dited authority on logic patiently pointed out: "How often have I said to you that when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth?" MRA is impossible. Therefore the only rational alternative must prevail: the plays fashionably rejected as "Bad Quartos", whether we like them or not, represent Shakespeare's own early versions, which he later revised. As I have shown in my earlier Encounter article ("The Oxford or the Stratford Shakespeare?", June 1987), he is still the Stratford Shakespeare identified by his first biographers and editors, not the Oxford Shakespeare invented by their modern successors. He began with popular plays, such as the early Hamlet lampooned by Nash in 1589, and The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York parodied by Greene in 1592. Their thousands of unfamiliar lines define his earliest style, which

can also be identified in other plays such as *The Troublesome Reign of King John* and *Edward III*, both c.1590. ¹² The course of his development can thus be charted in detail, from historical documents instead of literary opinion. For that journey, the Oxford *Works* will be abandoned as useless baggage, and the *Companion* sent packing.

The new routes and landmarks will call for new books and editions, some of which have already been published, or are in course of preparation, by professionally qualified Shakespeareans. ¹³ Other such studies will, I hope, be stimulated by this essay, on which I shall be grateful to receive critical comment, whether in public or in private, from all interested parties—and especially readers, playgoers, actors and directors. Shakespeare is far too serious a subject to be left to editors.

preparation, stresses its manifold and striking affinities with *Edmund Ironside*, a resemblance first pointed out in general terms by E. B. Everitt in *The Young Shapespeare*.

Sublimation & Its Discontents

Anna Freud's Life—By DINAH M. MENDES



Freud—as daughter, analysand, companion and intellectual heir—Anna Freud has remained shrouded in the mystique that surrounds the oedipal drama. Previous biographies that were based on published writings only,

such as Raymond Dyer's Her Father's Daughter: The Work of Anna Freud (1983), offered only a formal and external history of her life and intellectual development. Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, Professor of Letters at Wesleyan University and author of a well-received biography of Hannah Arendt, was invited to write this biography by the executors of Anna Freud's literary estate and given access to unpublished correspondence, manuscripts, poetry and dream interpretations. ¹ Dr Young-Bruehl has constructed an ambitious biography that sets out to chronicle the intellectual and psychological maturation of Anna Freud and, in parallel fashion, the evolution of psychoanalysis into an international organisation.

What emerges in this scholarly—although not fully comprehensive—work is the story of a major figure in the history of psychoanalysis, a woman whose inner struggles and conflicts circumscribed her life in important respects, while engendering at the same time enormous intellectual and creative productivity.

Anna Freud was born in 1895, the youngest of Sigmund and Martha Freud's six children. A triumvirate of mothers—Martha, her sister Minna Bernays, and the nursemaid Josefine—ruled her early childhood, and Anna reportedly struggled over hopeless competitiveness with her older siblings and acute jealousy of the female members of the household. Unlike many of her friends, the more conservative Freuds did not send their daughters to a *Gymnasium*—which offered a rigorous, classical education—but to a *Lyceum*, following which Anna embarked on a teacher-training course.

By 1913 the two older daughters were married and the sons no longer at home: An anxiously triumphant Anna wrote to her parents, "How am I to make do for six children all by myself next year?" For six years Anna taught school, but at the same time she began to translate articles for the psychoanalytic journals and to report her dreams to her father. In 1918 she undertook a four-year psychoanalysis with her father (resumed for a period of one year in 1924), and in 1922 she was voted a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Soc-

¹¹ A. Conan Doyle, The Sign of Four (1890).

 $^{^{12}}$ See Eric Sams, "The Troublesome Wrangle over King John", Notes and Queries, vol. 35, no. 1 (March 1988), pp. 41-44. See The Problem of the Reign of King Edward III. By ELIOT SLATER. Cambridge University Press, £35.00; yet another contribution to "the consensus of investigators that Edward III deserves a place in the Shakespeare canon", as the Oxford editors now acknowledge (TC, p. 136). They add (TC, p. 137): "If we had attempted a thorough reinvestigation of candidates for inclusion in the early dramatic canon, it would have begun with Edward III". My own edition of that play, now in

¹³ I. Robinson, *Richard II and Woodstock* (1988) has an appendix on the case for the latter play's Shakespearean authorship. Steven Urkowitz—in "Well sayd olde Mole", in *Shakespeare Study Today* (ed. G. Ziegler, 1988), pp. 37-70; "I am not made of stone", in *Renaissance and Reformation*, no. 10 (1986), pp. 79-93; and "Reconsidering the Relationship of Quarto and Folio Texts of *Richard III*" in *English Literary Renaissance*, no. 16 (1986), pp. 442-466—advocates the early version, not the MRA explanation, of so-called Bad Quartos.

