ANNA
FREUD

A BIOGRAPHY BY
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M
MACMILLAN
LONDON

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First published in the United States of America 1988 by Summit Books, New York

First published in the United Kingdom 1989 by
MACMILLAN LONDON LIMITED
4 Little Essex Street London WC2R 3LF
and Basingstoke

Associated companies in Auckland, Delhi, Dublin, Gaborone, Hamburg, Harare, Hong Kong, Johannesburg, Kuala Lumpur, Lagos, Manzini, Melbourne, Mexico City, Nairobi, New York, Singapore and Tokyo

ISBN 0-333-45526-6

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed in Hong Kong

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5738101-1

FOR M. T. BEECHER

Side by side with the exigencies of life, love is the great educator.

Sigmund Freud
(*SE*, XIV, 312)

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nized them as the kind of people who would help carry out the mission for psychoanalysis Freud had articulated at the Budapest Congress—that it reach "the wider social strata." But before she was ready to be more than a listener and a spectator as the future of psychoanalysis was determined, she had to finish her training—her psychoanalysis.

3

BEING ANALYZED

No "PROCESS NOTES" for Anna Freud's analysis exist, and Sigmund Freud did not devote an individual case history to her. The main documents for considering the course of her psychoanalysis are those she wrote herself: her poems and "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams." Late in her life, when she became concerned about the inquiries of prospective biographers, Anna Freud several times protected her privacy by declaring that the clinical material for "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams" came from her own analytic practice.[1] But the paper was actually written some six months before Anna Freud saw her first patient, and the occasion for it was her desire to attend the September 1922 International Congress in Berlin as a member of a psychoanalytic society. She wrote to Max Eitingon, head of the Berlin Society, in April 1922 to ask for his advice.

> There is something that I would like to discuss with you in Berlin. If it were possible, I would like very much to become a member of a psychoanalytic association before this year's Congress. This would be hard to do in Vienna, and I would fail anyway because I have not yet done enough to give a lecture. But, just recently my translation of the Varendonck book has appeared, and this is a work for psychoanalysis, if only a minor one.

> Would the Berlin Society accept me on the basis of this work? I will get the answer myself when I am with you.[2]

Their decision clearly was that she should prepare a lecture for the Vienna Society, despite the hypercriticalness she expected from her father's sharp-tongued, competitive colleagues. The fact that she did so in six weeks, for delivery in May 31, makes it almost certain that the patient whose case is discussed was herself—the one patient she knew intimately. In the written version of her lecture, she simply noted that the patient, whose story is reconstructed to the age of fifteen, had been the subject of "a rather thoroughgoing analysis," she did not say by whom.

In Sigmund Freud's " 'A Child Is Being Beaten,' " the 1919 essay that was Anna Freud's starting point for "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams," six cases are mentioned, two males and four females. He gave brief notes about five of these cases: three were obsessional neurotics of varying degrees of severity, one was a hysteric, the fifth "had come to be analyzed merely on account of indecisiveness in life, [and] would not have been classified at all by coarse clinical diagnosis, or would have been dismissed as 'psychasthenic.' "[3] This fifth patient sounds very much like Anna Freud, who was trying in 1919 to decide whether to be a psychoanalytically informed teacher or a psychoanalyst. But the sixth patient is not directly described at all, and this may signal that Freud protected his daughter's privacy with silence.

The exact extent to which either Sigmund Freud or Anna Freud used Anna Freud's analysis in their essays is not, finally, determinable. But it is at least clear from her various correspondences that "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams" was modeled—in general, if not in complete detail—on her own case, and her essay's descriptive framework is identical with the one that applies to two of the female cases in Freud's essay.

In the three parts of her essay, Anna Freud presented three stages in the development of her subject's beating fantasy. The first was the creation of the beating fantasy, which was itself a substitute for an incestuous father-daughter love scene that "distorted by repression and regression to the anal-sadistic phase finds expression as a beating scene," the climax of which coincided with masturbatory

gratification.[4] These fantasies appeared before the girl entered school, between her fifth and sixth years, and they continued until—between her eighth and tenth years—they were replaced by what she called "nice stories." The "nice stories" seemed to the girl to have no connection with the beating fantasies, though she did admit to her analyst that the beating fantasies occasionally rose up to interrupt the "nice stories" and that she then punished herself by temporarily renouncing the "nice stories."

The analyst pointed out to the girl that the beating fantasies and the nice stories had a similar structure. The nice stories invariably opened with a weak young man committing an infraction and being put at the mercy of a strong older man. In scenes of increasing tension, the young man is threatened with punishments until he is, finally, pardoned in a scene of reconciliation and harmony.

> In the beating fantasy, too [Anna Freud wrote], the protagonists are strong and weak persons who, in the clearest delineation, oppose each other as adults and children. There, too, it is regularly a matter of a misdeed, even though the latter is left as indefinite as the acting figures. There, too, we find a period of mounting fear and tension. The decisive difference between the two rests in their solution, which in the fantasy is brought about by beating, and in the daydream by forgiveness and reconciliation.[5]

The patient came to understand this structural similarity and, then, to admit that the nice stories could occasionally not only fail to keep the beating fantasies out of consciousness, but revert into them.

> During difficult periods, i.e., at times of increased external demands or diminished internal capabilities, the nice stories no longer succeeded in fulfilling their task. And then it frequently happened that at the conclusion and climax of a fantasized beautiful scene the pleasurable and pleasing love scene was suddenly replaced by the old beating situation together with the sexual gratification [masturbation] associated with it, which then led to a full discharge of the accumulated excitement. But such incidents were quickly forgotten, excluded from memory, and consequently treated as though they had never happened.[6]

Even though the nice stories did sometimes give way to their predecessors, they were a kind of advance—a sublimation.

> In the beating fantasy, the direct sexual drives are satisfied, whereas in the nice stories the aim-inhibited drives, as Freud called them, find gratification. Just as in the development of a child's relations to his parents, the originally undivided current of love becomes separated into repressed sensual strivings (here expressed in the beating fantasy) and into a sublimated affectionate tie (represented by the nice stories).[7]

Several years after she had produced the most elaborate and complete of her nice stories, the girl Anna Freud portrayed began to write short stories. These had quite a different structure: they were not so episodic, with scene after scene of mounting tension, and they had no single climactic scene of either beating or reconciliation. In Anna Freud's own life, this was probably the period when she began to write poems and to envision her novel. But she also, in August 1919, about five months after her father finished his essay " 'A Child Is Being Beaten,' " told him by letter that she had written down for the first time what she called "the great childhood story," which may have been the medieval tale of Egon referred to in her poems.[8] In "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams" she remarked on her subject's artistic activity: "She had sought to create a kind of independent existence for the protagonists that had become all too vivid [in the nice stories], in the hope that they would no longer dominate her life."[9]

When she moved from nice-story daydreams to short stories, Anna Freud's subject had finally achieved "communication addressed to others." She concluded that

> in the course of this [final] transformation regard for the personal needs of the daydreamer is replaced by regard for the prospective reader. The pleasure derived directly from the content of the story can be dispensed with, because the process of writing by satisfying the ambitious strivings [originating in the ego] indirectly produces pleasure in the author. . . . By renouncing her private pleasure in favor of making an impression on others, the author has accomplished an important developmental step: the transformation of an autistic into a social activity.[10]

The writing activity that Anna Freud described took her young patient one step beyond two of the cases Freud had presented in " 'A Child Is Being Beaten.' " He had noted that

> in two of my female cases an elaborate superstructure of daydreams, which was of great significance for the life of the person concerned, had grown up over the masochistic beating fantasy. The function of this superstructure was to make possible a feeling of satisfied excitation, even though the masturbatory act was refrained from. In one of these cases, the content—being beaten by the father—was allowed to venture again into consciousness, so long as the subject's own ego was made unrecognizable by a thin disguise. . . . In both the cases of daydreaming—one of which rose to the level of a work of art—the heroes were always young men; indeed, women used not to come into these creations at all, and only made their first appearance after many years, and then in minor parts.[11]

Freud noted the "masculinity complex" in these two cases and concluded that "when they turn away from their incestuous love for their father, with its genital significance, they easily abandon their feminine role." Freud did not connect the female patients' assumption of a masculine role in the fantasies and daydreams with masculinized behavior or homosexuality. On the contrary, he saw it as an escape from sexuality: "the girl escapes from the demands of the erotic side of her life altogether. She turns herself in fantasy into a man, without herself becoming active in a masculine way, and is no longer anything but a spectator at the event which has the place of a sexual act."[12] This much was also implied in Anna Freud's paper, but she went on to show that the spectator who communicates, who writes down what she understands, enjoys a form of pleasure—not masturbatory pleasure, not sexual pleasure, but the social pleasure of praise.

