only title published of Véry's by Gilbert is *In What Strange Land..?* (1949). A comparison of plot outlines suggests that they are the same book. It is perhaps surprising that a woman who had already achieved well and was published in her own right, should lack confidence and offer herself to Gilbert in such a submissive way. The following is an extract from one of the letters from McLeod to Gilbert.

35 Windsor Court, NW11
April 4th 1947

> But do please tell me plainly whether your expressed approval for some things, plus your offer to let me profit by your experience, add up to the plain statement that you think I have sufficient gift for the work for you to consider me as a collaborator one day, or for me to accept translations on my own? I am sorry to badger you to dot the i's in this way, but I am far from feeling sure of myself in all this. The fact that you said nothing openly critical made me suspicious rather than otherwise!

In the context of her autobiography and the dichotomy of her being the subject of her narrative and yet throughout playing a secondary role to the other characters, such as her partner, Whitehorn, Gide and even the seemingly sadistic Miss H, with whom she was so obsessed at St Hugh's, it is perhaps not surprising that Edith remained both submissive and passive, whilst in roles that required leadership and confidence. Perhaps it was these qualities that Crichton Miller and later Ernst Kris saw in her, when each in his own time suggested that she have a period of psychoanalysis herself. It is also not surprising that Enid therefore should present both primness and challenge in her look to the camera from her table at The Savoy.

[46] McLeod and Gilbert both mention Deutsch in their letters in the context of publishing and he was editor at Allan Wingate at the end of the 1940's before he later set up his own publishing house. In What Strange Land…? was indeed published by Wingate.

Chapter 10
Findings and Discussion

Once Ernest Jones had decided to observe publically the achievements of British Psychoanalysis over twenty five years, there is no doubt he would have wanted to make it an occasion to remember; a celebration of psychoanalysis in Britain, a recognition of London as the new capital of the now recognised science and, perhaps especially, a testimony to his life's work proselytising Freud and Freudian theory and practice. Glover acknowledged this in his toast to the guests when he said,

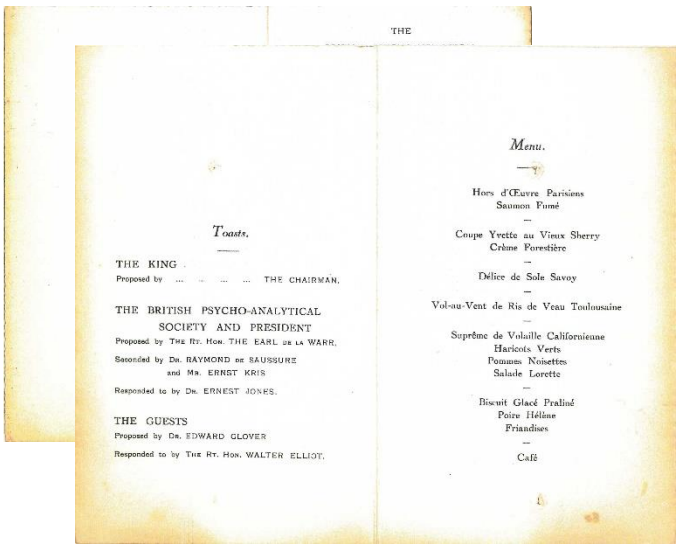
> It can seldom have been more true that in honouring their guests, the hosts thereby honour themselves (Glover, 1939).

Perhaps Glover was being self deprecatingly honest, or perhaps he was making a gentle jibe at Jones, seated just a few seats down from him at the centre of the top table.

10.1 The Savoy

In the preparations for the Silver Jubilee dinner of the British Psychoanalytical Society it is fair to speculate that Ernest Jones would have met with Maitre-Chef François Latry (1889-1966) to discuss the menu. Jones would have wanted the finest detail to be within his control as he planned an international celebration, and it is unlikely he would have settled with meeting anyone less than the great head chef at The Savoy. The meal was originally planned to coincide with the twenty fifth anniversary of the formation of the London Psycho-Analytic Society on 30th October 1913, but the uncertainty surrounding appeasement and the concentration of energy Jones required to support Jewish émigrés to escape Nazi occupied countries, meant that he postponed the occasion.

The archivist at The Savoy, Susan Scott, told me that the menu was a classic menu. Reproduced overleaf, it shows standard options offered by Latry at the time, but to the untrained eye it certainly reads as a special banquet. Scott was impressed by the menu cards that Jones had made available to the guests. They were embossed and expensive and stood out from others available to the archive.



THE

Toasts.

THE KING
Proposed by ... ... THE CHAIRMAN.

THE BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY AND PRESIDENT
Proposed by THE RT. HON. THE EARL DE LA WARR.
Seconded by DR. RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE and MR. ERNEST KRIS
Responded to by DR. ERNEST JONES.

THE GUESTS
Proposed by DR. EDWARD GLOVER
Responded to by THE RT. HON. WALTER ELLIOT.

Menu.

Hors d'Œuvre Parisiens
Saumon Fumé
Coupe Yvette au Vieux Sherry
Crème Forestière
Délice de Sole Savoy
Vol-au-Vent de Ris de Veau Toulousaine
Suprême de Volaille Californienne
Haricots Verts
Pommes Noisettes
Salade Lorette
Biscuit Glacé Pralliné
Poire Hélène
Friandises
Café

Image courtesy of the Institute of Psychoanalysis

Jones would have understood that the memory of the food, (providing it was good enough) would be secondary to the memory of the event. And memory of the event would be sustained and enhanced over time by the physical presence of a rather lovely menu card. Make the menu card worth keeping and you maintain the memory. Jones was certainly capable of thinking ahead in this way.

10.2 The top table

It is continually fascinating to look at the seating plan for the dinner and contemplate the decisions that informed who sat where. It is hard to imagine that Jones didn't make these decisions, although it is likely that he involved his wife Kitty, who managed some of his administration, and possibly that he engaged others, such as Sylvia Payne or Edward Glover, by running the final arrangement past them. But his style was too didactic, and the dinner too important, for him to leave anything to chance, or to others.

The top table is a celebration of the spheres of influence that psychoanalysis had reached in twenty five years in Britain. Thirty eight guests are on the top table on the seating plan, including three politicians serving in government at the time, six physicians who held important positions in key medical societies, eminent psychoanalysts from home and the Continent, academics and celebrated authors and thinkers. Importantly, of the seventeen women at the top table, seven of them have a place on their own entitlement, (unaccompanied on the top table and with their own name), unlike the majority of the women who, following the convention of the day, are named by their husband's first and last name. It has been one of my driving forces to

name these women by their given names, which I have been able to do for 87% of the women so far. A number of women were acknowledged in their own fields as accomplished, whilst others held wider professional reputations and yet still were not given the credit of their own names at the meal; the ethnographer and anthropologist, Brenda Seligman; the sculptor Juliette Huxley, to name just two at the top table. It is difficult to make sense of the relative judgements made as to which women were to be recognised by their own name and which of the women's achievements were perhaps felt not worthy enough to rank her above or alongside her husband. So many of the biographical details of these women have revealed remarkable, talented and outstanding personalities that were subsumed by the notion of being, first and foremost, a wife. The Countess de la Warr, Diana Leigh, for example, owned and ran the Cooden Beach Hotel (Fairley 2001, p.38) as well as numerous charitable and society duties. Katherine Jones (née Jokl) was a translator and possibly a doctor as well as her husband.[47] Very different women, different lives; yet although both are interesting in their own right, very few traces of them remain.

However, it has to be noted that throughout the seating plan, women psychoanalysts generally were named by their own first names. I have to acknowledge with a reluctant respect that, relative to other professions at the time, psychoanalysis in Britain, under the direction of Jones, offered women a unique opportunity to pursue a career, even beyond marriage. For a number of the women at the dinner who had trained as doctors psychoanalysis was possibly their only avenue to pursue an interest in matters related to health. Lady Briscoe, for example, trained as a doctor and surgeon and worked at the Royal Free Hospital and then practised in a leper colony before returning to London, engaged to be married and thereafter giving up any hope of medical practice. However, Grace Briscoe, was successful in quietly continuing to pursue her research interests in radium and its use in the treatment of cancer, parallel to the work of Marie Curie, but this is really only known through family narrative and a few small newspaper articles.

Dr. Marjorie Brierley, a director of the B.P.A.S., was at the top table, with her own name whilst her husband, a professor of botany, was on Table D. Dr. Sylvia Payne, another eminent psychoanalyst and director of the B.P.A.S., was on the top table but through

[47] In the minutes of a Special Meeting of B.P.A.S., July 24th 1929, Anna Freud (1930) refers to Kitty as Dr Katherine Jones on two occasions. She may have been a PhD, but I have no other supporting evidence. In the minutes of the Oxford congress (27-31st July 1929) which took place shortly after the Special meeting mentioned above, but reported on sooner (Freud, 1929), Kitty is referenced as Mrs Kathryn Jones. It is possible she achieved her doctorate between the two reports being written.

her Jones was also able to invite her brother, Sir Henry Moore, a diplomat and Deputy Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Office. An inspired seating arrangement enabled Jones to have a hat trick of government ministers and also place Henry Monck Mason Moore, next to Brenda Seligman, who had carried out ground breaking work with the Vedda people of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), shortly before Moore was posted there as part of the civil service (Ofcansky, 2008 and West, 2012). This connection is indicative of the teasing nature of overlapping data. We cannot know whether Moore and the Seligmans knew each other in 1910, we cannot know whether they knew each other at all, but we do know that they shared a deep interest in Ceylon and even if they didn't know each other before, they would certainly have been able to pursue that connection afterwards[48]. Further down the table was Professor Seligman. He had been a medical man, and consequently been invited on an 1898 Cambridge anthropological expedition to the Torres Straits in that capacity, which began his interest in ethnography (West, 2004). Also on the expedition were WHR Rivers and Charles Myers, perhaps all learning from formative experiences that were to shape their later interest in psychiatry and ideas compatible with psychoanalysis. Next to Seligman was Edith Eder, who had continued her late husband's work by pursuing and promoting the interests of Zionism at an international level. Influential in her own right, it is less surprising that she took her place as 'Mrs David Eder', as it was David to whom Jones would have wanted to offer nostalgic and belated credit, albeit within the constraints of his own memory of early events.[49]

Although there were many eminent minds and representatives of their fields on other tables, many of whom went on to greater successes through the WWII and beyond, Jones had managed to ensure that the top table was long enough to include everyone who might be considered significant by the rest of the guests and the outside world; or rather, everyone who would be considered significant and who had shown some loyalty to the cause or the man. Glover (1939) again gives reference to this in his toast;

> And though it would be foolish to pretend, indeed manifestly unfair to our guests to pretend, that they are convinced followers of Freud, it is true that on many

[48] Leonard Woolf was also in the Civil Service in Ceylon from 1904-1911 and undoubtably knew Moore.
[49] Whilst Jones was in exile in Canada between 1908 and1913, Eder continued to promote the ideas of Freud and psychoanalysis in London, including presenting the first paper in Britain on the treatment of hysteria through psychoanalysis to the British Medical Association in 1911, prompting many of the audience to walk out. This brought him to the attention of Freud. Probably in the certain knowledge of the effect it would have on Jones, Freud later wrote a brief memoir, citing Eder as the 'first, and for a time the only doctor to practice the new therapy in England' (Hinshelwood 1998, p.90). Jones strongly and relentlessly contested that claim.

> critical occasions they have rendered us the inestimable service of keeping the ring.

A well chosen expression with its overtones of Freud's favourite composer, but what the 'ring' also represents is the symbolic capital valued by all.

Glover also makes reference to the differing contributions and loyalties that are held by the guests. Virginia Woolf for example, who was not on the top table, may well have been viewed by others as significant, but she had shown a certain disdain for psychoanalysis and for Freud, in spite of being received with her husband as a visitor to Maresfield Gardens[50] in January of that year. Douglass Orr (1989, p.157) makes a case that in spite of her lifelong battle with depression and low mood, Woolf was not a candidate for psychoanalysis. By the time psychoanalysis was becoming established in the 1920s (to the extent that her brother, Adrian Stephen and sister in law Karin, née Costelloe, became analysts) she was probably considered too old, in her forties, to be helped and her long established mental illness too complex to be taken on by analysts mostly new to the field. Her scepticism may also have suggested a high level of resistance.[51]

10.3 Records of the event

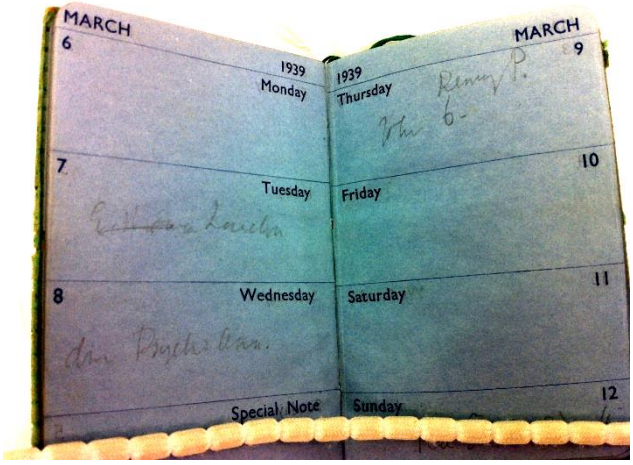
How the meal would be perceived would have been very important to Jones. He had invited representatives from *The Times*, *The Telegraph* and the *News Chronicle*, Egbert Morland from *The Lancet*, TW Mitchell, editor of the *British Journal of Medical Psychology* and Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* (Smith, 2008). He hired an official photographer and the slow exposure around the room captures all of the important tables, even if all of the guests hadn't yet arrived. It is fascinating to match the faces on the photograph to the names on the seating plan, by cross matching other existing photos of the guests or using deductive reasoning, (see Appendix H); trying to work out who may have been late, and who didn't turn up at all. It would appear that De Monchy and Juliet Huxley were unable to make it to the event. Unlike the Bloomsbury table where there are many gaps, probably due to lateness, the

[50] 20 Maresfield Gardens, London, NW3 5SX, Freud's London home and now the home of the Freud Museum.
[51] Amber Blanco White gives a good contemporary explanation of more effective applications of psychoanalysis; 'If anyone should ask "Why Freud?" the answer is that no other school has done any work worth serious consideration on anxiety and its kindred states, while it is on just those topics that the psycho-analysts have provided us with a body of hypotheses which are not only coherent and convincing, but lead to conclusions of the utmost value in every-day life (Blanco White 1941, preface).

top table, to the left of Jones, has no gaps, which suggests that they had notice of those who weren't able to make it. Woolf wrote in her diary,

> Then the Great Psycho Analysts dinner on a wild wet night: Adrian late: dinner at 9 till 12:30. Speeches of a vacancy & verbosity incredible. Lord de la Warr rambling jocosely. And gossip with Duncan & Adrian: and rest of our: table sit in unmitigable gloom. Poor. Mrs. so & so - Meynell & Money Kyrle dead silent ... Mary Hutch: Rebecca West: & set upon & committed to ask to dinner Mrs. Klein (Bell 1985, p.208).

Woolf's long hand diary had been published for many years, but I felt very privileged last year to be one of the first people to view her engagement diaries.



Virginia Woolf's engagement diary. Her entry for 8th March 1939 reads, 'din Psycho Ann'.
Image courtesy of the Special Archives collection at the University of Sussex and the Society of Authors as the Literary Representative of the Estate of Virginia Woolf'

The Hogarth Press had played an important role in the publishing of many of the translations of Freud's work and although Leonard is not on the seating plan, Virginia is on Table G, still central to the room.

10.4 Table G

Table G is interesting as only six of the ten guests had made it to The Savoy in time for the official photograph. We know from Woolf's diary entry that Adrian was late, (and not in the photograph), so it is reasonable to assume that the 'Bloomsburys' were coming as a party, as her mentioning of the fact, suggests his lateness had some impact on her. It is clear that Virginia is not in the photograph and neither is Duncan Grant nor Lord Ivor Churchill. It would have been unfortunate if one guest were to be late, but to imagine that all four were separately late would suggest a deliberate slight, which

seems unlikely as there is no suggestion of this in Woolf's diary. Was it perhaps an air of arrogance from this group that they could arrive when they felt like it, or are we just left imagining that Adrian's lateness caused all the rest of the party to slide apologetically past the tables and the waiters to the centre of the room?

This was an important table at the dinner and holds importance for this prosopography, as it illustrates on a small scale the multi-layered interconnectedness of the guests. Between the guests, they exemplify and share a wealth of social, cultural and symbolic capital as outlined in the earlier chapter on theorisation. Professional connections and similarities, personal relationships and emotional ties, (already well documented amongst the Bloomsbury set), shared educational experiences, shared and opposing war experiences and similar mental health problems, including depression (at least three were to later commit suicide; Woolf, Meynell and Karin Stephen). The table is also a good example of successful and pioneering women as well as men. However, although the average age on the table is 47, one year older than the average age in the room, the average age of their deaths is relatively young at 69, (compared to the mean average age of death amongst the diners of 78)[52], in spite of Helen Money Kyrle and Duncan Grant living to their nineties.

On Table G there were ten guests, each guest equating to 10% of the table. In brackets are the equivalent statistics collected for all the guests on the seating plan where there are reliable data in those areas, see Appendices C-F. On Table G: Two guests were publishers (1%); two authors (4%); one artist (2%), one art collector (0.5%); four physicians (41%); three psychoanalysts (34%); four mothers; five women (49%); five men (51%); one person of Jewish origin (25%); one of Irish American origin (1% Irish, 1% American); two from titled or formerly titled families; eight went to university (60%); three are known to have suffered depression; two are known to have had analysis. The figure for university education is higher for this table, as the wealth of the guests' families had enabled the women to seek higher education as an entitlement. The impact of second and third generation wealth and cultural capital within their families was that the group had similar tastes, accents and manners, resulting in an embedded and shared symbolic capital. This was true for most of the guests at the dinner, but particularly pertinent to this table. It is interesting to note

[52] From a sample of 140 dates of death, validated by death register or other sources, e.g. O.D.N.B. The median age for guests is 79, whereas the median age in each of the post WWII years to 1980 was always less than 70. On account of health, wealth and the freedom from limiting factors of poverty and deprivation many of the guests at the dinner lived into their eighties and nineties, well beyond the national average for the times (Office for National Statistics, 2012).

however, that when Virginia Stephen and Edith and Barbara Low were growing up, (see chapter on Barbara Low), their families were no longer wealthy relative to other upper middle class contemporaries, but their cultural capital, exemplified in a drive to learn and self educate, meant that they were able to communicate and relate to others within shared fields, without having had the advantage of a university education.

Woolf representing Hogarth Press and Vera Meynell, who set up the Nonesuch Press with her then husband, (now estranged); Meynell's gynaecologist, Joan Malleson; Malleson, also estranged from her actor and activist husband, Miles Malleson, is sitting next to the editor Kingsley Martin, with whom she had a close relationship until her premature death in 1956. Martin was great friends with Leonard Woolf, who had previously been connected to the journal *The Nation* as literary editor. Martin took up the editorship of the newly amalgamated journal *The New Statesman and Nation* at the request of their mutual friend J.M. Keynes in 1931 (Smith, 2004).

Meynell was close friends with David Garnett, who had helped set up the Nonesuch Press with her and her husband Francis. Garnett wasn't present, but he had been the lover of Duncan Grant. As such Garnett is a good example of people not present who were pivotal in the links they enabled between others who were present. Other examples would be Leonard Woolf, James and Alix Strachey, Charles Myers to name a few. Grant, who had a life long relationship with Vanessa Bell, Virginia Woolf's sister, had previously been in a relationship with their brother Adrian, as well as Lytton Strachey and Maynard Keynes (Kuper 2009, p.232). Vera Meynell appears to be sitting between Roger Money Kyrle and his wife. It is likely that 'poor Mrs so & so', to whom Woolf refers, is indeed Helen Money Kyrle. Jones may not have organised seating places beyond deciding who sat on which table. Although it would appear that most couples sat together, there are at least a couple of instances in which husband and wife are not seated next to each other. The Money Kyrles and the Kris' are both good examples of where it was likely that friends who had not seen each other for a while, or friends who were close, sat next to each other rather than conforming to convention. Although there is no evidence of Meynell and Money Kyrle's friendship, both were a similar age and both were at Cambridge at the same time.

