INSTITUTE of PSYCHOANALYSIS

The Bulletin

Vol. 61 | No. 6 — July 2025

Freud's wheelchair and other stories: Accounts recovered in the course of research for *Freud's British Family*[1]

Roger Willoughby

In her recent review of *Freud's British Family* (Willoughby, 2024) the psychoanalyst Katherine Jenness (2025) highlighted the importance of Freud's '*Britishness*' to a whole generation of post war American analysts. She wrote how:

> Both Lionel Trilling and Phillip Rieff, prominent postwar exegetes of Freud and Anglophiles themselves, celebrate Freud's fondness for England. For Trilling, Freud's love of England helps him defend his individuality from the pressures of Viennese society; his allegiance keeps him free from authoritarian influences of his immediate surround[ings] (Trilling, 1955/1965, p. 112). For Rieff, there is something,
>
> > Very English about the Freud that lives and dies so equably, in England, land of his inner affinity. All that antinomian imagination is hedged off neatly by an unimpeachable private life; all that passion countered by stoic calm; all that friendship muted by reserve; all that desire to lead tempered by encouragement to epigones striking out on their own—if not too far (Rieff, 1959, p. xv).
>
> In order to resist the pressures of an overbearing society, the Cold War American was thought to require healthy doses of 'stoic calm', 'reserve', and temperance—all traits that Freud was interpreted as exemplifying in this historical context. When postwar Americans loved Freud, in other words, it was, however improbably, a 'British' Freud they loved.

Freud's British Family (2024) seeks to reveal: 'The affection and complexity of feeling Freud maintained for his half-brothers and their families in Britain…These relationships influenced his imagination, and his thinking and theorizing on mental structure and psychodynamics' (Willoughby, 2024, p. 2). In this sense I am trying to begin the present paper with the 'So what?' question and in seeking to address it I am inviting you to think about some of Freud's identifications and our identification with Freud.

In learning something of psychoanalysis, we do so in part through Freud's classic case studies, including that of Sigmund Freud himself. Freud openly told his readers in 1909 that *The Interpretation of Dreams* was part of his self-analysis. Relatedly, Robbert Wille (2008) has usefully discussed psychoanalytic identity, particularly with respect to 'psychoanalysis as an internal object', while Thomä and Kächele remark that 'an analyst is necessarily born into a Jewish genealogy and acquires his professional identity from identification with Freud's work' (2020, p. 19); and Erlich recently wrote that:

> The identification with Freud's work (as against his person), its appreciative as well as critical study and evaluation, is the unique and defining characteristic of psychoanalysis, which sets it apart from other theories and therapies, no matter how efficacious they may be. It serves to internalise the understanding that psychoanalysis is more than a form of therapy, that it is a fundamental and comprehensive theory of mental functioning and a scientific, ethical, and philosophical view of man and humanity (2023, p. 259).[2]

In this context, I want to here recount just eight of the scenes involving Freud and his older brothers and their families in England that came to light while researching *Freud's British Family* and hopefully give you at least a flavour of what is revealed.

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1 Based on a paper given to the Applied Section of the BPAS, on 9 July 2025.

2 In Britain, David Bell has repeatedly articulated a view of psychoanalysis as referring to: 'three separate but interdependent entities: it is a body of knowledge about the mind, a research activity, and a form of treatment for psychological disturbance', of which he suggested the first was 'crucial' (Bell, 1999, pp. 2-3).

1: The Freuds of Freiberg

Sigmund Freud was his father's *fifth* child, though popularly he is depicted as his mother's *first* child. Both statements are of course correct. His father Jacob had four children with his first wife Sally Kanner. Two of *those* children died young and by the time Sally died in 1852, her and Jacob's two surviving sons Emanuel and Philipp were young adults. Emanuel was born on Christmas Day 1832 and married Marie Rokachová in 1852, the same year his mother died. Assimilating into English society, he would survive until 1914, dying on 17 October, falling from a train on his way back from work. Philipp was two years younger, born in 1834, sustained a far more Orthodox Jewish sensibility, and would survive until 29 August 1911, dying from bowel cancer. While in Freiberg, Emanuel and Philipp appear to have joined in with assisting their father, working largely in the wool trade. With Amalia Nathanshon's emergence onto the scene as Jacob's second (or perhaps third) wife, the historical clock was reset and Freud emerges as the first of her (or the marriage's) eight children.

Growing up in small-town Freiberg until he was three years old, Freud lived and played with this essentially *working-class* extended family, which during this period included his siblings Julius (1857-58) and Anna (1858-1955) and three of Emanuel's own young children, John (1855-1936), Pauline (1856-1944), and Bertha (1859-1940). (Freud's precarious early working-class origins have for the most part been quietly passed over by most Freud scholars, perhaps due to a certain incommensurability with contemporary visions of psychoanalysis as a fundamentally bourgeois elite discipline; see also Freud, 1936). Freud was especially close to John. Recalling their relationship in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud wrote that:

> Until the end of my third year we had been inseparable. We had loved each other and fought with each other; and this childhood relationship…had a determining influence on all my subsequent relations with contemporaries. Since that time my nephew John has had many re-incarnations, which revived now one side and now another of his personality, unalterably fixed as it was in my unconscious memory... All my friends have in a certain sense been re-incarnations of this first figure…: they have been *revenants* (Freud, 1900, pp. 424 & 483).

Freud thus saw in his early relationship with John the original developmental template, through which core dynamic features of his subsequent relationships were shaped.