Insofar as it focused on beating fantasies and daydreaming as inhibitors of work and career decisions, Anna Freud's analysis of nearly four years—quite long by the then current standards—was a successful one. By the terms she herself set, it allowed her to transform fantasy activity and daydreaming into the social activity of writing. Anna Freud's paper is both a study of sublimation and an act of sublimation.

For her analyst and father, Anna Freud's paper was a source of great pride, for he certainly knew the degree to which her fantasy life was susceptible to regression and her intellectual energies to inhibition. But his joy was also in proportion to his anxiety. When he had learned that she planned to prepare and deliver a membership paper, the founder of psychoanalysis and the president of the Vienna Society compared himself to Lucius Junius Brutus, the legendary founder of the Roman Republic and the chief judge in its first tribunals. "Anna returned from Goettingen," he wrote to Max Eitingon, "with a plan for a test lecture in the Society. I will try to arrange for the lecture at tonight's meeting. Then, on Wednesday the 31st of this month, I will feel like Junius Brutus the elder when he had to judge his own son. Perhaps she is going to make a decisive step."[13]

Junius Brutus's son—so the legend has it—was executed after his father had ruled against him in the Roman tribunal. Things went rather differently at Anna Freud's trial. She spoke from notes, lucidly and authoritatively, and was received well, if a little enviously. Only Siegfried Bernfeld made a truly constructive comment—about how the story writer might have chosen her story material for the enlargement of her ego. After Bernfeld spoke, one of Freud's colleagues induced a momentary panic by suggesting that the girl she had written about was "a totally abnormal person whose incompetence and inferiority would absolutely emerge in real life." Anna Freud was shocked into silence, but her father came to her rescue: "Fortunately Papa answered him and defended my little girl."[14] The evening thus turned into a "nice story" of redemption by the father even while it was a success for the daughter.

Anna Freud and her father both associated her decisive career step with her masculinity, however, so that they could never be unambivalently pleased. The price of her success as a sublimator was her continued asceticism. In her life, she stood where both she and her father had left their female patients at the ends of their respective essays—that is, at the point of escape from the erotic side of life, from femininity. As she put the matter: "The sublimation of [the girl's] sensual love [for her father] into tender friendship is of course greatly facilitated by the fact that already in the early stages of the beating fantasy the girl abandoned the differences of the sexes and is invariably represented as a boy."[15] Both the writing of stories and the achievement of tender friendship with her father were linked to this abandoning of the differences of the sexes and the consequent asceticism. For Freud, however, asceticism did not have to be the final result: "the beating fantasy and other analogous perverse fixations would also be only precipitations of the Oedipus complex, scars, so to say, left behind after the process has ended, just as the notorious 'sense of inferiority' corresponds to a narcissistic scar of the same sort."[16] Anna Freud's paper, on the other hand, ended without any hopeful anticipation of the form her patient's sexual life might take; there is only the sigh of relief that praiseworthy social activity has been achieved.

Both Freud and his daughter located the origin of post-Oedipal beating fantasies in repression of the "love fantasy" a child has for his or her father: "all the sexual drives were concentrated on the first love object, the father," as Anna Freud wrote of her female patient.[17] Even though Freud's "'A Child Is Being Beaten'" was his first step toward revising his idea that girls and boys undergo parallel developments until they are distinguished by their choices of objects, he did not reflect upon the role of the mother in his female patients' lives. He did not note that a girl, as he later said, changes objects, switches from mother-love to father-love. And the mother of the girl Anna Freud studied is not so much as mentioned.

At the time of Anna Freud's analysis, Freud was just beginning to see the importance of the mother, and of the first years of life, later given the name "pre-Oedipal," in a child's development. He had, of course, noted the early developmental stages, oral and anal, and he had clearly stated in 1914 that "those persons who have to do with the feeding, care and protection of the child become his earliest sexual objects: that is to say, in the first instance the mother or her substitute."[18] But, as long as he thought primarily in terms of male development, the question of why and how this first sexual object is given up did not seriously arise—for the male does not give up his first object. Freud had, however, become aware that, particularly for female patients who had regressed to that first bond, a female analyst might be needed to remove resistances stemming from intense disappointment in and hostility toward the father.

This had been his suggestion, for example, in the 1920 essay "The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman," where the subject had taken her mother as her love object after her father had disappointed her love of him. But in this case, the woman's love of her mother was understood entirely as a derivative of her disappointment, not as a revival of her oldest love lost.

One of the first suggestions that Freud had received about the importance of the mother in early childhood had come from his friend Lou Andreas-Salomé, a brilliant Russian-born writer, companion to Nietzsche and Rilke, who had come to Vienna in 1912 to study psychoanalysis and then started a practice. In a 1919 letter, she had pointed out that neither Freud's speculative work *Totem and Taboo* (1912) nor his 1918 return to it in "The Taboo of Virginity" had taken into account the possibility that patriarchal societies might have been preceded by matriarchal societies, and that male "precautionary measures" to check female power might have originated in a period when females had not yet been reduced to the "private property" of males.[19] But this suggestion was not translated into clinical work with the present-day legatees of the history Freud and Lou Andreas-Salomé speculated about. Nor did Freud then connect this train of thought with the contemporary essay on female sexuality he most admired, Karl Abraham's 1919 "Manifestations of the Female Castration Complex," though Abraham's work may have been percolating behind the remarks on female mother-love in Freud's 1920 case study of the female homosexual.

In 1921, Freud invited Lou Andreas-Salomé to make an extended visit to his home in Vienna. She came for a brief stay in September and then for six weeks at the end of the year. Freud told Max Eitingon:

> My wife and my sister-in-law are very affectionate with her, and enough is left over of her to occupy Anna, for whom I mainly invited her. Anna has an understandable thirst for friendship with women because the English Loe [Kann Jones], the Hungarian Katá [Levy], and your Mirra [Eitingon] have all departed due to various influences. Otherwise, I am glad to see [Anna] blooming and in good spirits, and I only wish she would soon find some reason to exchange her attachment to her old father for some more lasting one.[20]

In this nonanalytic remark, Freud did not indicate that Lou Andreas-Salomé was invited for analytic purposes. But whether or not this was his intention, it was the result.

Anna Freud reported her initial response to Max Eitingon: "Frau Lou Salomé has been our guest for three weeks now, and I have gotten more out of her presence than I had expected. We are discussing a very interesting topic in psychoanalysis, from which a paper may be written sometime in the future. I see again how much closer one comes to all these things if one discusses them rather than trying to swallow them down by reading."[21] Despite the obliqueness of her report, the "I see again" phrase does signal that Anna Freud accepted Lou Andreas-Salomé as her second teacher if not exactly her second analyst. And the implication that she was being fed slowly and well signals that the childless Frau Lou had entered into the line of succession to Anna Freud's good mother, the adoring *Kinderfrau*, Josefine, for whom she had been an only child.

The interesting topic, beating fantasies and daydreams, was taken up again when Anna Freud spent ten days in the spring of 1922 at her mentor's home, Loufried, near Goettingen. The Vienna Society paper was emerging at just that time, and Lou Andreas-Salomé played midwife to it. When she was alone, Anna Freud told her father, she did not know as much as she knew when she was with Frau Lou, talking, trying to keep up with the sixty-one-year-old's astonishing "thought tempo."[22] Frau Lou's sympathetic ear and lively example helped Anna Freud overcome her fear of not just public speaking but public theorizing. Two years after Frau Lou's first December 1921 visit, Anna Freud reminisced to her: "Before you were here, it was still very difficult for me to talk to others about theory—I learned it first with you. . . . Now I find it a great pleasure to take part in such talks if they occur, and I am no longer afraid to say something."[23]

Neither in Vienna nor in Loufried was the quasi-analytic relationship a matter of on-the-couch analysis; it was a discussion and consultation relationship—with, as often as not, Lou Andreas-Salomé stretched out on a divan meditating aloud and Anna Freud seated at her feet. Later in her life, whenever the rumor reached her that Lou Andreas-Salomé had been her analyst, Anna Freud always claimed that the idea persisted because people were scandalized by the thought that her father had filled that role. But her father, on the other hand, registered the significance he thought Lou Andreas-Salomé's presence had had by playfully exchanging epistolary confidences with Lou about their shared "Daughter-Anna." Frau Lou, exactly the same age as Martha Freud, was the mother-analyst. And later, in the dark days he suffered through with the combined effects of his first surgery and the loss of a little grandson to tuberculosis, Freud told his partner: "Anna is splendid and self-assured, and I often think how much she probably owes to you."[24]

Lou Andreas-Salomé brought to her talks with Anna Freud nearly a decade of experience as an analyst and a long-standing interest in the topic of anal eroticism, which was obviously important to Anna Freud's essay. The second paper that Lou had submitted to Freud's journal *Imago* was called "Anal and Sexual" (1914), and in response to his "'A Child Is Being Beaten,'" she had reiterated a central notion of that paper: "The persistence of anal eroticism within mature sexuality has always struck me particularly in the case of the female sex."[25] She had noted that in women anal eroticism is, for anatomical reasons, much more closely associated than in men with masturbation and with fantasies—like beating fantasies—that disguise masturbatory pleasure.

