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Left to right (back row) : A. A. Brill, Ernest Jones and Sándor Ferenczi; (front row): Sigmund Freud, Stanley Hall and Carl Jung. Taken in September 1909 at Clark University, in Worcester, Massachusetts, where Freud and Jung gave invited lectures on psychoanalysis. *Courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.*

English Language Editions and Impressions of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913–33

ROGER WILLOUGHBY

Introduction

Sigmund Freud's *Die Traumdeutung* (*The Interpretation of Dreams*) initially appeared in November 1899 (though dated 1900 on its title page), the initial impression of 600 copies taking nine years to sell. However, the subsequent decade would see sales soar by a factor of 10 and over the course of the century the book came to be recognised by a wide public as a landmark in the psychological sciences, the cornerstone text of psychoanalysis, and a key volume of contemporary modernism.¹ Freud's own verdict, over three decades after the original publication, was that the volume 'contains ... the most valuable of all the discoveries it has been my good fortune to make. Insight such as this falls to one's lot but once in a lifetime'.²

By no means Freud's easiest book to read, it outlines his argument that dreams are meaningful idiosyncratic psychological creations that typically offer covert subjective triumphs over adversity, an understanding of which may be discovered through a process of free association. An inspired, rather open text (in Umberto Eco's

1. German language sales between 1910 and 1919 totalled 6,214; see R. Willoughby, *Freud's Britain: Family, Followers and the Dissemination of Ideas Before and After the Great War*, University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2022, p. 347; John Carter and Percy Muir list *Die Traumdeutung* as volume 389 in their influential *Printing and the Mind of Man* (London: Cassell, 1967), pp. 233–34. See also Alexander Grinstein, *Sigmund Freud's Writings: A Comprehensive Bibliography*, (New York: International Universities Press, 1977), p. 90 [vol. 227].

2. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 3rd English edition (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932), p. 9 and *Standard Edition*, 4, p. xxxii.

sense³), the book falls into three main parts: a review of the scientific literature on dreams, an elaboration of the methods of dream interpretation and the mechanisms of their formation, and a general model of the mind. In the course of this, the book introduced readers to a myriad of concepts, such as manifest and latent content, wish-fulfilment, regression, displacement, censorship, symbols, the Oedipus Complex, and the primary and secondary processes – ideas which would over time offer new ways of conceptualising the self.⁴

In developing these ideas in the 1890s, Freud drew heavily on his own lived experience, his private phantasies and fears, which he saw hidden remnants of in his dreams. Reflections on these allowed Freud to posit that dreams were typically governed by wish-fulfilment, and the narratives that might be reconstructed from them were the royal road to understanding disavowed, unconscious aspects of our nature. In partly illustrating *The Interpretation of Dreams* with his own manifest dream texts and showing both the rudiments of dream interpretation and what such a process might reveal of the latent ideas hidden beneath the remembered dream, Freud's text was not merely a pioneering psychological work, it was also an inadvertent autobiography. It was only belatedly that Freud came to this recognition, noting in the foreword to the second German edition of 1909 that 'this book has a further subjective significance for me personally – a significance which I only grasped after I had completed it. It was, I found, a portion of my own self-analysis, my reaction to my father death – that is to say, to the most important event, the most poignant loss, of a man's life'.⁵

Elsewhere,⁶ I have discussed the untold story of the book's early translations into English, involving the publisher's concerns about obscenity (which led to a degree of censorship in Britain through

3. Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1979).

4. For an accessible overview of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, see Jean-Michel Quinodoz, *Reading Freud: A Chronological Exploration of Freud's Writings* (Hove: Routledge, 2005), pp. 36–44.

5. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams, Standard Edition*, 4, p. xxvi.

6. R. Willoughby, 'Controversies in the English publication of Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913–1933', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 105, 2024.

restrictions on its circulation), the rivalry and politics of competing would-be translators, and emergent orthodoxies in the British psychoanalytic establishment (that led to secret interference in the translation process of the third English edition at the beginning of the 1930s). In the present article, the story of the first three editions (1913, 1915 and 1933) and component impressions are revealed, with an examination of extant copies together with production and sales figures crucially helping to disambiguate confusions between the first and second 1913 impressions. In the course of such considerations, new light is thrown on the history of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, overturning several bibliographic claims prevalent in the book trade about this volume.

