

'A serious venture': John Rodker (1894–1955) and the Imago Publishing Company (1939–60)

Rémy Amouroux^{1,2}

University of Western Brittany, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Human Sciences, 22 rue Camille Desmoulins, CS 93837, 29238 Brest Cedex 3, France – remy.amouroux@univ-brest.fr

(Final version accepted 1 April 2011)

John Rodker (1894–1955) was the founder of the British publishing house – the Imago Publishing Company – which undertook the republication of the complete works of Sigmund Freud in German just before World War II. Rodker, himself a writer as well as a publisher, was initially tempted by a psychoanalytic career; numerous obstacles, however, lay in his path. War, along with the complicated management of the royalties from Freud's writings, compromised the progress of what seemed to him to be 'a serious venture'. Besides Rodker, we meet numerous actors of the psychoanalytic movement: Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones, James Strachey, all of whom had worked for the dissemination of Freud's writings. This paper shows how the English language gradually became the 'official norm' for psychoanalysts. According to the editors of the Standard Edition, at that time 'nothing new [was] being written' in German or in French. The failure of the Gesammelte Werke project signalled the end of an era in which psychoanalysis was mainly written about in German.

Keywords: history of psychoanalysis, John Rodker, Imago Publishing Company, *Gesammelte Werke*, *Standard Edition*, *Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*

Introduction

For over 20 years, the Imago Publishing Company (IPC) played a major role in supporting and disseminating psychoanalysis throughout the world. The background to the publishing house, however, is not at all well known. John Rodker, the founder, was a self-taught poet and publisher; he took over the responsibility for publishing the new German edition of Sigmund Freud's writings after the Nazis closed down the *Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag* (IPV). Rodker's aim was profoundly humanistic: to preserve the memory of Sigmund Freud in spite of the consequences entailed by the collapse of civilized values at that point in time. In addition, obtaining the rights to publication of the writings of the founder of the psychoanalytic movement was quite an achievement in the publishing world. As regards sales of his books, Freud was a very good author to have on one's files. However, contrary to all expectations, the reissue of the *Gesammelte Werke* (GW) would turn out to be more of a curse than

¹This paper is based on a research project carried out at the Harry Ransom Centre (HRC) in Austin, Texas, financed by the C. P. Snow Memorial Fund.

²Translated by David Alcorn.

Dispatch: 26.6.11	Journal: IJP	CE: Blackwell
Author Received:	No. of pages: 18	PE: Mahesh
B		
4	8	4
Manuscript No.		
I	J	P
Journal Name		
		

a blessing. The original project could not be carried through, given the wartime circumstances. A whole series of obstacles increased the time required for reissuing what theoretically was simply the original German edition.

In the course of that psychoanalytic publishing adventure, we come across several important figures in the world of psychoanalysis – Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones, James Strachey, etc. – who, with John Rodker, did everything they could to make Freud's writings more widely known. Unlike these other participants, Rodker was not a psychoanalyst. He had been psychoanalysed but his application to become a member of the British Psychoanalytical Society (BPS) was rejected. In this paper, as a parallel to the history of the Imago Publishing Company, I shall explore the itinerary followed by that pioneer in the publishing of psychoanalytic writings in the course of his somewhat atypical life.

The Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag

The story of the publication of psychoanalytic texts begins with the founding of the *Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag* (IPV) in 1919 (Hall, 1988). At the end of World War I, Hugo Heller's company was no longer in a position to continue publishing the two main journals of the psychoanalytic movement, the *Internationale Zeitschrift für (ärztliche) Psychoanalyse* and *Imago*. It was in that context that the idea of creating a publishing house for psychoanalytic literature, independent of commercial interests, was born. The aim was not only to continue publishing those two journals and other writings but also to establish some kind of 'official norm'. A distinction had to be made between papers that were officially acknowledged by Freud and his followers to be truly psychoanalytic and the increasing number of 'pseudo-psychoanalytic' texts that were appearing on the market (Marinelli, 2009). That project received important financial support from Anton von Freund, an industrialist from Budapest who had been analysed by Freud, and led to the publication of the first edition of Freud's complete works, the *Gesammelte Schriften* (Freud, 1924–34). The catastrophic state of the world economy at that time, however, meant that bankruptcy gradually became unavoidable. Although sales of most of Freud's writings remained high – some were even bestsellers – the income from them was insufficient to finance the whole of the planned *Verlag* publications (Marinelli, 2009). In addition, every Austrian publishing house depended for its sales on the German market. When Hitler seized power in 1933, his aim of 'purging' anything that contravened the national socialist ideology had important consequences – the sales of *Verlag* publications plummeted as a result of the various measures adopted by the Nazi administration. The firm officially ceased to exist in 1941, but in fact from 1938 on it hardly had any ongoing activity as a commercial venture. In that same year, the catastrophic political situation meant that Freud had to leave for England. At that point, he began to think about how to set up another publishing house to continue the work that the IPV had initiated.

John Rodker: Writer, translator and publisher

In London, John Rodker, with Barbara Low and Martin Freud, were to be the directors of the new enterprise. Rodker (1894–1955) was an English writer and publisher whose ideas were close to those of the French and English avant-garde movement in literature (Crozier, 1996; Patterson, 2003). The son of Jewish immigrants, Rodker left school at 14 years of age. He then took evening classes in German, French and science, while working at various daytime jobs. At that point too, he spent some time in Paris with a cousin of his; as a result, his command of the French language was excellent. From 1912 onward, some of his articles, especially those concerning the theatre, were published in literary reviews such as *The Dial*, *The Egoist* and *The New Age*. During World War I, he was alternately in prison and on the run – a convinced anti-militarist, he had decided to desert and to dedicate himself to his activity as a writer. After the war, some of his writings were published in *The Little Review* thanks to the support of his friend, the poet Ezra Pound. In 1919, with his first wife, Mary Butts, Rodker founded the Ovid Press, which published his own writings and those of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, together with drawings done by artists who were close to the Vorticist movement: Gaudier-Brzeska, Wyndham Lewis and Edward Wadsworth. At that point, he met Ludmila Savitzky, the mother of Marianne Raïs, who would later become Rodker's third wife; he married her in 1951, after divorcing his second partner, the painter Barbara Stanger McKenzie-Smith. Savitzky would later translate many of Rodker's writings into French, and in particular *Montagnes Russes* and *Dartmoor*.