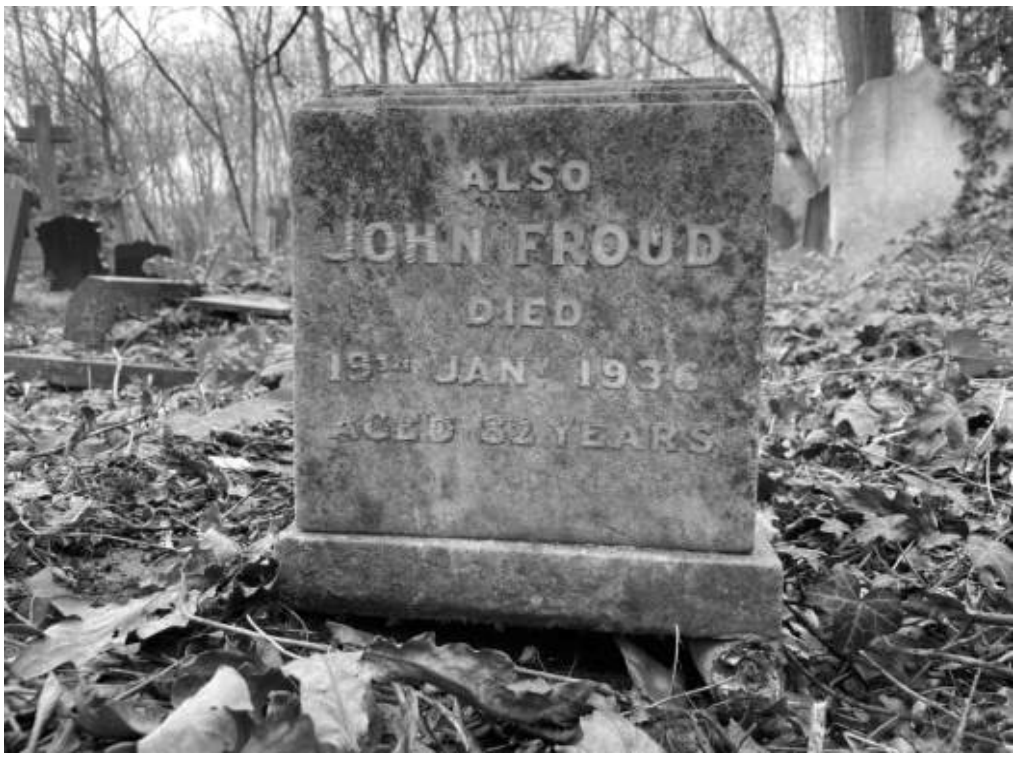

Image 1: John Freud's small grave marker in Highgate Cemetery, North London. Note how he changed the spelling of his surname ('Froud')

I am not focussing on John in the present paper, but just want to say here that the *received* history is that John 'disappeared' sometime in the late nineteenth century, or more luridly was murdered by Freud (Scagnelli, 1994; Miller, 1984). In the book I trace something of his actual story, his breaking free from his rather enmeshed birth family, striking out on his own, working as a travel guide for Thomas Cook, having a family of his own, and finally dying in 1936. He is buried in Highgate Cemetery in North London. The rediscovery of John's story is, according to Christfried Tögel, one of the real highlights of the research. It may be savoured in full in the book itself.

2: Separation and migration: Vienna and Manchester

In 1859 the family left Freiberg, a move which Freud later suggested was precipitated by 'a catastrophe' in the local wool and textile market, as a result of which his father 'lost all his means' (Freud, 1899, p. 312). Together with Philipp, Emanuel and his family would move to Britain, where immigration and settlement during this period of Victorian liberalism was relatively easy from a legal point of view, a particularly important consideration for European Jewry who elsewhere in Europe faced widespread legal impediments on movement, settlement, and trade. Freud, his younger sister Anna and their parents moved briefly to Leipzig and then to Vienna. Freud would later acknowledge his envy of his 'relatives who…had the opportunity of removing their children to another country' (1900, p. 444).

By sheering-off both Emanuel and his family and Philipp and relocating them at a considerable distance from Jacob's new family with Amalia, this latter family was privileged or reinforced as the core unit, while the former were marginalised. These actions would have arguably offered certain compensations for the older brothers, such as greater independence and engagement with progressive modernity. The brothers thus stepped aside, with Emanuel in particular ceding his position as Jacob's eldest son in favour of the nascent Freud, the eldest child of Jacob's *new* family.

Elsewhere, Michael Molnar hinted at the obligation this perhaps placed Freud under vis-à-vis his older brother: 'For Freud, it is as if…Emanuel, as the *real* eldest son of Jacob, had consented to transfer his birthright (the father's blessing) to the younger' (Molnar, 2015, p. 81; my italics). With this perspective on the family action, a dynamic of duplication and then replacement (or marginalisation) occurs both within and between systems: the Jacob-Amalia family replace or marginalise that of Jacob-Sally and Freud replaces or marginalises Emanuel. Freud's frequently mentioned 'two mothers' (Amalia and his nursemaid) represents a variant of this, as does his psychic relationship to Jacob and Emanuel, the latter standing in as an alternative father figure. This quasi-Oedipal pattern of replacement would continue within Emanuel's family.

In the run up to leaving, Emanuel and Philipp raised 8,000 Austrian florins (the equivalent of a little over £120,000 today) through passing bills of exchange in the Austrian Empire and neighbouring German states. Emanuel passed the last of these bills on 30 August 1859. With creditors seeking recompense, the Austrian courts advised the brothers *in absentia* to arrange settlement. Philipp was declared a fugitive. A wanted notice, published in the *Brünner Zeitung* (26 February 1860, p. 379), declared he was being sought for 'fraud' and he was interestingly described as:

> …approximately 23 years old, approximately 5' tall, and has a long face, a curved nose, black-brown curly hair and, as a particular feature, a wobbly gait. He speaks German and Moravian. In the event of custody, he should be delivered to the Imperial-Royal District Court.

But before these proceedings had got underway, Emanuel, his family, and Philipp had quietly departed for Britain in what seems to have been a moonlight flit. Emanuel did so without terminating the lease on his Freiberg house, his hurried departure being evident in the furniture, linens, and clothing he abandoned there. His landlord, with approval from the local court, auctioned his property off in July 1860 to recoup back rent, some of the proceeds also going to one of the parties to the bills of exchange.

As Freud and his reduced family settled in Vienna, where his father was declared bankrupt in 1860, Philipp, Emanuel and his family began to make a new home in Manchester, the heart of the country's international linen trade. With a burgeoning cosmopolitan population, the city was socially, culturally and politically vibrant, and was – at this time – (from 1842 through to 1870) the home of Friedrich

Engels, who drew on his experiences there in the 1840s to write *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, in which he described conditions for the working poor in Manchester's Angel Meadow slum as 'Hell upon Earth'.