Freud's appreciation for Lou Andreas-Salomé's contributions led him to suggest that the Vienna Society honor her—and itself—by offering her membership. After her own paper had been delivered and approved, Anna Freud helped to secure Lou's admission to the Society. She was accepted without the required membership paper, a breach of the Society's rules, and was delighted when she received the news that this exception had been made for her.

> Anna's night letter has just reached me with the news that I have really and truly become a full member of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society: as in a dream, so to speak, and as otherwise only happens in childhood, when one suddenly finds lying on one's bed the present one has wished for in one's dream. For what Daughter-Anna succeeded in reality in doing, i.e., in giving the lecture required for membership, I should never have achieved successfully. . . . I thank you from my heart for this breach of the rules![26]

One can imagine that Freud found this reaction amusing, for his letters to Lou reveal that he had always thought of her as a woman who expected exceptions to be made for her, who had never felt the need to compete for approval. Frau Lou had grown up idolized by not just her elderly father but six older brothers, and Freud had admiringly portrayed the result of this loving abundance in his 1914 essay on narcissism. Lou was of the "fascinating," "purely feminine" type, one of those women who "especially if they grow up with good looks, develop a certain self-contentment."[27]

Frau Lou was not the sort of woman to question Anna Freud's adoration of (or identification with) her father; on the contrary, she promoted Anna Freud's desire to stay at home and dedicate herself to her father and to psychoanalysis. For Lou's sanction, Anna Freud was deeply grateful, because, as she told her in December of 1924, without it she "would have been made insecure by those who feared for my future and would have liked to send me away from [home]." These unnamed people did not know that "I, without any [plans for the] future, have so much here, more than many people get altogether, in a whole life."[28] Lou understood this kind of self-surrendering dedication; she had even extolled it as the quintessence of feminine love in her psychoanalytic essay on femininity, "Zum Typus Weib" (1914). On the other hand, as an exemplary figure Lou represented an important synthetic possibility: she was a "purely feminine" type, but also an intellectual, a thinker and a writer with a "masculine" (in her own terms) bent for sweeping syntheses, bold conjectures, poetic leaps.

Anna Freud paid a number of visits to Frau Lou in Goettingen before and after her membership paper had been successfully delivered, and the two corresponded frequently. Lou also wrote to Freud of her continued pleasure in Anna's company, and added her reflections on Anna's development. On one visit, a young member of the Hamburg Bernays family, the mathematician Paul Bernays, escorted Anna Freud back from a party and then shocked her—and made her angry—by trying to kiss her good night.[29] Frau Lou told Freud with completely nonjudgmental amusement that Anna's asceticism remained: "Altogether Anna has stirred up quite a storm of passion here, as she will tell you, but nevertheless returns home totally unseared by these flames. Nor should I be at all surprised if this sequence of events were to be constantly repeated, so much does she enjoy every homecoming."[30]

THIS last remark—quite prophetic—raises the question that would be obvious to anyone who considered the complexities of a father's analysis of his own daughter. Freud himself counted the analysis a success. In a well-known letter that he wrote in 1935 to Edoardo Weiss, who was contemplating analyzing his son, Freud remarked: "Concerning the analysis of your hopeful son, that is certainly a ticklish business. With a younger, promising brother it might be done more easily. With [my] own daughter I succeeded well. There are special difficulties and doubts with a son."[31] Having issued this warning, Freud said that he had no right to forbid Weiss the trial—but Weiss decided against it.

Even in 1935, the psychoanalytic community was not as concerned as it later became with regulating analytic work—with stipulating, for example, that analysts refrain from analyzing not just family members but friends and associates. When the psychoanalytic community was very small, analyses that crossed family and friendship lines were common, and the demands upon analytic discretion were, thus, very great. But, even given the unregulated state of psychoanalysis, it is obvious that Freud and his circle consistently saw less difficulty for women than for men—for daughters than for sons—in extra-analytic closeness. Freud himself, for examples, analyzed both of his friend Oscar Rie's daughters, Margarethe and Marianne, his friend Sandor Ferenczi's future stepdaughter, and his friend Anton von Freund's sister Kata Levy. Before the first World War, both Carl Jung and Karl Abraham had worked analytically with their young daughters and written essays based on their observations.[32] Freud's assumption at the time of his daughter's analysis was that boys would—like "Little Hans"—feel hostile and rivalrous toward a father-analyst but girls, who were not in competition for the mother, would not.

Apart from the technical psychoanalytic issues, Freud's decision to analyze his own daughter involved a number of practical considerations. Among them was the fact that Anna Freud was employed as a teacher in Vienna while the analysts whom Freud trusted were located in either Budapest or Berlin. When his third child, the middle son of his three sons, Oliver, wanted to be analyzed, the situation was simpler: Oliver was living in Berlin, and could consult one of the younger analysts there of whom Freud thought highly. Max Eitingon did not take Oliver because of his closeness to the family, so the analysis was arranged with the Hungarian Franz Alexander.[33] Oliver, whose first wartime marriage had ended unhappily, lived in Berlin with his brother Ernst until his analysis was completed; then he married the daughter of a Berlin physician, Henny Fuchs, and set up independently. Anna Freud went to Oliver's wedding on April 10, 1923, and was, like the rest of the family, very impressed—and relieved—to find him so well and happy.

Oliver's analysis, which seems to have started in 1921 or 1922, apparently did not raise daunting problems of trust with the Freud family's privacy. Freud did not summon his son home for an experiment with analyzing a "younger, promising brother." But this was not a potential training analysis: it was a therapeutic analysis for an obsessional neurosis. And Freud was also well aware of his own feelings of anxiety and hurt over Oliver's condition: "It is particularly hard for me to be objective in this case," he told Eitingon, "for he was my pride and my secret hope for a long time, until his anal-masochistic organization appeared clearly. . . . I suffer very much with my feelings of helplessness."[34] Oliver, on the other hand, whose relationship with his father was difficult, probably did not desire what his sister had accepted—or desired.

The second important practical consideration was that when Anna Freud started her analysis in the fall of 1918 the Freud family's financial situation was precarious. Anna's salary from the Cottage Lyceum was part of the family budget. Freud's practice was considerably reduced because of the wartime conditions—and, though this meant less money, it also meant more time. Freud started the fall with a training analysand, Helene Deutsch, Katá Levy, and a few paying therapeutic cases. That fall, he had a regular hour for his daughter six days a week—while, later, he saw her after his full schedule, at ten o'clock in the evening.

In Freud's statement to Edoardo Weiss, the emphasis is upon the relatively unproblematic nature of a father's analysis of his daughter. He started off, at least, in a completely confident frame of mind: "Anna's analysis will be very elegant," he told Ferenczi in the fall of 1918.[35] But Freud was certainly aware that his daughter's adoration of him was not an unproblematic affair. He knew the extent of her idealization of him, and he revealed it—sometimes in jest and sometimes somberly—in his letters. In December 1919, after Max Eitingon had sent Freud a sum of money to tide him over during the continuing financial difficulties, Freud wrote him a description of how the Freud family had reacted to the letter announcing this largess: "As I was busy with four analyses in the morning, I had no time to think about it, and read the letter out loud at luncheon during which, apart from my wife, three sons and our young daughter (whom you know) were present. It had a strange effect: the three boys seemed satisfied, but the two women were up in arms and my daughter declared—evidently she can't stand the demolition of her father complex—that as a punishment (!) she wouldn't go to Berlin for Christmas."[36] Anna Freud's feeling that her father should not need money from his friends was transferred later to Lou Andreas-Salomé, to whom Freud sent money in the 1920s. With one of his donations, Freud sent a comment on Anna's attitude: "Anna was, it is true, of the opinion that you would not accept it, but she doesn't realize how sensible you are, and believes you capable of everything possible and impossible, e.g., of living on air and cocoa."[37]

It is not clear from Freud's report about Eitingon's money gift who it was that Anna Freud intended to punish—her father the receiver or Eitingon the giver—by not going to the Eitingons' for Christmas. But there is a fateful formula in her reaction: feeling that her father was diminished or made less than completely magnificent by his lack of funds, she declared that she would stay at home. Staying at home and leaving home had been for years the crucial possibilities in the father-daughter relationship, and they became bound up with the most problematic dimensions of the analytic relationship: the nature of resistance in it, and the manner of resolving the transference, leaving the analyst.