The Initial Authorised English Language Publication

The standard view of the publishing history of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, as represented by James Strachey (1887–1967)⁷ and later Alexander Grinstein (1918–2007), claims that during its first two decades there were three editions of the English language text produced by its New York-based translator Abraham A. Brill (1874–1948), in 1913, 1915 and 1932.⁸ This broadly accords with the publication details printed in the books themselves, which additionally – and with some inconsistency – assert that there were three impressions of the first edition and eight of the second. The first edition impressions *supposedly* appeared in April, May and November 1913, while the second edition impressions were reportedly released in December 1915, December 1916, May 1919, January 1920, January 1921, April 1922, February 1923 and February 1927. From the April 1922 impression onwards, the stated dates of the first edition impressions

7. A member of the Bloomsbury group, James Strachey was the youngest brother of the novelist Lytton Strachey. Wanting to become a psychoanalyst and lacking medical qualifications, he went into analysis with Freud in 1920–22, after which he was accepted into the membership of the British Psychoanalytical Society and later became a Training Analyst. He began translating Freud's works into English while in analysis with him in Vienna, though in retrospect this was seen as compromising the normal boundaries of the analytic setting. Strachey is best remembered as the main translator and editor of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (1953–74) in 24 volumes.

8. Alexander Grinstein, *Sigmund Freud's Writings: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (New York: International Universities Press, 1977), p. 90.

THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

BY

PROF. DR. SIGMUND FREUD, LL.D.

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION OF THIRD EDITION
WITH INTRODUCTION

BY

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"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo"

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & COMPANY, LTD.
44 & 45 RATHBONE PLACE
1913

[All rights reserved]

Title page of the 1913 first impression of *The Interpretation of Dreams* published by George Allen & Co.

THE
INTERPRETATION
OF DREAMS

SIGMUND FREUD, LL.D.

THE INTERPRETATION
OF DREAMS

PROF. SIGMUND FREUD, LL.D.

A. A. BRILL, M.D.

NOTE

*The sale of this book is limited to
Members of the Medical, Scholastic,
Legal, and Clerical professions.*

GEORGE ALLEN

The spine and front panel of the extremely rare dust-jacket of the first edition by George Allen & Co of Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

were inexplicably changed on the books themselves to February, May and November 1913. The third edition, though initially dated 1932, was in fact released on 7 February 1933.

For its British publisher, George Allen & Co, bringing Freud's work out in English was a 'courageous' undertaking, as the company's later owner Stanley Unwin (1884–1968) would declare, typifying their ambition to publish cutting edge literature.⁹ That said, in early January 1913 as they got closer to releasing the first edition, the publisher – perhaps having taken legal opinion – was getting cold feet over references in the book to sex and sexuality, which might give rise to charges under the Obscene Publications Act 1857.

Shying away from such charges, George Allen & Company's managing director William Sydney Allen (1859–1939) decided to 'limit the sale of the book to members of the Medical and Legal professions',¹⁰ robustly policing this restriction in four main ways. Firstly, it was printed on the books themselves, on the dust-jacket and also a publisher's note, typically found tipped-in resting on the front free endpaper, which read, 'The sale of this book is limited to members of the medical, scholastic, legal, and clerical professions.' These were supposedly the groups of people who might have a *bona fide* interest in the subject and whose minds would not be corrupted by such supposedly dangerous material. Secondly, customers' credentials were sought, their names collected and registered, with the corresponding copy they received of *The Interpretation of Dreams* being clearly identifiable by a number individually pencilled on the bottom of page 510, the last page of the index. While undertaking the present research, thirty-two copies of the three George Allen & Co impressions of the first edition were examined, bearing the following numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 23, 34, 37, 53, 56, 69, 74, 115, 129, 154, 159, 195 and 217 (being first impressions), 265, 266, 294, 302, 306, 327, 328 and 340 (being second impressions), and 354, 407, 448, and two unnumbered volumes (being third impressions). Numbers one to six were UK copyright deposit copies, number 159 was Freud's copy (received on 12 May 1913), and number 195

9. Stanley Unwin, *The Truth About a Publisher: An Autobiographical Record* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 169.

10. W. S. Allen to A. A. Brill, 9 January 1913, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

was purchased by the book's translator Abraham A. Brill on 7 June 1913 for the controversial Welsh psychoanalyst Ernest Jones (1879–1958).¹¹ The numerical sequence does not totally follow the sales chronology (contrast, for example, numbers 53 and 74, which were accessioned by the London Library on 8 May and 17 December 1913 respectively, with Freud's and Jones's copies). It is unclear whether all the numbers were utilised, exactly how high the sequence went, or precisely when it was abandoned. Sightings of further numbered volumes should, however, help to elucidate these questions. Thirdly, circulation was restricted by the volume's high British retail price, which was set at 15 shillings (the equivalent of £96 in 2024), effectively limiting its purchase to elite groups. And fourthly, limited direct advertising was undertaken of the first edition, again restricting potential demand.