Rodker's career as a publisher continued until his death. In spite of important financial difficulties, he founded several publishing houses such as the Casanova Society in 1923 and the Pushkin Press in 1937. He published several literary works, including Joyce's *Ulysses* and his own translations or editions of Lautréamont's *The Lay of Maldoror*, Pound's *Cantos 17–26*, Le Corbusier's *Toward a New Architecture* and Valéry's *Introduction to the Method of Leonardo da Vinci*. In spite of these innovations, the publishing house was almost £5000 in debt in 1932. Throughout his life, and in spite of his indisputable talent for discovering avant-garde writers, Rodker was in financial difficulties and was declared bankrupt on several occasions.

One of Rodker's favourite themes was his experience as a conscientious objector. He wrote several papers on the subject, including *A C. O.'s War*, *Memoirs of Other Fronts* and *Twenty Years After* (Bell, 1935). His autobiographical account is interspersed with psychoanalytic ideas that are very reminiscent of self-analysis.

Rodker and psychoanalysis

Rodker was analysed by Barbara Low (1877–1955), probably between 1926 and 1933. There were perhaps some additional sessions, particularly in 1941. At that time, Low was one of the very few Jewish psychoanalysts in the British group. She had trained as a teacher, and was also an activist in the Labour Party. She had been analysed in Berlin by Hanns Sachs and was

one of the founder members of the British Psychoanalytical Society in 1919. It was she who invented the idea of the 'nirvana principle' (King and Steiner, 1991).

From the outset, Rodker's interest in literature played a major role in his relationship with psychoanalysis. An exchange of correspondence between Low and Rodker shows that Low had asked him to find a new publisher for D. H. Lawrence's somewhat roguish *Women in Love*, which had been banned from publication in Great Britain (Letter from John Rodker to Barbara Low, 25 July 1929; HRC, 7.6). At the end of an analysis which, for that period, had lasted for quite some time, Rodker even then appeared to want to continue his relationship with the psychoanalytic world, as is illustrated by this reply he received to a letter he wrote to his psychoanalyst: "Of course I shall always be glad to see you again if you want more analysis [...]. My patients are also my friends in a real sense. I shall welcome you as a friend as well as a patient." (Letter from Barbara Low to John Rodker, 30 October 1933; HRC, 7.6) That seems, however, not to have been enough for Rodker. Two years later, he informed Low that he had decided to apply for membership of the BPS. Low replied, saying that she was sure that he had all the necessary intellectual qualities for becoming a psychoanalyst. A very pragmatic person, she went on to say that his many contacts in the world of the intelligentsia would no doubt ensure that he would not be at a loss for patients. She did, however, feel that his application would probably not be successful: "The difficulty, to my mind, is not as regards your qualification but the attitude of the PA Society Institute. At the present time most of the board (e.g. the two directors of the Institute – Jones and Glover) are distinctly anti the lay-analyst." (Letter from Barbara Low to John Rodker, 19 January 1936; HRC, 7.6) That warning, however, did not in the least put Rodker off, and he wrote to Edward Glover. A few years before, Rodker had reviewed Glover's *War, Sadism and Pacifism* (Glover, 1933), and Glover was particularly appreciative of the fact that Rodker had spoken very highly of that work (Letter from Edward Glover to John Rodker, 15 August 1933; HRC, 7.6). The encounter between Glover and Rodker seems to have been quite a positive one, because Low wrote to Rodker to let him know that Glover intended to support Rodker's application (Letter from Barbara Low to John Rodker, 17 February 1936; HRC, 7.2). After several weeks of waiting, during which Rodker seems to have had further interviews, Glover wrote to him informing him of the official response to his candidature:

The training committee considered very carefully the situation with regard to your candidature but considered it best to let you know that they could not accept your application. I shall be very happy to discuss with you some time, personally, their reasons for arriving at this decision, and also if you care to do so, go into the matter of your future plans.

(Letter from Edward Glover to John Rodker, 8 October 1936; HRC, 7.2)

What, then, were those "future plans" of which Glover wrote? From about the end of 1936, since he was not admitted to the BPS, Rodker was already thinking about publishing psychoanalytic texts. At the beginning of 1937, he wrote to Ernest Jones about this idea and suggested the setting up

of a publishing house for the BPS Institute (Letter from John Rodker to Ernest Jones, 15 February 1937; HRC, 7.2). Once again, however, the reply, although polite in tone, was negative:

I should be glad indeed to enlist your cooperation if it proves feasible at any time. Actually I started a publishing firm myself many years ago; I found the detailed work so arduous that I had to get all our publishing transferred to professional firms – a system which seems to work pretty well.

(Letter from Ernest Jones to John Rodker, 20 February 1937; HRC, 7.2)

The firm that Jones mentions in that letter was the Hogarth Press.

The Hogarth Press: *The rival*

Founded in 1917 and directed by Leonard and Virginia Woolf (Woolf, 1975–80, 1977–84), the Hogarth Press was an English publishing house ^{Woolf-known} for ~~some considerable notoriety, particularly~~ among the literati (Willis, 1992). ¹

They were the publishers of just about all of the psychoanalytic literature that appeared in Britain before World War II. In the early 1920s, Ernest Jones and Otto Rank ~~evoked the idea~~ of creating an English branch of the ^{2 think about} *Verlag* in London. The aim was to publish an English-language journal and translate major texts for the English-speaking readership. It was thanks to these proposals that the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and the *International Psycho-Analytical Library* series came into being. In 1924, James Strachey contacted Leonard Woolf, who was involved with the Bloomsbury group (Glendinning, 2006). Lytton Strachey, James Strachey's brother, was one of the foremost members of that group of British intellectuals and artists (Holroyd, 1973). James Strachey, on behalf of Jones, asked Woolf whether the Hogarth Press would be interested in publishing works from the *International Psycho-Analytical Library* series. At about the same time, Freud had authorized Jones to publish an English edition of the four volumes of his *Collected Papers* (Freud, 1924–50). The publication of those books by Freud immediately gave the Hogarth Press international status. They were able not only to reimburse the money invested in the project but also to make a substantial profit out of the whole venture. Between 1927 and 1937, psychoanalytic publications brought in more than £4700, almost 40% of the entire profits – and this in spite of the fact that they represented only a small proportion (6.1%) of the books published by Hogarth between 1917 and 1941. Sales of those books were therefore substantial – for example, each of the four volumes of Freud's *Collected Papers* sold more than 6000 copies (Willis, 1992). In spite of their selling power, the financial straits in which the IPV found itself led, from the early 1930s on, to a series of difficult discussions between Martin Freud, Ernest Jones and the Woolfs. In addition, the development of the American market, which until then had seemed unimportant, added to an already complicated situation. ^{3 The Woolfs persuade the executors of Freud's will} The ~~antiority of the Hogarth Press enabled the Woolfs to persuade Martin Freud to take full advantage of their position and suggest~~ that the texts that had been translated in Britain should be published in the United States by W. W. Norton.