3: Bankruptcy, partnership, and the beginning of Freud & Co

Settled among the Jewish immigrant community that surrounded Manchester's Great Synagogue (the home of Ashkenazim Jewry and the city's Old Hebrew Congregation), Emanuel set up in business as an 'importer of foreign small wares' and apparently had business interests and premises in Western Ukraine. However, after not more than 8 months in business in Britain Emanuel was officially declared 'out of business' on 4 May 1860, and that morning he appeared as an insolvent debtor at the Court House at Lancaster Castle. A week later, with an agreement with his creditors, he was back in business, this time in partnership with Philipp (which would last for the next four years). Styling themselves as *Freud & Co*, the brothers wholesale business largely hinged on the import of 'French and German fancy goods' and was soon operating from 96 Shudehill, an inner-city business district just minutes away from the Angel Meadow slum. The building served the Freuds, in various family and business configurations, for the next 23 years.

Image 2: 96 Shudehill, Manchester (as it was in 1924), the sometime home of the Freuds in Manchester and the early business premises of Freud & Co from c.1861 to 1884

4: Emanuel: loss, pain, and relocation

Between 1860 and 1866, Emanuel and Marie had a further four children: Solomon in 1860, Matilda in 1862, Emily in 1865, and Henrietta in 1866. Henrietta was unwell from birth and lived just 18 days, before dying at home from marasmus, a severe form of malnutrition, on 31 August 1866. She was buried that same day in the Great Synagogue's pauper cemetery at Miles Platting. Two years later, Emily and Matilda both contracted scarlet fever and died within two days of each other at the end of November 1868. They were buried in the Great Synagogue's main cemetery in Prestwich. Whether the family ever managed to erect matzevahs (or gravestones) to commemorate the girls is unclear, though no such stones marking their brief lives survive today.

For Emanuel and his family, the cumulative losses of Henrietta, Emily, and Matilda between 1866 and

1868, left them emotionally fragile, hypervigilant about their health, and largely unable to separate. These losses apparently came on top of the death of an earlier child, perhaps their first born, back in Freiberg. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given this *huis clos*, the girls' lives would pass unmentioned in the surviving family correspondence.

Image 3: Emanuel Freud and his daughter Bertha, the only known photograph of them

Emanuel and his family now veered away from the Old Hebrew Congregation, affiliating instead with Reform Jewry and the Manchester Synagogue of British Jews, though their day-to-day lives seem to have been increasingly secular. They also became increasingly Anglicised and assimilated, which perhaps contributed to Solomon taking on the moniker of 'Samuel', which quickly became the diminutive 'Sam'. It seems likely that the girls' deaths were influential in catalysing this change. We may note here that almost all of Emanuel's family (beginning with Emanuel himself) would subsequently opt to be cremated (a practice Orthodox Jews opposed) and Reform Rabbis would

officiate over their burials.

Their living and working lives changed too. Emanuel and his family moved to the southern Manchester suburb of Ardwick, leaving behind the noise, unhealthy conditions, the perceived miasmatic environment, and general pollution of the city centre. He was by now once again trading on his own account, under the brand 'E Freud'. After another appearance in the debtors court in 1865, Emanuel moved into the wholesale fent trade. Despite economic downturns and two serious fires in his warehouses, E Freud & Son (as it subsequently became) would continue in business until 1941, when it finally ceased trading upon Sam Freud's retirement.

Image 4: 61 Bloom Street, Manchester, the business premises of E Freud & Son from 1897 to 1941

5: Philipp: love and work

Image 5: Philipp Freud in 1902, the only known surviving image

Back at 96 Shudehill, Philipp took over Freud & Co as his trading name in 1865, turning the company into a wholesale jewellers and supplier of imported fancy goods. It was probably through his business that Philipp met Bloomah Frankel (c.1838-1925). In 1873 she and Philipp married in an Orthodox Jewish ceremony in Edgbaston, in Birmingham. It was a relatively late marriage for Philipp at 37 and Bloomah at 34, although their marriage certificate represents them as 34 and 28 years old respectively. Perhaps each of them was modestly trying to enhance their appeal through this apparent under-reporting of their age. In October 1873, just 40 weeks after their wedding, their first child arrived: Pauline (Polly). Two and a half years later, in April 1876, their second child, Morris, was born. Freud & Co's debts mounted during this period, probably unsurprisingly, reaching £1,645 (£174,293 in today's money) in 1879. Philipp met the challenge by diversifying into manufacturing and fabricating European beaded fancy goods. Under his management, Freud & Co would continue trading until 1897, when it shut amid further financial difficulties.