¹ Anna Freud: A Biography. By ELISABETH YOUNG-BRUEHL. Summit Books, \$22.95; to be published in England in May 1989 by Macmillan

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iety. During the 1920s Anna Freud established her two most significant adult relationships with women: one was with the Russian-born writer-turned-psychoanalyst, Lou Andreas-Salomé, who served as confidante and mentor; the other was with Dorothy Burlingham, daughter of Louis Comfort Tiffany, who had come to Vienna for analysis and who became her lifetime companion.

NNA FREUD'S first book, Introduction to the Technique of Child Analysis, in which she outlined the differences between her approach to the analysis of children and that of Melanie Klein, appeared in 1926; in 1927 she was elected general secretary of the International Psychoanalytic Association. Together with Dorothy Burlingham she founded the first of many special schools, this one for children in psychoanalytic treatment. (Erik Erikson and Peter Blos, who went on to formulate their own theories of child and adolescent development, were the first instructors.) In honour of her father's 80th birthday in 1936, Anna Freud presented him with The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense—a work that bore what would become recognised as her distinctive trademark of strict adherence to the line of Freud's thought, widened by new applications and enriched by her capacity for intellectual synthesis and lucid expression.

In 1938, with the Gestapo at their heels, the Freud family resettled in London, and Sigmund Freud died there a year later. In 1940 Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham opened the Hampstead War Nursery for children, which developed after the War into the Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic and Course, much acclaimed for its method of treating children and training "child experts". Here the famous Index was developed-the innovative Hampstead method of filing and collating clinical material—that was the data base for clinical papers and instruction, and the Metapsychological Profile that Anna Freud proposed in Normality and Pathology in Childhood (1965). Although Melanie Klein remained the dominant influence among British child psychoanalysts, American psychoanalysts proved very receptive to the ideas of Anna Freud. She made numerous trips to the United States, and her collaboration with Goldstein and Solnit on Beyond the Best Interests of the Child (1973) grew out of lectures at Yale on "The Child and the Law".

At the time of her death in 1982, Anna Freud left behind a theory of child development of far-reaching influence, transmitted in eight volumes of collected writings, and a unique institute for child analytic treatment, training, and research that inspired similar models in the United States.

AT ANOTHER LEVEL of biographical exposition, Dr Young-Bruehl seeks to uncover the "involuntary and unconscious autobiography" that Nietzsche thought comprised the substratum of systematic philosophies and psychologies. In particular, Anna Freud's letters to Lou Andreas-Salomé and Max Eitingon, as well as her poems and reflections, form the bridge between her theoretical work and her inner life.

"Beating Fantasies and Daydreams" was the first paper

that Anna Freud presented to the Vienna Society in 1922, when she was 26 and nearing the end of her first long analysis with her father. In his 1919 paper "A Child is Being Beaten", Freud had described the "masculinity complex" of two female patients in whom incestuous wishes towards the father were resolved by the girl's turning herself in fantasy into a man. In her paper Anna Freud depicted the changes in the fantasy constructions of a young female patient, from masturbation fantasies centreing on beating, through "nice" stories involving a supplicant young man and an authority-wielding older man (an illustration of the "masculinity complex"), to the final sublimated production of short stories.

Young-Bruehl contends convincingly that the case history is autobiographical and encapsulates the central conflicts that Anna Freud encountered in her analysis with her father. In terms of the defences that Anna Freud defined in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, the young woman in question attained a high degree of sublimation (a psychic process that refers to the displacement and absorption of instinctual aims into endeavours valued as aesthetically, morally or socially worthwhile) with a concomitant repression of sexuality. Young-Bruehl believes that Anna Freud's successful reliance on sublimation, combined with her identification with masculine powers and repudiation of a fully feminine sexual identification explains much of the force and motivation behind her accomplishments, as well as her celibacy.