It would appear that the blurred figure, sitting next to Kingsley Martin, is Karin Stephen. According to John Bowlby's (1985) own notes on psychoanalysts, Karin was 'not only extremely deaf, necessitating a hearing aid as big as a camera,…but during an operation on her ear a facial nerve was damaged, resulting in a one sided facial

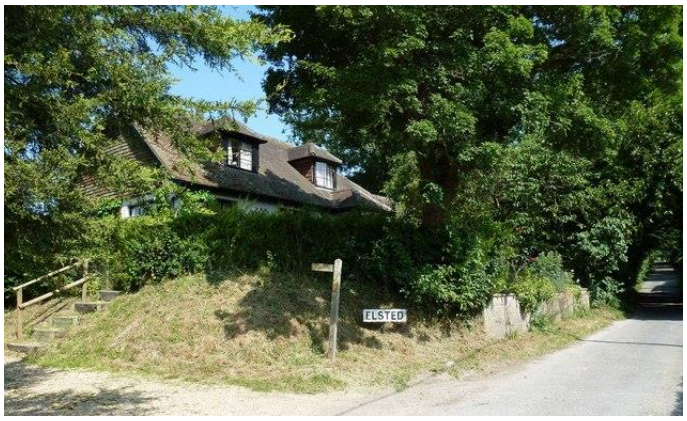
paralysis'. Stephen, an academically gifted Newnham scholar and pupil of Bertrand Russell, was always on the edge of Bloomsbury and was seen as ungainly and awkward by Vanessa and Leonard. She was a contemporary at Newnham with Amber Blanco White (nee Reeves) and Alice Buxton Winnicott (nee Taylor). Alice's sister, Mary Bradshaw excelled at Newnham a few years earlier. Another Newnham scholar, Susan Fairhurst Isaacs didn't coincide her times at the Cambridge college, but they would probably have been familiar with each other. All the Newnham alumni are on adjoining tables; E, F, G and K.

10.5 Table I

Another table of note is Table I, as it represents the bonds of family and close friends and a shared educational experience. Edward John Mostyn Bowlby is on this table, newly qualified as a psychoanalyst, young and ambitious, he was already coming to the attention of the 'old guard' and from his own notes reflecting on these times, written in 1985, there would seem to have been some Oedipal struggles as he brought his quick intelligence and new ideas and contested the supremacy of Jones and Glover. He worked as a psychiatrist at the Maudsley Hospital and became an army psychiatrist during WWII. It was unsurprising that he chose to pursue more experimental and pioneering psychology in later years, not least on account of his frustrations with personalities within the B.P.A.S. Bowlby was newly married to Ursula Longstaff in March 1939 and she was pregnant with their first child at the time of the meal.

Also on the table are Sylvia Payne's three sons; Ronald, Kenneth and Anthony. The fact that all three Payne boys and Sylvia's brother (Sir Henry Moore) are at the meal, suggests a close connection to Jones, beyond her work as a psychoanalyst. The Paynes were a wealthy and successful family and Jones would have enjoyed having an Olympic rower (Kenneth) and a career diplomat at this dinner. Ernest Jones and Sylvia Payne clearly knew each other well but were also part of a Sussex connection, shared by many of the company at the dinner, who had houses or second homes in Sussex. The Plat, (Jones' country house), Monks House, (Woolf's cottage), Charleston, (Duncan Grant's shared home with Vanessa and Clive Bell) and Buckhurst Park (Earl and Countess De La Warr) were all country residences, whilst Joan Riviere, Vera Meynell, Rebecca West, Amber and Rivers Blanco White were amongst many others who also had homes in Sussex. Bowlby (1985) wrote of Sylvia Payne that 'she was married to a surgeon in Eastbourne and commuted'. It is interesting to speculate on why Sussex was so popular, apart from its obvious attractions of being close to

London, yet far enough away to be in the countryside and not far from the sea. Jones chose to buy a country house there after his second marriage to Kitty. He would have been very aware of the Bloomsbury's affection for Sussex and would have known a number of people, such as the Paynes, that he would have wanted to emulate by having a second home in Sussex to add to his Regents Park home; a high point perhaps for Jones in attaining objects of success.[53]



The Plat, Elsted, Sussex. Jones' country home.
Photograph by Basher Eyre, reproduced under Creative Commons licence

A young woman on the same table is possibly the actress Honorine Catto. She is sitting next to Kenneth Payne, who was competitive, successful and confident as a former President of Trinity College Cambridge and an Olympic rower in the British team in 1932.[54] It is possible that Payne and Catto would have enjoyed some mutual and reflected flattery in each other's company.

Mervyn Jones, Ernest and Kitty Jones' second of four children and his eldest surviving child sat on the other side of Kenneth. He is easy to identify in the photograph as he was 17 at the time of the meal. He had just been excluded from his public school, allegedly for being out of his dorm after lights out, but his membership of the Young Communist League probably challenged even a progressive boarding school (Daily Telegraph, 2010). He would shortly afterwards be sent to the USA with his mother, having turned down a place at Oxford. Mervyn had probably been placed on Table I as he knew the Payne family and they could offer some younger conversation perhaps. Kenneth may well have enjoyed some awe and admiration from the young school boy on one side and the actress on the other.

[53] He also craved more symbolic means of success, such as becoming a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, with which he was finally honoured in 1942.
[54] There is wonderful footage of Kenneth captaining the 1934 Boat Race team on British Pathé newsreel, which brings a whole new dimension to the research as you can hear his voice and see him grinning at the camera.

Gilbert Debenham was also on this table with his wife, Violet. He was part of the Debenhams family who founded the department stores and its accumulated wealth and he was the eventual inheritor of the baronetcy. He went to Eton and Trinity College Cambridge, tying him irrevocably with others on the table (and in the room). At least four of the men on the table went to Cambridge with Debenham, Kenneth and Anthony Payne and John Bowlby joining him at Trinity, (Ronald went to St John's); Kenneth Payne also went to Eton with Debenham and their times there would have coincided. There is evidence of six people at the meal having gone to Eton, including the Earl de la Warr and Lord Ivor Churchill. More than ten percent of the guests went to Cambridge colleges, with Adrian Stephen, Hugh Clegg and Roger Money Kyrle also being Trinity alumni. Were they drawn to psychoanalysis and Freudian theory because of how and what they learnt at Cambridge, or was it more about who they knew and who influenced them at Cambridge?

Four people on the Table I are connected by family and two of them are psychoanalysts. The Paynes, Debenham, Atkey and Bowlby are all from wealthy and upper class families and Jones may have hoped their influence would rub off as symbolic capital on the uptight and rebellious Mervyn. A lifelong socialist, Mervyn Jones would have made his father's memory proud for reasons of principle rather than fortune perhaps. For a long time Richard Atkey and his wife remained anonymous, in spite of numerous searches, but a breakthrough came late in the research when I did a much wider trawl of the Atkey family instead of concentrating on marriage and death records that didn't seem to exist in UK registries. Information gleaned from a 'London Gazette' article, (31/12/37 amongst others) led me to believe that Atkey was a solicitor in a prestigious firm in St James, London. His uncle, Oliver, was an important medical surgeon who was pioneering in his work in Egypt[55]. Richard's brother in law, by marriage to his sister Rachel, was the architect Raglan Squire, who incidentally would probably have shared some of his time at St Johns Cambridge with Ronald Payne. At the time of writing details on Richard and his wife remain thin. The lack of any marriage record in England, Wales and Scotland, suggests that they may have married abroad, or perhaps, like Jones, his partner was not legally his wife. There is a record for Richard marrying a divorcee in 1949, but all records stop after this time. However, building up his family picture illustrates why he was placed at this table in particular.

[55] Interestingly, Oliver's wife, Dulcibella, was only the third woman to receive her pilots licence and the two frequently flew together. Perhaps Dulcibella knew Lady de la Warr through their shared interest in flying.

The digital copy of the photograph showed that there is one man less than expected on the seating plan, however a visit to the Institute of Psychoanalysis archives resulted in seeing the original photograph, which had been cropped in the digital version.[56]

Incidentally, Bowlby was later commissioned to write a report for the World Health Organisation in 1951 on Maternal Care and Mental Health in Europe. Anthony Monck Mason Payne was also to have a connection to the W.H.O. when he became Chief Medical Officer of the Epidemic Diseases Division until 1960. Whether or not this connection between two men who went to the same school, same University and had many friends in common was a coincidence is irrelevant. Their shared cultural capital indicates that they were more likely to have similar opportunities at this level, than those who came from different fields.

10.6 Influence and meaning

It is constantly difficult in a prosopography to separate what is biographically interesting (and often important in some field) from what is analytically useful, and never more so than in this chapter. But having demonstrated many of the links between the guests on individual tables, it is now time to draw back from the finer detail to offer a wider analysis of the influences on the guests and the implications for the development of psychoanalysis.

[56] As I handed a copy of my thesis to the archivist at the Institute of Psychoanalysis, I asked to have another look at the photograph of the dinner, hoping to see some mark of the photographer perhaps. When she brought up the photo, I realised I had only ever seen a digital version and this copy of the photo was new to me, with a clarity the other version lacked. It also had a few extra centimeters on the left of the picture, revealing the missing man on Table I and Henry Monck Mason Moore on the top table. Delighted, I sent a copy of the photo to a relative of Atkey, who then identified his uncle. He had been in the picture all along and the missing man had been Anthony Monck Mason Payne.

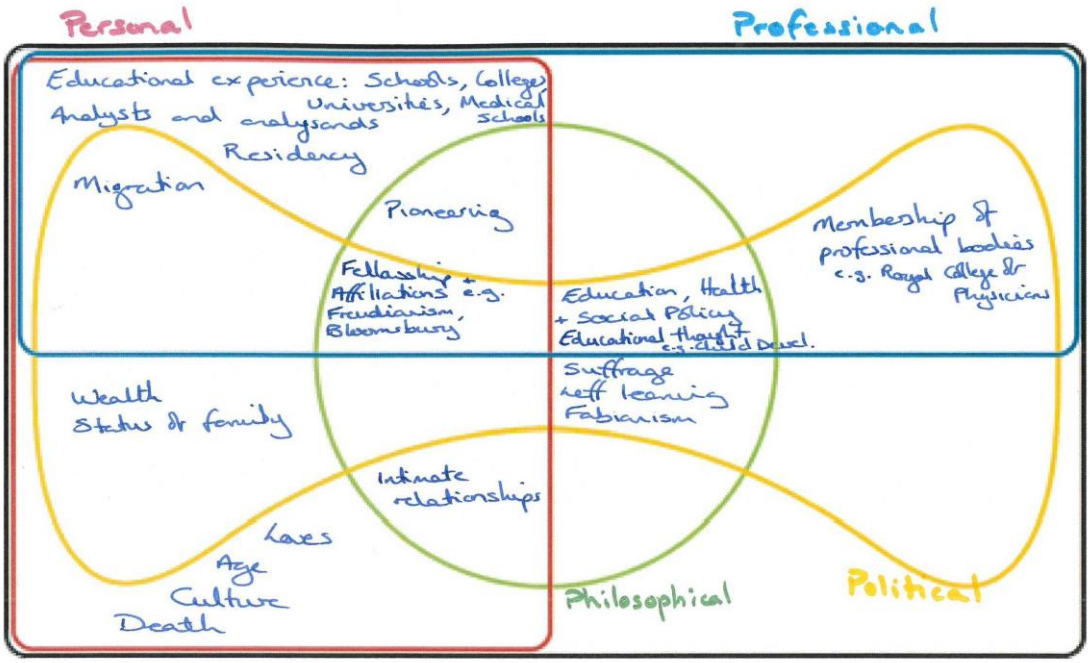


Table 2. Four way Venn diagram illustrating interlinking affiliations

The four areas of philosophical, political, personal and professional themselves interlink and within these, the aspects that I have identified, such as affiliations or residency, can all count as social capital, with the majority also featuring as cultural capital, (see chapter on methodology). Psychoanalysis was inevitably the symbolic capital of the evening however; every guest connected in some way to the development of psychoanalysis at various points in the previous twenty five years, brought together to mark a significant moment and thereby being part of that moment themselves.

Without this range of guests at the dinner, the impact of the anniversary would have been reduced and the potential for the further distribution of the idea of psychoanalysis as important for science and for medicine would have been far less. The guests would have shared an acknowledgement of Sigmund Freud as the founder of psychoanalysis; would have recognised Ernest Jones as the President of the B.P.A.S. and had a level of understanding of his role in getting the society to this point. They would have all had an appreciation of the importance of psychoanalysis in the treatment of neuroses and many there would have had a more specific knowledge of various other psychiatric and psycho-therapeutic treatments. They would all have had at least a basic knowledge of some of the language unique to psychoanalysis and they would each have known either someone who had had analysis or someone who was an analyst. The guests would all probably have read, watched or seen a book, play or painting that was in some way inspired by Freudian themes or psychoanalysis and, given the influences to which most at the dinner were subject, it may not be an unrealistic assumption that

many would have attempted some basic form of self analysis. This description would not have applied to most people in the country, and would not have applied to many other groups gathered at dinners at The Savoy that year. There is a uniqueness about this group built on the very reason for them coming together; a self actualisation.

> It was appealing in the *fin de siècle* atmosphere which hung over till the War, so that psychoanalysis gained from being iconoclastic and even revolutionary (Hinshelwood 1998, p.99).

The reasons for this early attraction appeared to stay constant for those studying psychoanalysis, as in spite of the seemingly grudging acceptance by the British Medical Association in 1929 there were still many who found the theory unscientific and the practice poor. Yet, with bright minds and key figures in the camp, it was easier to ride out the criticisms by collectively agreeing that the work was both pioneering and enlightened and that those who were critics had closed minds and were reactionary; approaches and resilience common in many new movements.

10.7 Affiliations

It was unsurprising that psychoanalysis appealed to those whose politics were left leaning or radical. Of seventy guests with reliable data on their professional affiliations three were members of the Society for Psychical Research, reminding others of the early mutual interest between Freud and the S.P.R[57]. and three were members of the Rationalist Press Association, of which Freud was also a member. There were at least two members of the Socialist Medical Association (S.M.A.), including Somerville Hastings, who was the founding President in 1930. Together with Sir Henry Brackenbury, (and later Dr Stephen Taylor) he began the call for a socialised medical service throughout the 1930s. The Spanish Medical Aid Committee was an offshoot of mostly S.M.A. members, but included non members such as Rebecca West. She was also a member of the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, alongside seven others who were either members or had close links, such as H.G. Wells, Kingsley Martin and J.C. Flugel. A surprisingly small number (Rivers Blanco White and

[57] Hinshelwood notes the importance of the Society for Psychical Research, set up in the 1880s by 'the most elevated minds in Victorian society' to research spirits and spiritual mediums. Founded by Frederick Myers and others with direct or strong links to the apostles of Cambridge University, the society was interested in the writings of Freud and the links between hysterical trance states and the trances of spiritualist mediums. T.W. Mitchell formed a medical section of the Society in 1910 and invited Freud to contribute the paper, '*A Note on the Unconscious in Psychoanalysis*' (Freud, 1912) and Freud consequently became a corresponding member (Hinshelwood 1998, p.89). As well as James Strachey, Joan Riviere and J.C. Flugel were also members.

Barbara Low) had direct links to the Fabian Society, but a few, including Ernest Jones were supporters, if not members. Joan Malleson was a member of the Abortion Law Reform Association, Rosalie Burke (later to marry James Taylor) was a founder member of the Institute of Psychosexual Medicine and supporter of the Marie Stopes clinics and Marjorie Franklin was on the Howard League for Penal Reform. The sample may be small in many of these examples, but information that can be sourced and validated is limited, often only more celebrated former members are recorded. However, it is reasonable to assume that membership of these types of reforming and socialising societies was common.

For Jones it would have been important to appeal to people who could influence a wide range of societies and organisations, rather than a lot of people who were all members of the same society. Not discounting the impact of the WWII, the pre war influence of many of these groups on health and social policy, which was then implemented after the war, was significant. The lessons learnt from members of the B.P.A.S. who were involved in psychiatric treatment on combatants from W.W.I and the influence of psychoanalysis on them and their practice in the intervening years, certainly contributed to a change in treatment for service personnel suffering trauma and mental injuries during W.W.II, which then had consequent impact on mental health treatment after the war. The therapeutic practices in inter-war clinics, such as the Maudsley, hospitals such as Bethlam, and experimental education for ‘delinquents’, such as Q Camps, were all led by practitioners who were trained or training to be psychoanalysts, or who were very familiar with psychoanalysis. As the Second World War arrived, so the majority of psychoanalysts were drawn into using their practice in hospitals and clinics and in the areas of policy, advising on evacuees and managing hostels and clinics for children who were unable to cope with the difficulties associated with evacuation.

As another measure of the importance of well placed affiliations for the effective dissemination of psychoanalysis, but also as a testimony to the skills of those involved, sixteen of the guests were recognised as Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians during their lifetimes, (including Lord Dawson of Penn who was at the dinner in his capacity as President of the Royal College of Physicians); seven of these practised as psychoanalysts. Charles Seligman and Julian Huxley were both Fellows of the Royal Society (F.R.S.). Incidentally, Sigmund Freud was elected Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine as a foreign member in 1935. Freud was allowed the unique honour of having the Charter brought to his Hampstead house, so that he could sign

his acceptance of the title of F.R.S. when he arrived in London in 1938. Freud wrote to Jones to tell him of the original news in May 1935,

> As this cannot have happened “because of my beautiful eyes,” it must be proof that respect for our psychoanalysis has made great progress in official circles in England. I thanked them most emphatically.

In his response Jones reveals his respect for the honour bestowed and perhaps in his vehement denial, he leaves a small inference that he had played a part in this decision;

> …a spontaneous action on their part, no analyst being concerned in it, and that the proposal was quite unanimously accepted. Though it does not add to the actual number of letters after your name we shall be able to print on the next book ‘Hononary Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine’ (Paskauskas 1993, p.743).

The greater the honours, the deeper into the establishment psychoanalysis would reach.

10.8 Publishing and Publishers

Aside from affiliations, several other professional links have already been identified through examination of individual tables, but it is important to return to a few of them in more detail. The relevance of publishing and publishers to the effective dissemination of psychoanalysis, both nationally and internationally is enormous. Freud understood this in publishing *Imago* and the *Internationale Zeitschrift fur Psychoanalyse* (established in 1912 and 1913 respectively). When it appeared that publishing of these journals may cease, Freud set up a psychoanalytic publishing house, or Verlag in 1919. Jones followed suit shortly afterwards with the establishment of the first English language periodical devoted to psychoanalysis, *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, in 1920 and then the creation of the International Psychoanalytical Press which had a brief life, before Jones negotiated with the Woolfs to publish the International Psychoanalytical Library through their Hogarth Press, (Shamdasani, 2010). Hogarth published twenty five translated papers and books by Freud in the period up to the dinner (Klein et al, 1989, p.339) and continued to publish works, included the Stracheys’ monumental twenty four volumes of the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, released from 1956-1974.

Stanley Unwin is also at the dinner, and his publishing house had been sympathetic to the plight of German and Austrian Jews, resulting in him buying up the Phaidan Verlag, (an art house publishing firm) from a friend in 1930[58]. George Allen and Unwin also published a revised English translation of The Interpretation of Dreams in 1932, (Denniston, 2008). It is less likely that Vera Meynell was at the dinner in her capacity as co-founder of the Nonesuch Press, which published classic works of literature and poetry including Dickens. It is more probable that she was there on account of her being a patient (analysand) and having significant social capital.

10.9 Analyst and analysand

There is little information about who was analysed generally, with the exception of the early analysts who were content to talk freely about their own training analyst, particularly if it was someone of note. There is validated information on who analysed a quarter of the dinner guests, with Melanie Klein most popular as an analyst (12 analysands), then Freud, with eight guests having had an analysis with him and Jones who analysed seven guests. Other popular analysts were Ruth Mack Brunswick, Hanns Sachs and Sandor Ferenczi, who offered a brief analysis to Jones. Many of these analyses were short and nearly two thirds of those analysands had more than one analyst. As an illustration of this, Sylvia Payne said of Ella Freeman Sharpe that 'she had undertaken more training analyses than any other analyst in England' (Jacobus 2005, p.4).

Returning to Meynell however, she is part of a small group on whom there is evidence of a private treatment, (i.e. not with a view to becoming an analyst at that point), but she is also part of a group where there is an account on record that comes from a poor view of analysis. In two cases from this group, the information comes from family members; a husband and a niece and in one instance from an interview relating to the former analysand's father, the Earl de la Warr. They are each worth recounting for different reasons. In his autobiography, Francis Meynell (1971, p.207) writes of his former wife;

[58] According to Denniston (2008) Unwin's purchase of the Phaidon Verlag from his friend Dr Horowitz, resulted in him being on the Gestapo's 'undesirable' list.