In 1937, the Woolfs planned to sell off their publishing house. They were contacted by John Lehmann, then by John Rodker. At the end of the day, it was Lehmann who went into partnership with Leonard Woolf, who had decided after all that he would continue the publishing venture. After Freud's death in 1939, Leonard Woolf suggested to Ernest Jones that Freud's complete works be published. However, there was a major problem: Freud had transferred translation rights into English to his nephew Edward Bernays and to Abraham Brill. Brill was an Austrian psychiatrist who had emigrated to the United States; he was the initiator of the first translations of Freud's works into English and played a major role in making psychoanalysis more widely known in the USA. Jones and Strachey needed all the resolve they could gather in order to set aside Brill's translations (Steiner, 1987, 1991). The outcome of that long-term undertaking was the 24 volumes of the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* [SE], published between 1953 and 1974 under the general editorship of James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson (Freud, 1953–74).

The Imago Publishing Company

Towards the end of 1938, Rodker spoke of his plans to various people whom he knew in an attempt to raise the necessary finance. In a letter to a friend, the managing director of an advertising agency, Rodker explained that he had many contacts in psychoanalytic and literary circles. In addition, he said that he had learned that: "The Institute of Psycho-Analysis is not altogether satisfied with its present arrangement with the Hogarth Press" (Letter from John Rodker to J. P. McNulty, 5 October 1938; HRC, 16.3). He felt therefore that there was a clear opportunity to be grasped:

This work is being constantly extended, and is assured of a certain, if moderate sale to specialists, professional men, general and instructional libraries. I do not think we could necessarily count on these books making large profits, but a number of standard works selling moderately over some years would show a profit and establish the concern as a serious venture.

(ibid.)

Full of enthusiasm but nonetheless a realist, Rodker thought that he would have to raise about £7000 in order to finance the project. In a letter to his former analyst, he wrote that this new publishing house might publish the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* in London, take over the rights to the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and perhaps even create another English-language review (Letter from John Rodker to Barbara Low, 5 October 1938; HRC, 16.3). Rodker met Martin Freud at the end of October 1938 in order to discuss with him the planned creation of a publishing house. Martin was an acquaintance of the wife of Rodker's advertising agency friend. From then on, things moved very quickly. Early in December, Rodker met Marie Bonaparte and Anna Freud in order to discuss his plans with them. In February 1939, Martin Freud gave his authorization for the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago* to be published by

the new firm (Letter from John Rodker to Barbara Low, 3 February 1939; HRC, 16.3). The name was declared on 17 February and officially registered on 20 February 1939. The firm itself was founded on 16 May 1939. The good news kept coming in – Rodker managed to persuade Marie Bonaparte to put up £1300; in addition, he obtained £700 from André Germain (a writer friend of his who was in analysis and happened to be the son of the founder of the French bank, the *Crédit Lyonnais*), £500 from a Mrs Saye and £300 from Barbara Low (Letter from John Rodker to Ernest Rawlinson, 2 April 1939; HRC, 16.3). It would seem that Rodker himself did not put up any of his own money, but in an earlier letter he wrote that he had £1000 at his disposal (Letter from John Rodker to André Germain, 25 November 1938; HRC, 16.3). In addition to these sums, he received £140 from William Hoffer and £1700 from the Sigmund Freud Company (Letter from John Rodker to Martin Freud, 22 December 1949; HRC, 28.12).

The *Gesammelte Werke*: An impossible project

Very soon after setting up the Imago publishing house, Rodker ran into several difficulties. In the contract signed between Freud and the Imago Publishing Company (IPC) on 16 May 1939, the project is very clearly stated: "Whereas the Author's literary and scientific work consisting of 12 volumes entitled *Gesammelte Schriften* has been destroyed, the Publishers desire to republish it" (Grubrich-Simitis, 1996, p. 40). That new edition was to be called *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Schriften*. Preparations for the new edition, which would in the end carry the title *Gesammelte Werke*, had begun in the autumn of 1938. The editorial committee was composed of Anna Freud, Edward Bibring and Ernst Kris. Bibring and Kris emigrated to the United States in the early 1940s and were replaced by William Hoffer and Otto Isakower. In recognition of the considerable financial support that she contributed, Marie Bonaparte's name was to appear on each of the volumes. Grubrich-Simitis (op. cit.) points out that there is very little difference between the *Gesammelte Schriften*, i.e. the 1934 German edition (Freud, 1924–34), and the *Gesammelte Werke*, i.e. the publication in England of the German text, the final volume of which appeared in 1952 (Freud, 1940–52). To a considerable extent, indeed, the English edition is simply a photomechanical reproduction of the German one. The editorial committee did make some additions, particularly with respect to what Freud wrote after 1934. Of course, the English edition runs to 17 volumes whereas the German edition has only 12, but this is a purely mechanical difference, given that other writings have been included. In addition, unlike the *Gesammelte Schriften*, each volume of the Imago edition carries a more or less complete index. In the 1950s, it was decided that these indexes should be brought together in a more systematic manner and published separately as volume 18. It was due to be published to mark the centenary of Freud's birth, but it was not until many years later that it saw the light of day, published by Fischer. Rodker came up against some very important problems concerning the *Gesammelte Werke* – indeed, on several occasions he almost abandoned the whole idea of publishing them. Why were there so many problems?

After all, what Rodker set out to do was simply to reproduce the original German text.