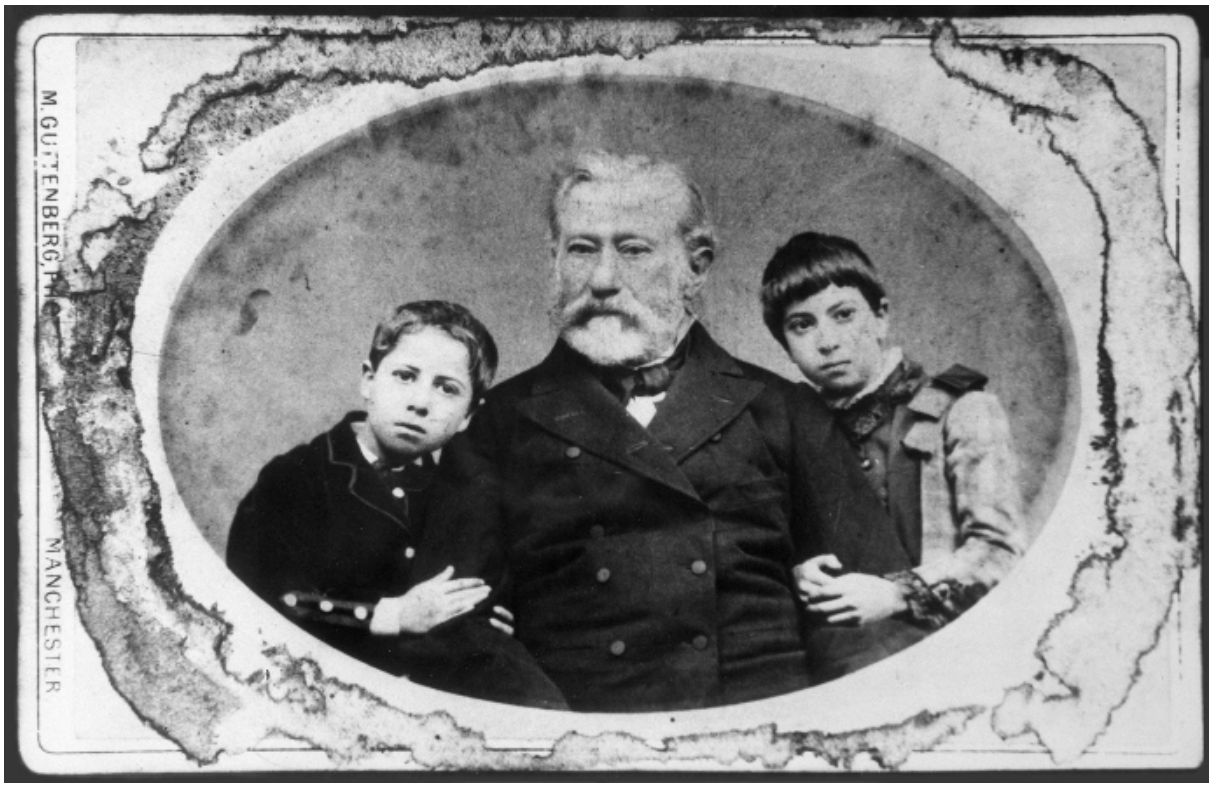

Image 6: Jacob Freud with his grandchildren Morris and Pauline (Polly), taken during his visit to Manchester in 1883

6: Freud's 1875 Visit: 'talking, walking, eating and drinking'

Freud had hoped to come to visit his brothers in Britain in 1872 in the summer break between completing his final school exams, the *Matura*, and his commencing university. Writing at that time to his teenage friend Eduard Silberstein, Freud expressed his almost unquenchable thirst for things English. 'If this were to go on', Freud wrote, 'I shall get the "English disease" rather late in life. I read English history, write English letters, declaim English verse, listen to English descriptions, and thirst for English glances' (Boehlich, 1990, p. 32). The trip failed to materialise however that year, probably due to lack of money. Eventually, two years later, in July 1875, Freud set off with a shoestring budget to Manchester, where his experiences over the ensuing seven weeks would significantly influence his thinking.

Staying with Emanuel and his family in Ardwick at 12 Green Street, the 19-year-old Freud spent his time, in his own words, 'talking, walking, eating and drinking' (Boehlich, 1990, p. 123). Short of money, Freud was getting by with the help of a tiny loan from Silberstein, an allowance from Emanuel, the belief that some funds would arrive from Vienna, and the further expectation of cash gifts on his departure. Such impecuniousness was only too familiar to Freud and its legacy haunted him in the years to come, fuelling a powerful work-ethic.

Image 7: A representation of 12 Green Street, Ardwick, Manchester, as it would have looked at the time of Freud's two month stay there in the summer of 1875

Freud's arrival in Manchester was greeted with considerable fanfare within his British family. Emanuel and the Manchester Freuds would become Freud's first British followers and cheerleaders. Over half a century later, Anna Freud Bernays thus recalled Emanuel's enthusiastic letters about her brother which her father shared with the family. 'You have', one such letter apparently went:

> …given us great pleasure by sending us Sigmund. He is a splendid specimen of a fine human being, and if I had a pen of a Dickens, I could well make a hero of him…All your descriptions of him have been worthless; only now, since he is with us, do we see him as he really is (Bernays, 1940, p. 340).

Emanuel depicts Freud's visit as his father's gift and Freud as a hero in the making, his potentiality inadequately drawn by their father. Declining to directly compete with Jacob, Emanuel instead signals his relative assimilation into British culture through his reference to Dickens as the epitome of literary style. This was Emanuel's cultural capital. It was, arguably, a curious choice given Dickens's anti-Semitism, although turning a blind eye to the latter and identifying with him was perhaps an instance of the price of entry into British society (see also Anna Freud, 1968). Indeed, Bill Williams (1989) argued more broadly in this vein that anglicisation promoted a degree of conditional acceptance as well as status for Jews in Manchester society and this typically involved approximating to native bourgeois ideals. The extent to which Emanuel achieved this was particularly noteworthy.

Describing his brothers and their circumstances during this visit, Freud himself wrote in somewhat qualified terms:

> I can say that they now hold a generally respected position, not because of their wealth, for they are not rich, but because of their personal character. They are 'shopkeepers' [in English in the original], i.e., merchants who have a shop, the elder selling cloth and the younger 'jewellery' [in English in the original], in the sense that word seems to have

> in England. My two sisters-in-law are good and jolly women, one of them [Bloomah Freud] an Englishwoman, which made my conversations with her extremely agreeable (Boehlich, 1990, pp. 126-7).

It is clear Freud admired both him brothers, with a certain hesitation about their modest means, their petit bourgeois occupations, and the apparently common-or-garden jewellery that Philipp sold. This dual aspect is underlined in his depiction of his older brothers as 'shopkeepers', his rendering of this in English reinforcing this and echoing the sometimes-derisive depiction of England as a nation of shopkeepers, a quote commonly though perhaps apocryphally attributed to Napoleon, with whom Freud had partly identified during his youth. Yet, Freud appears to be suggesting that his brothers' status as men of 'personal character', *menschen*, is epitomised precisely through their capacity to do such unglamorous work, persevering in it day in day out.