> Vera had been analysed in New York, where she had lived during her former marriage, and she insisted that it was proper for Benedict [their son] also to be analysed, when he was seven. I saw no abnormality or unhappiness in him that needed treatment, and I came to the view that his sessions with the analyst were disturbing rather than reassuring him. Vera promptly bade me go and talk to the analyst. I went. The analyst said, 'I suppose you know that your son is a homicidal maniac?' If he had said that the boy suffered from a little bit of this or that I might have taken it seriously. As it was, I said: 'Yes, indeed, I am aware of that, but how did you find out?' He said: 'Ben carries a toy pistol. I have watched him as he comes up the stairs to my consulting-room. At each landing he pauses and shoots imaginary enemies.' That was enough even for Vera. She agreed with me that the analysis should be ended.

Further on in the book, Meynell adds;

> In all her doings and designs she had sought something that she was never able to find, neither in herself nor by means of the psychoanalysis which she suffered (my carefully chosen word) both in the United States before I knew her and in England during her last years, when she was herself training to be an analyst (p.286).

Family information suggests that Winnicott was the analyst involved with her son, and perhaps Vera too. Although Meynell's account includes many loving and compassionate phrases, I can't help hearing echoes of the views on Winnicott's own wife. Like Alice Buxton Winnicott, Vera Meynell was certainly so much more than the sum of her depression, as her entry in the *Girton College 1869 -1959* Register notes (Megson and Lindsay, 1960). Although she ultimately took her own life, it would appear that it was, at least in part, as a result of believing she had Parkinson's disease.

Iseult Grant Duff was one of a number of women, like Barbara Low and Ella Freeman Sharpe, who stayed single throughout their lives. She had an aristocratic childhood as the daughter of Scottish politician and Government minister, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff and, similarly to Low, she lived as part a large family of four girls and four boys but spent her adult life in quieter surroundings. In the biography of her own mother, Clara, (Iseult's sister), Anne Freemantle (1971) only has a few memories of her aunt. Interestingly she writes that the family referred to Iseult as

‘Insane Youngest’, ‘because she had such odd ideas’ (p.114). From diary entries of her father (Grant Duff, 1905) it would seem that he had a warm and close relationship with his youngest daughter and the way he writes about his time with her is touching. But perhaps, in opposition to Low, it was this strong relationship with her father that allowed her to think differently and confidently. Grant Duff wrote the first English translation of Freud’s 1907 paper *Der Dichter und das Phantaseiren*, (The Relation of the Poet to Day-Dreaming) in 1925, continuing an early but strong tradition of women psychoanalysts bringing their understanding of European languages to good use through translating Freud’s writing. Riviere, began in 1920, followed by Kitty Jones, Alix Strachey, Freeman Sharpe to name a few.

Freemantle however, gives us a brief insight into Grant Duff’s life as a psychoanalyst. She summarises her life with the following;

> Aunt Iseult went to India as a missionary. There she lost her faith, and returned to Europe, to Berlin, where she studied psychoanalysis under Hanns Sachs. In spite of her success in this second profession she and a female companion, when both were over seventy-five, consumed between them a bottle of aspirin tablets (Freemantle 1971, p.200).

Freemantle comments that this death was unnecessary as it was the companion who was bed ridden and a friend had offered to send money for Grant Duff to join him in Mexico. Perhaps it was an act of love however, or an act of bravery, but like Meynell her pioneering spirit and ability to think differently from others, enabled her to make a decision from which most would shrink.

With the arrival of Melanie Klein to England in 1926, there was a trend to analyse children as well as adults. Klein had made observations on her own three children shortly after her training analysis with Karl Abraham[59]*, although she didn’t develop her technique as a child analyst until after 1922*. Klein had views on child analysis which brought her into conflict with Freud and his daughter Anna, which was to culminate fifteen years later in the Controversial Discussions, when the British Psychoanalytical Society was for a time in danger of splitting irretrievably into different camps. Through this series of meetings and correspondence lasting several years Sylvia Payne and Ernest Jones brought the sides to a compromise position on which they could all agree

*See list of errata, p.ii

and continue to develop their own interests, whilst collaborating on crucial areas of consensus. One of many influential and important people who were to take their children for analysis was Herbrand Sackville, Earl de la Warr. In this excerpt from his biography (Fairley, 2010, p.53) it is also interesting to note the implication that Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill may also have been a patient, accounting for his inclusion on the guest list for another reason besides being rich, connected and friends with the Bloomsbury set.

> Much to the annoyance and dislike of his children, De La Warr was highly interested in the new science of psychiatry, and subjected both himself and his family to a journey of self-discovery for many years.
> Buck had been introduced to the science by his close friend Ivor Churchill and was a fervent believer in its capabilities. His daughter Kitty was psychoanalysed daily for ten years by the famous post-Freudian analyst Melanie Klein from the incredibly young age of three. Recalling her father, she relates: “He used to say ‘If I can’t have my children psychoanalysed I won’t have children’. I think it was because he felt that children pop out fairly clear of context and difficulty and he was damned well going to keep them that way.

In conversation with Fairley shortly before she died in 2010, Lady Katherine continued;

> My brothers went until they were eight or nine but they got off because they went to prep. school and I was landed with it until the second World War saved me. He even made my poor mother go, too, though she gave it up, I believe. I went. You did what you were told.

Fairley closes the interview by asking for her thoughts on her analyst. She replied, “It certainly taught me how to hate. I never hated anyone so much as her” (2010, p.54).

10.10 On matters sexual

Freud recognised that it was a constant struggle to manage transference between analysand and analyst, as exemplified by Jones and Riviere and Jones and Eder, but it seems to me, with a layperson’s interpretation, that it must have been extremely difficult for children to understand elucidations of issues that were not raised consciously by them, or silences in sessions that were hard to fill. There may also have been a conflict between a home life that was relatively devoid of talk of sexual matters and an analysis that was based on interpretations of their childhood sexuality. Indeed,

it would seem that one interpretation of the reason for Jones' 'exile' to Canada was on account of him using sexual language with unsuspecting children in an attempt to use psychoanalytical methods to treat physical manifestations of difficulties or neuroses.

The work of Anna Freud and her colleagues and the legacy of Kleinian analysis and the consequent work of Winnicott and Bowlby, clearly helped to develop an intellectual understanding of child psychology and development (Storr, 2004 and Yorke 2004). This in turn supported children with challenging behaviour and emotional difficulties and continues to inform child mental health practice today. As with any pioneering work, there have to be early failures from which to learn and it was unfortunate for families and relationships, that some of these failures were on children. As for Melanie Klein, she sadly lost her eldest son in an accident and then her relationship with her daughter, Melitta Schmideberg, suffered a schism from which it never recovered. It was only her youngest son, Eric Clyne[60], with whom she succeeded in having a positive and lifelong mother child bond. According to a family source he lived into old age and had nothing to do with psychoanalysis.[61]

Touching on the complexities of Melanie Klein's family relationships segues neatly into the area of personal affiliations. The diagram on the next page is an attempt to trace the relationships between some of the people at the meal. I could easily continue until I had quilted all the guests together, blending the patterns of their loves and their lives. Partly because I started with the Bloomsbury table, who were known for their inter and intra relationships, by far the strongest links are intimate relationships. It is not for me to pronounce or to make judgements on whether these relationships were sexual or not, and I have deliberately steered from the salaciousness that this could imply. I have distinguished between an intimate relationship and a friendship in the chart, only on the grounds of the data I hold. For example, Francis Meynell refers to his wife being friends with Joan Malleson, who was also her gynaecologist, supporting her when she had difficulty conceiving their first child. This is a good, probably close, relationship but I only have evidence of an intimacy brought about by the nature of their professional relationship. Roger Money Kyrle and Ivor Spencer Churchill may well have had a friendship as they were at Eton together, but I have no substantiating evidence for this.

[60] Advised by Nathan Isaacs to change his name from Erich Klein when he was living in the US in 1937 (Grosskurth 1986, p.239).
[61] Fascinatingly, Eric Clyne was one of the first three soldiers to enter Bergen Belsen after the end of WWII.

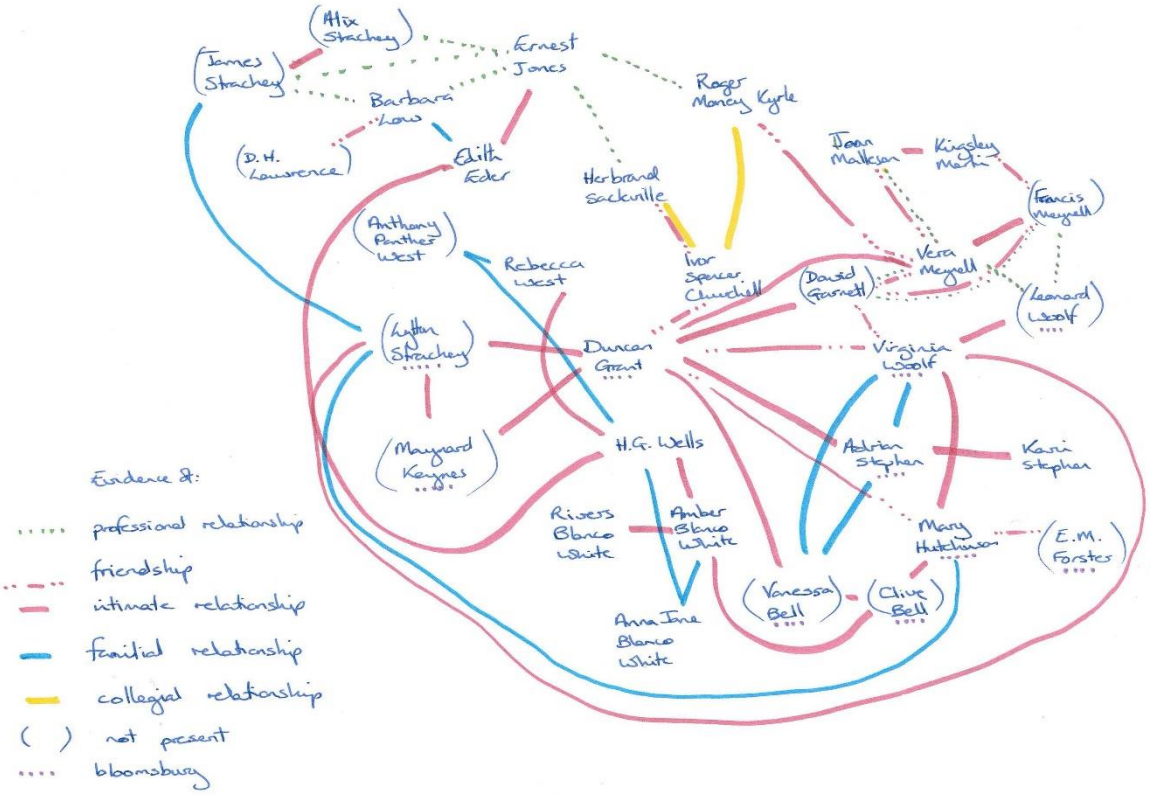


Table 3. An illustration of the links between the relationships of a sample of the dinner guests at the B.P.A.S. Jubilee dinner in 1939

Ernest Jones may well have had a sexual relationship with Edith Eder, he certainly invoked an emotional and frustrated outpouring from her in her letters to him, (see Jones chapter), but only the two of them knew for sure the nature of their clearly intimate relationship. I had to include H.G. Wells in the diagram, as he is quite unusual even amongst those who had embraced G.E. Moore's notion of fellowship, in that he had had children by two of the women in the room, Amber Blanco White (nee Reeves) and Rebecca West, whilst both were unmarried, and had relationships with at least one other woman at the top table. But perhaps Wells had managed to do what so many others had failed to do when they confused and interplayed loving, carnal and intimate relationships; he maintained a deep love for and by those women until his death, long after any sexual intimacy had ceased.

On the eve of war, a few months after the dinner, Amber Blanco White wrote to Wells in response to a book that he had sent them. She wrote;

Bedham
Nr Fittlesworth
West Essex Thursday, Aug 25 1939

Dearest H.G.,

We got back last night from Wales to find your book – it will be something to occupy our thoughts, a god-send.(At a time like this, when life as we have known it seems to be ending for all of us, one's thoughts go back, and even if there were not the book to thank you for I think I should have written to thank you)- What you gave me all those years ago – a hope that seemed perfect to me, the influence of your mind and Anna Jane – have stood by me ever since. I have never for a moment felt that they were not worth the price.
…

Signed yours ever
Dusa[62]

After his funeral, Rebecca West, wrote to Wells' daughter in law Marjorie,

> I loved him all my life and always will, and I bitterly reproach myself for not having stayed with him, because I think I was fairly good for him (Ray 1974, p.193).

A little gem found amongst Shena Simon's biographical papers in the archives at Newnham College, is a letter from Amber to Shena, written on 17th September 1966, in which she asserts that she and not HG's second wife, was the young woman on whom Ann Veronica was based. She writes that nothing would induce her to sue as 'Posterity should be used to being deceived'. In another letter she writes that there is no purpose in dragging up the past, as it would affect her own adult children, but implicit in all her letters is an affection and loyalty to Wells that was life long.

It may be that these were the exceptions rather than the rule. There were many at the dinner who had led unhappy and tangled lives, falling in love with those who didn't love them back with the same feeling or intensity, (Mary Hutchinson and Virginia Woolf,

[62] Amber Reeves was known as Medusa by friends at Newnham College, University of Cambridge, on account of her thick black hair and this was then shortened to Dusa and she continued to call herself by this name.

Edith Eder and Ernest Jones to name a few). Others tried to lead a life unbounded by the customary restraints of marital fidelity, but frequently found this difficult. Francis Meynell (1971, p.207) wrote of how the fashion of the time enabled him and Vera to enjoy 'plentifully' a permissive attitude towards extra-marital affairs. He added;

> We believed that the only prurient thing about sex is the mystery and pretence with which convention surrounds a natural function and delight. However, we failed to have the needed emotional tolerance and after eight years of our marriage, with its shared ecstasies and happy commonplaces and achievements, and its horrible jealousies and angers, we became painfully estranged.

In her autobiography, Juliette Huxley initially seems to reveal a deep hurt as she writes many years after events, controlling her emotions through a Jungian explanation of her husband's infidelities and in particular his affair with an American woman in 1930. She describes how Julian 'believed his cause to be noble, bringing him the peace and power with which not only to 'mellow into fruit', but even, on the buoyant wings of his euphoria, to carry me too to a new fulfilment' (Huxley 1986, p.142) and goes on to explain how, on the advice of her husband and a female doctor friend, she took lovers herself to help herself over her neuroses, which in the end, with the right lover, seemed to work. After the loss of this lover (Jason) in WWII, Juliette concludes that this had taught her 'the evil of possessiveness and the vanity of attempting its rule' (p.164). She adds that this had brought her and Julian to solve their problems and she finishes this part of her story enigmatically, leaving the reader wondering about the inequality implicit in their 'pact' of loyal unfaithfulness;

> I cannot but agree that to both of us were given the rewards of his passionate hunger for more life. To me it brought the joys of new growth, within the limits of my capacities (p.165).

One final example of an adverse affect of sexual freedoms on one or more of the parties can be found in one letter amongst many in the University of Sussex Special Archives from Amber Blanco White to Clive Bell (c.1913)[63] which implies an affair. This particular letter, at the start of the collection, gestures to the sadness that her husband, Rivers is feeling. She writes;

[63] Estimated date on the folder, but I believe this series of letters to be a year or two later at the start of W.W.I.

> I have not burnt your letter yet and I don't intend to – it is too pleasant to have it in such a time of dampness and depression and domestic gloom. It is wretched here, we can't get papers and everyone is very bad tempered about it. Rivers has just looked over my shoulder and is still more bad tempered because he saw your Christian name. I told you how it would be.

Enid McLeod seemed to be unusual in leading a life as a lesbian that was relatively open. In spite of Freud's claim that he did not let himself be moved either to or away from the theme of sexuality (Jones 1959, p.192) psychoanalysis did not seem to be very at ease with the notion of homosexuality. Bi-sexuality seemed much more acceptable within the cultural expectations of the time. Perhaps it had an edge of being experimental and pioneering, whereas the movement may have been more radical had it embraced those who were confident in their own sexuality, (even though it was still against the law). It is easy to look back with a view that is shaped by a very different acceptance and understanding and it may well be that couples who shared their lives, such as Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, or Iseult Grant Duff and her 'companion', were indeed bound by friendship rather than a sexual intimacy. Ultimately it is irrelevant whether or not the outside world had knowledge of the nature of these relationships. The important element is that many females at the dinner found companionship in each other, either as sisters or friends, which sustained them to the end of their lives.

10.11 The role of women

There are a large number of dinner guests with close association to the suffrage movement, although interestingly there is sparse reference to any direct involvement in any of the biographies. Is this perhaps because so many were already taking part in their own form of 'direct action', through their pioneering work in psychoanalysis and a promotion of sexual freedom that took another fifty years and improved access to contraceptives to extend to a wider population? Although there has long been a critique of Freudian theory as anti-feminist because of the phallocentric view Freud's writing presents, there has also been counter argument that places Freud's use of language and the examples he gives within the context of time and place and his ideas should therefore not be bound by the limits of his language; the theory has indeed extended, evolved and developed into contemporary contexts with apparent ease.

One of the early female pioneers of psychoanalysis was Jessie Murray, who set up the Medico-Psychological Clinic, also known as the Brunswick Square Clinic, with her

friend and partner Julia Turner. Jessie was a key member of the Suffrage movement and as the training analyst for a large number of the early psychoanalysts including Sylvia Payne, Susan Isaacs and Ella Freeman Sharpe, it is likely that her views were highly influential. Lord de la Warr's mother was also a famous suffragette. Countess de la Warr, Annie Brassey, was wealthy in her own right and following her divorce from Herbrand Sackville's father, she used her money to back many causes that included the promotion of women's right to vote (Crawford 2003, p.165).

As noted earlier in the chapter, the way in which British psychoanalysis developed enabled women to find a skilful and professional working role beyond marriage. Freud's own views on women and his relationships with women are not for discussion at this time[64] but Ernest Jones' somewhat ambivalent attitude to women has been documented here. On at least two occasions, Freud took issue with Jones over his opinions of the women with whom he had become emotionally entangled. Loe Kann and Joan Riviere were both analysed by Freud, who seemed to take more than a little pleasure in informing Jones that each of the women were far more emotionally healthy than he had given them credit. However, it is clear from his letters and minutes that Jones was the main advocate for lay analysts, opening the way for more women to gain status as psychoanalysts.

At the dinner there are seventy guests who can be identified as psychoanalysts, of which twenty-nine are women, (40%). In 1924 there were already 30% of women amongst the fifty-four members of the B.P.A.S., a percentage only exceeded by Berlin, where 50% of members were women (Hinshelwood 1998, p.99). It would appear that the proportion of members who were women had risen by 1939, although this is mostly on account of the migration of a significant number of Jewish women psychoanalysts who had fled to London from the Continent. Significantly, 50% of the women psychoanalysts at the dinner were lay members, including Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham and Melanie Klein. On the seating plan, most of the women with medical qualifications are given the title 'Dr', however at least one woman was referred to as Mrs, even though Eva Rosenfeld was a neurologist, psychiatrist and then a psychoanalyst, so there may be more professional women amongst the wives than I was able to name. As stated earlier, most women who did have a medical background were expected to surrender their work to their role as wife and/or mother, but some like Joan Malleson, were able to continue in their career beyond motherhood (Martin,

[64] Lisa Appignanesi and John Forrester's '*Freud's Women'* (1992) is an excellent resource on this subject of Freud's relationships and attitude to women.

2004). But this family planning expert was amongst the pioneering few (whom female psychoanalysts were able to join) in the vanguard of professional choices for women beyond marriage.