In spite of his enthusiasm, he did have to deal with several issues. According to the agreement between the IPC and Freud, in addition to taking over publication of the two reviews, the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* and *Imago*, under the title *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*, six volumes of the *Gesammelte Werke* were to be published each year. The entire reprinting should not have taken more than three years – yet, in actual fact, an additional ten years were required. Six months after signing the contract, Rodker wrote to Martin Freud, informing him that as yet he had received no volumes to print, in spite of the fact that he was due to receive one volume every two months. The editorial committee was taking much longer than planned to do its work of rereading and indexing:

Had I known that the editorial committee would only be able to treat this matter of the index and corrections as a spare-time job, I very much doubt whether I should ever have entered into these agreements.

(Letter from John Rodker to Martin Freud, 5 September 1939; HRC, 28.10)

That, of course, meant that no new money was coming in. As for the *Zeitschrift*, it was at that time in deficit. In addition to the delays that Rodker continued to complain about, there was the increase in the cost of paper and printing brought about by the war; and – for the same reason – there was also a significant fall in the market for German-language publications. The publishers therefore had to find a way of losing less money since there seemed to be no way in which they could earn any. At an IPC directors' meeting on 5 April 1940, Rodker gave a very disturbing account of the company's financial situation:

I am sorry to say that the past year which opened so promisingly, has proved very disappointing. [...] Although the coming year will be difficult, we shall do our best to keep the firm in existence, in the hope of better conditions.

(*Imago*, directors' minutes, 5 April 1940; HRC, 17.5)

The *Gesammelte Werke* are thus not simply a reissue of the *Verlag* text. Editorial modifications, various additions and the Index demanded more work than had initially been thought. According to Rodker, the *Gesammelte Werke* were not one of the editorial committee's priorities. The war, too, of course, made matters even more complicated. All things considered, revenue was inexistent for several years. Rodker's main difficulty, however, had to do with the fact that he was sharing the management of *Imago* with Martin Freud.

Imago: A company difficult to manage

In his will, Freud had designated three of his children – Anna, Ernst and Martin – as his executors. In 1946, they set up the Sigmund Freud Copyrights Limited, a company to which, in 1947, was transferred the copyright of all of Freud's writings. In the early 1940s, it was mainly Martin who dealt with issues involving royalties. Rodker and Martin Freud did not get along

well. Rodker was worried about going bankrupt while Martin Freud, who himself was in some financial difficulty, demanded that the agreement already reached be honoured. According to the terms of that contract, Martin was to be paid 25% of the net profits, in addition to his salary as associate director of the IPC. That 25%, however, was absolutely crucial to the company if it was to go on publishing the remaining volumes. The money that Rodker had accumulated was sufficient only for the first few volumes. The profits made from those first sales ought to have made it possible to finance subsequent spending.

This arrangement as you may remember was made before we had lost our European markets and before the sales of our edition of your father's works had almost completely stopped. The result is that we are not making enough profit to cover our overhead expenses [...].

(Letter from John Rodker to Martin Freud, 23 January 1941; HRC, 28.10)

The discussion between the two men became more heated. Martin agreed to take only a "modest percentage", but refused to accept "less than nothing" (Letter from Martin Freud to John Rodker, 2 February 1941; HRC, 28.10). In the end, they decided to refer the matter to Ernst, who would make a decision as to what was best. Somewhat unexpectedly as far as Martin was concerned, both Ernst and Anna Freud went along with what Rodker proposed. They felt that the terms of Martin's contract were "very excessive" given the work that he was doing for the company:

The suggestion now made by your brother is that this arrangement as such be cancelled, in favour of a 'commission' of 5% payable to you at the same time as royalties etc. are paid.

(Letter from John Rodker to Martin Freud, 8 February 1941; HRC, 28.10)

That was quite a setback for Martin. There was apparently no further exchange of letters between the two men all through the 1940s. It does seem that Ernst and Anna were able to tone down to some extent their brother Martin's financial aspirations.

Martin's counter-attack

At the end of 1949, however, Martin again demanded that he be paid what was owed him. He asked Rodker to let him examine all the financial statements of the IPC concerning his father's writings. Rodker replied that no profit had been made at all; worse than that, indeed, because, given that the company had not reimbursed any of the money that had been lent to it – in particular by Marie Bonaparte, the Sigmund Freud Copyrights Ltd and William Hoffer – there was a deficit of £4008. Rodker went on to say that he did not see how he could possibly calculate a 'profit' – indeed, he could not see how Imago could possibly pay Martin according to the terms of his contract. Rodker felt that the contract itself was no longer valid because it stipulated that the reissue of the *Gesammelte Schriften* was to be carried out in one year using a litho-photographic process based on the Viennese edition. [It should be pointed out that in another letter a

three-year period is mentioned, hence an apparent contradiction here.] Rodker's main criticism was that the editorial committee had given him a new, modified edition which they called the *Gesammelte Werke*: this required many modifications to be carried out and as a result production time increased by another ten years at least. All of this had cost Imago thousands of pounds more than had initially been budgeted for – even without taking into consideration the fact that the cost of binding, paper and printing had increased twofold since the signing of the contract (Letter from John Rodker to Martin Freud, 22 December 1949; HRC, 28.12). Martin's reply was scathing:

For legal reasons I have to reply to your letter of 22.12 in which, in reply to my request for some generous and helpful gesture, you grant me nothing for the past, nothing for the present and nothing for the future.

(Letter from Martin Freud to John Rodker, 2 January 1950; HRC, 28.10)

In the rest of that letter, Martin Freud went on to make clear – although without saying so in quite so many words – that he too might well break the terms of the contract and sell some of Freud's writings to German publishers. All of this involved finance, and therefore the survival – or otherwise – of Imago. Rodker, however, was still angry: he felt that it was extremely unfair of Martin to demand that he explain himself as regards the figures while his company was in the grip of such financial difficulty. He warned Martin that he would discuss the situation again with Ernst and Anna. A few days later he struck the final blow:

Since it appears that you wish to use your position as a director of Imago only for your own advantage without any regard for our difficulties, past, present and future, or for the work we are doing, I think it would be best if you resigned your position as director since no good can come to us from your continuing in that capacity.