George Allen & Co published the book in Britain at the beginning of April 1913.¹² Allen also produced the copies for sale in the US through Macmillan in New York, printed as were theirs by Ballantyne Hanson & Co, in Edinburgh, with the Macmillan details on the title page and spine, as will be discussed in the next section. At least some of the initial copies distributed in the US also carried a publisher's notice on the dust-jacket proclaiming it was principally addressed to doctors, teachers, lawyers and clergymen.¹³ Whether this was an artefact of Allen's stance in London or Macmillan's decision based on US conditions is unknown. Whether the US release

11. George Allen & Co invoice to A. A. Brill, 7 June 1913, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 15, folder 20; Jones's copy now forms part of the library at the Institute of Psychoanalysis in London. Having trained in medicine at Cardiff and University College London, Jones had a checkered early career in London which was particularly marred on two occasions by accusations of sexual indecency. Subsequently becoming part of Freud's circle and having worked for several years in Toronto, Jones returned to London where he co-founded the London and later the British Psychoanalytical Society, of which he was president for many years, alongside holding the presidency of the International Psychoanalytical Association. A difficult character, he is best remembered today as the author of *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work* (1953–57) in three volumes.

12. The copyright copy deposited with the British Library carries their '4 April 1913' date stamp. Freud received his own copy of the book from George Allen on 12 May 1913: see Freud to S. Ferenczi, 13 May 1913, in E. Brabant *et al* (eds) *The Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Sándor Ferenczi, Volume 1: 1908–1914* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1992), p. 485.

13. *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), 10 May 1913, p. 4.

Form II.]

31 Dec 1913.

Book "The Interpretation of Dreams" 116

By S. A. Clark Esq.

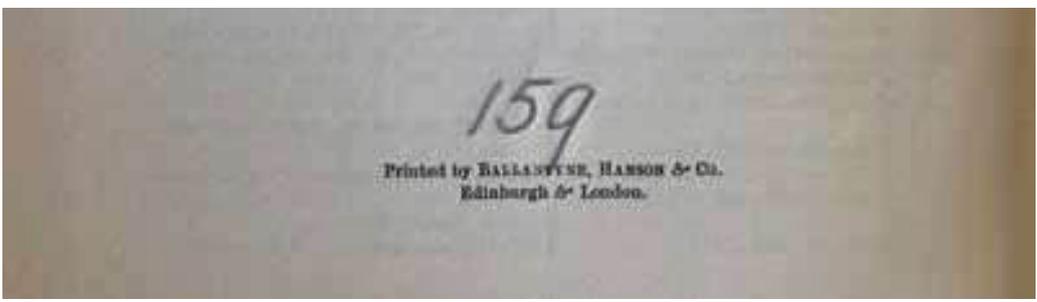
1763. Copies. Sells. 1574

To	£	s	d	Deliv. (grs)	£	s	d
To Balance forward	3	3					
- Paper	25						
- Maps							
- Illustr.							
- Do. Elect.							
- Comp. mks. &	79	2	6				
- Do. am. type	1	7	6				
- Corrections	3	7					
- Wm. Hall	11	3					
- Do. Dep. for America	21	7	6				
- Electro							
- Do. Dep. for America							
- Machining 175 Oct	57	11					
- Do. Woodcut	14	1					
- Paper 4 1/2 em. &	32	10	0				
- Plate Paper &	2	5	11				
- Binding 175 Oct	48	16	6				
- Binder's Stocks	1	13	9				
- Adverts	2	1					
- Insurance							
- 2500 Lacks	2	16	6				
- Slips & small bills	1	14	6				
- Signet box	1	8					
- Postage		3	6				
<u>107. on net sales</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>				
	<u>260</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>				
1/2 Balance due to Author	35	8	2				
1/2 Balance due to Publishers	35	8	2				
	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>				

Deliv. (grs)	£	s	d
1763			
Print			
Skt			
Off			
Free	76		
Print	60		
Skt	125		
Off	115		
Balance	1838		
By	1570		
1. Exp. Sta.			
Am't 2457	353	17	7
Cash			
2. Rec. Sta.	112	17	4
X 20	16	16	
10%			
3. 1764			
Cash	9		
4. Lit.			
Sales			
5. Spec. or Res.			
Sales			
1570			
6. Sale of Rights to			
7. Sale of Dep. Sterns to Amer.			
8. Author's Share of prof.			
9. Publisher's Share of prof.			
	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>

** should be taken at two things (10/12) (see account)*

George Allen & Co 1913 account summary for *The Interpretation of Dreams*.



The typical format of the restricted sale numbering, this example appearing in Freud's personal copy.

of the book was synchronous with or followed very shortly after the British publication in unclear, though the latter is more probable.