Were women better analysts than men? Were lay analysts' approaches less clinical or more empathetic than physicians'? Wahl (1995, p.266) writes of Ella Freeman Sharpe that she 'quickly developed as an analyst of great capacity and depth, with an almost intuitive grasp of analytic material'. He adds that many of her patients regarded her as a compassionate and insightful clinician with a strongly sublimated maternal instinct. It is likely that we know more about analysis that didn't meet the patient's requirements than analysis that did. Consequently it is difficult to speculate on what style or manner was more effective. At this celebration of psychoanalysis, I wonder if there was an uneasy harmony between analysand and analyst during the evening, or whether it was quite usual for each to mix socially with the other in between sessions of analysis. Did Virginia Woolf's comment about Meynell and Money-Kyrle not talking give us an insight into a typically awkward conjunction? From letters between Freud and Jones and Jones and others, it is clear that there was not a bond of discretion or confidentiality between patient and analyst, and it may be that far too many secrets and neuroses were shared by too many, resulting in a difficult tension during the evening. It is fair to speculate that if there was, Jones would have either been oblivious to it, or would have enjoyed the ring master's position he held over the silent currency of power.

10.12 Culture and migration

At least fifty-four of the guests at the dinner were of Jewish origin. It is likely, as with Freud and Low for example, that Judaism was little practised, but 25% of the guests shared a cultural identity at a time when the significance of being Jewish was pronounced. For many at the dinner the implications of being Jewish could also have proved fatal as they had for many of their family members. There is evidence that Ernest Jones played a vital role, not only in securing the release of Freud and his immediate family, but also of a significant number of the guests. Only twelve of those who are known to be Jewish were born in the UK. Some amongst them, such as Low and Eder were the children of émigrés, but the majority of the Jewish contingent had recently emigrated to Britain. Jones was involved in numerous decisions about who would be allowed entry to Britain and who instead should consider emigrating to New Zealand or other countries. By 1938 the United States authorities had significantly reduced the number of Jewish migrants who were allowed entry and so many Jews

came to Britain in a temporary move, to put them in a better position to emigrate to the States. Importantly, for the development of psychoanalysis in Britain, thirty three of the psychoanalysts at the dinner were Jewish; 45% of the total number of psychoanalysts at the time. Could it be argued that some of the popular distaste for psychoanalysis, and the mimicry to which it was subject, was on account of an element of anti-semitism? Whether or not this was so, it was still a significant and important show of support by people such as the Earl and Countess de la Warr and Lord Horder to be guests of honour at this celebration. Perhaps their posts and entitlements also meant that this group of people were far more appraised of the plight of Jews in German occupied countries than most of the public were in early 1939. Perhaps their generally left leaning viewpoints meant they embraced diversity and change more readily. Or maybe, their commitment and personal experience of psychoanalysis meant that the culture and or religion of a significant number of people at the meal was irrelevant.

10.13 Residency

Place of residency provides some very interesting data for this prosopography. 61 of the dinner guests (30%) can be identified with reasonable confidence from the private residents' directory for London within Kelly's *Post Office Directory* of 1939. Each star represents one address relating to a dinner guest or couple; 43 addresses. Although only a few addresses, such as Jones', can be verified through access to their personal correspondence, the addresses included are all authenticated by the match of names to addresses, with the addition of factors such as medical qualifications, unusual names, husband's names or titles. If there was an element of doubt they were not included in the count, although many more could have been included as their addresses fell within the predominant areas; for example there was one Miss Sharpe living in Regents Park area, but there was no verification that this was Miss Ella Sharpe and so she was not included. It is likely that there was an even higher incidence of dinner guests living within these postal districts, but the private residents' directory may not be comprehensive. We can assume that the data relating to private phone ownership were included as it was already information held by the Post Office, but if participants didn't own a phone then the directory presumably relied on the participants choosing what information was included and may have relied on their consent whether to be included at all.

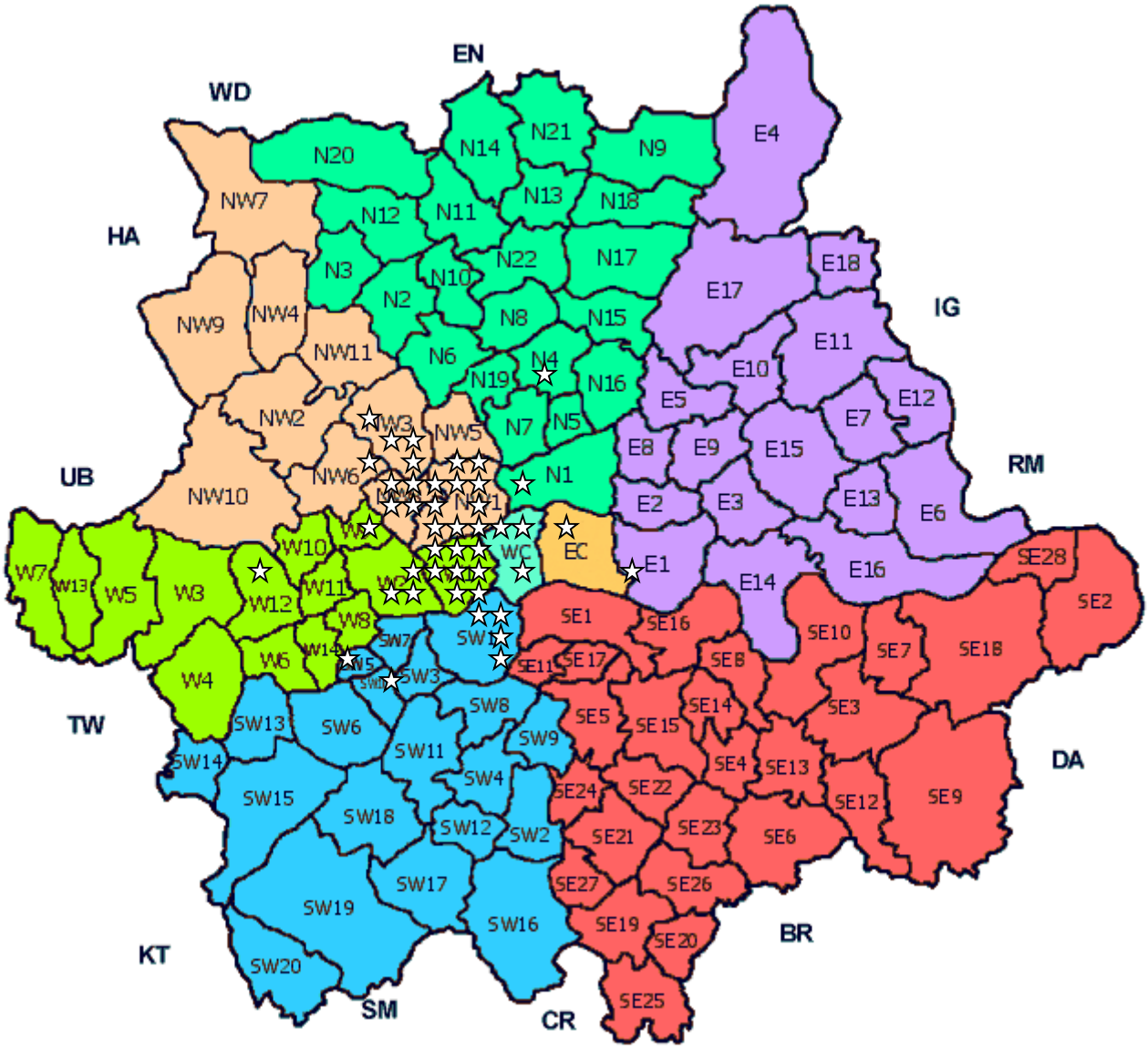


Table 4. Map of London illustrating where at least 30% of the guests at the B.P.A.S. Jubilee dinner resided by postal area in 1939

The stars are not geographically accurate beyond the post code area. The postal area map is a contemporary map, used for its colour and impact, however there have been very few changes to the post codes, as illustrated by this 1930 map.

London Street Index (1930) Image available online: London Ancestor.

Perhaps the more unlikely address of a dinner guest is in E1. This was the home of Basil Henriques and his wife Rose (née Loewe), both Jewish philanthropists and social reformers who lived and worked in the East End of London.
Interestingly, three of the addresses are in the same street, Clifton Hill in NW8; psychoanalysts Melanie Klein, Ronald MacDonald and Egbert Morland.

There is no doubt that the influence of a few people, such as Jim Ede, who was curator at the Tate in the 1930s (Lewison, 2004), and the long established connections of Hampstead with arts and culture and an association with wealth and success, would have encouraged many more to be drawn to north west London to live and work. It is also important to note that a number of hospitals, including the Royal Free, were well established in the area, drawing medical professionals to also live nearby.

10.14 Prosopography

By looking at individuals, tables, groupings and other classifications, I have been able to demonstrate numerous links that offer insight into the lives of the guests and the impact their professional and personal affiliations had on the development of psychoanalysis in Britain. Using a database that is expanding all the time, with new connections becoming apparent nearly every day[65], I have been able to work with a statistically significant amount of validated and accurate data on more than two thirds of the guests (70%). I have demonstrated that the majority of guests knew each other through a myriad of ways beyond the symbolic capital they all shared on the evening of 8th March. Shared experiences of school, university, hospital practice, friendship and affiliation enabled Jones to build and develop psychoanalysis upon a cadre of secure bonds that offered it structural stability. This would be truly put to the test during the Controversial Discussions that were to come during the 1940s. It is testimony to the ties that bound them that psychoanalysis in Britain survived a three way difference of opinion and friendships across the divides remained.

Interestingly, I have found no evidence of any guest who had achieved social mobility through their links with those at the dinner, or through association with psychoanalysis. There is evidence of a small number of guests who held social capital as a result of

[65] On the day I am writing this, I have just noticed a connection that I had been staring at for months without noticing the significance. Alice and Donald Winnicott are seated on the same table as her sister and brother in law; Mr and Mrs H.C. Bradshaw Esq.

having second generation professional or academic status, but the majority of guests appear to have come from embedded social standing.

Chapter 11
Conclusion

> The great value of psychoanalysis lies, not in enabling us to reveal the 'real' selves of our subjects, but as a tool to create new spaces for thinking about both selves and stories (Day Sclater 2005, p.171).

At the start of this research I set out to use an auto/biographical paradigm to find one story from many; to reveal a new story from the analysis of so many lives present at the belated Jubilee celebration on 8th March 1939. If I allow myself to corrupt Day Sclater's quotation above, it would be easy to replace 'psychoanalysis' with 'prosopography', as there is no doubt that this thesis has allowed me to learn well and to reveal as much about myself as about the lives of others and the links between those lives.

The one story revealed is the story that arises from shared symbolic capital. Two hundred and twelve people came together from diverse backgrounds, professions and experiences but all shared a connection through an investment (direct or indirect) in psychoanalysis. This story is layered with the connections of cultural and symbolic capital between guests; shared educational experiences, mutual friends and lovers, secrets shared by indiscreet analysts and in many, a commonality of class and manners. Undoubtedly, Ernest Jones brought these people together for this occasion and so he needed to be a story in himself, but I have also brought to the fore the forgotten lives and achievements of women through whom I have been able to exemplify this prosopographical approach.

The story laid out in these preceding pages shows how Ernest Jones, President of the B.P.A.S. made it his business to know the detail of the lives of the guests. He instinctively understood the importance of the links between these lives and exploited them to further promote psychoanalysis in Britain, both as a science and a therapy. The seating plan is illustrative of the ceremony that Jones wanted to display during the evening and I'm sure he would have been smugly amused to know that the plan had been the stimulus for re-examining the lives of the people he brought together.

From a feminist perspective I have been successful in already naming 87% of the women by their first and birth surname and in some cases by other previous names. Learning the detail of these female biographies was necessary before I could draw

back and analyse the difference psychoanalysis had made for these women and more importantly what difference these women had made to psychoanalysis. A particular example of this is the largely forgotten contribution that Barbara Low made through her own networks and her dogged determination. The new Science was a choice for many intelligent women who had been denied, once married, a career in medicine and the biographies detailed in these pages illustrate the depth and range of a sample of the women present at the Jubilee celebrations. The achievements of the majority of women at the dinner had been lost to time, or remembered by a select few in their field. This research has redressed some of this imbalance.

As I have researched I have become attached to the subjects I have studied and Alice Buxton Winnicott, in particular, presents an area of study that just continues to grow, but there are still so many women who were present at the dinner that deserve their stories to be written and their contribution to psychoanalysis, or their respective field, recognised more fully. I find my conclusions however continually returning to Jones and his role in bringing together people whose own routes to Freud's ideas came from all seven of Hinshelwood's points of cultural access. Those present at the dinner, demonstrated by the seating plan, represent the highlight of Jones' achievements, with London, as acknowledged by Freud, becoming the 'chief venue and centre of the psychoanalytical movement' at that time. Falzeder's filiations were crucial in identifying the networks that arose from a study of who had analysed whom and suggested that all roads led back to Freud. This was a useful starting point for this aspect of the prosopography. In Britain however, it was Jones who cherished the roots of Freudianism and nurtured a form of psychoanalysis that had his own imprint. The role and prominence of women in the B.P.A.S. and the acceptance of lay analysts are particularly good examples of how Jones enabled the Society to develop its own character without breaking away from Freud. This interpretation of psychoanalysis, developed by Jones, had international impact during his lifetime and, alongside his still referenced yet proselytising biography of Freud, these are the two of the key reasons why Freudianism has continued across the years. But do we know Freud, or have we absorbed Jones' version of Freud? Whilst the guests were no doubt persuaded by Jones' politicising and his ability to provide a critical mass of those with social capital that convinced others to attend, were the majority there as supporters of psychoanalysis, followers of Freud, or were they mostly seduced by a movement that offered a challenge to the conservatism of the time? Was it perhaps the radicalism of discussion that brought them together?

I wrote at the beginning of my intention to balance biographical detail with enduring and novel sociological meaning. I have turned into a veritable Miss Marple in an indefatigable search for new detail to explain individual lives and their links to others. The research is too compelling to leave now. Already I have begun to make contact with steadily increasing numbers of descendents of those at the dinner, who are able to offer differing but complimentary perspectives on the socio-intellectual and inter-personal development of psychoanalysis in England. These contemporary links may well lead to an examination of the longevity of cultural and symbolic capital.

Throughout this research I have found it important to physically connect with the people and places. Walking where they walked, owning things they wrote and created, and listening to their voices through their autobiographies and through audio recordings. Frequently I had to question whether my desire to possess these items, to put myself in the picture, was greater than my conscious wish to use these items as an insight into the subject. Whilst it would have been possible, for me it would never have been enough to enter into this prosopography with a positivist lens.

I have been genuinely excited every time I have been able to present new knowledge, particularly in relation to the insights that this novel information can offer about the formation of psychoanalysis in England. Small details take on a large significance in the context of the occasion, such as Virginia Woolf's appointment diary, revealing the date she made at the dinner to meet up with Melanie Klein. Other seemingly insignificant facts, such as the schools John Bowlby attended, are important because biographers have previously not held that information or have chosen not to put it in the public domain. Knowing this information however allows important connections to be illustrated, between Bowlby, those on his table and with other guests. I am delighted to present the biographies of three women; Low, McLeod and Winnicott, who would otherwise be lost from the consciousness of others and whose contribution was significant. I hope that I have also brought a different perspective to Ernest Jones, through a greater emphasis on his role in capitalising on the complex relationships between the guests and thereby securing the future of psychoanalysis. He was possibly always consciously seeking to improve his status by the people he knew, but his pursuit of cultural capital put him at a disadvantage with those who had inherited a sense of their own worth in the world. However, through the mechanisms he devised and his determination to succeed, as I have described in these pages, he did hold the key to further objectified and institutionalised capital which in turn would have increased guests' economic capital. He would never be the man to know for the

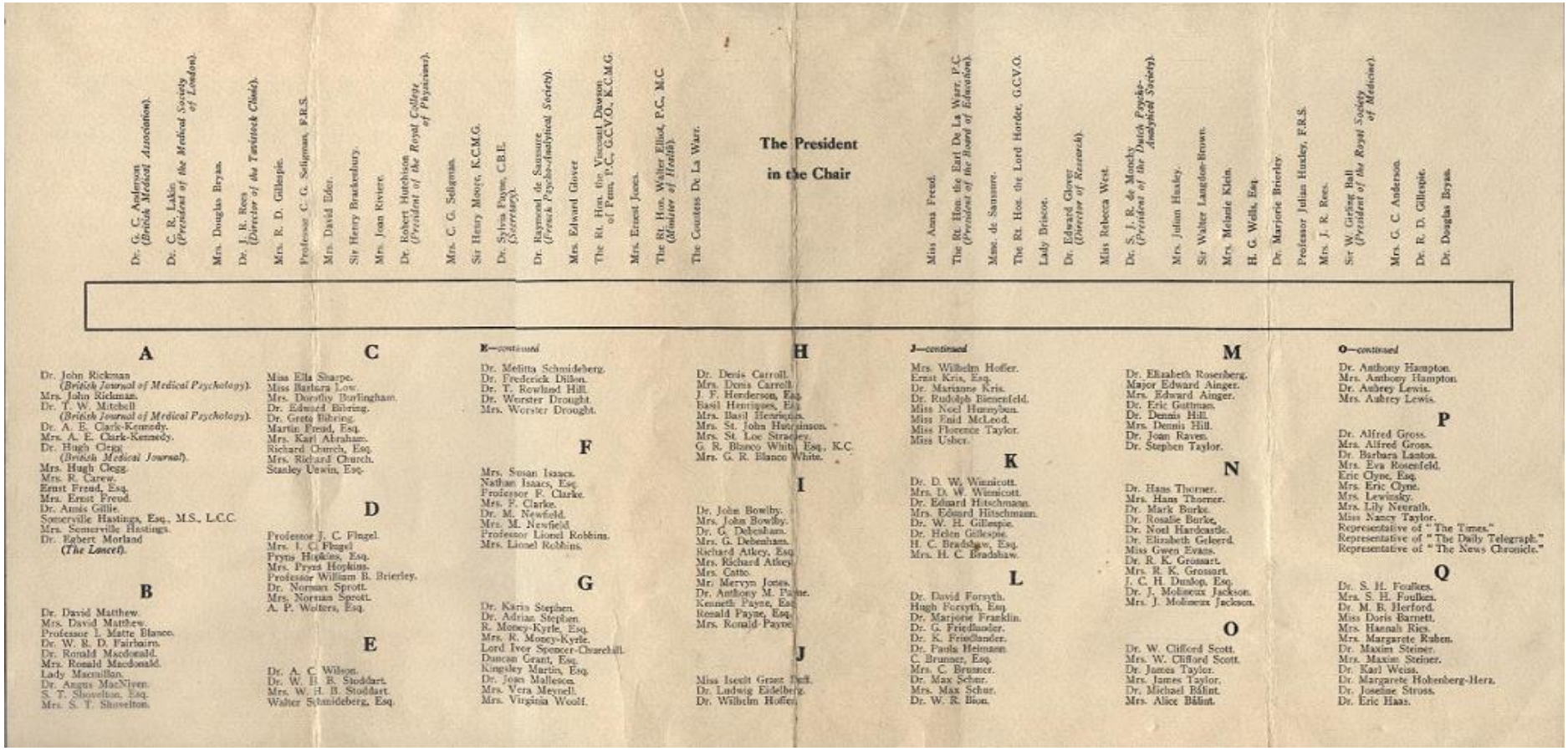
reasons he may have chosen, but he would have been recognised as an important man for his ability to connect one guest to another and to draw everyone to their connection to psychoanalysis.

The question of whether prosopography is an effective tool for analysing the links between the lives of the guests has, I hope, been answered by the strength of the data and the findings and discussion that this method has elicited. I hope that I have also been able to offer a clear example of a way of using prosopography to effect new research that is interesting to the public domain. I always intended to combine prosopography with auto/biography and I hope I have demonstrated not only that this is possible, but that the rigour of the data collection has enabled me to bring authenticity to my interpretations and validity to my reasons for that analysis. I hope that through this thesis others will see the possibilities of prosopography for effective future research.

Appendices

*See list of errata, p.ii

Appendix A The official group photograph



Dr. G. C. Anderson (*British Medical Association*).
Dr. C. R. Lakin (*President of the Medical Society of London*).
Mrs. Douglas Bryan.
Dr. J. R. Rees (*Director of the Tavistock Clinic*).
Mrs. R. D. Gillespie.
Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S.
Mrs. David Eder.
Sir Henry Brackenbury.
Mrs. Joan Riviere.
Dr. Robert Hutchison (*President of the Royal College of Physicians*).
Mrs. C. G. Seligman.
Sir Henry Moore, K.C.M.G.
Dr. Sylvia Payne, C.B.E. (*Secretary*).
Dr. Raymond de Saussure (*French Psycho-Analytical Society*).
Mrs. Edward Glover
The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Dawson of Penn, P.C., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G.
Mrs. Ernest Jones.
The Rt. Hon. Walter Elliot, P.C., M.C. (*Minister of Health*).
The Countess De La Warr.