Freud was aware, as a father, that he had difficulty in their day-to-day lives realizing how much he wanted his daughter to stay always at home, as his youngest sister, Dolfi, had with their parents. This was so even though he could, when he focused his attention on their dilemma, state it clearly from his own point of view: "Anna is in excellent shape," he told Eitingon in 1921, "she is gay, industrious and inspired. I would like just as well to keep her at home as to know her in a home of her own—if it would only be the same for her!"[38] Toward the end of Anna Freud's formal analysis, as she was on her way to visit Eitingon in Berlin and then the Halberstadt children in Hamburg, Freud made another very candid statement to Lou:

> I too very much miss Daughter-Anna. She set off for Berlin and Hamburg on March the second. I have long felt sorry for her for still being at home with us old folks [. . .], but on the other hand, if she really were to go away, I should feel myself as deprived as I do now, and as I should do if I had to give up smoking! As long as we are all together, one doesn't realize it clearly, or at least we do not. And therefore in view of all these insoluble conflicts it is good that life comes to an end sometime or other.[39]

In this remark, Freud indicated that the "solution" to their insoluble conflicts would be, precisely, his death. He was, in a sense, addicted to her staying at home, to her presence, as he was to his cigars; and he himself had analyzed very astutely the psychic level at which the pleasure of smoking and the pleasure of female adoration coincided—the level at which an adult remains, as it were, at the maternal breast. Freud had forecast what he told Lou Andreas-Salomé very clearly in his essay of a decade earlier on "The Theme of the Three Caskets": "the doomed man is not willing to renounce the love of women; he insists on hearing how much he is loved. . . . But it is in vain that an old man yearns for the love of woman as he had it first from his mother."[40]

Soon after the trip to Berlin that occasioned Freud's remark to Lou Andreas-Salomé, Anna Freud was again in Berlin, discussing with Eitingon the possibility that she might seek membership in the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. Apparently, the possibility of a future practice in Berlin was also discussed, for a year later, when Anna Freud already had her first two analytic patients, she could write wistfully to Eitingon: "This is what I have waited for so long, and now it has finally come—even if not at the Berlin Policlinic."[41] Eitingon may have been one of the people who promoted the idea that Anna Freud should leave home; and she seems to have been more receptive than her letters to Lou Andreas-Salomé indicate. But only a month later, in April 1923, whatever fantasies she may have entertained about practicing in Berlin were delivered a definitive blow. Sigmund Freud had the first of a long series of operations on his jaw, and the possibility that he had imagined as a "solution" to their insoluble conflicts—"life comes to an end sometime or other"—was ominously evoked.

When her father was shown to be vulnerable not by a mere lack of funds but by the far more frightening specter of a mortal illness, the "demolition of her father complex," which Freud had jokingly noted as under way in 1919, came to a complicated pass. Sigmund Freud's illness reinforced his desire to have his daughter with him, and hers to stay at home. Anna Freud and her chief confidante and counselor, Lou Andreas-Salomé, were completely in agreement about what the illness meant for Anna: "You are right," she wrote to Lou, "I would not leave him now under any circumstances."[42] For a start on her new life, she was the one in the family who helped him through the surgery, which turned out to be much more dangerous than his surgeon, Hajek, an unreliable man, expected. Anna's "splendid self-assurance" in the adversity of surgery made its first appearances that spring of 1923—and then it went on for sixteen operations under anesthesia in as many years.

On June 19, only about two months after Freud's operation, Sophie Freud Halberstadt's youngest boy, Heinz Rudolf, called Heinerle, who had been informally adopted by Mathilde and Robert Hollitscher, died of miliary tuberculosis. Mathilde was heartbroken and Freud's grief was profound—he had adored this charming, good-natured child. And Anna Freud too was exhausted from a two-week stay with her sister as they tried to nurse the child, grieved by the loss, and worried about what it would mean for the other Halberstadt boy, Ernst. Ernst had been her protégé: as though he were a version of herself, she had defended him and protected him in circumstances where his little brother's beauty and precocity had been threatening to him. She argued that Ernst's quarrelsome manner

belied his substance: "In reality, he is such a nice and highly decent person that I would not wish my own son to be any different."[43]

From her own experience, Anna Freud knew how dreadful it could be to survive the sibling in whose shadow jealousy had always grown like a mold. As she once said of one of her young patients who lost a sibling, it is not easy "to live in comparison with the family's little angel." She herself responded to her father's grief at the loss of Sophie's little boy by an angelic suppression of her annual summer jealousy of Tante Minna, who was to be her father's companion at Bad Gastein. Instead, she was glad that Minna, who was ill herself and had not been in Vienna during Heinerle's illness, and was not, thus, emotionally exhausted by the pathos of the situation, would be in Gastein to comfort her father. She also went to Hamburg and behaved angelically toward Max Halberstadt and little Ernst, as she had the year before when she told Lou: "I live here beyond my means being virtuous and well behaved, even though analysis teaches you that it will come out somewhere as hostility."[44]

Freud's physician, Felix Deutsch, was also concerned about the effect on Freud of the death of Heinerle, coming, as it did, so soon after Freud's surgery. Wishing to spare his patient more anxiety and to allow a planned trip to Rome with Anna at the end of the summer to go forward undimmed by the prospect of more surgery, Deutsch decided not to tell Freud that the first surgery had revealed a malignancy. Anna Freud suspected Deutsch's deception and confronted him with it by suggesting that she and her father might stay longer than they had planned in Rome. Deutsch urged her against this, and she knew, then, that he had further treatment planned. She did not guess that behind Felix Deutsch's solicitous motivations lay a fear that Freud, if he knew how radical the next surgery needed to be, would prefer a Stoic suicide; nor did she know that Deutsch had discussed his fear with Freud's friends, Ferenczi, Abraham, Eitingon, Jones, Rank, and Sachs. When she and her father discovered the true motive of Deutsch's deception, they admonished him for making a decision that was not his to make, and he was dismissed as Freud's physician—though not as Anna's. That his Committee had collectively collaborated in Deutsch's deception incensed Freud when he learned of it—fifteen years later.[45]

Even though neither the analyst friends nor Deutsch spoke truthfully to Freud before he and Anna left for Rome, both father and daughter understood that an ordeal awaited their return to Vienna: "we both threw coins into the [Trevi] fountain hoping to return, which, because of his impending operation, was a very uncertain matter."[46] "We wanted to see so many things," Anna Freud later told Eitingon, "or, rather, Papa wanted to show me many things and I wanted to share his seeing them again with him; and we were not entirely up to the occasions, for there was still a good deal of anxiety and unrest [about his illness], feelings of 'not being supposed to' and 'having to leave,' a mixture of farewells with our reunions. Depsite this, it would have been hard to have a more wonderful trip."[47] Anna Freud proved herself a delightful companion and an excellent nurse as they dealt with a startling episode of profuse bleeding from Freud's mouth. He asked of her that she be straightforward and unsentimental with him, and she obliged him. Freud wrote to Lou Andreas-Salomé from Rome: "I realize here [in Rome] for the first time what good company my little daughter is."[48]

Out of the months of uncertainty and grief came a new level of closeness. They had suffered together and they had gone together to the city that represented to Freud his own achievements, his imperial command in the realm of science, his fulfilled ambitions. They faced a very uncertain future in partnership: she became his liaison to the psychoanalytic movement, his ambassador, his amanuensis—as he said later, his Antigone.