Despite such notices, sales in Britain and the US differed radically, confounding the initial expectations of at least the translator and publisher. The initial print run was *apparently* 1,763 copies (though more on this later). Two weeks after publication, William Allen noted the first impression was ‘almost exhausted’ due to the large number taken by Macmillan for the US market and a month later thought ‘a new edition may be called for at any moment’ due to American demand.¹⁴ However, firm figures for 1913 have proved slippery to grasp. Up to 31 October 1913 sales on the domestic UK market, Cecil Reynolds would claim, totalled 189 copies, in contrast to 1,447 sold in the US.¹⁵ In passing on these figures to Freud, Brill under-reported the US sales as totalling 1,000 copies.¹⁶ The end of year accounts revealed a rather different picture, with reported regular British sales amounting to just 112 copies, with a further nine books sold as so-called thirteenth copies,¹⁷ and sixty books being distributed gratis (these presumably including Brill’s copies, six copyright deposit copies, and others to potential reviewers and other stakeholders), thus totalling 181 copies. The US market by this stage had taken a healthy 1,457 copies.¹⁸

The combined 1913 sales yielded £35 out of the profits for Brill, though it was a sum he would never collect as George Allen & Co went into receivership on 1 January 1914 and no assets were available to pay Brill or other creditors.¹⁹ Stanley Unwin, who eventually purchased the company on 7 August 1914 as World War I broke

14. W. S. Allen to A. A. Brill, 17 April 1913 and 21 May 1913, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

15. C. A. Reynolds to A. A. Brill, 3 November 1913, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

16. A. A. Brill to Freud, 13 December 1913, LoC ref: MSS 39990, box 19.

17. These 13th copies, the so-called ‘publisher’s dozen’, were a marketing incentive whereby publishers’ or booksellers’ sales receipts on such copies were exempt from royalty payments, thus fractionally increasing their profits. See Anne Stanyon, “‘But Sullivan must live...’: The Financial Survival of a Victorian Composer”, *Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Magazine*, vol. 95, Winter 2017–18, pp. 27–28.

18. Author’s Accounts, UoR SC ref: AU A/133.

19. C. G. Morgan to A. A. Brill, 7 August 1913, and George Allen & Unwin to A. A. Brill, 22 October 1914, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

out, expressed his ‘very great sympathy’ to Brill over this loss, while holding firm to the line that the new company, ‘George Allen & Unwin Ltd’, was not responsible ‘for the sins of our predecessors’.²⁰ It was not a line he would take with all his authors.

The First Edition and its Impressions

The stories of the first and second impressions of the first edition are closely intertwined. The book’s British publisher George Allen & Co’s surviving accounts for 1913 silently conflate these impressions, noting just one print run of 1,763 copies,²¹ while the first and second impressions themselves omit any mention of which they are on the title page or title verso. It is only with the third impression, that of November 1913, that public mention appears in the books themselves of the two previous impressions, dating them as April and May 1913. How many of the 1,763 volumes produced constituted the first impression and how many the second is unclear. The initial 1912 rights contract with Franz Deuticke had specified fees of £25 for each edition of 1,500 copies, with just one such fee being paid in 1913.²² Stanley Unwin would later assert that some impressions were only 500 copies,²³ which was possibly a reference to the second impression because the book’s other print runs – full details of which are known – never fell below 750 volumes (see Table 1). It would be tempting to suppose on the basis of this that the first impression consisted of approximately 1,250 and the second of a further 500 copies or thereabouts. Whether this reconstruction is correct remains uncertain, though it seems to tally with the ratio of first to second impression books seen in the antiquarian book trade.

How many copies George Allen had *initially* earmarked and prepared from the first impression for British versus US release in April 1913 is uncertain. Previously, in 1911, Macmillan had indicated to

20. Stanley Unwin to A. A. Brill, 22 October 1914, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15. Unwin adopted a more flexible position with another author, Edward Carpenter, paying him 50% of lost royalties; see their Memorandum of Agreement, 1913, UoR SC ref: AU FSC 6/35/2.

21. Author’s Accounts, UoR SC ref: AU A/133, f.6.

22. Memorandum between Franz Deuticke and George Allen & Unwin, December 1930, UoR SC ref: AUC 24/3, and Author’s Accounts, UoR SC ref: AU A/133, f.6.

23. Stanley Unwin to Anton Aubell, 21 January 1930, UoR SC ref: AUC 23/3.

Swan Sonnenschein that there was considerable American interest in the subject, though by 29 April 1912 they felt this had waned somewhat and proposed initially ordering 500 copies from George Allen, a figure which was reduced to 250 the following month.²⁴ What the US market demand was when the book was released a year later is unrecorded in the archives, though by 17 April 1913 it was already evident that Macmillan was requesting more copies than George Allen had anticipated. In 1913 as a whole, Macmillan would take 1,457 copies, while George Allen disposed of just 181 volumes (see Chart 1), a ratio of eight to one, these figures encompassing both first and second impressions.