The President in the Chair

Miss Anna Freud.
The Rt. Hon. the Earl De La Warr, P.C. (*President of the Board of Education*).
Mme. de Saussure.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Horder, G.C.V.O.
Lady Briscoe.
Dr. Edward Glover (*Director of Research*).
Miss Rebecca West.
Dr. S. J. R. de Monchy (*President of the Dutch Psycho-Analytical Society*).
Mrs. Julian Huxley.
Sir Walter Langdon-Brown.
Mrs. Melanie Klein.
H. G. Wells, Esq.
Dr. Marjorie Brierley.
Professor Julian Huxley, F.R.S.
Mrs. J. R. Rees.
Sir W. Girling Ball (*President of the Royal Society of Medicine*).
Mrs. G. C. Anderson.
Dr. R. D. Gillespie.
Dr. Douglas Bryan.

A

Dr. John Rickman (*British Journal of Medical Psychology*).
Mrs. John Rickman.
Dr. T. W. Mitchell (*British Journal of Medical Psychology*).
Dr. A. E. Clark-Kennedy.
Mrs. A. E. Clark-Kennedy.
Dr. Hugh Clegg (*British Medical Journal*).
Mrs. Hugh Clegg.
Mrs. R. Carew.
Ernst Freud, Esq.
Mrs. Ernst Freud.
Dr. Annis Gillie.
Somerville Hastings, Esq., M.S., L.C.C.
Mrs. Somerville Hastings.
Dr. Robert Morland (*The Lancet*).

B

Dr. David Matthew.
Mrs. David Matthew.
Professor I. Matte Blanco.
Dr. W. R. D. Fairbairn.
Dr. Ronald Macdonald.
Mrs. Ronald Macdonald.
Lady Macmillan.
Dr. Angus MacNiven.
S. T. Shovelton, Esq.
Mrs. S. T. Shovelton.

C

Miss Ella Sharpe.
Miss Barbara Low.
Mrs. Dorothy Burlingham.
Dr. Edward Bibring.
Dr. Grete Bibring.
Martin Freud, Esq.
Mrs. Karl Abraham.
Richard Church, Esq.
Mrs. Richard Church.
Stanley Unwin, Esq.

D

Professor J. C. Flugel.
Mrs. J. C. Flugel.
Fryns Hopkins, Esq.
Mrs. Pryns Hopkins.
Professor William B. Brierley.
Dr. Norman Sprott.
Mrs. Norman Sprott.
A. P. Wolters, Esq.

E

Dr. A. C. Wilson.
Dr. W. B. B. Stoddart.
Mrs. W. B. B. Stoddart.
Walter Schmideberg, Esq.

E—*continued*

Dr. Melitta Schmideberg.
Dr. Frederick Dillon.
Dr. T. Rowland Hill.
Dr. Worster Drought.
Mrs. Worster Drought.

F

Mrs. Susan Isaacs.
Nathan Isaacs, Esq.
Professor F. Clarke.
Mrs. F. Clarke.
Dr. M. Newfield.
Mrs. M. Newfield.
Professor Lionel Robbins.
Mrs. Lionel Robbins.

G

Dr. Karin Stephen.
Dr. Adrian Stephen.
R. Money-Kyrle, Esq.
Mrs. R. Money-Kyrle.
Lord Ivor Spencer-Churchill.
Duncan Grant, Esq.
Kingsley Martin, Esq.
Dr. Joan Malleson.
Mrs. Vera Meynell.
Mrs. Virginia Woolf.

H

Dr. Denis Carroll.
Mrs. Doris Carroll.
J. F. Henderson, Esq.
Basil Henriques, Esq.
Mrs. Basil Henriques.
Mrs. St. John Hutchinson.
Mrs. St. Loe Strachey.
G. R. Blanco White, Esq., K.C.
Mrs. G. R. Blanco White.

I

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Mrs. John Bowlby.
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Mrs. G. Debenham.
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Mrs. Richard Atkey.
Mrs. Catto.
Mr. Mervyn Jones.
Dr. Anthony M. Payne.
Kenneth Payne, Esq.
Ronald Payne, Esq.
Mrs. Ronald Payne.

J

Miss Isedit Graat Fell.
Dr. Ludwig Eidelberg.
Dr. Wilhelm Hoffer.

J—*continued*

Mrs. Wilhelm Hoffer.
Ernst Kris, Esq.
Dr. Marianne Kris.
Dr. Rudolph Bienenfeld.
Miss Noel Hunnyban.
Miss Enid McLeod.
Miss Florence Taylor.
Miss Usher.

K

Dr. D. W. Winnicott.
Mrs. D. W. Winnicott.
Dr. Eduard Hitschmann.
Mrs. Eduard Hitschmann.
Dr. W. H. Gillespie.
Dr. Helen Gillespie.
H. C. Bradshaw, Esq.
Mrs. H. C. Bradshaw.

L

Dr. David Forsyth.
Hugh Forsyth, Esq.
Dr. Marjorie Franklin.
Dr. G. Friedlaender.
Dr. K. Friedlaender.
Dr. Paula Heimann.
C. Brunner, Esq.
Mrs. C. Brunner.
Dr. Max Schur.
Mrs. Max Schur.
Dr. W. R. Bion.

M

Dr. Elizabeth Rosenberg.
Major Edward Ainger.
Mrs. Edward Ainger.
Dr. Eric Guttman.
Dr. Dennis Hill.
Mrs. Dennis Hill.
Dr. Joan Raven.
Dr. Stephen Taylor.

N

Dr. Hans Thorner.
Mrs. Hans Thorner.
Dr. Mark Burke.
Dr. Rosalie Burke.
Dr. Noel Hardcastle.
Dr. Elizabeth Geleerd.
Miss Gwen Evans.
Dr. R. K. Grossart.
Mrs. R. K. Grossart.
J. C. H. Dunlop, Esq.
Dr. J. Molineux Jackson.
Mrs. J. Molineux Jackson.

O

Dr. W. Clifford Scott.
Mrs. W. Clifford Scott.
Dr. James Taylor.
Mrs. James Taylor.
Dr. Michael Balint.
Mrs. Alice Balint.

O—*continued*

Dr. Anthony Hampton.
Mrs. Anthony Hampton.
Dr. Aubrey Lewis.
Mrs. Aubrey Lewis.

P

Dr. Alfred Gross.
Mrs. Alfred Gross.
Dr. Barbara Lanton.
Mrs. Eva Rosenfeld.
Eric Clyne, Esq.
Mrs. Eric Clyne.
Mrs. Lewinsky.
Mrs. Lily Neurath.
Miss Nancy Taylor.
Representative of "The Times."
Representative of "The Daily Telegraph."
Representative of "The News Chronicle."

Q

Dr. S. H. Foulkes.
Mrs. S. H. Foulkes.
Dr. M. B. Herford.
Miss Doris Barnett.
Mrs. Hannah Rice.
Mrs. Margarete Ruben.
Dr. Maxim Steiner.
Mrs. Maxim Steiner.
Dr. Karl Weiss.
Dr. Margarete Hohenberg-Herz.
Dr. Joseline Stross.
Dr. Eric Haas.

Appendix C Profession of the guests

Surname	First Name	Title	Profession	Surname	First Name	Title	Profession
Bradshaw	HC	Esq	Architect	Sprott	Norman	Dr	Physician
Freud	Ernst	Esq	Architect	Taylor	Stephen	Dr	Physician
Spencer-Churchill	Ivor	Lord	Art Collector	Viscount Dawson of Penn		Rt Hon	Physician
Grant	Duncan	Esq	Artist	Dunlop	JCH	Esq	Physician (Surgeon Lieutenant?)
Blanco White	GR	Mrs	Author	Lantos	Barbara	Dr	Physician (Budapest) and Psychoanalyst
Church	Richard	Esq	Author	Bibring	Edward	Dr	Physician (Vienna) and psychoanalysist
Wells	HG	Esq	Author	Bibring	Greta	Dr	Physician (Vienna) and psychoanalysist
West	Rebecca	Miss	Author	Kris	Marianne	Dr	Physician (Vienna) and Psychoanalyst
Woolf	Virginia	Mrs	Author	Eidelberg	Ludwig	Dr	Physician (Vienna) consult. specialist neurology + psych
McLeod	Enid	Miss	Author British Council civil servant	Clarke-Kennedy	AE	Dr	Physician and historian
Isaacs	Nathan	Esq	Author and Metallurgist	Clegg	Hugh	Dr	Physician and journalist for BMJ
Abraham	Karl	Mrs	Boarding house proprietor?"	Drought	Worster	Dr	Physician and neurologist
Eder	David	Mrs	Campaigner	Hoffer	Wilhelm	Dr	Physician and Psychoanalyst
Hitschmann	Edward	Mrs	Concert singer later speech therapist	Geleerd	Elizabeth	Dr	Physician and Psychoanalyst
Moore	Henry	Sir	Deputy under secretary of state in Colonial Office	President in the Chair			Physician and psychoanalyst
Robbins	Lionel	Professor	Economist	Payne	Anthony	Dr	Physician epidemiologist
Martin	Kingsley	Esq	Editor New Statesman and Nation	Hastings	Somerville	Esq	Physician Politician
Clarke	F	Professor	Educationalist	Stross	Josefine	Dr	Physician psychoanalyst
Seligman	CG	Mrs	Ethnologist	Grossart	RK	Dr	Physician Psychologist?
Seligman	CG	Professor	Ethnologist	Molineux Jackson	J	Dr	Physician Surgeon
Burke	Rosalie	Dr	Family Planning Doctor	Briscoe		Lady	Physician Surgeon and Radium pioneer
Malleson	Joan	Dr	Gynaecologist	Elliott	Walter	Rt Hon	Physiologist Politician Minister for Health
De La Warr		Countess	Hotelier	Earl De La Warr		Rt Hon	Politician President of Board of Education
Strachey	St Loe	Mrs	Journalist	Winnicott	DW	Mrs	Potter and artist
Bienenfeld	Rudolf	Dr	Lawyer	Brierley	William B	Professor	Professor of agricultural botany Reading Uni
Blanco White	GR	Esq	Lawyer	Wolters	AP	Esq	Professor psychology Reading Uni
Freud	Martin	Esq	Lawyer	Dillon	Frederick	Dr	Psychiatrist
Shovelton	ST	Esq	Mathematician	Gillespie	RD	Dr	Psychiatrist
Stoddart	WHB	Mrs	Matron	Guttman	Eric	Dr	Psychiatrist
Matte Blanco	I	Professor	NeuroPsychiatrist and Psychoanalyst	Hill	Dennis	Dr	Psychiatrist
Payne	Kenneth	Esq	Olympic rower	Lewis	Aubrey	Dr	Psychiatrist
Kris	Ernst	Esq	Ph.D (Vienna) Psychoanalyst	Lewis	Aubrey	Mrs	Psychiatrist
Stephen	Karin	Dr	Philosopher physician psychoanalyst	MacNiven	Angus	Dr	Psychiatrist Lecturer
Anderson	GC	Dr	Physician	Bion	WR	Dr	Psychiatrist (later became a p/a)
Brackenbury	Henry	Sir	Physician	Brunner	C	Esq	Psychoanalyst
Gillespie	Helen	Dr	Physician	Clyne	Eric	Esq	Psychoanalyst
Gillie	Annis	Mrs	Physician	de Saussure	Raymond	Dr	Psychoanalyst
Girling Ball	W	Sir	Physician	Evans	Gwen	Miss	Psychoanalyst
Hardcastle	Noel	Dr	Physician	Flugel	JC	Mrs	Psychoanalyst
Horder		Rt Hon Lord	Physician	Forsyth	David	Dr	Psychoanalyst
Hutchison	Robert	Dr	Physician	Hoffer	Wilhelm	Mrs	Psychoanalyst
Lakin	CR	Dr	Physician	Hohenberg-Herz	Margarete	Dr	Psychoanalyst
Langdon-Brown	Walter	Sir	Physician	Money-Kyrle	R	Esq	Psychoanalyst
Morland	Egbert	Dr	Physician	Neurath	Lily	Mrs	Psychoanalyst
Rees	JR	Mrs	Physician	Payne	Sylvia	Dr	Psychoanalyst
Schur	Max	Dr	Physician	Rosenberg	Elizabeth	Dr	Psychoanalyst
Schur	Max	Mrs	Physician	Ruben	Margarete	Mrs	Psychoanalyst

Appendix C Profession of the guests cont.

Surname	First Name	Title	Profession	Surname	First Name	Title	Profession
Stoddart	WHB	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Stephen	Adrian	Dr	Psychoanalyst physician
Usher		Miss	Psychoanalyst	Hopkins	Pryns	Esq	Psychologist Psychoanalyst
Weiss	Karl	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Unwin	Stanley	Esq	Publisher
Wilson	AC	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Meynell	Vera	Mrs	Publisher Author Translator
Balint	Alice	Mrs	Psychoanalyst	Friedlander	G	Dr	Radiologist
Balint	Michael	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Huxley	Julian	Mrs	Sculptor
Brierley	Marjorie	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Church	Richard	Mrs	Silversmith
Bryan	Douglas	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Henriques	Basil	Mrs	Social reformer and artist
Burke	Mark	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Henriques	Basil	Esq	Social reformer and philanthropist
Burlingham	Dorothy	Mrs	Psychoanalyst	Hunnybun	Noel	Miss	Social worker
Carroll	Denis	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Rickman	John	Mrs	Social Worker
Clifford Scott	W	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Atkey	Richard	Esq	Solicitor
de Monchy	SRJ	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Ainger	Edward	Major	Stockbroker (retired army, wrote reviews)
Debenham	G	Dr	Psychoanalyst	Jones	Mervyn	Mr	Student
Flugel	JC	Professor	Psychoanalyst	Jones	Ernest	Mrs	Translator
Forsyth	Hugh	Esq	Psychoanalyst				
Foulkes	SH	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Franklin	Marjorie	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Freud	Anna	Miss	Psychoanalyst				
Glover	Edward	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Grant Duff	Iseult	Miss	Psychoanalyst				
Gross	Alfred	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Haas	Eric	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Herford	MB	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Hitschmann	Edward	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Isaacs	Susan	Mrs	Psychoanalyst				
Klein	Melanie	Mrs	Psychoanalyst				
Low	Barbara	Miss	Psychoanalyst				
MacDonald	Ronald	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Matthew	David	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Mitchell	TW	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Rees	JR	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Rickman	John	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Ries	Hannah	Mrs	Psychoanalyst				
Riviere	Joan	Mrs	Psychoanalyst				
Schmideberg	Melitta	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Schmideberg	Walter	Esq	Psychoanalyst				
Taylor	James	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Thorner	Hans	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Winnicott	DW	Dr	Psychoanalyst				
Gillespie	WHB	Dr	Psychoanalyst and Chilld Psychiatrist				
Bowlby	John	Dr	Psychoanalyst and Doctor				
Friedlander	K	Dr	Psychoanalyst Criminologist				
Steiner	Maxim	Dr	Psychoanalyst Dermatologist				
Heimann	Paula	Dr	Psychoanalyst Doctor				
Sharpe	Ella	Miss	Psychoanalyst Ella Freeman Sharpe				
Rosenfeld	Eva	Mrs	Psychoanalyst neurologist psychiatrist				

Appendix D Known ethnicity and emigré status of the guests

Surname	First Name	Title	Group 1 Émigrés	Group 2 Ethnicity	Table	Surname	First Name	Title	Émigrés	Ethnicity	Table
Burlingham	Dorothy	Mrs	Emigree via Austria	American	C	Henriques	Basil	Mrs		Jewish	H
Rickman	John	Mrs		American	A	Henriques	Basil	Esq		Jewish	H
Matte Blanco	I	Professor	Chilean Émigré	Chile	B	Hitschmann	Edward	Dr	Austrian fund Émig	Jewish	K
Clegg	Hugh	Mrs	Russian emigree	German/Russian	A	Hitschmann	Edward	Mrs	Austrian fund	Jewish	K
Gillespie	WHB	Dr		Irish	K	Hoffer	Wilhelm	Dr	Émigré	Jewish	J
Stephen	Karin	Dr		Irish American	G	Hoffer	Wilhelm	Mrs	Émigré	Jewish	J
Abraham	Karl	Mrs	German emigree	Jewish	C	Hohenberg-Herz	Margarete	Dr	Austrian fund Slov	Jewish	Q
Balint	Alice	Mrs	Hungarian Émigré 1939	Jewish	O	Jones	Ernest	Mrs	Austrian Emigree	Jewish	T
Balint	Michael	Dr	Hungarian Émigré 1939	Jewish	O	Klein	Melanie	Mrs	Emigree	Jewish	T
Bibring	Edward	Dr	Austrian Émigré	Jewish	C	Kris	Ernst	Esq	Émigré	Jewish	J
Bibring	Greta	Dr	Austrian Emigree	Jewish	C	Kris	Marianne	Dr	Émigré	Jewish	J
Bienenfeld	Rudolf	Dr	Austrian Émigré	Jewish	J	Lantos	Barbara	Dr	Emigree	Jewish	P
Burke	Mark	Dr	Polish Émigré	Jewish	N	Lewis	Aubrey	Dr	Australian Rockerf	Jewish	O
Burke	Rosalie	Dr	Russian (left aged 6)	Jewish	N	Low	Barbara	Miss		Jewish	C
Clyne	Eric	Esq	Émigré	Jewish	P	Meynell	Vera	Mrs		Jewish	G
Eder	David	Mrs		Jewish	T	Neurath	Lily	Mrs	Austrian fund Émig	Jewish	P
Flugel	JC	Professor		Jewish	D	Ries	Hannah	Mrs	Emigree	Jewish	Q
Flugel	JC	Mrs		Jewish	D	Rosenberg	Elizabeth	Dr	American	Jewish	M
Foulkes	SH	Dr	German Émigré 1933	Jewish	Q	Rosenfeld	Eva	Mrs	Austrian fund secr	Jewish	P
Franklin	Marjorie	Dr		Jewish	L	Ruben	Margarete	Mrs	Austrian fund	Jewish	Q
Freud	Anna	Miss	Austrian Emigree	Jewish	T	Schmideberg	Melitta	Dr	Emigree	Jewish	E
Freud	Ernst	Esq	Austrian Emigré	Jewish	A	Schmideberg	Walter	Esq	Émigré	Jewish	E
Freud	Ernst	Mrs	Austrian Émigré	Jewish	A	Schur	Max	Dr	Austrian Émigré	Jewish	L
Freud	Martin	Esq	Austrian Émigré	Jewish	C	Schur	Max	Mrs	Émigré	Jewish	L
Friedlander	G	Dr	Polish émigré	Jewish	L	Seligman	CG	Mrs		Jewish	T
Friedlander	K	Dr	Austrian emigree 1933	Jewish	L	Seligman	CG	Professor		Jewish	T
Geleerd	Elizabeth	Dr	Dutch emigree	Jewish	N	Steiner	Maxim	Dr	Émigré	Jewish	Q
Gillespie	Helen	Dr	Polish émigrée	Jewish	K	Steiner	Maxim	Mrs	Émigré	Jewish	Q
Guttman	Eric	Dr	German émigré Rockerfe	Jewish	M	Stross	Josefine	Dr	Émigré	Jewish	Q
Haas	Eric	Dr	German Émigré 1936	Jewish	Q	Weiss	Karl	Dr	Austrian fund	Jewish	Q

Appendix E Known education and training of the guests

Surname	First Name	Title	Group 3 School	Group 4 University	Group 6 Hospital	Table
Lewis	Aubrey	Dr	Christian Brothers	Adelaide Uni Medical School	Maudsley	O
Seligman	CG	Mrs	Rodean	Bedford College London		T
Haas	Eric	Dr		Bonn		Q
Meynell	Vera	Mrs		Cambridge Girton		G
Clarke-Kennedy	AE	Dr	Wellington	Cambridge Corpus Christi	London	A
Drought	Worster	Dr		Cambridge Downing	Guys, Bethlem	E
Moore	Henry	Sir		Cambridge Jesus		T
Winnicott	DW	Dr	Ley School	Cambridge Jesus	St Barts	K
Rees	JR	Dr	Bradford Grammar	Cambridge Kings	London	T
Rickman	John	Dr		Cambridge Kings,	St Thomas'	A
Martin	Kingsley	Esq	Hereford Cathedral	Cambridge Magdalene		G
Isaacs	Susan	Mrs	Bolton	Cambridge Newn Manchester		F
Blanco White	GR	Mrs		Cambridge Newnham		H
Stephen	Karin	Dr		Cambridge Newnham		G
Winnicott	DW	Mrs		Cambridge Newnham		K
Payne	Ronald	Esq	Marlborough	Cambridge St Johns		I
Langdon-Brown	Walter	Sir	Bedford School	Cambridge St Johns after UCL		T
Bowlby	John	Dr	Wellington University	Cambridge Trinity	University College Hosp	I
Clegg	Hugh	Dr	Westminster	Cambridge Trinity	Barts	A
Payne	Anthony	Dr	Wellington	Cambridge Trinity	St Barts	I
Stephen	Adrian	Dr		Cambridge Trinity		G
Debenham	G	Dr	Eton	Cambridge Trinity		I
Payne	Kenneth	Esq	Eton	Cambridge Trinity		I
Money-Kyrle	R	Esq	Eton	Cambridge Trinity Vienna London		G
Hutchison	Robert	Dr	Collegiate School Edi	Edinburgh	Great Ormond Street	T
Anderson	GC	Dr		Edinburgh Uni		T
Gillespie	WHB	Dr	George Watson Scho	Edinburgh Uni	Edinburgh	K
de Saussure	Raymond	Dr		Geneva and Zurich		T
Elliott	Walter	Rt Hon	Lanark High	Glasgow		T
Gillespie	RD	Dr	Hutchesons Glasgow	Glasgow	Guys	T
Grossart	RK	Dr		Glasgow		N
MacNiven	Angus	Dr		Glasgow	Royal Edinburgh	B
Glover	Edward	Dr		Glasgow Medical School		T
Foulkes	SH	Dr		Heidelberg Berlin Munich	Vienna	Q
Woolf	Virginia	Mrs		Home		G
Friedlander	K	Dr		Innsbruck, Berlin		L
de Monchy	SRJ	Dr		Leiden and Amsterdam		T
Geleerd	Elizabeth	Dr		Leyden, Vienna		N
Bradshaw	HC	Esq		Liverpool		K
Lakin	CR	Dr	Wyggeston Grammar	London University	Middlesex	T
Wells	HG	Esq	National School Wool	Normal School of Science later	Imperial	T
Sharpe	Ella	Miss		Nottingham		C
Henriques	Basil	Mrs		Oxford		H
Henriques	Basil	Esq		Oxford		H

Appendix E Known education and training of the guests cont.