ALL THROUGH the fall of 1923, Anna Freud sent almost daily medical bulletins to Freud's colleagues, particularly Eitingon, and to their common friend Lou Andreas-Salomé. She chronicled every phase of two major operations on his jaw, the construction of a constantly painful prosthesis, his laborious effort to recover his speech and his ability to chew, the many complicating bronchial infections and coughs—the entire horrendous ordeal. Her own feelings she seldom mentioned except to say how hard it was for her to see him suffer so. The reactions of her mother and her Tante Minna were not mentioned at all, though it is clear in the letters that the entire household was in a state of suspension for two months until Freud went back to work with patients in the beginning of January 1924. He was weak, but lively enough to be writing in the evenings on an apt topic for a man in constant pain—"The Economic Problem of Masochism."

By that January, Anna Freud was exhausted from her vigil, particularly as she combined it with her first three analytic patients and her translating and editorial work with the psychoanalytic press in Vienna. A New Year's visit from her still eager suitor Hans Lampl left her unmoved: "he has no luck with me. I can be with him in a friendly way very well, but I am not suitable for marriage. I am not suitable at all for Lampl, but also, for the moment, I am no better [for] a table, or a sofa, or even my own rocking chair."[49]

When she wrote that unhappy report, Anna Freud was trying to fend off a recurrence of the serial daydreams, the "nice stories," which she had been relieved of for nearly two years by her analysis. Her relapse was aggravated by an irony: her second patient was a young woman so much like herself that she was constantly amazed. She told Lou Andreas-Salomé:

> Although I am pretty busy right now . . . in the last week my "nice stories" all the sudden surfaced again and rampaged for days as they have not for a long while. Now they are asleep again, but I was impressed by how unchangeable and forceful and alluring such a daydream is, even if it has been—like my poor one—pulled apart, analyzed, published, and in every way mishandled and mistreated. I know that it is really shameful—especially when I do it between patients—but it was again very beautiful and gave me great pleasure.[50]

The daydreams seem to have been dormant again while Anna Freud began attending the morning ward rounds at Wagner-Jauregg's University of Vienna psychiatric clinic. This privilege had been extended by Wagner-Jauregg's first assistant, Paul Schilder, who was an associate of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and one of the few Viennese psychiatrists who taught Freud's works at the university. Schilder's influence over the second assistant, Heinz Hartmann, was strong, and Hartmann, too, joined the psychoanalytic ranks after an analysis with Freud. Anna Freud often stayed on after the rounds to have lunch with Hartmann and another medical colleague, Erwin Stengel, who continued her education in what she called "the symptomology of psychiatry."[51]

Years later, Anna Freud described her experience at the clinic: "We all listened spellbound to the revelations made by the patients, their dreams, delusions, fantastic systems, which the analytically trained among us fitted into a scheme. We also had a chance to witness the first results of [malaria serum] fever therapy, initiated then by Wagner-Jauregg" (and later recognized with the only Nobel Prize ever given to a psychiatrist).[52] In two letters written to a student in 1946 and 1948, she gave a more personal account:

> A first visit to a madhouse is always a shock. . . . When this shock is overcome, then everything becomes interesting, and in the end you forget how wretched the condition of the mentally ill really is. . . . I remember well my student year in the psychiatric clinic in Vienna. What I saw there has remained with me, influencing enormously all of my later analytic work, for you understand the neuroses entirely differently when you consider them against the background of the psychoses.[53]

During the year when she attended Schilder's rounds at the clinic, Anna Freud did learn a great deal, but initially the rounds caused her difficulty: they contributed to another resurgence in her production of compensatory "nice stories." She even felt, as she reported to Lou Andreas-Salomé, "stupid" during the times when the daydreams were "wild" and plagued her.[54]

Her father did not feel well enough to attend the International Psychoanalytic Congress at Salzburg during the Easter holiday, but shortly after the Congress his winter bout with bronchitis ended and he suggested to his daughter that they take up their analytic work again. She accepted gratefully. "The reason for continuing," she explained to Frau Lou in a formal, self-mocking tone, "was the not entirely orderly behavior of my honorable inner life: occasional unseemly intrusions of the daydreams combined with an increasing intolerance—sometimes physical as well as mental—of the beating fantasies and of their consequences [i.e., masturbation] which I could not do without."[55]

In this renewed analytic work, taken up after a two-year pause,

she worked "very seriously and thoroughly, with great steps forward and less resistance than in earlier years."[56] She was—particularly as a practicing analyst herself—much more aware of the complexity of her analytic situation. She acknowledged "the absence of the third person, the one onto whom the transference advances, and with whom one acts out and finishes off the conflicts." Anna Freud and her father were working hard, but the analyst who was supposed to be a neutral party, a "blank screen," was, in the nature of the case, missing. And, further, she understood clearly that what she called her "extra-analytical closeness" to her father produced "difficulties and temptations to untruthfulness" in the analysis.[57]

The problematical nature of the tranference was part of the renewed analysis, as it does not really seem to have been of the first. And, at the same time, Anna Freud confronted in her own work what she called "the management of the transference," the part of the analytic work to which she—like most young analysts—had to give the most thought. After her renewed analysis had run for about nine months, she discussed with Lou Andreas-Salomé the transference management in her practice: "I always do it somehow, but now I have to deal with the why and the is-it-right? Above all, I want to handle the transference more freely, as you do."[58]

Judging from Anna Freud's surviving correspondences and from the papers that she and her father wrote in 1924 and 1925, two topics in addition to that of transference emerged as central to the renewed analysis. One was the "masculinity complex" and its precipitate, jealousy, and the other was "goodness," or, as Anna Freud would later call it, "altruism."

FREUD'S illness brought about not just a deepening of the bonds between father and daughter, but a "reedition" of the old difficulties—the old jealous rivalry—that Anna Freud had had with her mother. Martha Freud felt herself displaced, as, to a lesser extent, did Tante Minna. With the combined stress of her husband's illness and the death of her grandson, Martha Freud suffered through a number of stomach problems and migraine headaches; Minna spent the better part of a year in sanatoria with a heart condition. The day-to-day consideration and civility that was always characteristic of the household was not disturbed, but unhappy currents ran under it.

Anna Freud recognized that she expected a great deal in return for her loyalty and self-sacrificing care, and she analyzed her needs quite clearly—insofar as they related to her father. She told Eitingon, for example, that her father had traveled to Berlin to spend Christmas 1926 with the Ernst and Oliver Freud families—including three grandchildren whom Freud had not yet met—while she stayed at home with an injured foot. "It seems to me now that I was angry that Papa traveled without me. For so long now I have undertaken nothing in order not to leave him behind, and then he suddenly became adventurous and went away precisely when I was not able to move about. That is no fair [as one of my child patients says]. But because he came back in such good condition, everything is fine again."[59]

She did not mention, however, that this trip, his first in three years, was undertaken with Martha Freud, who cared for her husband quite well without help from either the chief nurse, Anna, or her oldest, Mathilde. In fact, the struggle between Anna Freud and her mother over how their desires to care for Freud would be satisfied had only gone underground to irrupt later. For example, in 1929, when Freud was planning a two-week stay at the Tegel sanatorium in Berlin, Anna Freud went to great trouble to arrange her patient schedule so that she could accompany him: "At first Mama wanted to go in my place, but I did not want that at all."[60] Her "place" was hers, and she kept it that way, regardless of her mother's feelings.

Feminine jealousy and rivalry were recurrent topics in Freud's work in the years immediately following his major surgery, as they were the topic of the first paper that Anna Freud delivered after her renewed analysis in 1924–25. Her brief communication to the Vienna Society meeting in December 1925 was called "Jealousy and the Desire for Masculinity," and it was based largely upon two analyses she had conducted simultaneously, one of a girl and one of the woman who resembled herself. The two analyses, she told Eitingon, often ran parallel: "both struggle with the same problems, the masculinity wish and envy of siblings, so similarly that often on the same day they say the same things almost verbatim. I tell Papa many such things."[61]

These reports would have confirmed her Papa's own recently revised view, which he arrived at during his daughter's second analysis. Although Freud had made important remarks on the topic of jealousy in "The Economic Problem of Masochism" (1924) and "The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex" (1924), his main statement came in a paper called "Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes," a piece he started early in 1925 and finished in August while his daughter and Lou Andreas-Salomé were with him on vacation to discuss it. He also read a version to Sandor Ferenczi, who visited later in August, around the time Freud agreed to let Anna read the paper, as his representative, at the Bad Homburg Congress in September.