(Letter from John Rodker to Martin Freud, 25 January 1950; HRC, 28.12)

Rodker had negotiated with Ernst to secure Martin's eviction. Nevertheless, the financial situation that Imago found itself in was extremely worrying. The sums required to pay the royalties to the Sigmund Freud Copyrights Ltd were such that the idea of making any kind of profit from the *Gesammelte Werke* had to be abandoned (Letter from John Rodker to Ernst Freud, 1 May 1950; HRC, 28.10). The terms of the contract would have to be revised downwards.

Initially, Ernst tried to ease the situation but Rodker was having none of it. He wrote to Anna Freud and to Marie Bonaparte to inform them of the situation and he explained to Ernst Freud that he was suspending any payment of royalties until the overall position became clearer (Letter from John Rodker to Ernst Freud, 5 May 1950; HRC, 28.10). Rodker's manoeuvre paid off because after a meeting on 9 May between him and Ernst Freud, and thanks to Anna Freud's support, he got what he wanted. The royalties for the *Gesammelte Werke* would be examined each year in terms of how the volumes had sold, and Martin was to relinquish his position as director of Imago and give up his contractual claims. In addition, the money that

had been advanced with a view to publishing the *Gesammelte Werke* was to be looked upon as a donation, not as a loan that would have to be repaid (Letter from John Rodker to Ernst Freud, 10 May 1950; HRC, 28.10). It took several months before Martin's resignation arrived on John Rodker's desk but by September 1950 everything was settled. Martin still received, however, some cheques and letters from Rodker until 1953.

That was not the only change that occurred in the IPC board of directors. In 1953, Barbara Low was too ill to carry out her functions even though these were not particularly demanding. Marianne Rodker, Joan Rodker and Edward Glover took over those functions with John Rodker – at least this would seem to be the case because their names appear on the firm's headed notepaper. Everything else points to the fact that the IPC was the work of one man alone.

The end of the *Gesammelte Werke* and the rapid development of the *Standard Edition*

At the end of the war, the IPC was still in a very difficult financial situation. Sales of the *Gesammelte Werke* fluctuated between 1500 and 3000 copies, depending on the volume concerned (Grubrich-Simitis, 1996; see Table 1); given the high production costs, this made them hardly a viable proposition from a financial point of view. Although the *Gesammelte Werke* collection was still incomplete, Rodker had to find new material to publish or a new project to carry out. Imago published not only Sigmund Freud's writings but also those by his daughter Anna, Marie Bonaparte and several other psychoanalysts: none of these, however, were particularly profitable. Marie Bonaparte's papers were published at her expense but sales of her work were poor. That said, by contributing the necessary finance for her own work to be published, she to a very real extent helped Imago to survive. In addition, Rodker tried to be the authorized distributor of Ferenczi's writings in Germany and suggested that they be translated into English. Those two projects, however, came to nothing because not enough people were prepared to buy Ferenczi's work (Letter from John Rodker to Robert Brunner, 5 June 1951; HRC, 3.10). Only a few papers – in particular those by Anna Freud – were financially profitable.

Even before the *Gesammelte Werke* series was completed, a new and formidable rival came into the picture, making everything look gloomier. After the success of Freud's *Collected Papers* published in the 1920s and 1930s, it was now the turn of the *Standard Edition* to see the light of day. These 24 volumes were published between 1953 and 1974. The English-speaking world was thus able to have at its disposal a new edition of Freud's writings, which might well be given priority not only by those German-speaking psychoanalysts who had emigrated to the United States but also by their followers. As Rodker put it in a letter to Ernst Freud: "[In] any case, your English collected Edition, in my opinion, will oust the German edition from our best markets soon after it appears" (Letter from John Rodker to Ernst Freud, 1 May 1950; HRC, 28.10). One very important element appears at this point: the radical change of direction on the linguistic level that was

Table 1. Some examples of Imago Publishing Company sales between 1940 and 1960 (HRC).

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	
Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse (1940)	66	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	107	262	253	150	135	91	79	191	94	157	
The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis (1954)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1328	177	126	57	50	53	
The Question of Lay Analysis (1948)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	986	375	119	69	31	31	37	31	287	43	26	20	
Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens (1948)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	530	158	233	87	144	105	59	18	17	51	53	140	
Selbstdarstellung (1948)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	134	56	43	55	82	57	25	20	30	26	16	20	
Gesammelte Werke vol. 11 (1940)	66	26	30	70	82	67	232	?	399	53	413	344	227	205	193	209	191	219	160	127	103	
Gesammelte Werkevol. 15 (1940)	62	24	28	51	46	77	202	?	105	451	219	239	205	205	206	198	197	237	153	107	107	
The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Children (1946)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	876	?	807	529	400	917	611	?	?	140

about to take place within the psychoanalytic movement. That change of direction would entail many material consequences for the finances of the IPC. In the post-war period, the English language became the norm for psychoanalysts. The *Standard Edition* was therefore not simply a financial but also a linguistic success. It was probably thanks to that publication that psychoanalysis in the English-speaking world very quickly took on a “distinctive, readily identifiable, technical character” (Graham, 2000). The choice of several neologisms and of terms that until then had been little used was an important factor in creating this new ‘official norm’. Riccardo Steiner has shown the importance of the part played by political and national issues in the production of the *Standard Edition*. In his view, the creation of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* in 1920, that of the *International Psycho-Analytical Library* series by the Hogarth Press in 1924 and, in the same year, the publishing of Freud’s *Collected Papers* all had the same aim: that of ensuring the hegemony of the British Psychoanalytical Society in the English-speaking world (Steiner, 1987, 1991). Having control over translations of Freud’s writings did indeed constitute a real political strategy.