Surname	First Name	Title	Group 3 School	Group 4 University	Group 6 Hospital	Table
Ainger	Edward	Major	Winchester	Oxford		M
Bion	WR	Dr	Bishops Stortford	Oxford Queens	University College	L
Huxley	Julian	Professor	Eton	Oxford Baliol		T
Flugel	JC	Professor	Home	Oxford Balliol		D
Earl De La Warr		Rt Hon	Eton	Oxford Magdalen		T
Spencer-Churchill	Ivor	Lord	Eton	Oxford Magdalen		G
McLeod	Enid	Miss		Oxford St Hughs		J
Matte Blanco	I	Professor		Santiago	Maudsley	B
Horder		Rt Hon Lor	Swindon High	St Barts		T
Hopkins	Pryns	Esq		Stanford and Winsconsin		D
Clifford Scott	W	Dr		Toronto and New York	Maudsley	O
Balint	Alice	Mrs		U		O
Balint	Michael	Dr		U		O
Bibring	Edward	Dr		U		C
Bienenfeld	Rudolf	Dr		U		J
Blanco White	GR	Esq		U		H
Brackenbury	Henry	Sir		U	Westminster	T
Brierley	William B	Professor		U		D
Briscoe		Lady		U	Royal Free	T
Bryan	Douglas	Dr		U		T
Burke	Mark	Dr		U		N
Burke	Rosalie	Dr		U	Royal Free	N
Carroll	Denis	Dr		U		H
Clarke	F	Professor		U		F
Dillon	Frederick	Dr		U	Maudsley	E
Dunlop	JCH	Esq		U		N
Eidelberg	Ludwig	Dr		U		J
Forsyth	David	Dr	Roan	U	Guys	L
Franklin	Marjorie	Dr		U	Portsmouth Borough Me	L
Freud	Ernst	Esq		U		A
Freud	Martin	Esq		U		C
Friedlander	G	Dr		U		L
Girling Ball	W	Sir		U		T
Gross	Alfred	Dr		U		P
Guttman	Eric	Dr		U		M
Hampton	Anthony	Dr		U		O
Hardcastle	Noel	Dr		U		N
Heimann	Paula	Dr		U		L
Herford	MB	Dr		U		Q
Hill	Dennis	Dr	Shrewsbury	U	St Thomas'	M
Hitschmann	Edward	Dr		U		K
Isaacs	Nathan	Esq		U		F
Kris	Ernst	Esq		U		J
Kris	Marianne	Dr		U		J
Lantos	Barbara	Dr		U		P

Appendix E Known education and training of the guests cont.

Surname	First Name	Title	Group 3 School	Group 4 University	Group 6 Hospital	Table
Lewis	Aubrey	Mrs		U		O
MacDonald	Ronald	Dr		U		B
Matthew	David	Dr		U		B
Mitchell	TW	Dr		U		A
Molineux Jackson	J	Dr		U		N
Morland	Egbert	Dr		U		A
Newfield	M	Dr		U		F
Payne	Sylvia	Dr	Wimbledon High	U	London School of Medici	T
President in the Chair			Llandovery	U	University College	T
Raven	Joan	Dr		U		M
Roland Hill	T	Dr		U		E
Rosenfeld	Eva	Mrs		U		P
Schur	Max	Dr		U		L
Seligman	CG	Professor	St Pauls	U	St Thomas' Hospital	T
Shovelton	ST	Esq		U		B
Sprott	Norman	Dr		U	Physician at Eton	D
Steiner	Maxim	Dr		U		Q
Stross	Josefine	Dr		U		Q
Taylor	James	Dr		U		O
Taylor	Stephen	Dr		U		M
Thorner	Hans	Dr		U		N
Weiss	Karl	Dr		U		Q
Wilson	AC	Dr		U		E
Wolters	AP	Esq		U		D
Gillie	Annis	Mrs	Wycombe Abbey	University College	University College Hosp.	A
Hastings	Somerville	Esq	Wycliffe College	University College	Middlesex Hospital	A
Stoddart	WHB	Dr	City of London	University College	Bethlem	E
Malleson	Joan	Dr	Bedales	University College Hosp	Charing Cross	G
Brierley	Marjorie	Dr		University College London		T
Robbins	Lionel	Professor		University College London		F
Viscount Dawson of Penn		Rt Hon	St Pauls	University College London	Royal London Hospital 1	T
Rosenberg	Elizabeth	Dr		University of London	Paddington Green in Wil	M
Hoffer	Wilhelm	Dr	Pilsen Gymnasium	Vienna		J
Hohenberg-Herz	Margarete	Dr	Budapest	Vienna		Q
Bibring	Greta	Dr		Vienna		C
Gillespie	Helen	Dr		Warsaw, Antwerp	Charing Cross	K
Grant	Duncan	Esq	St Pauls	Westminster School of Art		G
Schmideberg	Melitta	Dr	Budapest	Willhelms Universitat Berlin		E
Clyne	Eric	Esq	St Pauls			P
Foulkes	SH	Mrs	Harrogate College			Q
Riviere	Joan	Mrs	Wycombe Abbey			T
Stoddart	WHB	Mrs			Bethlem	E
West	Rebecca	Miss	George Watson Ladies College Edinburgh			T

Appendix F Key verifiable dates for the guests

Surname	First Name	Title	Dates	Age at dinner	Age of death	Surname	First Name	Title	Dates	Age at dinner	Age of death
Barnett	Doris	Miss	1923?	16		Bibring	Greta	Dr	1899-1977	40	78
Jones	Mervyn	Mr	1922-2010	17		Foulkes	SH	Mrs	1899-1959	40	60
Bowlby	John	Mrs	1916-2000	23	86	Heimann	Paula	Dr	1899-1982	40	83
Clyne	Eric	Esq	1914-1987	25	73	Malleson	Joan	Dr	1899-1956	40	57
Brunner	C	Esq	1913-2008	26	95	Taylor	James	Dr	1899-1960	40	71
Hill	Dennis	Dr	1913-1982	26	69	Balint	Alice	Mrs	1898-1939	41	41
Payne	Kenneth	Esq	1912-1988	27	76	Bion	WR	Dr	1899-1979	41	80
Hill	Dennis	Mrs	1911-1996	28	85	Eidelberg	Ludwig	Dr	1898	41	
Payne	Anthony	Dr	1911-1970	28	59	Foulkes	SH	Dr	1898-1976	41	78
Dunlop	JCH	Esq	1910-2005	29	95	Hohenberg-Herz	Margarete	Dr	1898-1992	41	94
Payne	Ronald	Esq	1909-1973	29	62	Money-Kyrle	R	Esq	1898-1980	41	82
Taylor	Stephen	Dr	1910-1978	29	68	Robbins	Lionel	Professor	1898-1984	41	86
Atkey	Richard	Esq	1909-	30		Spencer-Churchill	Ivor	Lord	1898-1956	41	58
Clegg	Hugh	Mrs	1909-2005	30	96	Church	Richard	Mrs	1897-1965	42	69
Debenham	G	Mrs	1909-1994	30	85	Gillespie	Helen	Dr	1897-1975	42	78
Geleerd	Elizabeth	Dr	1909-1969	30	60	Gillespie	RD	Dr	1897-1945	42	48
Grossart	RK	Dr	1909-1948	30	39	Hoffer	Wilhelm	Dr	1897-1967	42	70
Matte Blanco	I	Professor	1908-1995	31	87	Martin	Kingsley	Esq	1897-1969	42	72
Molineux Jackson	J	Dr	1908-1992	31	84	Schur	Max	Dr	1897-1969	42	72
Bowlby	John	Dr	1907-1990	32	83	Ainger	Edward	Mrs	1896?	43	
Clyne	Eric	Mrs	1907-1986	32	79	Balint	Michael	Dr	1896-1970	43	74
Gillespie	RD	Mrs	1907-	32		De La Warr		Countess	1896-1966	43	70
Lewinsky		Mrs	1907-1956	32	49	Guttman	Eric	Dr	1896-1948	43	52
Rosenberg	Elizabeth	Dr	1907-1970	32	63	Haas	Eric	Dr	1896-1990	43	94
Taylor	James	Mrs	1907-1960	32	53	Huxley	Julian	Mrs	1896-1994	43	98
Burke	Rosalie	Dr	1906-1999	33	93	McLeod	Enid	Miss	1896-1985	43	89
Debenham	G	Dr	1906-2001	33	95	Robbins	Lionel	Mrs	1896-1997	43	101
Gillespie	WHB	Dr	1905-2001	34	96	Winnicott	DW	Dr	1896-1971	43	75
Thorner	Hans	Dr	1905-1991	34	86	Freud	Anna	Miss	1895 -1982	44	87
Schmideberg	Melitta	Dr	1904-1983	35	79	Isaacs	Nathan	Esq	1895-1960	44	65
Clifford Scott	W	Dr	1903-1997	36	94	Meynell	Vera	Mrs	1895-1947	44	52
Friedlander	K	Dr	1902-1949	37	47	Bibring	Edward	Dr	1894-1959	45	65
MacNiven	Angus	Dr	1901-1984	38	83	de Saussure	Raymond	Dr	1894-1971	45	77
Stross	Josefine	Dr	1901-1995	38	94	Ainger	Edward	Major	1893-1989	46	96
Clegg	Hugh	Dr	1900-1983	39	83	Bradshaw	HC	Esq	1893-1943	46	50
de Saussure		Mme	1900-1954	39	54	Brierley	Marjorie	Dr	1893-1984	46	91
Earl De La Warr		Rt Hon	1900-1976	39	76	Church	Richard	Esq	1893-1972	46	79
Gillie	Annis	Mrs	1900-1985	39	85	Clarke-Kennedy	AE	Dr	1893-1985	46	94
Kris	Ernst	Esq	1900-1957	39	57	de Monchy	SRJ	Dr	1893-1969	46	76
Kris	Marianne	Dr	1900-1980	39	80	Sprott	Norman	Mrs	1893-1964	46	71
Lewis	Aubrey	Dr	1900-1975	39	75	Jones	Ernest	Mrs	1892-1983	47	91
Lewis	Aubrey	Mrs	1900-1966	39	66	Rosenfeld	Eva	Mrs	1892-1977	47	85
Macmillan		Lady	1900-1966	39	66	West	Rebecca	Miss	1892-1983	47	91
Strachey	St Loe	Mrs	1900-1979	39	79	Burlingham	Dorothy	Mrs	1891-1979	48	88

Appendix F Key verifiable dates for the guests cont.

Surname	First Name	Title	Dates	Age at dinner	Age of death	Surname	First Name	Title	Dates	Age at dinner	Age of death
Hitschmann	Edward	Mrs	1891-1980	48	89	Stoddart	WHB	Mrs	1874-1946	55	72
Rickman	John	Dr	1891-1951	48	60	Unwin	Stanley	Esq	1884-1968	55	84
Winnicott	DW	Mrs	1891-1969	48	78	Drought	Worster	Mrs	1883-1953	56	70
Bradshaw	HC	Mrs	1890-1967	49	77	Seligman	CG	Mrs	1883-1965	56	82
Henriques	Basil	Esq	1890-1961	49	70	Stephen	Adrian	Dr	1883-1948	56	65
Hunnybun	Noel	Miss	1890-1984	49	94	Anderson	GC	Mrs	1882- 1976	57	94
Money-Kyrle	R	Mrs	1890-1980	49	90	Klein	Melanie	Mrs	1882-1960	57	78
Rees	JR	Dr	1890-1969	49	79	Woolf	Virginia	Mrs	1882-1941	57	59
Sprott	Norman	Dr	1890-1979	49	89	Briscoe		Lady	1881-1973	58	92
Brierley	William B	Professor	1889-1963	50	74	Hastings	Somerville	Mrs	1881-1958	58	77
Clarke-Kennedy	AE	Mrs	1889-1978	50	89	Hoffer	Wilhelm	Mrs	1881-1961	58	80
Flugel	JC	Mrs	1889-1967	50	78	Shovelton	ST	Esq	1881-1967	58	86
Henriques	Basil	Mrs	1889-1972	50	83	Anderson	GC	Dr	1880-1944	59	64
Hutchinson	St John	Mrs	1889-1977	50	88	Clarke	F	Professor	1880-1952	59	72
Stephen	Karin	Dr	1889-1953	50	64	Clarke	F	Mrs	1880-	59	
Drought	Worster	Dr	1888-1971	51	83	Payne	Sylvia	Dr	1880-1976	59	96
Elliott	Walter	Rt Hon	1888-1958	51	70	President in the Chair			1879-1958	60	79
Glover	Edward	Dr	1888-1972	51	84	Abraham	Karl	Mrs	1878-1969	61	91
Glover	Edward	Mrs	1888-1966	51	78	Hastings	Somerville	Esq	1878-1967	61	89
Blanco White	GR	Mrs	1887-1981	52	94	Lakin	CR	Dr	1878-1972	61	94
Dillon	Frederick	Dr	1887-1965	52	78	Low	Barbara	Miss	1874-1955	64	81
Forsyth	David	Dr	1877-1941	52	54	Sharpe	Ella	Miss	1875-1947	64	72
Franklin	Marjorie	Dr	1887-1975	52	88	Eder	David	Mrs	1873-1944	66	71
Huxley	Julian	Professor	1887-1975	52	88	Seligman	CG	Professor	1873-1940	66	67
Moore	Henry	Sir	1887-1964	52	77	Hitschmann	Edward	Dr	1871-1957	68	86
Rees	JR	Mrs	1887-1954	52	67	Horder		Rt Hon Lord	1871-1955	68	84
Bienenfeld	Rudolf	Dr	1886-1961	53	75	Hutchison	Robert	Dr	1871-1960	68	89
Ries	Hannah	Mrs	c1886-c1975	53		Langdon-Brown	Walter	Sir	1870-1946	69	76
Grant	Duncan	Esq	1885-1978	54	93	Mitchell	TW	Dr	1869-1944	70	75
Hopkins	Pryns	Esq	1885-1970	54	85	Stoddart	WHB	Dr	1869-1950	70	81
Isaacs	Susan	Mrs	1885-1948	54	63	Brackenbury	Henry	Sir	1866-1942	73	76
Blanco White	GR	Esq	1884-1966	55	82	Wells	HG	Esq	1866-1946	73	80
Flugel	JC	Professor	1884-1955	55	71	Viscount Dawson of Penn		Rt Hon	1864-1945	75	81

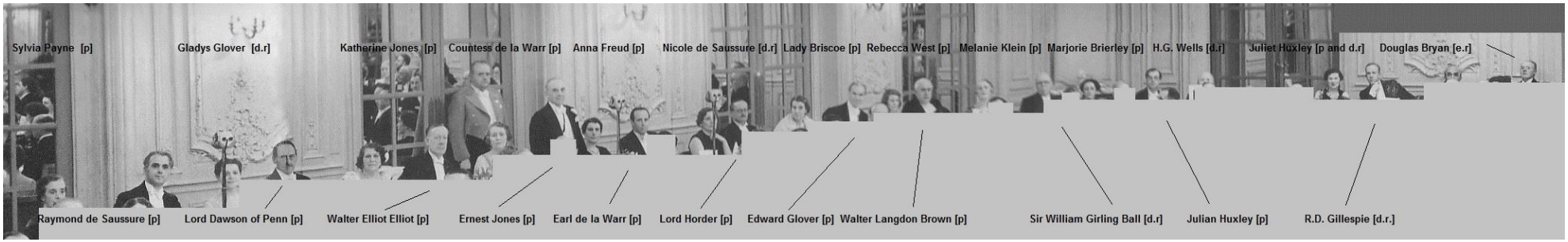
Appendix G Known filiations of the guests

Surname	First Name	Title	Analysand Filiations (Analysed by)	Analyst (of) Filiations	Table
Friedlander	K	Dr	Anna Freud		L
Geleerd	Elizabeth	Dr	Anna Freud		N
Stephen	Adrian	Dr	Clara Thompson, Sylvia Payne, James Glover, Ella Sharpe?	Hilda Doolittle, Ignacio Matte Bianco	G
Winnicott	DW	Mrs	Clifford Scott		K
Gillespie	WHB	Dr	Edmund Hirschmann ? Ella Sharpe		K
Hohenberg-Herz	Margarete	Dr	Eduoard Hitschman, Robert Hans Jokl		Q
Sharpe	Ella	Miss	Edward and James Glover, Jessie MurrayHanns Sachs, Berlin,	Melitta Schmeideberg, Margaret Little, Max Eitingon	C
Stephen	Karin	Dr	Edward Glover, Sylvia Payne		G
Flugel	JC	Professor	Ernest Jones	Susan Isaacs, Marjorie Brierley	D
Hopkins	Pryns	Esq	Ernest Jones		D
Riviere	Joan	Mrs	Ernest Jones, Freud, Klein	John Bowlby, Susan Isaacs, John Rickman, Donald Winnacott	T
Rosenberg	Elizabeth	Dr	Ernest Jones, Melanie Klein		M
Rickman	John	Mrs	Ernest Jones?		A
Carew	R	Mrs	Ferenczi		A
Franklin	Marjorie	Dr	Ferenczi		L
Klein	Melanie	Mrs	Ferenczi Abraham	Wilfred Bion, Katherine Jones, John Rickman, Eva Rosenfeld, Clifford Scott	T
Clifford Scott	W	Dr	Ferenczi, Klein	Alice Buxton Winnicott	O
Isaacs	Susan	Mrs	Flugel, Rank, Riviere, Sachs?		F
Rickman	John	Dr	Freud, Ferenczi, Klein, Riviere	Wilfred Bion, Alice Winnacott	A
Kris	Marianne	Dr	Freud, Franz Alexander	Mabie Burlington (later Marilyn Monroe and Jacqueline Kennedy)	J
Money-Kyrle	R	Esq	Freud, Jones		G
Freud	Anna	Miss	Freud, Lou Andreas Salome	Burlingham children	T
Hitschmann	Edward	Dr	Freud, Siegfried Bernfeld	Dr Robert Jokl (Viennese physician)	K
de Saussure	Raymond	Dr	Freud, then Alexander then Loewenstein in Paris	Margaret Williams Clark,	T
Haas	Eric	Dr	Hanns Sachs		Q
Low	Barbara	Miss	Hanns Sachs Berlin Ernest Jones		C
Balint	Michael	Dr	Hanns Sachs, Sandor Ferenczi	Melanie Klein?	O
Balint	Alice	Mrs	Hanns Sachs, Sandor Ferenczi?	Farkashazy, M	O
Kris	Ernst	Esq	Helene Deutsch, Anna Freud	His children Anna and Tony	J
Bibring	Greta	Dr	Herman Nunberg	Mary O'Neil Hawkins	C
Hoffer	Wilhelm	Dr	Herman Nunberg, Anna Freud	Marguerite Mahler	J
Bion	WR	Dr	J.A. Hadfield, John Rickman, Melanie Klein	Samuel Beckett, Sydney Klein,	L
Payne	Sylvia	Dr	James Glover, Hans Sachs	Marion Milner, Adrian Stephen, Charles Rycroft	T
Winnicott	DW	Dr	James Strachey, Joan Riviere		K
Brierley	Marjorie	Dr	JC Flugel, Edward Glover		T
Bowlby	John	Dr	Joan Riviere		I
Eder	David	Mrs	Jung,		T
Glover	Edward	Dr	Karl Abraham	Marjorie Brierley, Melitta Schmeideberg, Alix Strachey	T
Clyne	Eric	Mrs	Lois Munroe		P
Rees	JR	Dr	Maurice Nicoll		T
Schmideberg	Walter	Esq	Max Eitingon		E
Evans	Gwen	Miss	Melanie Klein		N
Earl De La Warr		Rt Hon	Melanie Klein sent his children to her		T
Clyne	Eric	Esq	Melanie Klein then Donald Winnicott and others?		P
			for more comprehensive list see Klein, R.G. (2014) Names of the analysts[WWW] Freud to Lacan http://www.freud2lacan.com/		

Appendix G Known filiations of the guests cont.