Neither of the Freuds' correspondences gives direct proof to support the claim that his 1925 paper is to his daughter's second analysis what " 'A Child Is Being Beaten' " was to her first—that is, a partial report, set in a larger frame—but the evidence of the paper itself is very compelling. In "Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes," Freud elaborated on the developmental differences between girls and boys that he had first suggested in " 'A Child Is Being Beaten.' " But he emphasized that a young woman's "masculinity complex," or envy for the penis, disturbs her relations with her mother and, indirectly, her siblings. "Even after penis-envy has abandoned its true object, it continues to exist: by an easy displacement, it persists in the character-trait of jealousy." This development, Freud notes, was not apparent to him when he wrote " 'A Child Is Being Beaten.' "[62] Then he had not seen that a female child holds her mother responsible for her lack of a penis; that she can feel jealous "of another child on the ground that her mother is fonder of it than of her" (and this child can be transformed into one of the anonymous boys beaten in her beating fantasy); and that the mother herself can be an object of jealousy when the female child comes to hope for a child—a "penis-child"—by her father.

The little girl's transition to love of her father from love of her mother was Freud's focus in the essay.

> She gives up her wish for a penis and puts in place of it a wish for a child: and with that purpose in view she takes her father as a love object. Her mother becomes the object of her jealousy. The girl has turned into a little woman. If I am to credit a single analytic instance, this new situation can give rise to physical

> sensations which would have to be regarded as a premature awakening of her female genital apparatus. When the girl's attachment to her father comes to grief later on and has to be abandoned, it may give place to an identification with him and the girl may thus return to her masculinity complex and perhaps remain fixated in it.[63]

In these passages from Freud's essay, many of the themes of Anna Freud's "honorable inner life" (as she jokingly called it) are adumbrated: her envy of her brothers and her father; her anger at her mother, who was fonder of Sophie; the early-awakened genital sensations related to masturbation; her jealousy of her mother and Tante Minna as objects of her father's love; and her identification with her father. Freud's hypothesis that a jealous girl will retreat into an identification with her father states in another way the conclusion of " 'A Child Is Being Beaten,' " where Freud had noted that the female takes a male role in her fantasies, relating to her father in that way, and continues in the role as an ascetic or a spectator at quasi-sexual scenes. His emphasis on jealousy as a consequence of the "masculinity complex" restates the problem that Anna Freud left her subject with at the end of "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams." The girl who, through sublimation, became a writer was a person who needed praise as a reward for renouncing the masturbation she had taken up in her transition from wishing for a penis to wishing for a child. But the social activity of writing and the social pleasure of praise are difficult to dissociate from the original maternal and sibling rivalries. As praise is notorious for not appearing of its own accord, when it is desired, needing it induces revivals of old competitions.

Anna Freud herself admitted to Eitingon, and many years later to Ernest Jones, that she was troubled by jealousy of her father's female training analysands—the female "siblings" who appeared for analysis in 1922 or so and were present when she had her moment of renewed rivalry with her mother and Tante Minna. With years of experience as an analyst and her own second analysis behind her, Anna Freud described the situation lucidly: "Candidates of one and the same training analyst behave in the transference as if they were real siblings; they compare themselves with each other; they compete; they envy each other in view of alleged parental preference; they combine forces occasionally to fight the parent, etc."[64]

The American Ruth Mack Brunswick came to Freud for analysis in 1922, as did the Dutch physician Jeanne de Groot, who later married Anna Freud's friend Hans Lampl, and Joan Riviere, one of Freud's future English translators.[65] Anna Freud felt jealous of each of these women, but she did "work through" her feelings, and became friends with the two—Jeanne Lampl-de Groot and Ruth Mack Brunswick—who stayed close to her father. These two were also, with Helene Deutsch and later Marie Bonaparte, the Freud trainees who contributed most importantly in the late 1920s and early 1930s to the psychoanalytic discussions of female sexuality. Indeed, Anna Freud was one of the few female analysts who did not write essays on female sexuality per se—though, of course, she considered it in all her analytic writings. She tended, also, to use male cases for illustrations in her writings, except when she was specifically considering females who were close to her in psychic constitution. After her brief communication on "Jealousy and the Desire for Masculinity," which she never prepared as a written text, Anna Freud also left the topic of jealousy to her father and the female trainees; in her first book, published in 1927, she discussed jealousy only in male children, and only in relation to the father. It was not until her experience with mothers and their infants broadened during her early years in London that Anna Freud's range as a psychoanalytic theoretician reached the dimensions of female psychology she personally found most difficult.

ABOUT *Gutseins* (being good), the other topic of her renewed analysis, Anna Freud eventually had a great deal to say in publications. But her published reflections had their origin in a shift that came about during her renewed analysis. She marked the shift with a 1924 letter to Lou Andreas-Salomé: "The value of being good is not as great as I thought for a long time. There has to be something else involved, which alone makes being good valuable for other people: perhaps it is to be without internal conflict, to be clear about oneself, but also to be able to endure something."[66] By this last capacity, she meant, she said, "coming to terms with the inevitable harshness" of people and events and not escaping into saintly hopefulness that all would turn out well in the end.[67] At that time she thought that Eitingon was an "effeminate" denier of harsh realities, and she also found him lacking in insight about what she called his "overgoodness," a mechanism for negating "bad" desires that ended up, nonetheless, negating itself and producing bad actions. August Aichhorn too seemed to her someone so committed to his altruism that he underestimated his hostilities. She later revised her views of both Aichhorn and Eitingon, but not of overgoodness, which she found in herself and gave the name "altruistic surrender."

One of the most intriguing chapters of Anna Freud's 1936 work *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* is devoted to altruistic surrender. By that time, she understood overgoodness, or altruistic surrender, as projection of forbidden or dangerous wishes onto other people. Someone who thus disposes of wishes can take great pleasure in promoting and supporting the fulfillment of them by proxies, but may also feel as empty as that lonely figure Rilke described in one of Anna Freud's favorite poems, "Der Dichter" ("The Poet"):

Ich habe keine Geliebte, kein Haus,
keine Stelle auf der ich lebe.
Alle Dinge, an die ich mich gebe,
werden reich und geben mich aus.

I have no beloved or place for home,
no circle where I am at center.
The things to which I give myself
grow rich—while I'm impoverished.

The chief exemplar of altruistic surrender in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* is a governess who has lived an uneventful life entirely dedicated to other peoples' needs: "She lived in the lives of other people, instead of having any experiences of her own."[68] This woman, Anna Freud wrote,

> displaced her ambitious fantasies onto her men friends and her libidinal wishes onto her women friends. The former succeeded to her affection for her father and her big brother, both of whom had been the object of her penis envy, while the latter represented the sister upon whom, at a rather later period of childhood, the envy was displaced in the form of envy of her beauty. The patient felt that the fact that she was a girl prevented her from achieving her ambitions and, at the same time, that she was not even a pretty enough girl really to be attractive to men. In her disappointment with herself she displaced her wishes onto objects who she felt were better qualified to fulfill them.[69]

In her portrait of the governess, Anna Freud combined her insights into the origins of jealousy and sibling rivalry with her meditations on overgoodness. Her remarkably clear and simple description shows her developed ability to step back reflectively and theoretically from the kind of self-understanding she had reached in 1925. Then she had been able to combine her two analytic themes, but not to present the combination theoretically.

For example, she had reacted with a self-portrait to a short story Lou Andreas-Salomé had written after hearing Freud's "Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes" on the Semmering vacation in 1925. She, her father, and Frau Lou were all in search of the mechanisms of female jealousy toward women and envy of men.

> I certainly recognized the character of the beloved, but you had changed a great deal, and she is more beautiful. Surely the story is no longer the complement to Papa's lecture for the Congress about which we talked then? What I mean is that only your Mathilde is good as a woman and has a right to be glad that she is. If one can dance as she does, then it makes sense. But if one looks like Dina, or like me, one only feels envy—in two directions: the one that shows how one might be achieving like a man, and the one that shows dancing and being generous like Mathilde. One would like to be able to do both, and does find oneself to be a little of both, but neither becomes real.

Anna Freud continued with a statement that shows how deeply she—like her father—associated public or professional achievement with masculinity and how much her conscious desire lay in the other direction, toward what she associated with femininity.