Over and beyond these institutional and logistic difficulties, it has to be admitted that the idea of publishing Freud’s work in German on the eve of the outbreak of World War II was not a particularly profitable choice. Psychoanalysis all but disappeared in Germany at that time; the fact that the majority of German psychoanalysts emigrated to English-speaking countries led to a sharp reduction in the number of potential readers. The result was that, by the end of the war, Imago was in a much more difficult situation than before. Everything seems to point to the fact that the project of publishing Freud’s *Gesammelte Werke* ended without bringing any real relief to the publishing house. Furthermore, the fact that English was becoming increasingly important in psychoanalytic circles meant that the original versions of Freud’s writings were less of an attraction. One anecdote will serve to illustrate the point that I am making here. In 1957, Marianne Rodker wrote to Alix Strachey suggesting that a ‘vocabulary of [psychoanalytic] terms’ be drawn up covering the three main languages (English, German and French). The Stracheys had indeed contributed significantly to the publication of the *Glossary for the Use of Translators of Psycho-Analytical Work* (Jones, 1928) and of the *New German–English Psycho-Analytical Vocabulary* (Strachey, 1943). At about the same time, in France, Daniel Lagache, Jacques Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis were thinking about a similar project which would indeed come to fruition in 1967 under the title *Vocabulaire de la Psychanalyse [The Language of Psychoanalysis]* (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1967). At first, the Stracheys were somewhat hesitant:

We want to make a number of emendations or additions to the glossary, largely as a result of work on SE. We both, however, are rather strongly opposed to any idea of including definitions of the terms, as this inevitably opens the door to controversy.

(Letter from Alix Strachey to Marianne Rodker, 6 October 1957; HRC, 12.8)

The idea, therefore, was to establish an official work of reference that, over time, would require few if any changes to be made to it, one that could

be of service to psychoanalysts throughout the world. Such a work must, however, have seemed superfluous to the Stracheys, given their commitment to the *Standard Edition*; they came to the conclusion that there was no need for another glossary:

There seems to be a good deal of scepticism as to whether there would be any demand for such a work – at any rate so far as German or English is concerned. It is argued that everything worthwhile in psychoanalysis in German has been translated already and that nothing new is being written in that language.

(Letter from James Strachey to Marianne Rodker, 6 May 1958; HRC, 12.8)

Henceforth, then, the standard work of reference was to be the *Standard Edition*. It was not just a matter of ‘the Old World versus the New World’. Over and beyond the national issues that Steiner highlights, there were some that were truly linguistic. Had psychoanalysis at that point officially become an English-language discipline? Perhaps it was the elusive and ubiquitous nature of psychoanalysis in the 20th century – the ‘whole climate of opinion’ (Forrester, 1997) – that freed it from its German linguistic roots? It is interesting to note that the 11 volumes of the *Studienausgabe* – the new German edition published between 1969 and 1975, edited by Alexander Mitscherlich, Angela Richards and James Strachey – followed the model laid down by the *Standard Edition*. Behind the purely financial considerations linked to publishing Freud’s writings, there was therefore a whole political and linguistic project concerning psychoanalysis as such, some 50 years after it had been created. The future of psychoanalysis lay in Western Europe and in the United States. It should be pointed out, all the same, that some psychoanalysts who were not native English speakers – for example, Jacques Lacan – did play a significant role in the development of psychoanalysis after World War II.

The death of John Rodker – and that of Imago

“He [...] died one evening after dinner at the house of a friend, in the presence of his wife Marianne” (Bonaparte, 1956, p. 200). John Rodker died suddenly on 6 October 1955. His death foreshadowed that of the Imago Publishing Company. His friend, the psychoanalyst Princess Marie Bonaparte, wrote a beautiful obituary, published in both French and English. In it, she praised Rodker’s talent as a poet and a publisher, and paid tribute to his many English translations of French authors, in particular Jean Giono, Pierre Jean Jouve, the Count of Lautréamont, Henry de Montherlant, Paul Nizan, Jules Romain, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry and Jean-Paul Sartre. The Princess’s interest in literature (Amouroux, 2010) undoubtedly played a part in the friendly relationship that existed between her and Rodker. As Ian Patterson (2003) has pointed out, Rodker’s work as a translator was an integral part of his achievements. It was Rodker, indeed, who provided the impetus for translating several of Marie Bonaparte’s writings, such as *Myths of War* (1948), *The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (1949), *Flyda of the Seas* (1950) and *Female Sexuality* (1951). Edward Glover read the funeral oration for Rodker, proof if need be of the latter’s involvement in

psychoanalytic circles in Great Britain. Even Ernest Jones, who had prevented Rodker from becoming a practising psychoanalyst, described him warmly – “a friendly, intelligent and enterprising publisher” (Jones, 1957, p. 249) – in his biography of Freud. Some months before Rodker died, his friend André Chamson, the French writer, nominated him for the *Légion d'honneur*, the highest honorific award that exists in France (Letter from Marianne Rodker to Marie Bonaparte, 22 February 1955; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Marie Bonaparte archives). That award was indeed conferred on him posthumously.

Thereafter, his wife, Marianne Rodker, took over the management of Imago. She had an Arts degree and in Paris had run a bookshop specializing in French and English psychological literature before rejoining her husband in London. It was as early as 1959 – despite all her enthusiasm, the profit that the company was in fact making (see Table 2) and her desire to continue the work that her husband John had initiated – that Marianne Rodker seriously began to think about closing down the publishing house. One indication of the fragile foundations of the business was that, when it was put up for sale, in spite of its worldwide reputation, Imago had only one employee. Buyers quickly appeared on the scene – Fischer in Germany and the Hogarth Press in Great Britain.

It was with some reluctance that Marianne Rodker let Fischer take over the publication of the *Gesammelte Werke*. Shortly after John Rodker's death, Fischer had entered into negotiations with Imago concerning the publication of some of Freud's writings in less expensive editions. Those books sold remarkably well: 76,000 copies of the *Abriss der Psychoanalyse* and 112,000 of *Zür Psychopathologie des Alltagsleben* (Letter from Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Ernst Freud, 31 May 1956; HRC, 26.5). Those figures go to show the extent to which Rodker's project might well have proved successful. When she realized that a whole new market was slipping away from her, Marianne Rodker refused to grant to Fischer the rights to reissue some of Freud's writings – in particular *Zür Psychopathologie des Alltagsleben*. At the same time, Fischer went very much on the attack on the commercial front with an eye to the English market, even though the German firm was theoretically prohibited from so doing (Letter from the Rubinstein law firm on behalf of Imago to Gottfried Bermann Fischer, 9 May 1956; HRC, 26.5). Under pressure from Anna Freud, Marianne Rodker did in the

Table 2. Imago revenues in GBP between 1954 and 1959 (HRC).