Surname	First Name	Title	Analysand Filiations (Analysed by)	Analyst (of) Filiations	Table
Schmideberg	Melitta	Dr	Melanie Klein, Max Eitingon, Karen Horney, Ella Sharpe, Edward	Sir Lewis Namier (prosopographer)	E
Jones	Ernest	Mrs	Melanie Klein, Sammy Davidson?		T
Thorner	Hans	Dr	Melanie Klein, Wilfred Bion		N
Matte Blanco	I	Professor	Navarro, James Strachey, Walter Schmeideberg	supervised by Anna Freud	B
Bibring	Edward	Dr	Paul Federn	Berta Bornstein	C
Rosenfeld	Eva	Mrs	Reik, Freud, Klein		P
Eidelberg	Ludwig	Dr	Ruth Mack Brunswick		J
Schur	Max	Dr	Ruth Mack Brunswick		L
Schur	Max	Mrs	Ruth Mack Brunswick		L
de Monchy	SRJ	Dr	Ruth Mack Brunswick, Freud	Ola Andersson, Otto Fenichel	T
Burlingham	Dorothy	Mrs	Theodore Reik, Freud, Anna Freud,	Walter Aichhorn	C
Gillespie	Helen	Dr	Two analysts, unnamed		K
Foulkes	SH	Dr	W Reich Helene Deutsch		Q
Hutchison	Robert	Dr		Lord MacMillan at Edinburgh together	T

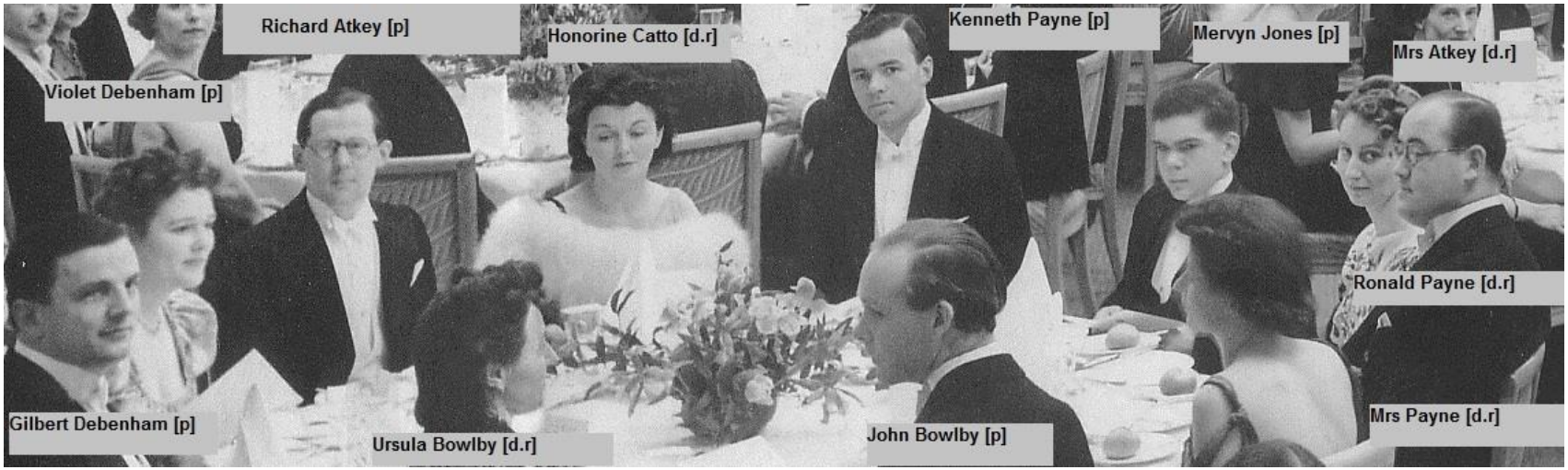
Appendix H Top Table



[p] is where there is a photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.

[d.r] is where a range of evidence has been used to make a match; including the seating plan, photographs and other data (such as height) to make a deduction (or best guess) about the identity of the guest.

Appendix H Table I



The man on the end of the table is Anthony Monck Mason Payne. I only realised he was there when I saw a hard copy of the photograph of the dinner, after completion of my thesis. I had been relying on a digital copy prior to this, which had been cut off where I have indicated here.

[p] is where there is a photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.

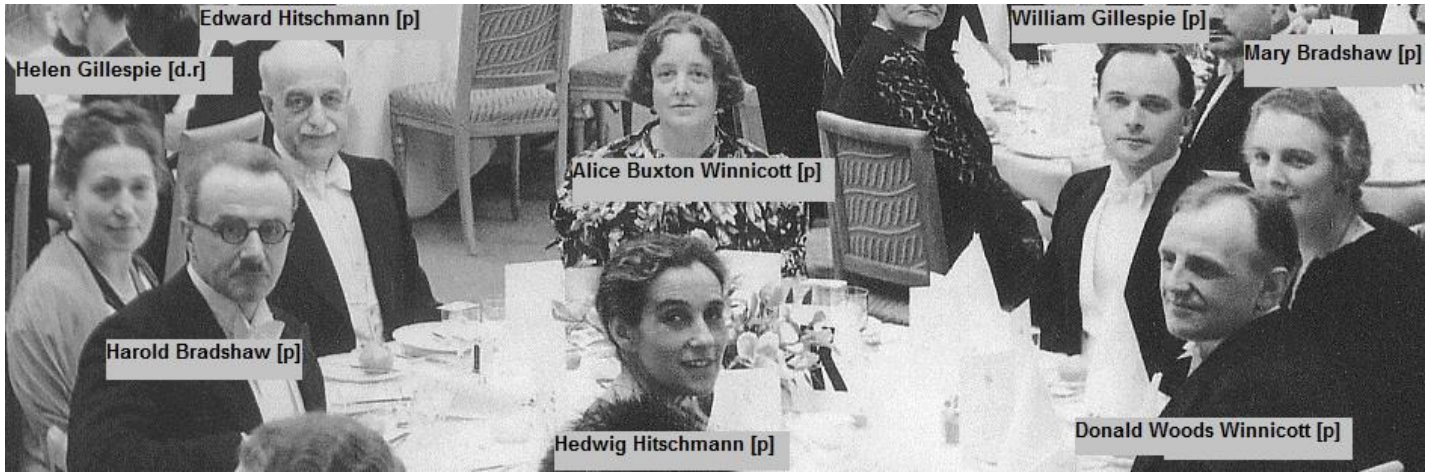
[d.r] is where a range of evidence has been used to make a match; including the seating plan, photographs and other data (such as height) to make a deduction (or best guess) about the identity of the guest.

Appendix H Table J

[p] is where there is a photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.

[d.r] is where a range of evidence has been used to make a match; including the seating plan, photographs and other data (such as height) to make a deduction (or best guess) about the identity of the guest.

Appendix H Table K



[p] is where there is a photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.

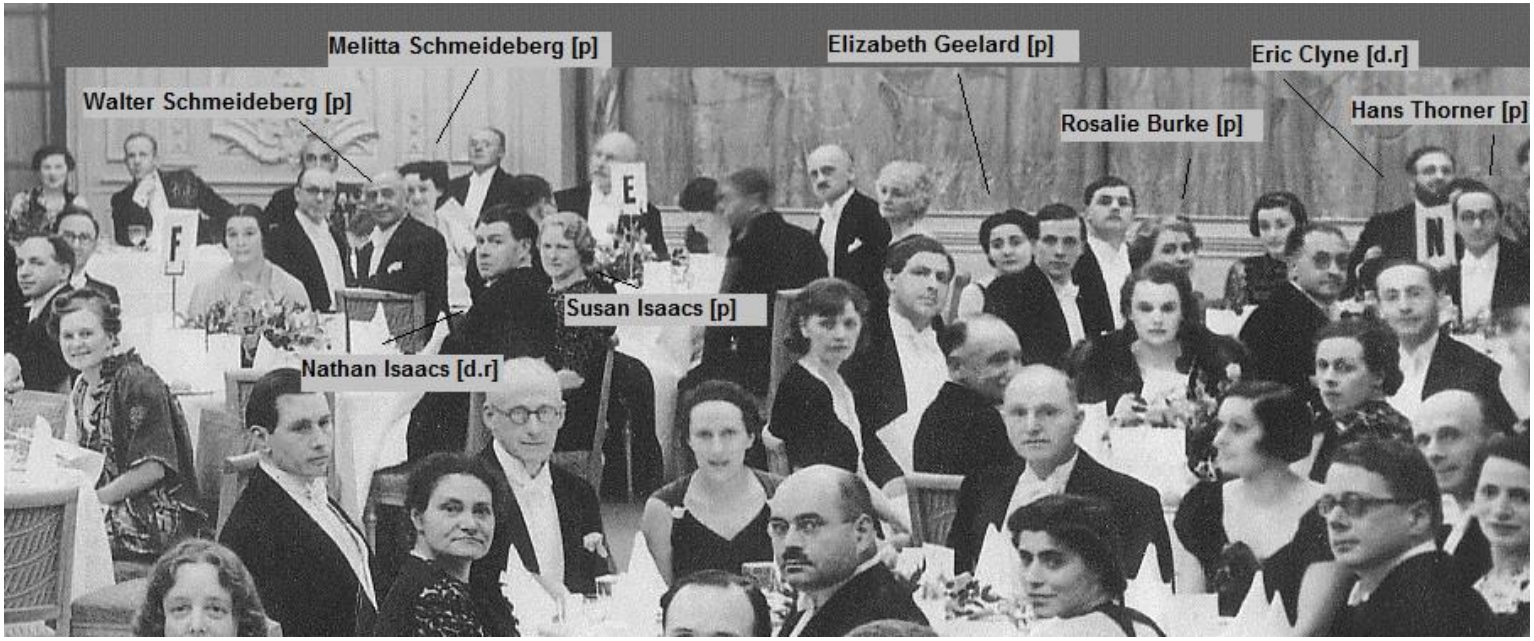
[d.r] is where a range of evidence has been used to make a match; including the seating plan, photographs and other data (such as height) to make a deduction (or best guess) about the identity of the guest.

Appendix H Guests identified from other tables

[p] is where there is a photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.

[d.r] is where a range of evidence has been used to make a match; including the seating plan, photographs and other data (such as height) to make a deduction (or best guess) about the identity of the guest.

Appendix H More guests identified from other tables



[p] is where there is a photographic match or identification from another verifiable source, such as a family member.

[d.r] is where a range of evidence has been used to make a match; including the seating plan, photographs and other data (such as height) to make a deduction (or best guess) about the identity of the guest.

Appendix I Chronology of key events in the life of Ernest Alfred Jones

Date	Age	Event	Notes
1st Jan 1879		Born	
	22		
1880	mths	Sister born -Elizabeth - Bessie	She was later to marry Wilfred Trotter, Jones 'best friend' in 1911
1881?	2	Remembered a field snake entering the house	Confirmed by the nurse
		Moved to second house built by his father	
1882	3	Went to village school	
1882?	3	Sister born - Sybil	Later to marry Christopher Blundell and live in Wales (they were married by 1918 as Jones dined with them with Morfydd before she died (Maddox p140)
1885-86	6 or 7	Early sexual experience?	The practise of coitus was familiar to me at the ages of 6 or 7 after which I suspended it and did not resume it till I was twenty four - mentions that he sleeps with his sisters when seven to nine p38
1886	7	Big boys school	
1887	8	Swansea Higher Grade school	
1888?	9	Saw Mikado at Savoy	When I was nine years old I was again taken to London…We attended one of the opening nights of the Mikado at the Savoy - But Mikado opened in March 1885
	10	Mastered italian grammar	From one of his fathers books.
1889?	10	Contracted Scarlet Fever	Whether she believed that - because of some embedded association between poverty, dirt, and disease - a school of higher social standing would be safer from attacks of disease…
1889?	10	Swansea Grammar School	my school cap was the source of envious hostility
1893-95?	13	Llandovery College - scholarship in maths	Above all there was skating and I had the luck to pass the superb winters of 1893-5
1894?	15	London matriculation	Took the London matriculation instead of studying for Cambridge matriculation (three years of further study)
1895?	16	Cardiff. University College of South Wales	Registered as a 'fully fledged medical student' - because of london matriculation became undergrad at two unis, London and Wales
1896	17	6wk summer course University Tutorial College	Saw HG Wells
1898	19	Passed medical exam	One out of five in my university career which I passed without a first class
1898	19	Father took him on a tour abroad	Those years from sixteen to eighteen, were indubiably the most stirring and formative of my life. The starting point was the problem of religion, which covered more personal sexual ones.
		Began as a medical student at UCH	
1899	20	Arrested and spent night in Vine St station	Ringleading disrespectful behaviour in Daly's theatre off Leicester Square
1899	20	Portugal with his father business trip	Fell out with his father at Biarritz. His father went straight home, leaving Jones to finish the journey at his leisure, 'a wise and generous gesture'
1900	21	Arrested and spent night in cell	I was two days and three nights in the street' and many was the prank we played' p79 Mafeking Day
1900	22	Secured a clinical assistantship at National	Highly unusual. He had got what he wanted being at UCH, so why go to National? He claims it was because he was interested in neurology and went to Beevor p83
1900 June	21	Qualified as a medical man	
1900	21	House physician to Rose Bradford	
1900	21	Read a paper to Pathological Society	
1901	22	Wrote up research in The Lancet	Refers to research by Beevor and Horsley on frontal lobe, and wrote up his own findings of the same from a clinical experiment - trying to be noticed all the time.

Date	Age	Event	Notes
Apr-01	22	Two weeks in Riffel Alp Vallois	Attacked by an eagle - Really?!
1901?	22	House surgeon to Sir William Horsley UCH	Surgical registrar was Wilfred Trotter
1901?	23	Examination for Batchelor of Medicine	First class in medicine and obstetrics with a gold medal and a university scholarship for medicine
1902?	23	6 months as obstetric assistant UCH	It was six months taken away from my direct medical career, but it was interesting and I could afford the time
1902?	23	Bathelor of Surgery exam	
1902?		Temporary pathologist UCH	
1902		Resident medical officer Brompton Chest Hospital	Still wanting to broaden before specialising he 'postponed the next logical step of a house appointment at the National (neurological) Hospital before returning as I hoped to UCH as resident medical officer
1902 Aug	23	Holiday in Brussels with Bree. Challenged to a duel	The sister of Bree's fiance 'made a dash at some happiness in my company'. The girls mother thwarted the duel and it ended with a 'love scene at the top of its famous belfry' in Bruges
1902 Aug	23	On to Wales where he proposed to a girl	It had been four years since I had had anyone of the opposie sex to care for… but it was a mistake which I had much cause to rue before long. P110
1902	23	Begins interest in psychiatry	Visiting various London clinics on Sundays
	23	Friend Ward dies of meningitis	
1903	24	Resident medical officer	at North-Eastern Hospital for Children in Bethnal Green
	24	Operates on child against view of physician	Doesn't name physician, but was it Russell? On the staff of the National.
		Absent without leave	Went to Wales to see 'fiance' who had appendicitis. Asked to resign after only 6 months in post
1903		Gained MD in meds and psychological meds.	Came first in the exam got another Gold Medal
		Membership of Royal College of Physicians	Gained rank of consultant physician
1903?		Failed to get house physician at National	The physician he had 'offended' called him 'difficult to work with'
1903-1907		Quarter time appointment at Ed Dept at LCC	in charge of mental defective schools. He also studied for Diploma of Public Health
		Clinical assistantships at Great Ormond St	and East London Hospital for Children and at Moorfields Eye Hospital - where he became one of the 'chief opthalmic assistants
1904	25	Began various research studies	
1905	26	Sets up Harley St clinic with Trotter	Jones father buys the lease on 13 Harley St
1905		Applies for various hospital posts unsuccessfully	
1905		Appointed to the staff of Faringdon Dispensary	
1905		Assisitant physician Dreadnought Seamans Hospital	He was appointed Lecturer in Neurology at a new post grad school, the London School of Clinical Medicine
		Minor ops, invigilating and coaching	
		Eder takes him to Fabian Society	Doesn't join but likes meeting the type of people who frequented
1906 Apr	26	Takes new Journal of Abnormal Psychology	First paper in English on Psych A after which Trotter and Jones take German lessons to access more about Psych A
1906	27	Edward Street School Court case dismissed	The magistrate dismisses the case after two months of remands
1906		Eder introduces him to Loe Kann	
1907 Septe	28	Meets Jung at Amsterdam conference	Jones gave paper on neurological disorder, but spoke with Jung about Freud and Jung reported back to Freud with some surprise and excitement that his work had reached England
1907 Oct	28	Meets Otto Gross in Munich	Enrolled for a month's post graduate course at Emil Kraepelin's centre for clinical research funded by Kann
1907	28	Onset of rheumatoid arthritis	

Date	Age	Event	Notes
1908	29	Has to resign from his post at West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases	Under Harry Campbell was undertaking loosely Freudian inspired research. A girl complained to her father that Jones had talked to her about sexual topics unchaperoned.
1908 Mar	29	Leaves London	
1908 Apr	29	Meets Freud for the first time in Salzburg	Zusammenkunft fur Freudsche Psychologie or the first international congress of Psych A
1908 Sept	29	Arrives in Toronto Uni and Govt Insane Hospital	Takes up two 'government' posts; pathologist to hospital and director of the out patient clinic - made a demonstrator of medicine and pathology and Associate of Psychiatry
1908 Dec	29	Met Morton Prince in New York	Becomes assistant editor of Journal of Abnormal Psychology
1909	30	Mother dies	
1909 Sum	30	Freud visits Clark Uni Mass. with Jung and Ferenczi	Jones met them in NY with Brill and travelld
1909	30	*Psycho-Analysis in Psychotherapy*	First paper Jones has published on psychoanalysis - American Journal of Abnormal Psychology 4:218-35
1910 April	31	International Psychoana. Congress in Nurenburg	Jones in Canada and not able to go
1910	31	*The Oedipus-Complex as an Explanation of Hamlet's Mystery: A Study in Motive*	American Journal of Psychology 22:72-113
1910	31	*The Psycho-Analytical Method of Treatment*	Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease 37:285-95
1912	31	Jones proposes a Committee	Freud's Inner Circle - Jones envisaged 'a united small body, designed, like the Paladins of Charlemagne, to guard the kingdom and policy of their master' (Maddox 2006:101)
1912	33	Loe Kann begins analysis with Freud	
1912	33	Tour of Italy	
1912	33	*Papers on Psycho Analysis* published	London: Balliere Tindall and Cox
1913	34	Returns to Canada	
1913	34	The first meeting of The Committee	Jones, Otto Rank, Sandor Ferenczi, Karl Abraham, Hans Sachs 25th May
1913 Sum/ early Aut	34	Analysis with Ferenczi in Budapest	It led to a much greater inner harmony with myself, and gave me an irreplaceable insight of the most direct kind into the ways of the unconscious mind which it was highly instructive to compare with the more intellectual knowledge of them I had previously had.
1913 Sept	34	International Psychoanalytical Congress in Munich	Split between Freud and Jung at this conference
1913 Aut	34	Returns to London, sets up consulting rooms in Great Portland St	
1913 Oct	34	Sets up London branch of the International Association Psych An Society	Dispute over whether this was him or Eder. Eder was secretary
1914	35	Private practice with war wounded	Still can't secure a hospital post in spite of was
1917	38	Meets and marries Morfydd Owen	
1918	39	Morfydd dies from chloroform poisoning	Trotter advised taking out her appendix, but evidence suggests that Jones administered the anaesthetic which was to kill her.
1919	39	Reforms disbanded London Society as British Psy A Society	Jones was President of the Society from 1920 -1940
1919	39	Freud proposes Jones as President of the International Psycho-Analytical Assoc.	Jones takes on Presidency in 1922 - 1925 and 1934-1951
1919	40	Meets Katharina Jokl in Zurich and marries her	