The rare George Allen & Co British first impression of the first edition appears to exist in a single state, with the restricted sale slip typically inside the front cover, while the associated numbering on page 510 ranges from 1 to probably not much more than 217. The Macmillan copies of this impression for the US market exist in two observed states, the first of which has integral half-title and title pages, while the second state was created out of unsold stock originally destined for the British market, where the demand proved disappointingly poor. By removing both the half-title (which carried the George Allen colophon on the verso) and title pages, Ballantyne Hanson were able to insert a newly printed Macmillan cancel title on the stub.²⁵ The replacement title pages seen are blank on the reverse, without the printer Ballantyne Hanson's details (though whether this was always the case is unknown). These changes resulted in second state volumes typically having seven rather than eight leaves in the first gathering of pages.

The second impression, from May 1913, appears to have been ordered from the printers, Ballantyne Hanson, towards the end of that month. Initially, it was to incorporate minor changes to the index, which had been originally prepared by George Allen & Co and

24. Macmillan to George Allen & Co, 29 April 1912 and 21 May 1912, UoR SC ref: AU FSC 20/127/2.

25. These cancel titles were noted on the 1913 accounts, where they were amalgamated with that for 'slips' (presumably referring to both restricted sale and erratum slips), which in total cost £1.14 (UoR SC ref: AU A/133, f.6).

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

*The sale of this book is limited to
Members of the Medical, Scholastic,
Legal, and Clerical professions.*

The restricted sales slip as incorporated into the first and second impressions of
The Interpretation of Dreams in Britain.

ERRATUM

Page 87, line 3 from bottom, *for* 'I shall certainly be with
doubts,' *read* 'I shall certainly be confronted with doubts.'

Interpretation of Dreams

The erratum slip as it appears in the second impression of *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

about which Brill had complained since April.²⁶ William Allen had suggested to Brill on 21 May 1913 that, if he wanted to send in a revised index, another impression might be soon needed if American demand continued.²⁷ Allen did not appear to wait for Brill's reply before submitting the order, as evidently early copies of the second impression are identifiable due to incorporating just two changes to the index. On 7 June Brill's reply, requesting a small change to the text on page 87, arrived together with his hurriedly revised index.²⁸ With the printing already underway, the change to page 87 was deferred and an erratum slip added in lieu, though the further changes to the index were able to be incorporated. The tipped-in erratum slip, typically laying on page one of the main text, seems to have been generally added to the initial volumes of this impression also. The denouement of these events was that both George Allen and Macmillan versions of this impression emerged in two states, the first with two changes to the index on page 510,²⁹ while the second incorporated fourteen further index changes.³⁰ The presence of the erratum slip seems a feature common to both states. George Allen volumes continued to employ the restricted sale slip and associated numbering, the latter beginning for this impression somewhere between 217 and 265 and extending to at least 340. The extent to which cancel titles were needed on this impression to meet US demand is unclear, though – as with the first impression – some were used, creating a third state for Macmillan volumes. The Macmillan title page cancels for this impression that have been seen carry the printer's details on the verso.

In November 1913, an impression of 750 copies was ordered, which necessitated two transactions for paper. As the company went into receivership in January 1914, Ballantyne Hanson placed a lien on this and other George Allen stock they held for which

26. A. A. Brill to George Allen & Co, 28 April 1913, UoR SC ref: AU FSC 2/13.

27. W. S. Allen to A. A. Brill, 21 May 1913, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

28. A. A. Brill to William Allen, 29 May 1913, UoR SC ref: AU FSC 2/13.

29. The most obvious change is the deletion of the entry for 'Zalzstangeln'.

30. These include the deletion of five entries: 'dreams as picture puzzles' on p. 503, 'Festschrift', and 'Fliesse, W' on p. 504, 'Gschnas' on p. 505, and 'Kontuszówka' on p. 506; together with the addition of two page numbers (viz, 244 and 249) to the entry for Ernest Jones on p. 505.