	<i>Sale of Books</i>	<i>Foreign Rights (general)</i>	<i>Foreign Rights (Fischer Verlag)</i>
1954–5	£6468	£824	£85
1955–6	£5603	£478	£85
1956–7	£7005	£520	£255
1957–8	£5712	£334	£270
1958–9	£6081	£225	£95

end agree to give up her rights to part of her catalogue of works in favour of the German publisher. That publishing house, of course, was mainly interested in Freud's writings since the other authors on Imago's files would be much more difficult to sell. Considering all the work that John Rodker had put into Imago, the sale of the firm did not bring in much money: £1750 for Freud's writings in English translation (Letter from Piers Raymond to Marianne Rodker, 1 January 1960; HRC, 5.3) and £9300 for the entire German edition (Letter from Marianne Rodker to Ernst Freud, 17 March 1960; HRC, 11.9).

Conclusion

As we come to the end of this account, we cannot but be struck by the tragic and even absurd nature of Rodker's project. For more than 13 years, he did everything he could to have Freud's writings reissued without making any real financial gain, given the near disappearance of the German market during the war. He witnessed the rapid success of the *Standard Edition* after the war was over. His untimely death prevented him from realizing that the German readership that had been initially so lacking did in fact exist. In the 1950s, Fischer, the German company, successfully published less expensive editions of Freud's writings in the original German. Rodker's project was therefore a disappointment not only financially, in spite of all the work and single-mindedness that he had put into it, but also from the editorial point of view. Paradoxically, the English-language edition became the norm throughout the world. It is the only one that has a critical edition; in Germany, Rodker's edition was never revised and the one published by Fischer in spite of its editorial qualities, remains incomplete. (Freud, 1369-75)

Implicit in this account is the fact that English gradually became the 'official norm' for psychoanalysts. According to the editors of the *Standard Edition*, 'nothing new [was] being written' in German or in French. *Mutatis mutandis*, the *Gesammelte Werke* version almost certainly seemed to them to be very much in second place compared to the *Standard Edition*. The failure of the *Gesammelte Werke* project was thus not entirely attributable to the vagaries of history linked to the war. It was a powerful indication of the profound changes that were about to take place in the psychoanalytic movement after World War II. The emigration of the first generation of German-speaking psychoanalysts to the United States, plus the extraordinary success that psychoanalysis was to have in that country, changed forever the linguistic landscape of the potential readership. Thereafter, the development of psychoanalysis was not simply a matter of preserving Freud's writings; it involved how these could be circulated, as well as the language in which they would be made available.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor John Forrester and to Ian Patterson.

Translations of summary

„Ein beträchtliches Wagnis“: John Rodker (1894–1955) und die Imago Publishing Company (1939–1960). John Rodker (1894–1955) war der Gründer des britischen Verlagshauses Imago Publishing Company, das kurz vor Beginn des zweiten Weltkriegs den Nachdruck von Sigmund Freuds Gesamtwerk in deutscher Sprache übernommen hatte. Rodker, selbst Schriftsteller und Verleger, war zunächst geneigt, selbst den beruflichen Werdegang eines Psychoanalytikers einzuschlagen, jedoch gab es zahlreiche Hindernisse auf dem Weg zur Verwirklichung seines Vorhabens. Der Krieg, zusammen mit der komplizierten Verwaltung der Tantiemen von Freuds Schriften, gefährdeten den Fortschritt dessen, was ihm als „ein beträchtliches Wagnis“ erschien. Neben Rodker begegnen wir zahlreichen Akteuren der psychoanalytischen Bewegung: Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones, James Strachey, die alle an der Verbreitung von Freuds Schriften mitgearbeitet hatten. Dieser Aufsatz zeigt, wie die englische Sprache allmählich die „offizielle Norm“ für die Psychoanalytiker wurde. Laut Herausgebern der *Werkausgabe* wurde zu dieser Zeit weder in Deutsch noch in Französisch „etwas Neues geschrieben“. Das Scheitern des Projekts *Gesammelte Werke* markiert das Ende einer Ära, in der über Psychoanalyse hauptsächlich in deutscher Sprache geschrieben wurde.

‘Una empresa seria’: John Rodker (1894–1955) y la Imago Publishing Company (1939–1960). John Rodker (1894–1955) fue el fundador de la editorial británica – la Imago Publishing Company – que emprendió la reimpression de las obras completas de Sigmund Freud en alemán justo antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Rodker, que era escritor además de editor y que en un momento se había visto tentado de seguir la carrera psicoanalítica, debió enfrentar gran cantidad de obstáculos para llevar adelante este proyecto. La guerra, sumada a la compleja administración de los derechos de autor de la obra de Freud, comprometió seriamente el avance de lo que era para él ‘una empresa seria’. Además de Rodker, nos encontramos con numerosos actores del movimiento psicoanalítico – Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones y James Strachey – todos los cuales se esforzaron por divulgar los textos de Freud. Este trabajo muestra la manera en la que el inglés se fue convirtiendo en la ‘norma oficial’ del psicoanálisis. Según los editores de la *Standard Edition*, en esa época ‘no se escribía nada nuevo’ en alemán ni en francés. El fracaso editorial del proyecto de las *Gesammelte Werke* indicó el final de una era en la cual el psicoanálisis se publicaba principalmente en alemán.

«A Serious Venture»: John Rodker (1894–1955) et l’Imago Publishing Company (1939–1960). John Rodker (1894–1955) est le fondateur de la maison d’édition britannique – Imago Publishing Company – qui va entreprendre la réimpression en allemand des œuvres complètes de Sigmund Freud à l’aube de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Cet éditeur et écrivain, tenté un temps par une carrière de psychanalyste, va se heurter à une foule de difficultés dans la réalisation de ce projet. La guerre et la difficile gestion des royalties de l’œuvre de Freud vont en effet sérieusement compromettre le bon déroulement de ce qui lui apparaissait comme « a serious venture ». Outre Rodker, on croise de nombreux acteurs du mouvement psychanalytique – Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones, James Strachey ... – qui ont tous œuvré pour la diffusion des textes de Freud. En filigrane de ce récit on voit comment petit à petit la langue anglaise devient la « référence officielle » pour les psychanalystes. Pour les auteurs de la *Standard Edition*, « nothing new is being written » en allemand ou en français. L’échec éditorial du projet des *Gesammelte Werke* marque la fin d’une époque où la psychanalyse s’écrivait principalement dans la langue allemande.