Appendix I Chronology of key events in the life of Ernest Alfred Jones, continued

Date	Age	Event	Notes
1920	41	Rundbriefe begun	Freud initiates to better communicate with Inner Circle
1920	41	Founds the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis	Remains as editor until 1939
1920	40	*Treatment of the Neuroses*	London: Balliere Tindall and Cox
1920	41	Gwenith born	
1922	43	Father dies and Mervyn born Training Committee formed	
1923	44	*Essays in Applied Psycho Analysis*	London: International Psychoanalytical Press
1924	45	Founded London Psch A clinic	
1926-29		Special Committee set up by BMA to consider status of Psy Analysis	
1928	49	*Psycho-Analysis*	London: E Benn
1931	52	*On the Nightmare*	Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis
1931	52	*The Elements of Figure Skating*	London:Methuen
1938 5th Jun	59	Freud arrives in London	Jones was instrumental in securing safe passage for Freud, his immediate family and many other analysts
1939 8th March	60	Jubilee Dinner for British Psychoanalytical Society at the Savoy, London	
1939 23rd Sept	60	Freud dies at home with the help of Max Schur	
1939 26th Sept	60	Jones delivers the oration for Freud at Golders Green Crematorium	
1949	70	*Hamlet and Oedipus*	London: Gollancz
1953	74	*Sigmund Freud: Life and Work. Vol 1: The Young Freud 1856-1900*	London: Hogarth Press
1955	76	*Sigmund Freud: Life and Work.Vol 2: The Years of Maturity 1901-1919*	London: Hogarth Press
1956	77	*Sigmund Freud: Four Centenary Addresses.*	New York: Basic Books
1957	78	*Sigmund Freud:Life and Work.Vol 3: The Last Phase*	London: Hogarth Press
1958 Feb 11th	79	Jones dies suffering from cancer.	Ended his own terminal pain at University College Hospital by asking a doctor to 'give him something to end the suffering'. He ended his life by taking a 'pill' Maddox p279
1959		*Free Associations: Memories of a Psycho-Analyst.* Epilogue by Mervyn Jones.	London: Hogarth Press

Appendix J

The fall out from the Marienbad Congress 1936

Characters:

Dr. Ernest Jones, President of the International Psycho-Analytical

Dr. Max Eitingon, President of the International Training Committee

Dr. Edward Bibring, Director of the Vienna psychoanalytic clinic and co-editor of the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*.

Dr. Bertram Lewin, Vice President of the New York Psycho-Analytical Society

Dr. George Daniels, Secretary to the New York Psycho-Analytical Society

Dr Abraham Brill, President of the Psycho-Analytical Section of the American Psychiatric Association

Dr Sandor Rado, Representative on the Council on Professional Training (NYψa)

Dr Clarence Oberndorf, Member of New York Psycho-Analytical Society

Anna Freud, Psycho-analyst

The controversy begins with a telegram on 25th May 1937 from Bertram Lewin in New York, asking Jones to hold the publication of the reports of the Congress as they New York Psycho-analytical Society is unhappy about the content, as misleading and biased.

There follows more than forty letters over ten months between Jones, the New York society, Eitingon and Bibring.

25th May 1937 Cable from Bertram Lewin in New York

The telegram tells Jones to stop the publication of the Journal (International Journal of Psycho-Analysis)

25th May Telegram from Max Eitingon in Jerusalem to Jones

26th May Letter from Lewin in New York to Jones

The letter following up the telegram states that there had been a 'misleading report of the Congress' in relation to the New York Psycho-analytical Society and that they want publication of the journal stopped until this had been corrected.

5th June Letter from Jones to Lewin (slide)

Agreeing that tact is needed and stating that he is still waiting for precise information as to what changes need to be made, as Dr Rado's resolution from

the congress and an abstract of the discussion have already been published in German. He reminds Lewin that Oberndorf was at Marienbad.

Jones often responds to criticism literally, but by dealing in 'facts' he obfuscates that the wording was implicitly critical of Rado.

5th June Telegram from Eitingon to Jones (slide)

Protest unsinnig da amerikaner marienbad anwesend gewesen besonders oberndorf. Druckaufschub ungerechtfertigt sie koennen korrekturen spaeter anbringen wir halten protocol aufrecht

Protest nonsensical because Americans present at Marienbad particularly Oberndorf. Pressure to delay unjustifiable – can attach corrections later – we maintain protocol (my translation)

7th June Letter from Eitingon to Jones

9th June Letter from Anna Freud in Vienna to Jones

13th June Letter from Eitingon to Jones

16th June Letter from Jones to Clarence Oberndorf in New York

17th June Letter from George Daniels, Secretary of the NY Psycho-Analytical Society to Jones

26th June Letter from Jones to Daniels

26th June Letter from Jones to Eitingon (slide)

28th June Letter from Oberndorf to Jones

29th June Letter from Lewin to Jones

3rd July Letter from Eitingon to Jones

5th July Letter from Edward Bibring to Jones

5th July Letter from Jones to Bibring

'Many thanks for your prompt and efficient reply. I do not myself see how your clear and concise statement could be better, thought we must of course await Dr Eitingon's reply'.

6th July Letter from Oberndorf to Jones

7th July Letter from Jones to Lewin

'I have no doubt that with a modicum of good will this should meet the case and I cannot imagine why there should not be good will, since the whole matter proceeds from a pure misunderstanding of which we knew nothing until now.'

30th October Letter from Oberndorf to Jones

Alerting Jones to a letter that has been sent by the New York Psycho-Analytical Society

30th October Letter from Daniels to Jones

‘After careful consideration the Society unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that the joint statement of Drs Eitingon and Bibring is unsatisfactory’.

The letter concludes that they would like their own letter published in full

3rd November Letter from Lewin to Jones

This letter warns of an official letter on its way

I can assure you that there is no exception taken either by myself or anyone over here as to the part played by you in the matter, for your fair position and methods were obviously above question. The whole trouble lies in the letter of Eitingon and Bibring, which make a very bad impression…I sincerely wish that this whole essentially trivial matter could be smoothed over, and I know it will be with you diplomatic assistance.’

11th November Letter from Jones to Daniels

Jones states that the matter is not in his hands and that he has no powers as President and is only able to pass the matter on to Eitingon and Bibring

11th November Letter from Jones to Eitingon

He urges diplomacy and asks Eitingon to consider publishing the letter from the New York Society

15th November Letter from Anna Freud to Jones

16th November Letter from Anna Freud to Jones

18th November Letter from Anna Freud to Jones

19th November Letter from Jones to Lewin

21st November Letter from Eitingon to Jones

6th December Letter from Eitingon to Lewin

21st December Letter from Daniels to Jones

This is a strongly worded official letter from the New York Psycho-Analytical Society, insisting that their original letter be published in full. The tone towards Jones has also changed.

30th December Letter from Jones to Anna Freud

‘I am terribly sorry to disturb you at this happy time of year…

I hope you have had a restful Christmas.’

11th January 1938 Letter from Jones to Eitingon

Jones asks him to read the letter from New York and not react. He acknowledges that Eitingon had already agreed to publish the letter, ‘foolish as it is’. He urges quick response

11th January Letter from Jones to Anna Freud

‘I think it would be a very good idea to write to Brill and would suggest that you did it. You will however not forget this old habit of showing letters to other people’

19th January Telegram from Eitingon to Jones

Einverstanden Jahe(?) wird Beides Unterzeichen

Agreed. Will both sign. (He and Bibring)

19th January Letter from Jones to Daniels

He confirms that Eitingon and Bibring have agreed. In the letter he refers to ‘a corporate union of scientific workers’

18th May Letter from New York Psycho-Analytical Institutes Education Committee and from the New York Psycho-Analytical Society

To inform Jones that ‘no member will be speaking on behalf of the society or Institute at the International Congress’

The record is incomplete as we don’t have all the replies and some may be missing from this list, but it gives a fair record of the pattern of power playing and also the importance placed on these words with a view to them being available for posterity.

See JONES, E. (1937) ‘Report of Marienbad Congress'. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 18, p.351.

JONES, E. (1936) Correspondence between Ernest Jones, Max Eitingon, Edward Bibring and the New York Psychoanalytical Society [Manuscript]. Archives. Freud Museum, London.

Appendix K

Notes on the correspondence from Barbara Low to Edward Nehls, held as part of the Nehls Collection in the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas in Austin.

Typically, Low is precise and at other times vague and repetitious. She brings up subjects that show her relationships to key people in literature and psychoanalysis and yet deflects her own importance. She is frequently humble; polite yet assertive; reverential whilst wanting to control.

Jan25/54
Low writes to Nehls in what we can assume is her first letter to him. He had clearly been trying to contact her for a while at the wrong address (her sisters')
She writes

> I and my sister [Florence] are put together in the phone book

Nehls is writing a biography of D.H.L. and has asked for her reminisces.

She writes

> You refer to the "Standard" Memoirs about him may I tell you that Frieda Lawrence's account, tho' very good + penetrating in some respects, is also unreliable in many ways, + as for Middleton Murry's account, I think him (+ so do others) most untrustworthy + biased.

She refers to 'tiresome relationships' (presumably quoting Murry), as 'Ivy Litvinov + M.M. Bobby (her nieces) and her sister + brother in-law. She describes herself as 'very limp mentally as well as physically, following an operation in '53'.

> I am old now you realize – near 70!

> Alas I don't think I can give you anything much of value to you – my reminisces are many, but quite personal + not very interesting to others I expect.

Feb 16/54
Low apologises for not replying sooner to Nehls' kind letter of 29th Jan.

> But as I believe I told you, I am so deteriorated mentally, as well as physically, that I neglect all sorts of things I ought to do. I can only ask you to charitably excuse it!

She invites him to lunch at her sister's club the national Book [League] Club in Albermarle St and praises what he has outlined of his work so far. She mentions a large amount of biography being written at present, but so much 'trivial' and not 'serious and revealing' as it should be. Continues with a modesty that feels unduly self deprecating, but was probably appropriate at the time.

> So much of my reminiscence of Lawrence is so purely personal, you see, if one is not a person of any importance oneself, it can't be a matter of particular interest to anyone but oneself- that's how I feel- but of course if I <u>can</u> be of any use at all, I will be glad.

She frequently uses underlining for emphasis and in many instances this would appear to be quite revealing in itself. Here she had underlined can, leaving the reader in no doubt that she saw herself as capable, but perhaps felt obliged by social convention to suggest otherwise. She adds that she finds writing too difficult, '-about the only thing I've ever been able to do successfully is Lecturing, + that I have really enjoyed – but not the Writing I have done except Reviewing.'

She enters into this correspondence in quite a forthright manner straight away. A woman who is used to being listened to perhaps. Or a woman who grew up the youngest in a large family and needed to be assertive to get any attention or to get her way.

May 19/54
Headed paper this time. She starts with a forthright invitation to lunch. She says she will meet Nehls at the Club with her sister as she can't go out alone. A generally positive straight forward crisp letter ends with;

> You must not mind that I am very limp, mentally + physically. I look forward to seeing you.

Sat 22/54 [May]
A card, posted in an envelope, thanking him for his letter saying he'll come on Thursday 27th May. "Will you make the time 12 o'clock sharp, as the Club gets so full after 12"

An example of fussy precision, which reads almost bossy in its tone. Is her need to control a result of her fragile mental state; an outcome of anxiety perhaps?

May 28/54
Crossed out address with the following written above, 'Excuse this paper, it's my Consulting-Room address in Town – my other has run out.'

~~31 Hanover Gate Mansions, Regents Park, London NW1~~

Low sends Nehls Hilda Doolittle's address and suggests that he refer to her as H.D. as that was how she referred to herself in her books. She says how much her and Florence enjoyed meeting him.

> I am going to send you a few scattered notes – probably no good at all – tear them up if useless.

She asks him to lend his thesis on D.H.L. She says he has real understanding and percipience and that she admires his 'patient + courageous look for so long a period'.

Sunday 30th/54
A card, thanking Nehls for his own card of thanks. She recommends a book but then adds; '(I now remember you do know it – it is good isn't it).'

June 8/54

Low thanks him for 'most prompt + kind response' to her request. She must have received his thesis and she praises it. She writes, 'Did you type the MS? It is beautifully done!

July 13/54
'I am returning Vol 1 of your thesis. Will you send me a pc to tell me of its safe arrival.' Low says she'll be anxious 'til she knows of its safe arrival. 'I think you have done a remarkable piece of work on DHL.'

Says she wants to write more but has had an accident and fractured a small bone at the top of right shoulder.

July 24/54
Low thanks Nehls for his letter and apologises for him having to send a telegram – she only wanted a pc. She says she hadn't thought he might be away. 'I don't want the papers I left in your book – Tear them up please.'

A good example of her dismissive attitude to her contribution either actually, or through her possessions, followed by clear instruction and control.

Aug 4/54
In returning Part 2 Low says she is intrigued to know who the stockbroker 'fan' of DHL is. She invites Nehls to lunch before he leaves England.

> I've come across a big packet of Press notes (I joined a Press Cutting Agency) at the time of D.H.'s death – Would they be of any interest to You?

Did she join to be helpful to Nehls?

She complements him again; 'No one else has done what you have. Will you just send a pc when you get the parcel (registered) not a wire.'

Aug 11/54
She agrees date of lunch [Aug 18th] and says she'll give him the press cuttings then. '+ I don't want them back'.

Aug 19/54
Now she addresses him as, 'My dear Edward Nehls'. She gives him Ivy Litvinov's Moscow address and writes that she is pleased to have met him again. She praises his work again, ('its sincerity disinterested approach only desiring to get at truth').

She writes that she regrets not hearing more about 'another interesting personality – Edward Nehls himself.' This seems quite coquettish, but is it just interested.

She asks him to please produce the book soon, 'I want to be still alive to read it'. She wishes him good luck in his new job (lecturer) and asks to reread Vol 2 of his thesis. She asks for his American address in case the Lawrence photo 'turns up'.

Aug 27/54
Low says she wants to hear something of him when he is in Illinois. She asks him to answer the following when he has time.

1. Is it expensive to send books to USA. She says she has some 1st editions of DHL which she was going to give to Hon Stephen Guest, her nephew (in New York for 12 years). She is clearly worried he will sell them as he's 'badly off', but if he no longer wants them she would like Nehls to have them.
2. She asks if he could send her a list of DHL's stories and Essays as she hasn't read them all.

   I came across a batch of DHL's letters to me which I thought I had destroyed. I don't think they are of interest to you or others – they are quite personal to me mainly. Of course I like them, and when he writes (what is probably quite untrue!) "You are one of the very few people who really listen to me when I talk – most people treat me as a kind of play-boy." I much appreciate it.

Sept 10/54
Low thanks Nehls for his 'charming letter', the information and the return of his thesis. In previous two letters she had been clear she only wanted Vol 2 so she chides him for sending both. She then writes;

> I feel rather rebuked about DHL's letters (I have destroyed most, already, alas – I expect your point of view is the right one – so I'll keep the 3 or 4 I still have a little longer then send them to you I have to thank, you know, for the further insight + help you have given in DH's work + all the enjoyment I have had from reading your thesis.

Nov 13/54
She writes her first letter to Nehls on air mail paper. She thanks him for 'charming + generous letter'. She mentions a Mr Moore who appears to be offering backing for turning the thesis into the book. She suggests that he continues at his Uni job for two years and then finds a job in a provincial university' (and says my sister marry a nice

young woman)'. She says she's sorry Ivy hasn't replied but not surprised – maybe she can't correspond outside of Russia or doesn't want to delve into the past.

Feb 10/55
Low congratulates Nehls on news that he is getting his book published. She says she is not surprised as it is 'so distinctive + illuminating: no one else has done anything like it'. She says he must now get it published in England. She repeats that he should come to an English University and marry.

She writes:

> Alas, my good friend of long years' friendship (I was first introduced to him by D.H. + we became good friends) died of a heart thrombosis about 3 weeks ago. He was very eccentric, + a very gifted man: he insisted on living quite alone for many years – did all his own 'chores' + kept his house spotless and polished like a new pin. But he <u>would</u> <u>not</u> look after himself properly – (I mean look after his health, nay not enough).

This has to be Kot and she knows his executors and can ask them to five her any D.H.L. letters to pass to him. Nehls has clearly written again to tell her of the value of her letters, but she writes, 'I have torn up nearly all except 1 or 2 which are quite private' She adds that she'll look again. 'Don't think me grudging will you.'
'With my affection'.

Feb 18/54
Update on Kot letters; 1. no copies of Kot's letters have been preserved. 2. Kot left instructions in his will that the letters he received from D.H. wee to be handed over to the British Museum. She says she is sorry. 'Forgive the bad scribble I have a bad attack of Rheumatism it's difficult to write.'

August 4/55
Low says she's worried at not having heard if he received his 2nd part of his thesis back. Quick sentences enquiring of his health, work, holiday etc. 'I should like some news of yourself'.
Is she cross with him for not replying when she had asked him too, or is she anxious?

August 31/55
Thanks Nehls for the letter (a positive response to her enquiry about his thesis);

> I'm sorry that I troubled you to write, in the midst of all your pressing work, but I did feel worried I suppose because you so quickly answered on the arrival of your 1st volume!

Low says that she will answer his queries on Ivy Litvinov with her 'scant' information. She has sent him New Statesman of 15th August as there is an article by Frieda Lawrence on D.H.L.

> I think it is not worth much + does not give a very accurate picture of their life together, but it might interest you.

It would seem that she thinks of him a great deal and is a loyal and thoughtful friend.

September 11/55
Low sends him an article she found she had on Ivy Litvinov and adds her date of birth and some detail about her brother. She refers to him a being viewed by academic and University world as 'exceptional'. Low also sends him an article from New York magazine 'at the time when Maxim Litvinov was ambassador and Ivy ambassadress'.

She then refers to David Eder as 'the Pioneer for making Freud's theories known in this country'. She continues; …'he and Mr Ernest Jones were friends and colleagues + had great discussions over Freud's work.' She says that when Jones went to take up a post in Toronto, Eder went to visit Freud. 'Freud liked him very much'. He was the first to lecture on Freud + write on Freud in his discourse. On Jones return, Eder took up his Zionist work and went to Palestine, but on his return he had a very successful P/A/ practice. She writes a very self deprecating and modest account of her own contribution.

> I of course, was in no way a Pioneer. When the first little group was formed, of about 6 or 7 Doctors, under leadership of Dr Jones, I was one of them, the only woman. Then by degrees it expanded into the P.A. Society – for along time I was the only Jew in it! The little bit of "Pioneering" I did was to write the 1st small Text-Book on P.A. ("P.A., a Brief Outline of the Freudian Theory") which

had a good deal of success, + Freud approved of it. Well this is a long winded account isn't it!

She apologises for the delay in writing, but says she has had rheumatism.

Nov 3/55
Low apologises for delay due to rheumatism. Responding to his questions, she repeats information about David Eder as written in her last letter. She replies with surprise at his query of 'Aunt Elsie' as she was the first wife of her older brother, Sir Sydney Low. Presumably she is responding to a query he raised having read some of Ivy's letters. She says she thinks Hollybush House was the home of Catherine Carswell and her husband [Donald]. She hopes to see him again and says she looks forward to the book. 'I think it is a great work'

'Best of luck, Your friend, Barbara Low.'

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