payment was outstanding. The receiver, C. G. Morgan, however, agreed to part-fund the previous printing bill and now binding for 145 of these copies on 16 January 1914, and subsequently agreed for the binding and release of a further 250 copies from this impression.³¹ It was not until August 1914, when Stanley Unwin took over the reconstituted company, retitled George Allen & Unwin Ltd, that the remaining lien would be discharged and the final 355 copies were bound and released for sale.³² As a result, the volumes of this impression display a hybrid character, existing in at least two states. All carry the description 'third impression' on the title page. As originally set up, British volumes had George Allen & Co on their title pages and US destined copies had The Macmillan Company thereon. A second state has the title page with both Macmillan *and* the new incarnation of the company George Allen & Unwin (with Macmillan uppermost) listed thereon, allowing such volumes to potentially serve both US and British markets. These record George Allen & Unwin's address on the title page as Ruskin House, Museum Street, W.C., effectively dating their final fabrication to sometime after 29 September 1914,³³ the point at which the new company first occupied these premises. The publisher's name at the foot of the spine would distinguish which company released a particular second state volume. To further complicate the history of this impression, the Author's Accounts indicate that 300 cancel titles were ordered at some unspecified point in 1914. These cancels may relate to the new second state title page, and are here assumed to have been employed to service US demand, utilising refurbished unsold stocks initially intended for the British market. Use of the restricted sale slip and associated numbering continued initially in the George Allen & Co volumes before petering out (thus Lawrence Slade's copy, signed and dated 'Paris, 1914' by him, has the restricted sale slip and is numbered 354, with other extant volumes being num-

31. C. G. Morgan to Ballantyne, Hanson & Co, 16 January 1914, UoR SC ref: AU FSC 39/245; Author's Accounts, 1914, UoR SC ref: AU A/132, f.33.

32. S. Unwin to A. A. Brill, 22 October 1914, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15; Author's Accounts, 1914, UoR SC ref: AU A/132, f.33.

33. C. A. Reynolds to A. A. Brill, 22 September 1914, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

bered 407 and 448, while James Strachey's copy of this impression, signed and dated '1915' by him, exhibits neither feature). Inclusion of the erratum slip has not been observed in the very few examples of this impression seen and may have been abandoned by the time it was marketed.³⁴ This impression is uncommon, especially so in its British market incarnation, with the George Allen & Co title page.

The Second Edition and its Impressions

In August 1915, Brill suggested there would soon be demand for a second English edition, which could incorporate changes from the 1914 enlarged fourth German edition of *Die Traumdeutung* and rectify mistakes in the existing edition, including still further changes to its index.³⁵ This resulted in due course in the December 1915 revised edition, termed the second edition by both Strachey and Grinstein. Not the significant reworking that Brill had proposed, this edition of 750 copies corrected the rewording noted on the earlier erratum slip and incorporated eleven additions or changes in formatting to the index.³⁶ With such small changes, it might in other hands have been merely badged as yet another impression. The new title page, however, misleadingly announced it as the 'fourth edition'. More helpfully, at least from a stock control perspective, the title page followed the practice instituted with the second state of the November 1913 impression of incorporating both British and US publishers' details thereon, with George Allen & Unwin's name now uppermost.

Subsequent impressions of this edition supposedly appeared in December 1916, May 1919, January 1920, January 1921, April 1922, February 1923 and February 1927, with a new printer, Turnbull & Spears of Edinburgh. The January 1920 impression, however, appears from the company accounts to have been a binding of 1,316

34. There may have been sufficient stock of these slips produced in 1913 to cover the needs of this release in 1914; there is no entry recording the manufacture of slips in the 1914 accounts.

35. A. A. Brill to George Allen & Unwin, 11 August 1915, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15; see also W. S. Allen to A. A. Brill, 21 May 1913 (same place).

36. Some of the new formatting changes corrected errors actually introduced into the index with the second impression. A significant new addition to this iteration of the index were linked entries for 'Oedipus legend' and 'Oedipus dreams'.



James Strachey. *Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.*

quires left over from the previous year's print run of 2,500 copies.³⁷ Using the time of printing, rather than of binding or indeed of release, as the main criterion of an impression, the so-called January 1920 impression may be here characterised as a phantom impression or second state of the May 1919 impression. These figures and those for other impressions are summarised in Table 1, with annual sales figures depicted in Chart 1.³⁸ In November 1922, following enquiries by Macmillan about printing their own copies in the US, George Allen & Unwin agreed to supply them instead with folded sheets, rather than bound copies, the export of which attracted less duty.³⁹ Macmillan volumes from this point onward were bound in the US in brown cloth, with gilt titling on the spine.

EDITION	IMPRESSION	PRINT RUN	REMARKS
1st 1913	1: April	{1,763	
	2: May		
	3: Nov	750	Released in 1914
2nd 1915	1: Dec 1915	750	
	2: Dec 1916	1,000	
	3: May 1919	2,500	1,200 bound in 1919 & 1,316 in 1920
	4: Jan 1920	A phantom impression	
	5: Jan 1921	1,500	
	6: April 1922	1,500	
	7: Feb 1923	2,050	Macmillan bindings
	8: Feb 1927	2,050	
3rd 1933	1: Feb 1933	2,500	Dated 1932 in error
TOTAL		16,363	

Table 1: Print runs for *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913–1933

37. See the relevant annual accounts for 1919 and 1920 at UoR SC ref: AU A/161, ff. 345 and 417.

38. Derived from the annual accounts 1913–1933 at UoR SC refs: AU A/132 through to AU A/221; see also Brill's royalty statements at LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 15, folder 20. British 'sales' figures here incorporate copies that were distributed for free, remaindered, 13th issue, and colonial sales into the overall normal UK sales figures.