> I feel like I carry a double load now, and it is especially so because I am required to do a man's tasks in the Vienna Society,

> in its training program, in negotiations, in complicated situations, even in making money (for the moment). I am pleased to be acquiring a degree of independence in the eyes of other people (not before Papa); but otherwise I would prefer to give and to serve than to acquire and to demand. . . . And once in my life I would like to be allowed to be like your Mathilde. Only it is most likely too late for that, as one does not become like her, one just is like her.[70]

There is an indication in Anna Freud's ability to surpass her jealousies of siblings past and present that the second phase of her analysis, in 1924–25, was very helpful to her. But that the topic was still difficult is signaled by her avoidance of it, and particularly of any direct consideration of female jealousy of the mother, in the medium of her sublimations—writing for others to read. In *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, Anna Freud did not say whether the altruistically surrendering governess's analysis allowed her to seek the fulfillment of her wishes in her own life rather than through others' lives, but it is clear that Anna Freud's analysis did have such an effect. The effect was, however, slow in coming, and complicated. As it came, she felt both the need to address further her desire for approval and praise and the need to analyze further her altruism. The occasion for her needs was specific, and the analyst she chose was not her father.

ANNA FREUD had been practicing as an analyst of children and adults for nearly three years—the three exhausting first years of her father's illness—when she reluctantly slipped into one of her letters to Max Eitingon a discouraged, depressed remark:

> But I think that precisely the great involvement with the children is responsible for the fact that much that should give me peace does not. I could say many things about this, and so it is better, once again, that I not get started. But one more thing anyway: I run across the fact that I do not succeed in doing something to or for others without also immediately wanting to have something for myself (and not just money, which is still supposedly the easiest thing to get). In the long run, however, this is a stupid way to live.[71]

She was signaling to the friend she had previously charged with overgoodness that her own struggle on that front was not finished.

Max Eitingon, who had for years been Anna Freud's favorite among her father's colleagues, who had received her often in Berlin for talks, sent her chocolates, looked after her literary education with gifts of books—been in almost every way the perfect uncle—took her last sentence very seriously and wrote a concerned reply. Fortunately, his reply came during a period in their friendship when they had resolved in conversations the distance that had come between them in the first year of Freud's illness. Eitingon had retreated from the Freuds, for his own reason of ill health and his wife's desire not to share him so much with the psychoanalytic movement, and also because he had doubts about how he and the Committee had reacted to Freud's illness. Anna Freud had charged this retreat to the inevitable collapse of his overgoodness. But Eitingon had, by the fall of 1925, returned, and Anna Freud had turned her attention from his overgoodness to her own.

She was grateful to Eitingon for his thoughtfulness: "I thank you very much for everything that you wrote as an answer to that one sentence in my letter. But that which I complained about in myself is, unfortunately, some layers deeper than you imagine, and still further away from Papa's secure independence. Because how one can live without being able to judge oneself, criticize what one has accomplished, and still enjoy what one does, is unimaginable to me."[72] She wanted Eitingon to understand that she was not, really, referring to the high standard for self-reflection that Freud set and that she accepted as a matter of course. What she had in mind was rather different.

> . . . what I have always wanted for myself, from the beginning, without much change over time, is much more primitive, and it can be said quite honestly. It is probably nothing more than the affection of the people with whom I am in contact, and also their good opinion of me. It is not just that I myself should say that something [I have done] is good; there must be others who say the same and confirm me. Now in a curiously self-evident

> way I have always been able not to make such a demand on my patients; in dealing with them I have never felt such human needs. Thus working has become remarkably easy for me in recent years.

But, she told Eitingon, with the children she had in analysis at that particular time, she did feel a very human need for more than good analytic work.

These children were Bob and Mabbie Burlingham and their little friends Adelaide and Harold Sweetzer—all Americans. Dorothy Tiffany Burlingham had brought her asthmatic oldest son, Bob, aged ten, to Vienna in the fall of 1925, seeking help for the psychological problems that had accrued to her son's illness. When Anna Freud agreed to take Bob, Dorothy Burlingham moved to Vienna with her other three children—Mary (Mabbie), Katrina (Tinky), and Michael (Mikey). The Sweetzers also came, and shared a house with the Burlinghams, so that their children could be treated. Dorothy Burlingham then established herself in analysis with Theodor Reik—having been too shy to seek out Sigmund Freud—and eventually arranged for Anna Freud to treat her younger children, starting with Mabbie.

The situation that had caused such need for analysis in this family was complicated and chronic. Dorothy Burlingham's husband, Robert, a surgeon, suffered from a mental illness that had been not so much treated as contained in several American mental institutions. He eventually followed his wife to Europe and consulted with Ferenczi, but he was quite opposed to psychoanalysis and never found any other kind of help for his manic-depressive syndrome.[73] Dorothy Burlingham, distraught over the effects her husband's illness and episodic institutionalizations had had on their children, wanted to keep them away from him. But she had to contend with his continuing hope that the family would be reunited, and with efforts by his father, Charles Cult Burlingham, a prominent New York lawyer and political figure, to draw the children away from Dorothy, from psychoanalysis, and from the Jewish Freuds. Dorothy Burlingham's twin older sisters, Julia and Comfort, two stepsiblings, Charles and Mary, and her father, Louis Comfort Tiffany, the interior decorator and glass designer, lived in New York, so in Vienna she depended on servants for help with her household and on her American friends the Sweetzers for companionship. The Freuds, when she met them, offered a context and comfort as well as psychoanalysis.

Anna Freud told Eitingon that thoughts of Mabbie and Bob Burlingham filled her mind. More than she wished, she had "thoughts which go along with my work but do not have a proper place in it."[74] She put her problem simply: "I think sometimes that I want not only to make them healthy but also, at the same time, to have them, or at least have something of them, for myself. Temporarily, of course, this desire is useful for my work, but sometime or another it really will disturb them, and so, on the whole, I really cannot call my need other than 'stupid.' " Having admitted this much, Anna Freud went on: "Towards the mother of the children it is not very different with me." Her confession ended with: "Curiously enough, though, I am very much ashamed of all these things, especially in front of Papa, and therefore I tell him nothing about it. This [about the Burlinghams, children and mother] is only a small illustration, but actually I have this dependency [*Abhängigkeit*], this wanting-to-have-something [*Etwas-Haben-Wollen*]—even leaving my profession aside—in every nook and cranny of my life."

Anna Freud's desire to have in some way the Burlingham children and their mother, like the larger problem that she thought the desire reflected—her dependency, her need for something for herself—marked the limit of her analytic relationship with her father. She also told Eitingon that she had tried, unsuccessfully, to discuss her desire for confirmation from others and for "something" for herself with Lou Andreas-Salomé: "I once spoke with Lou about this years ago. She herself is so enormously distanced from it, though, that we finally both had to laugh about our mutual—not to be overcome by psychoanalytic knowledge—and complete inability to understand each other."

Anna Freud had last seen Frau Lou in the summer of 1925, for a lovely visit that ended a two-year separation. She had longed for the visit, but her father's constantly uncertain condition had made her reluctant to leave him, even for a few days. But after the visit, and after the Burlingham children started their analyses with her, Anna Freud's letters to Lou are less self-revealing: although they are warm and appreciative, they contain more external than internal news, and there is no mention in them of the topics from Anna Freud's analysis that had been so important earlier. Anna Freud was fully—more than fully—occupied with her practice and her responsibilities in the Vienna Society, so she had less time for the correspondence. But the change seems more a matter of Anna Freud's psyche than her schedule: when she kept from her father her feelings about the Burlinghams, she also kept them from Frau Lou.

Anna Freud was not in analysis with her father in the fall of 1925, so her silence was not a breach of the "fundamental rule" for an analysand—to speak what comes to mind without censoring. But it did mean that she felt constrained by her peculiar analytic situation. Under the circumstances, she did the analytically logical thing: she turned to Eitingon, and created a quasi-analytic situation in which she could try to overcome the dilemma of having had her father as her analyst. She could deal with someone who shared her difficulties—as her father and Lou did not. "With me," she had tried to explain to Frau Lou, "everything became so problematic because of two basic faults: from a discontent or insatiability with myself that makes me look for affection from others, and then from actually sticking with the others once I've found them. [The first] is just what you and Papa cannot understand."[75]

Once Eitingon had accepted her confession—and, tacitly, the role she had cast him in—she felt free to tell him in detail about Dorothy Burlingham. "Being together with Mrs. Burlingham is a great joy for me, and I am very happy that you also have such a good impression of her," she wrote to Eitingon after his first meeting with her friend.[76] "I am often very sorry that she is not in analysis with you," said Anna Freud, who might have been speaking of herself. "This is not being very nice towards Reik. I think he has helped her a great deal. But still she would have received something with you which he probably cannot give, and which she certainly seeks."