In the case history of the shabby, unmarried, and childless governess who exemplifies the defence of "altruistic surrender", first identified by Anna Freud in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, Dr Young-Bruehl detects another autobiographical persona. The analysis of the governess revealed that instead of undergoing repression, her sexual and ambitious wishes had been projected on to significant other people with whom she identified and through whom she lived vicariously. Young-Bruehl suggests that Anna Freud's propensity for altruistic surrender helps to clarify her involvement with the children of Dorothy Burlingham, her founding and direction of the many nurseries with which she was involved, and even her development of the field of child psychoanalysis,

R YOUNG-BRUEHL's greatest asset as a biographer, her ability to bring to life the history of ideas as it emerges from the lives of the people who embodied them, is matched on a narrative level by her skill in interweaving letter excerpts and quotations with historical account and theoretical exposition. As her works on Hannah Arendt and Anna Freud demonstrate, she is unfashionablysometimes refreshingly—uninterested in her subjects qua women. Her intent is to present her subjects as Women of Ideas and to illumine their work. Her stance as a biographer is discreet and unintrusive; she avoids idealisation on the one side and a myopic revelation of flaws and frailties on the other. She observes that "in a biography a life is held . . . in suspension, to be contemplated as a whole, with any records the only clues for what the life might have been like in the living. . . ." Elsewhere she has stated that the dynamism or Books & Writers

ing..." Elsewhere she has stated that the dynamism or vitality of a life story is the direct outcome of the biographer's capacity for identification with her subject.

Young-Bruehl's application of these two principles of biographical methodology, as she defines them, results in specific weaknesses in her approach. A by-product of her dedication to the observable and verifiable is her corresponding unease with conjecture that would serve to fill in the gaps and tie things together. Emphasis on empathic identification with her subject's preferred mode of experiencing and communicating also limits her critical inquiry; she does not push her subject further than she takes herself, nor allow herself to engage in evaluation or in summary analysis and synthesis.

In For Love of the World—her earlier work on Hannah Arendt, with whom she studied—Young-Bruehl explains that in that "philosophical biography" she intends to remain "contextual" in discussing Arendt's work and to refrain from "predictive criticism". The result of her compliance with Arendt's expressed disdain for introspection was that the reader received virtually no impression of Arendt's inner life or psychology.

In keeping with her theory of biography, in Anna Freud Dr Young-Bruehl makes no attempt to evaluate Anna Freud as a psychoanalytic theorist. She provides an exposition of the development of her ideas, but no assessment or comparison, for example, of Anna Freud's contribution to child psychoanalysis with that of her rival, Melanie Klein. Young-Bruehl's dislike for probing, her refusal to trespass on terrain not explored by Anna Freud, is particularly unsettling in what purports to be a psychological biography of a psychoanalyst dedicated to revealing the unseen, unacknowledged, or unacceptable truth, however difficult.

Although Young-Bruehl agrees that Freud's widely criticised "neglect" of the child's earliest relationship with its mother must surely have obstructed his analysis of his daughter's relationship with her mother, she makes no attempt to correct for this oversight. Throughout her life Anna Freud was disposed to forming ardent relationships with women who also fulfilled mother functions, yet Martha Freud makes a mere cameo appearance in this biography. Equally if not more striking is a failure to animate or analyse the friendship between Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, a relationship of over 40 years duration that was surpassed in intensity only by Anna Freud's relationship with her father. Young-Bruehl decisively refutes speculation that the relationship was sexual in nature, but offers no glimpse of the personality of Dorothy Burlingham or of the mutual appeal of the two friends.