‘Un’impresa importante’: John Rodker (1894–1955) e la casa editrice Imago (1939–1960). John Rodker (1894–1955) è stato il fondatore della casa editrice Imago – casa editrice che intraprese la ripubblicazione dell’opera completa di Sigmund Freud in tedesco, alle soglie della Seconda Guerra Mondiale. Scrittore oltre che editore e inizialmente tentato dalla carriera psicoanalitica, Rodker dovette confrontarsi con vari ostacoli. La guerra, nonché le complicazioni connesse alla gestione dei diritti di autore dell’opera freudiana compromisero la possibilità di portare a compimento quella che lui stesso definì ‘un’impresa importante’. Oltre a Rodker, si annoverano numerosi artefici del movimento psicoanalitico: Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones, James Strachey, tutti psicoanalisti che avevano contribuito alla diffusione dell’opera freudiana. Questo lavoro dimostra come la lingua inglese sia gradualmente divenuta la norma, la lingua di riferimento per gli psicoanalisti. Secondo gli editori della *Standard Edition*, in quell’epoca non fu più scritto nulla di nuovo né in tedesco né in francese. Il fallimento del progetto delle *Gesammelte Werke* segnò la fine di un’era in cui il tedesco aveva rappresentato la lingua nella quale si esprimeva il mondo psicoanalitico.

References

Amouroux R (2010). Marie Bonaparte, her first two patients and the literary world. *Int J Psychoanal* 91:879–94.

- Bell J editor (1935). *We did not fight: 1914–1918 experiences of war resisters*. London: Cobden Sanderson.
- Bonaparte M (1956). John Rodker 1894–1955. *Int J Psychoanal* 37:199–201.
- Crozier A (1996). Introduction. In: Rodker J. *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, vi–xxiii. London: Carcanet Press.
- Forrester J (1997). A whole climate of opinion. In: *Dispatches from the Freud wars*, 184–207. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.
- Freud S (1924–34). *Gesammelte Schriften*. 12 vols. Wien: IPV.
- Freud S (1924–50). *Collected papers*, vol. 1. New York, London, Wien: International Psychoanalytic Press; vol. 2–5. London: Hogarth and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis.
- Freud S (1953–74). *Standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*. 24 vols. London: Hogarth.
- Freud S (1940–52). *Gesammelte Werke: Chronologisch Geordnet*. 17 vols. London: Imago.
- Freud S (1969–75). *Studienausgabe*. 10 vols + 1. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.
- Glendinning V (2006). *Leonard Woolf: A life*. London: Simon & Schuster.
- Glover E (1933). *War, sadism and pacifism*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Graham R (2000). Britain on the couch: The popularization of psychoanalysis in Britain 1918–1940. *Science in Context* 13:183–230.
- Grubrich-Similis I (1996). *Back to Freud's texts*. New Haven, CT, London: Yale UP.
- Hall MG (1988). The fate of the Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag. In: Timms E, Segal N, editors. *Freud in exile*, 90–105. New Haven, CT, London: Yale UP.
- Holroyd M (1973). *Lytton Strachey: A critical biography*. London: Heinemann.
- Jones E, editor (1928). Glossary for the use of translators of psychoanalytical work. *Int J Psychoanal* suppl. 1.
- Jones E (1957). *Sigmund Freud: Life and work, vol. 3: The last phase 1919–1939*. London: Hogarth.
- King P, Steiner R (1991). *The Freud–Klein controversies 1941–1945*. London: Tavistock; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Laplanche J, Pontalis J-B (1967). *Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse*. Paris: PUF [(1973). *The language of psychoanalysis*, Nicholson-Smith D, translator. New York, NY: Norton.]
- Marinelli L (2009). *Psyches Kanon*. Wien: Verlag Turia & Kant.
- Patterson I (2003). Writing on other fronts: Translation and John Rodker. *Translation and Literature* 12:88–113.
- ~~Rodker J (1996). *Poems and Adolphe 1920*. London: Carcanet Press.~~
- Steiner R (1987). A worldwide international trade mark of genuineness? Some observations on the history of the English translation of the work of Sigmund Freud, focusing mainly on his technical terms. *Int Rev Psychoanal* 14:33–102.
- Steiner R (1991). To explain our point of view to English readers in English words. *Int Rev Psychoanal* 18:351–92.
- Strachey A (1943). *New German–English psychoanalytical vocabulary*. Baltimore, MD: Williams & Wilkins.
- Willis JR (1992). *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as publisher: The Hogarth press 1917–41*. Charlottesville, VA, London: U Virginia Press.
- Woolf V (1975–80). *The letters of Virginia Woolf*. 6 vols. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Woolf V (1977–84). *The diary of Virginia Woolf*. 4 vols. New York, NY: Harcourt.

Author Query Form

Journal: IJP

Article: 484

Dear Author,

During the copy-editing of your paper, the following queries arose. Please respond to these by marking up your proofs with the necessary changes/additions. Please write your answers on the query sheet if there is insufficient space on the page proofs. Please write clearly and follow the conventions shown on the attached corrections sheet. If returning the proof by fax do not write too close to the paper's edge. Please remember that illegible mark-ups may delay publication.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Query reference	Query	Remarks
Q1	AUTHOR: 'NOTORIETY' – PLEASE CLARIFY AND PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE WORD	
Q2	AUTHOR: 'EVOKE' – PLEASE CLARIFY AND PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE WORD	
Q3	AUTHOR: 'ANTERIORITY' – PLEASE CLARIFY AND PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE WORD	
Q4	AUTHOR: PLEASE PROVIDE PAGE NUMBER FOR GRAHAM 2000 QUOTE	
Q5	AUTHOR: FREUD 1969-75 – NOT CITED IN TEXT – PLEASE ADD THERE OR DELETE REFERENCES	
Q6	AUTHOR: RODKER 1996 – NOT CITED IN TEXT – PLEASE ADD THERE OR DELETE REFERENCES	<i>delete Reference</i>
Q7	AUTHOR: PLEASE PROVIDE SUITABLE RUNNING HEADS	<i>Rodker and Image</i>