Freud's Anglophile attitude was further catalysed by this visit. He revealed this to Silberstein thus:

> As for England itself, I…can say straight out that I would sooner live there than here, rain, fog, drunkenness, and conservatism notwithstanding. Many peculiarities of the English character and country that other Continentals might find intolerable agree very well with my own makeup. Who knows, dear friend, but that after I have completed my studies a favourable wind might not blow me across to England for practical work (Boehlich, 1990, p. 127).

While Freud here associates himself with British empiricism, his thinking was also in formation in the context of his relationship with Emanuel in particular, but also Philipp, their retail and wholesale trade and their entrepreneurship. Theirs was 'practical work'. As an aside, we may note that today, these same features are among the characteristics of that other small business, the psychoanalyst in private practice.

Certainly, Emanuel (who functioned as an alternative father figure for Freud) offered a 'practical' model for his adolescent younger brother; he and Philipp were managing to economically sustain themselves and their families, in contrast to Freud's experience of their actual father. In both *The Interpretation of Dreams* and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* Freud noted both his adolescent dissatisfaction with his own father over his lack of overt protest in the face of anti-Semitism and his turning instead towards Emanuel, wondering 'how different things would have been if I had been born the son not of my father but of my brother' (Freud, 1901, pp. 219-220).

Following this trip, it would be over three decades before Freud would next step foot in Britain, though its impact on his imagination continued in the interim. This was stoked by a sustained narrative of support for and expressed belief in Freud and his potentiality by the Manchester Freuds and cemented in place by mutually affectionate bonds of kinship, with tokens (such as photographs) passed in both directions. In August 1882, for example, Freud told Martha how:

> England reappears before me, with its sober hustle and bustle, its generous devotion to general purposes, the stubbornness and sensitive sentiment of its inhabitants…all the indelible impressions that have been influencing me since the life-defining journey seven years ago (Freud to Martha, 16 August 1882).

The following month, he thought England might be a place where he could successfully practice as a doctor, should recognition in Vienna be slow in coming. Indeed, Emanuel had encouraged him to move to Manchester when he had completed his hospital residency and had agreed to accommodate him while he established a practice.

Why did it take Freud 33 years to return to Britain? One possible reason relates to the earlier discussed dynamic of replacement wherein Emanuel surrendered his position as Jacob's first-born son in favour of Freud. Emanuel and his family, as may be seen in their eulogising correspondence, seemed to regard Freud as the family's messiah, the chosen one who would transform the family's fortunes, who would make Emanuel's abdication justified, and on the back of whose achievements they may derive some vicarious satisfaction. Perhaps he was also seen as a returning lost child. Perhaps a

reincarnation of Henrietta, Emily, or Matilda. Yet for Freud, this weight of responsibility must have been a burden to carry and maybe entailed painful feelings of guilt over his having replaced (or, symbolically, harmed) Emanuel. A shadow of this may be seen in Freud's comments following his 1883 meeting with Emanuel in Leipzig and Dresden. Emanuel was, Freud wrote: 'just the same old man, a little destroyed in his facial features, a little emaciated, a bit more nervous since I saw him five years ago [in 1878], but just as good, so deliberate, joyful, so intimate and understanding' (Freud to Martha Bernays, 20 [26] December 1883, in *Die Brautbriefe*, 2, p. 490).

7: Freud's return: the September 1908 visit, the Freudian gaze

Art effectively sandwiched Freud's 1908 trip to Britain. A missed train connection in Cologne, allowed Freud the opportunity to spend a day in The Hague and Amsterdam viewing various works by Rembrandt, which he thought were magnificent, most particularly *The Night Watch*. Freud had wanted to visit these galleries originally but had promised his 'strict elder brother' Emanuel that he would travel over post-haste. He would later suggest that missing the train connection was an unconscious contrivance, an error, that had allowed him to both consciously submit to Emanuel's request and yet get to spend the day guiltlessly touring galleries as he wanted (Freud, 1901, pp. 227-228).

It was also, however, a further postponement in encountering Emanuel. One motivation for this may lie in Freud's sense of his older brother's advancing years and by extension mortality, which reflexively bore on Freud's own aging. The conflict thus, may have related to Freud's strong wish to see his older brother, while at the same time wishing to forestall presentiments of death. Such wishes partly recapitulated the complex feelings Freud experienced at the time of Jacob's death in 1896, which he acknowledged in the preface to the second edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* penned very shortly before this trip. As an alternate father figure (and one who represented a stricter, more authoritative, and in some ways more effective paternal imago than Jacob's traditional gentle Jewish masculinity), Emanuel's evident advancing years no doubt reawakened Freud's feelings about his late father with some acuity, including thoughts of his death.

In this context, Rembrandt and art more generally provided Freud with a refuge against object loss, a type of compromise formation suggesting ways in which memory might be preserved beyond bodily death.

When Freud finally arrived in Manchester he was met there by Emanuel, who – despite his 75 years – impressively dragged Freud's heavy suitcase up the railway station stairs, with the wry comment that 'There is life in the old dog yet' (Fischer & Tögel, 2024). Over the next week Freud lived with Emanuel and his family in St Annes on the Lancashire coast. By his own account, Freud spent a lot of his time there:

> …chatting and walking by the sea…I am talking and debating here all day in English. Everything is oral… [and we] eat very well. I have not enjoyed such a feeling of well-being for a long time; I have also changed in another way, I shall *not* say how' (Tögel, 2002, pp. 241-2).

It was a narrative essentially similar to the synopsis of his 1875 visit: 'talking, walking, eating and drinking' (Boehlich, 1990, p. 123). The 'change' Freud hinted at above related to his beard. He had visited a barber and – unhappy with how his beard had been trimmed – had it shaved off, leaving a moustache and sideburns (Roazen, 1993, p. 130). This was a very unusual practice for Freud as an adult and the decision to fix a botched trim by shaving off his remaining beard appears disproportionate. In this context, Freud's awareness of Emanuel's aging perhaps points to his own shaving as an attempt to better curate his own appearance, to create a more manicured and youthful self-presentation, and to stave off the inevitability of aging and death (*cf*. Molnar, 2015, pp. 82-3). The previous year, Freud had in fact noted his reluctance to sit for photographs since the early 1890s, telling Jung that this was 'because I am too vain to countenance my physical deterioration' (McGuire, 1974, p. 88).