A WINDOW ON our understanding of Anna Freud has been opened but Dr Young-Bruehl leaves many intriguing questions unposed and unanswered. How was it that Anna Freud's sexual ascetism resisted cure, as all her life she deflected the romantic interest of male admirers? Did Freud unwittingly collude in his daughter's father fixation and her difficulty in consolidating her "masculine" and "feminine" strivings? Freud professed ignorance about the psychology of



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women, while espousing highly conventional views. Within the Freud household the role of wife was divided between Martha Freud, who officiated in the domestic and maternal spheres, and Minna Bernays, who provided intellectual support and travel companionship. There is ample evidence of the intensity of Freud's emotional engagement with his daughters. In a letter to Sandor Ferenczi, describing how he misses his vacationing daughters, he confesses "how thoroughly satiated libido is by them"; in a letter to Freud following Sophie Freud's wedding, Ferenczi alludes to Freud's "Sophie-Complex".

In normal development the resolution of the oedipus complex in the girl is fostered by her awareness of her father's involvement with her mother as an adult partner. Although both Martha Freud and Minna Bernays outlived Freud, Anna Freud was able to fulfil her wish to become her father's most intimate companion, seemingly without struggle—appropriating her mother's role of nurse, during the long years of her father's illness, and Tante Minna's role as intellectual companion. The concept of altruistic surrender that Young-Bruehl considers essential to an understanding of Anna Freud does not encompass sufficiently the direct and profound gratification that Anna Freud surely derived from attaining the masculine status of her father's heir, and, from her pioneering work in child psychoanalysis, the sublimated creation of her father's child. Viewed from this angle, Anna Freud's life story is not simply one of altruistic service—to her father, to the children she treated, to the cause of psychoanalysis—but a dramatic if costly enactment of oedipal triumph and fulfilment.

A Metaphysical Scamp?

On Mark Helprin—By Isabel Butterfield

"Somehow I meet with the most extraordinary metaphysical scamps today. Sort of visitation of them."

HERMAN MELVILLE, The Confidence-Man



R. B. Lewis, in his Afterword to Melville's The Confidence-Man, not only provides an illuminating guide to that enigmatic novel but also suggests that it is the ancestor of several generations of American romanciers noirs, serio-comic writers who have followed the philosophic trail laid down by Melville over a century ago. Professor Lewis lists, among others, Mark Twain, William

Faulkner, Nathanael West and, more recently, William Gaddis and Thomas Pynchon. To these writers,

"... Melville bequeathed, in very differing proportions, the vision of an apocalypse that is no less terrible for being enormously comic."

He maintains that, seen together, they represent "the continuing imagination of national and even universal disaster that has accompanied the bright expectancy of the millennium". Professor Lewis does not speculate on the origins of "the continuing imagination" but it seems likely that the authors mentioned, Melville included, share what is fun-

damentally a religious and philosophical cast of mind and can be seen as latter-day descendants of a venerable and still potent American tradition: the Calvinist-derived Puritan conscience.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that this group of authors wrote about the obverse side of the American dream: those who failed, the sick, the lost, the poor, the dishonest, and the bad. They also ask the questions posed by all apocalyptic literature. Why, if God is good, does righteous mankind have to suffer? Where is man's place, if any, in the universe?

Mark Helprin, a relative newcomer to the American scene, seems a likely candidate for addition to Professor Lewis's list—with this notable difference: he believes, rightly or wrongly, that there are alternatives to the philosophic pessimism which marks so many of the others.

He first attracted attention with a collection of short stories, A Dove of the East (1975), in which he displayed a humanitarianism and an internationalism remarkable in a young man of 22. John Gardner said of him then: "... he moves from character to character and from culture to culture as if he'd been born and raised everywhere." A first novel, Refiner's Fire, followed in 1977, and in 1980 a second volume of short stories, Ellis Island, which was regarded as even better than the first.

I should like to focus on two stories from this more recent collection: "Letters from the Samantha" and "The Schreuderspitze". Between them, they stand for what is fundamental to Mark Helprin's philosophic outlook, dedicated as he is to finding a balance between two diametrically opposing views: the world seen as matter only and the world seen as, at least partly, spirit. William James, discussing different degrees of belief in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, quotes his old friend, Ernest Renan, the 19th-century scholar:

¹ Herman Melville, *The Confidence-Man*, with an Afterword by R. W. B. Lewis (Meridian Classics).

² Ellis Island and other Stories. By MARK HELPRIN. Delacorte, \$10.95; Arena (Arrow Books), £2.75.