Anna Freud knew that Dorothy Burlingham, a youngest child like herself, had had a very tense, difficult relationship with her father, who was severe and demanding with his children. His artistic talent had obviously impressed his children—and Dorothy Burlingham identified with it, fostering it in her own children—but his domineering manner and his drinking had been much more influential. Dorothy's mother, Tiffany's second wife, had died when her youngest daughter was thirteen. She had been a model of intelligent, liberal—quite feminist—concern, but she had also been depressed during Dorothy's childhood by the loss of another girl, two years Dorothy's senior, to scarlet fever. As a child, Dorothy Burlingham had felt, as Anna Freud had, like an unwanted hanger-on in her household, a little one who was a bore and a nuisance to the older ones.

At the same time that she was writing to Eitingon about her new friend Dorothy Burlingham, Anna Freud adopted another young mother with a family. Eva Rosenfeld, who was a niece of the chanteuse Yvette Guilbert, whom Freud adored and corresponded with, had also borne four children. But her fortune with them had been dreadful: two boys had died in a diphtheria epidemic, and a teenage daughter had died in a mountain-walking accident. When they became friends, Anna Freud offered Eva Rosenfeld solace as she mourned the loss of her daughter and she got in return Eva Rosenfeld's warm sympathy for the suffering her father's illness and pain brought her. Eva understood what each visit to Tegel sanatorium for surgery on her father's jaw did to Anna Freud: "I have headaches now very often, almost every day, and I somehow never get over the fear that something could turn out badly."[77] She confided to Eva that when her father was being treated she was cast back into her adolescent condition, before her analysis: "These two weeks I have lived as I did in the time before I became an analyst and before you and Dorothy knew me, with the poetry of Rilke and daydreams and weaving. That, too, is an Anna, but without any Interpreter."[78] Like Anna Freud, Eva Rosenfeld needed children, and Anna Freud convinced her to start up a little pensione or temporary foster-care home for several child analytic patients who needed a period of separation from their parents.

In her reports about how she was helping Dorothy Burlingham set up a new apartment in the Freuds' building, Berggasse 19, and consulting with Eva Rosenfeld about her remaining child, Victor, and her husband, Walter, Anna Freud revealed to Eitingon how she was struggling with the conflict between her role as analyst and her *Etwas-Haben-Wollen*, her wanting-to-have-something. "There is not a lot to say about me; it is already in what I have told you, in Eva's child and Dorothy's house. Both of these things belong to me, even if sometimes I feel I must go away for them instead of coming home to them."[79]

Anna Freud's letters to Eitingon do not indicate whether she ever did speak forthrightly with her father about her feelings. But it is clear that Freud accepted the path that Anna Freud found out of her conflict: she did "have" the Burlingham children and their mother as her family—and she did this by merging the Burlingham and Freud families. Freud noted the result in a January 1929 letter: "Our symbiosis with an American family (husbandless), whose children my daughter is bringing up analytically with a firm hand, is growing continually stronger, so that we share with them our needs for the summer."[80] The Burlinghams moved into the apartment above the Freuds'; they had summer houses next door to the Freuds' summer houses; Dorothy transported everyone in her automobile; the children played with the Freud grandchildren, especially Ernstl Halberstadt, who spent much of his adolescence with the Freuds and became Bob Burlingham's best friend. Starting in 1927, Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud took vacation trips together, leaving their families to keep each other company; and in 1930 they bought a cottage in the Semmering together so that any of the families' members who wished could join in for country weekends. This cottage, named Hochroterd (High Red Earth), was the physical place where there was no need to keep a distance in order to be at home.

The friendship with Eva Rosenfeld also grew deeper, and Anna Freud characterized the altruistic surrender in it as a kind of twinship. As she said to Eva in a letter: "You are me and I am you and everything of mine that you could use you should take, because it is rightfully yours."[81] Eva Rosenfeld realized that Anna Freud's friendship with Dorothy Burlingham was becoming the most important of her relationships and felt some jealousy about it. But she also formed a friendship with Dorothy Burlingham herself, and later offered her back garden as the location for a little schoolhouse that Dorothy equipped and staffed for the education of her own children, Eva's son, and several of the children who boarded in Eva's home.

After they had known each other for about three years, Anna Freud arranged for Dorothy Burlingham to begin a second analysis—not with Max Eitingon, who was too far away from the happy new life, but with Sigmund Freud. Unlike Theodor Reik, Freud was

sympathetic to Dorothy Burlingham's desire to train as a psychoanalyst, and he conducted the analysis as a training analysis while Dorothy Burlingham also attended seminars—including Anna Freud's seminar—at the Vienna Institute. Anna Freud's and Dorothy Burlingham's growing friendship was revealed in an analysis to the father-analyst—but not by his daughter.

Anna Freud did find her way to having her own desires rather than displacing them onto others and living vicariously; after her fashion, she had a rich and full family life, though she did not, in the 1920s or afterward, have a sexual relationship, with Dorothy Burlingham or with anyone else. She remained a "vestal"—to use the apt word Marie Bonaparte later chose to signal both Anna Freud's virginity and her role as the chief keeper of her father's person and his science, psychoanalysis.

WHILE he praised his daughter's intellectual and professional achievements, Sigmund Freud was not untroubled by the course her life took. He had written to Lou Andreas-Salomé in 1935: "she is truly independent of me; at the most I serve as a catalyst. You will enjoy reading her most recent writings. Of course there are certain worries; she takes things too seriously. What will she do when she has lost me? Will she lead a life of ascetic austerity?"[82]

Anna Freud's life was ascetic; and her father's death, when it came, brought no change. But "the erotic side of her life"—to use Freud's phrase from " 'A Child Is Being Beaten' "—was restored to her, in a very particular sense: the femininity she had denied herself, in herself, came to her in the persons of the two mothers, Dorothy Burlingham and (to a lesser extent) Eva Rosenfeld. These women also seem to have compensated for her troubled relations with her own mother and Tante Minna and replaced her sister Sophie, the mother whose son Anna Freud had come to think of as her adopted son; they could be loved altruistically and from them she could receive maternal love and sisterly appreciation. As Dorothy Burlingham became more and more important, Anna Freud could oversee and altruistically support Dorothy's interests in men, as long as these remained Platonic and did not threaten their friendship. But she seems also to have found in her friend a version of the youngest child in need of a perfect father and angry toward a distracted, overburdened mother that she knew in herself. They mirrored each other.

Anna Freud came to trust that her friendship was for her friend—as Dorothy later told her—"the most precious relationship [Dorothy] ever had."[83] She did not have to compete for Dorothy's love after she had won it. Many in her psychoanalytic circles, who knew enough to discount the persistent rumor that the friends were lesbians, but who realized that Anna Freud's life partnership was chaste and her "family" surrogate, found her situation poignant or sad. She, on the other hand, felt she had satisfied her *Etwas-Haben-Wollen,* and avoided the fate that Rilke had etched in a stanza of his "Herbsttag" ("Autumn Day"), a poem that she knew by heart for all her life.

Wer jetzt kein Haus hat, baut sich keines mehr,
Wer jetzt allein ist, wird es lange bleiben,
wird wachen, lesen, lange Briefe schreiben
und wird in den Alleen hin und her
unruhig wandern, wenn die Blätter treiben.

Who has no house now will not have one.
Who is now alone will so remain:
sitting, reading, writing long letters;
restlessly wandering the avenues,
back and forth, while brown leaves blow.

There is no evidence that Anna Freud ever felt unfulfilled or regretful in her new family, although maintaining for the Burlingham children the dual role of stepparent and psychoanalyst was always problematic—for her and for them.

In one of her most incisive and important clinical contributions, Anna Freud noted that sexuality repressed or denied can be recovered symbolically or vicariously in a relationship of complementarity. She made the point in a lecture on male homosexuality, as she described a male patient's effort to recover his own split-off masculinity in his male partner's virility.[84] But this analytic concept of complementarity is certainly applicable to relationships of many sorts, whether overtly sexual or not. Dorothy Burlingham, whose older sisters were twins, wrote touchingly about how siblings of twins often invent a twin, a complementary self: "A further element in many daydreams of having a twin is that of the imaginary twin being a complement to the daydreamer. The latter endows his twin with all the qualities and talents that he misses in himself and desires for himself. The twin thus represents an ideal of himself, his super-ego."[85] In later letters that they exchanged, Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud agreed that they were each other's twins, or twins for each other, in their "ideal friendship." "I had such pleasure in your letter about the identical twins," Dorothy wrote. "It makes me happy and proud that we have such a bond."[86]