Image 8: Father Time play diabolo, the postcard Freud sent to his daughter Mathilde after his shaving experiment

Some further support for this idea comes from a comic postcard Freud sent home that Saturday evening. The card, depicting Father Time, complete with scythe and long white beard, playing diabolo with his hour glass and two sticks, declares that '"Time" [is] fully occupied'. The imagery on the card itself is at one level transparent in depicting precariously playing against dwindling time. Of course, the image in the present context also plays on the large scythe as a nightmarish barber's razor in the background while Father Time, unlike Freud, still manages to sport his long beard. Freud wrote on the card: 'Greetings from Southport, where Uncle E[manuel] lived so long. Very nice. Pa'. Immediately after 'Pa' is a lilac ink postscript in English, probably in Emanuel's hand, which declares: 'who looks much younger since…he came here'. The postscript applied to 'Pa' seems to suggest that his new shave gave Freud a rejuvenated appearance. In his pocket diary Freud laconically recorded: 'shave – too late', in English. How we might interpret this is up for grabs. Freud continued to shave for the next few months, leading to Jung initially not recognising him when they next met and the oil painting by the Jewish avant-garde Expressionist painter Max Oppenheimer (1885-1954), that Federn had commissioned as a wedding present for Mathilde, being rejected and returned by its intended recipient.

Image 9: Max Oppenheimer's January 1909 portrait of a beardless Freud

On 9 September, Freud went into Manchester where he spent some time with Philipp. It was the last day of his stay with the family in Lancashire. Whether he had also seen Philipp earlier in the week is unclear. If he had, the event went unmentioned in his correspondence and pocketbook. Freud's relationship with Philipp had always been a struggle, perhaps not least on account of Philipp's Orthodoxy.

Later that day, Freud travelled down to London by train and checked into Ford's Hotel in Marylebone. It would prove a lonely week for Freud in London, a stark contrast with his sociable time in Lancashire. If circumstances had been otherwise, Freud might have met up with John in London, but unfortunately he was away travelling, working as a Thomas Cook tour guide. Instead of flesh-and-blood companionship, Freud would occupy himself chiefly with the quiet pursuit of museums, galleries, and the historical sights of the city, perusing objects from the past and exploring something of the psychology of art, trying to gaze beneath appearances. In these activities, as Michael Molnar remarked with respect to the National Portrait Gallery, Freud 'could at least encounter a number of intellectual acquaintances and redefine himself against the reality of their existence' (Molnar, 2012, p. 124). By contrast, Freud eschewed the livelier opportunities of the theatres, music halls, and dance venues, along with that summer's other popular London attractions, the Franco-British Exhibition and the 1908 Olympics, both of which were drawing large crowds to White City.

Image 10: Ford's Hotel, Marylebone, London, where Freud stayed on a full-board tariff. Freud would no doubt have spotted that its telegram address was 'Illusion, London'

It was his visit to the National Portrait Gallery that produced the trip's only semi-professional writing, 'Remarks about faces and men'. While touring the gallery, Freud had scribbled down one- or two-word impressions of 19 men (and only men) whose portraits he had seen. Later, he sought to offer a typology of the faces of people clustered in the gallery, as they were, according to occupational groups, artists, politicians, writers, and so on. Reflecting on the depicted physiognomy, Freud played with the idea that supposedly common traits derived from varying degrees of sublimation (*cf*. Abraham, 1923, p. 417). He was unsurprisingly drawn to the pictures of Shakespeare and Darwin, though he failed to mention the remarkable nearby portrait of Benjamin Disraeli. However, the overall study was a failure as Freud did not detect any such tally, and he concluded that 'In general, people's appearance does not show that they are *anything*, even less *what* they are' (Molnar, 1998, p. 41; my italics). We might wonder how this result played for Freud with his own new experience of being clean-shaven and his sense of how his own portrait might be viewed.

Freud began his journey home on the 15th of September, taking the night steamer from Harwich to Hook, along with Emanuel, Marie, and Bertha, who were on their way to Berlin for an extended year-long stay. For Emanuel the trip was a prelude to possible retirement, though it was also to give his wife and daughters the opportunity to consult German doctors about their apparently chronic health problems. These problems ran as a leitmotif for decades through the correspondence between Manchester and Vienna without ever being elaborated on or enquired about in any detail. Emanuel *also* hoped to see more of Sigmund during their stay, though – aside from one get together in 1909 as Freud returned from his trip to the USA – this wish was frustrated.

8: Freud in English soil

In the difficult days of October 1919, Freud looked to Britain and the English language as means of economic recovery and a refuge of last resort. He hired a tutor at this stage to help him polish up his conversational English, thus better equipping him to both treat English-speaking patients who were just then beginning to start knocking on his door and allow him to emigrate to Britain should his savings run out. Writing to Max Eitingon about this, Freud added an important personal note, that 'My two brothers already rest in English soil; perhaps I shall also find room there' (Jones, 1957, p. 5). Britain is here made familiar, the home of his brothers, their final resting place, a site of reunion.

Images 11 & 12:The very differing matzevahs (gravestones) of Philipp and Emanuel and Marie Freud, Philipp's bi-lingual Hebrew/English inscription testifying to his lifelong Orthodoxy, while Emanuel's reveals no religious affiliation whatsoever. Philipp's stone and most of the others in the Jewish plot where it is located in Manchester were damaged when the cemetery was desecrated in about 2002

Twenty years later, Freud needed that refuge of last resort. The history of Freud's departure from Vienna and time in London might be considered well-trodden ground. What I want to highlight here, as I come to conclude the present paper, are just a couple of the additional glimpses of Freud that get reported in *Freud's British Family*.