39. S. Unwin to A. A. Brill, 14 November 1922, LoC ref: MSS 51748, box 4, folder 15.

The Third Edition

This edition, the final one to be noted here (and only in its first impression garb), the creation of which I have discussed in detail elsewhere, involved A. A. Brill translating the new 1930 eighth edition of *Die Traumdeutung*, only to then have his stylistic work and particularly his technical nomenclature secretly modified by Jones, Strachey and Joan Riviere (1883–1962) into their own favoured more classical elite and scientific register. It was published in February 1933, although was mistakenly dated 1932 on the title verso, an artefact of the significant delays the secret reworking occasioned.

Having been printed by Unwin Brothers Ltd, in Woking, the book's British release occurs in two states: with George Allen & Unwin on the title page and in a slightly later second state with their name followed by Macmillan on two lines. Macmillan were unhappy with the misdating of the volume and decided to replace the title page with a cancel bearing the correct date. This appears to have been done immediately on receipt of their consignment of quires.⁴⁰ The majority, if not all of the Macmillan 1933 volumes should thus have cancel titles, dated 1933 on the reverse, though the possibility remains that some of the original Macmillan volumes with the incorrect 1932 date were released.

Sales of the third edition began well, with 1,040 quires exported to Macmillan in New York and 572 bound copies being sold in Britain and the colonies in 1933 (see Chart 1) out of the initial impression of 2,500 (see Table 1). With the difficult economic conditions of the 1930s however, it would take George Allen & Unwin a further four years to sell the remainder of this impression.⁴¹ The next impressions would appear in 1937, 1942 and 1945. In 1954 George Allen & Unwin would publish James Strachey's new translation of the book in Britain, although Brill's final translation continued to be issued by various publishers subsequently in the US.

40. J. N. Myers to Stanley Unwin, 23 February 1933 and George Allen & Unwin to Macmillan, 22 March 1933, UoR SC ref: AUC 37/9.

41. Allen & Unwin Author's Accounts for 1933 and 1934: UoR SC refs: AU A/221, f. 104 and AU A/222, f. 97.

THE
INTERPRETATION
OF DREAMS

by

PROF. SIGMUND FREUD, M.D., LL.D.

Authorized Translation by

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Sciences at Columbia University, New York*

This is a translation of the last, or eighth German edition, and contains Professor Freud's most recent formulations of the psychic apparatus in so far as they are related to the psychology of dreams. It is an entirely new translation, thoroughly revised to conform to the new material, and the new psychoanalytic terminology.

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
MUSEUM STREET

The front panel of the dust-jacket of the 1933 edition published by George Allen & Unwin of *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