The first of these concerns Freud's wheelchair. A very rarely mentioned accessory, while Jacob had needed a wheelchair towards the end of his life, Freud's own use of one – given his strong independent streak – was probably largely confined to times when his health and mobility were particularly compromised. Increasingly frail from 1931 onwards, Freud acknowledged finding stairs and inclines more difficult to manage. Further heart problems in the late summer of 1933, left him very debilitated. Roy Grinker (1900-1993), for example, noted that year that his 'physical liveliness was gone. He walked very slowly and the abounding energy in his movements had disappeared. The next summer he moved only around the porch of his villa' (Grinker, 1940, p. 181). Not long after Grinker initially observed these changes, Freud told Arnold Zweig (1887-1968) that 'I cannot climb my stairs, am therefore under house arrest. I think this time I have established my right to a sudden fatal heart attack, not a bad prospect' (Ernest Freud, 1970, p. 54). Ernest Jones recalled Freud using a 'bath-chair' in May 1934 to get to part of the garden in his summer residence in Grinzing where access was steep (Jones, 1957, p. 202). When Hanns Sachs (1881-1947) visited him there two years later, Freud's physical decline from the previously 'indefatigable walker' also struck him. It was only on a 'good day' that Freud could *slowly* walk up the ascending garden path, while 'at other times he moved in a wheel chair while I walked at his side' (Sachs, 1945, p. 171).

Freud's wheelchair came to my attention when I began to study reports of his departure from Vienna in June 1938. While waiting to board the Orient Express at the Westbahnhof station, Freud sat quietly in his wheelchair according to Ernst Waldinger (1956, p. 22) and Heinz Kohut (Strozier, 1985, p. 6). On Freud's arrival in Paris, some of the newspapers noted a collapsible bath-chair among his baggage and the *Yorkshire Post* commented he 'cannot walk far without assistance and…he used to be wheeled through the streets of Vienna' (6 June 1938, p. 8). Whether it was Anna or someone else in the household who would push Freud on these occasions was not stated. Such sightings were extremely rare, a status that Freud most likely curated, not wishing to display his sometime reliance on such an external prosthesis, the counterpart of the less visible and extremely painful oral prosthesis he had to contend with since his cancer surgery in 1923. With the noteable exception of the sometimes-derided Helen Pruner (1959, p. 272), Freud biographers have been silent on this subject.

Image 13: A constructed image of what Freud might have looked like in his wheelchair (of which no actual photographs are known). The present image uses Freud's face superimposed onto an extremely rare photo taken of Franklin D Roosevelt in his wheelchair, whose use of which was kept largely secret during his presidency

I want to conclude with mention Freud's first home in London, 39 Elsworthy Road, which is often eclipsed in the popular imagination by 20 Maresfield Gardens, what is now the Freud Museum, London. Ernst Freud had managed to rent 39 Elsworthy Road on a short-term lease for his parents and Freud's daughter Mathilde and her husband Robert Hollitscher would keep house for the Freuds while they lived there. Freud had his bedroom and living quarters on the ground floor and was only able to get upstairs if carried in a sedan chair. It was here that Freud managed to finish writing *Moses and Monotheism*. It was here that the delegation from the Royal Society brought their Charter Book for Freud to sign. It was here that Freud resumed his private practice. And it was here that he received a long string of visitors, analytic colleagues, intellectuals, collaborators of various sorts, friends, and family.