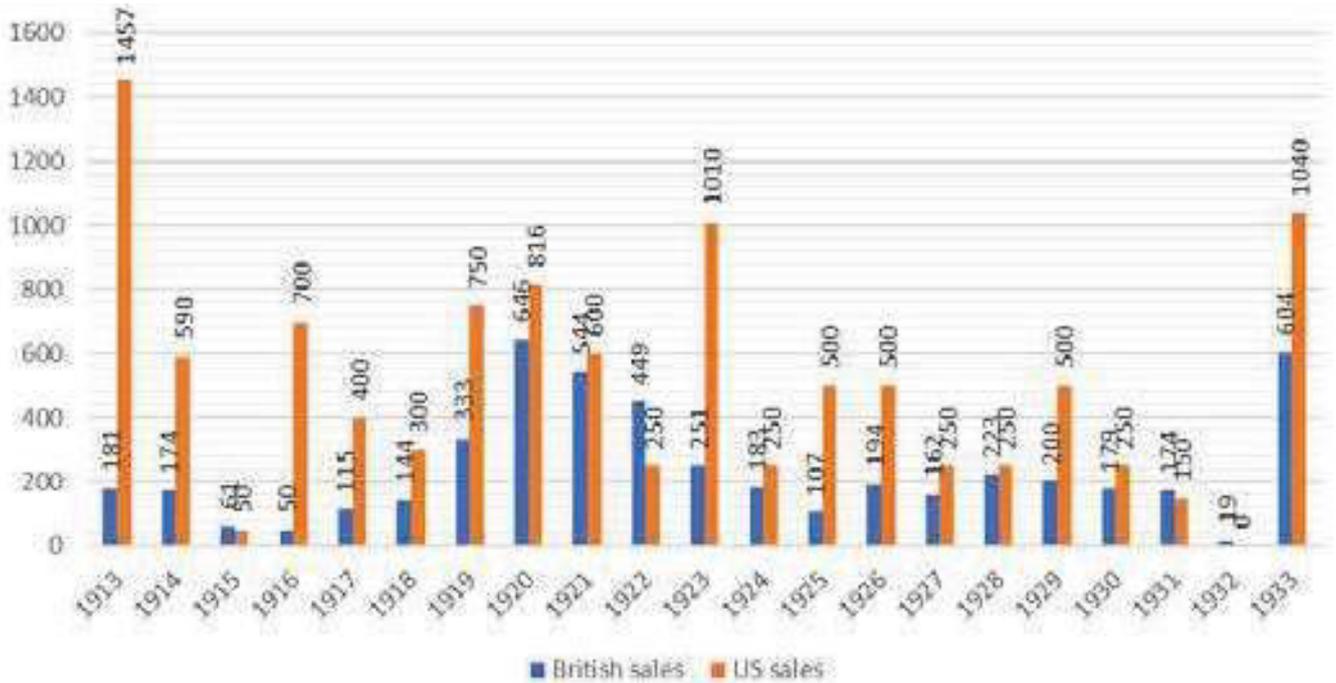


Chart 1 : British and US sales of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913 to 1933

Afterword

Freud's *Die Traumdeutung*, translated into English as *The Interpretation of Dreams* by A. A. Brill, proved to be a landmark and indeed controversial text. Its publishing history was also riven with controversy. The first such was George Allen & Co's decision to severely restrict the book's sale in Britain in order to get an un-bowdlerised text to the public amidst the real risks of prosecution under the Obscene Publications Act 1857. Such self-censorship was a not uncommon decision at that time, although in the popular imagination it has been more typically associated with literature than with scientific works. Aside from the negative impact on sales, which was economically injurious to the publisher and translator, the warning printed on the first edition no doubt reinforced the prejudicial narrative of psychoanalysis being obsessed with sex.

The publisher's failure to annotate the second impression as such is a controversy of a different sort. Of little significance at the time, the subsequent life of the book in the antiquarian trade has been marked by a conspicuous failure of dealers, auctioneers and bibliophiles to distinguish these impressions from one another. Of course, to have done so would have been to potentially disrupt the market and necessitate a reappraisal of stock and collections, elevating the

values of some copies and moderating others. The present paper reveals for the first time how these two impressions may be reliably distinguished.

Lesser controversies included the second edition, which might have been more accurately badged as a fourth impression, misleadingly labelling itself a fourth edition on its title page, and the so-called 1920 impression which consisted not of a new printing but of binding up quires printed the previous year. The final controversy associated with the book came with the third edition. Brill's translations had remained close to Freud's idiom and characteristic use of the demotic. In the final editing of this edition, the style and character of his text was significantly altered by Brill's psychoanalytic rivals in Britain, with the connivance of Stanley Unwin. A revised nomenclature was thus secretly introduced, which still exerts a hegemonic grip on much psychoanalytic discourse to this day and has been widely criticised.⁴²

The English translation, from its first edition in 1913 through to that of 1933, bears the traces of this hidden history in the books themselves. From the restricted sale notices and secret numbering of the George Allen & Co impressions, and the cancel titles of some Macmillan volumes in 1913, the vicissitudes of these controversies are evident before one even ventures into the text body. The first edition, however, does not exhaust these signs, with others discernible in later impressions. The November 1913 impression, for example, half of which did not arrive until after the outbreak of World War I, bears in some iterations the imprint of a publisher that did not exist at the time it was actually printed. Or the question of the 1920 phantom impression.

During the two decades that are here under review, sales were substantially sustained by America until after World War I, when British demand rose somewhat during a bubble of interest in psychoanalysis. It was then one of the ways, arguably, in which the book met with the *zeitgeist* as people attempted to understand the nightmares of the war, the obscenities of which left the earlier 1913

42. See, for example, Bruno Bettelheim, *Freud and Man's Soul* (London: Flamingo, 1985). The *Revised Standard Edition* of Freud's works, edited by Mark Solms and published in 2024, continues to use this nomenclature that derives from the works of Jones and Strachey.

discussions of sexuality pale by comparison. However, the general sales figures given here for this key text of 20th-century intellectual history underscore why it is actually a scarce book today in the antiquarian trade, especially the first British edition by George Allen & Co. These same figures also give pause to claims such as those by W. H. Auden about the penetration of psychoanalysis into the culture if represented by sales of this seminal book. Certainly in Britain, not many people ever actually owned the book, and surviving copies today are rare.

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