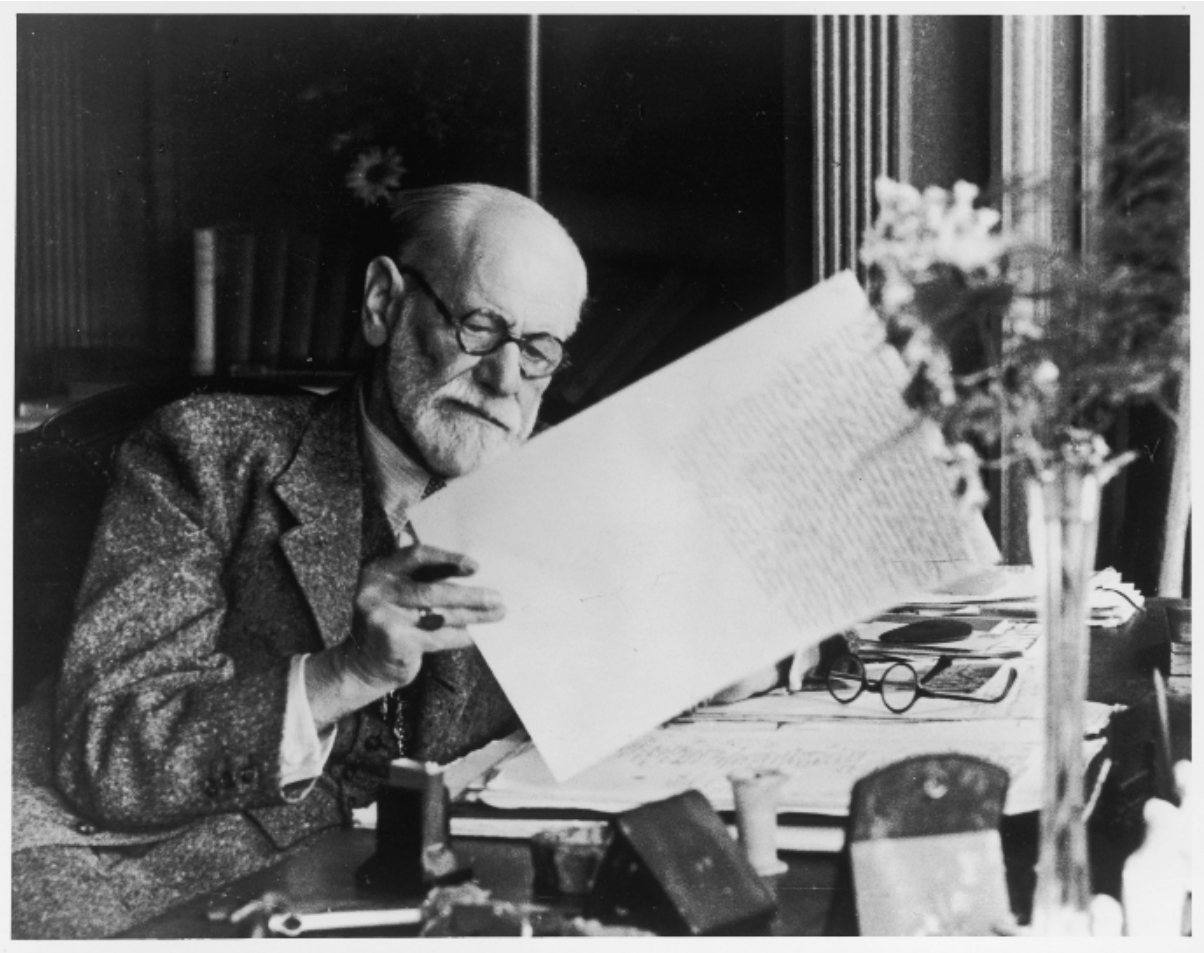

Image 14: Freud reading the manuscript of *Moses and Monotheism* in his study in 39 Elsworthy Road, London, NW3

On the day he left Berggasse, Freud wrote several notes, among which was a postcard to Emanuel's younger son Sam Freud. It was a simple though poignant message: 'Leaving Vienna for good today. Next address: 39 Elsworthy Road, London, NW3. Any chance of our meeting after so many years?' On 9 June Sam travelled down from Manchester and met Freud at 39 Elsworthy Road – one of his first visitors in his new home. It had been a much-anticipated meeting and Freud's housekeeper Paula Fichtl – who opened the door when Sam arrived – recalled that it was 'a moving reunion between "Uncle Sigi" and his sixty-eight-year-old nephew' (Berthelsen, 1989, p. 81). Although Freud lived for a further 15 months in London, this would be the last time they would meet face-to-face. A further 10 letters passed back and forth between them over this time, none of which appear to have survived. The last of these was Sam, Pauline, and Bertha's greetings to Freud on his eighty-third birthday, which he punctually received on 6 May 1939. Freud died four months later. Whether any of the Manchester Freuds managed to get to the funeral is unknown, though a wreath of roses and carnations did come from Sam, Bertha, and Pauline and a further arrangement of dahlias came from Philipp's daughter Poppy.

Concluding remarks

While the foregoing scenes are something of an introduction to the many other stories newly detailed in *Freud's British Family*, they may begin to help a little with reflecting on the opening 'So what?' question. What might be the import of recovered stories of Freud's older brothers, of his extended family, of his working-class origins, of Emanuel's drive towards assimilation and Philipp's differing grip on Jewish Orthodoxy, of Freud shaving, and of Freud in a wheelchair? And who might such stories be of interest to or relevant for? For practitioners and students of one sort or another of psychoanalysis, Freud is always a core case-study in iteratively learning the evolving discipline and is key to a psychoanalytic identity (e.g., Wille, 2008; Thomä & Kächele, 2020; Erlich, 2023). Rediscovering accounts such as these, I suggest, can help to inflect received narratives with new questions and richer

appreciation of the discipline's fundamental humanity and focus on subjectivity. And for the wider public, with contemporary psychoanalysis, at least as a clinical praxis, being misperceived as remote from some of the aforementioned scenes, if not frankly 'outmoded, discredited, and debunked' (Shedler, 2022, p. 405), it is important to regularly refresh the lenses through which we attempt to represent a history of the discipline and its potentially arresting otherness, a history that is dynamic and evolves.

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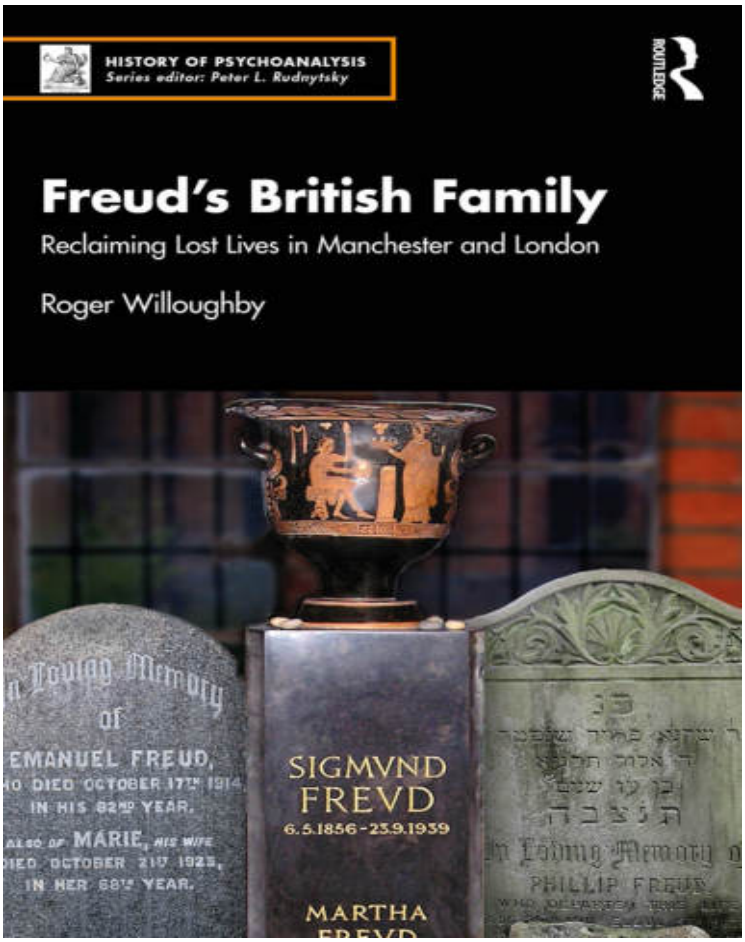

Author details: Roger Willoughby is a clinical psychologist, historian, academic, and writer. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and holds doctorates in psychoanalytic studies from the University of Kent and the University of Oxford. Other works include *Masud Khan: The Myth and the Reality* and various papers in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and elsewhere. He is a founder and co-editor of historiesofpsychoanalysis.com.

Address for correspondence: rtwilloughby@gmail.com