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THE PURPOSE OF THE FAMILY

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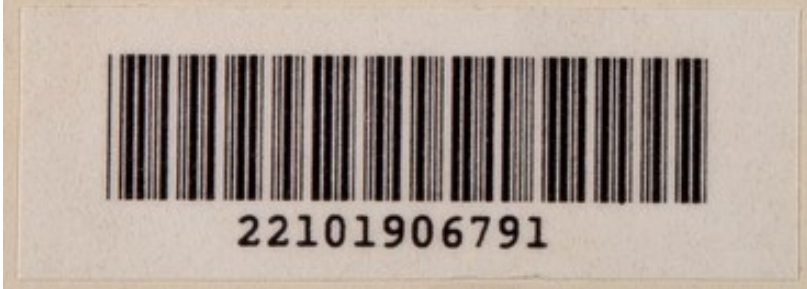

With kind regards.

G. L. Spence

THE PURPOSE OF THE FAMILY

Printed and Produced at the Printing Technical School,
National Children's Home and Orphanage, Harpenden, Herts

THE PURPOSE OF THE FAMILY

A GUIDE TO
THE CARE OF CHILDREN

BY
J. C. SPENCE, M.D., F.R.C.P.
NUFFIELD PROFESSOR OF CHILD HEALTH
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

THE CONVOCATION LECTURE, 1946
OF THE
NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME
HIGHBURY PARK, LONDON, N.5

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THE CONVOCATION LECTURESHIP

OF THE

NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME

AT the Convocation of 1945 the workers of the National Children's Home decided to institute at their own charges a

CONVOCATION LECTURESHIP,

and for this purpose to invite to the Annual Convocation a distinguished exponent of some aspect of child-welfare practice.

It was further agreed that the series of Convocation Lectures thus constituted should be published and circulated as widely as possible as a timely contribution towards the solution of some of the most important and pressing problems of child-care.

For the first of the series the Committee of the Convocation Lectureship had the privilege of securing the help of Professor J. C. Spence, M.D., F.R.C.P., who occupies the Chair in Child Health of the Durham University, and of Dr. Charles Hill, the Secretary of the British Medical Association, who presided on the occasion of the first Convocation Lecture which was delivered at Harpenden on Monday, July 8th, 1946.

CONTENTS

I

THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY

IN accepting your invitation to discuss the duties you have undertaken, I must acknowledge that I cannot conceive responsibilities more onerous or more difficult than yours. They are the responsibilities of parents without the instinctive sanctions of parenthood, the burden of responsibility without the privilege of power. As all sensible parents are at times aware of their own shortcomings with their children, so must you in greater degree feel these faults, for you spend your soul and spirit without the sustenance of certainty. It is therefore a great privilege even to attempt to give you help in the task you are undertaking, for you represent that great body of men and women to whom is entrusted the near five thousand score of homeless children in this country.

Throughout the ages the family in one form or another has been nature's chief device for fostering children. This philoprogenitive process of child care which lies latent or dormant in most of us, when awakened, seeks many outlets and takes many forms. Its object is to preserve life. However little we know about the purpose of life, it is at least certain that its preservation depends primarily upon a constant supply

of young material which in health and by sensitivity, consciously and instinctively, can adapt itself to that purpose. If the quality of this human material falls too low, or if in later life it is turned aside too much from its prime biological function of progeniture to a pursuit of personal power, of adornment and of ostentation, then its civilization comes within the danger of decline and fall. The family is the eventual reservoir of this material and the place in which its qualities are preserved.

We can assume, therefore, that we should learn much by studying the family and by understanding its design and purpose. But it is not an easy subject to study, and to reach this understanding a conscious effort is required. A natural scientist, were he to pursue this task, would take the structure of the family and consider it in all its forms. He would examine its variations. He would make a comparative study of family technique in different species and in people at successive stages of civilization. He would observe results and record aberrations and deviations from the normal. He might then use the methods of experimental science by observing arranged experiments, although that would be difficult in the human family. Nevertheless he would have ample opportunity of observing these experiments which nature has arranged for him in a great variety of families, for no two families are alike. He would have also ample opportunity of observing adopted children, of children placed in nurseries, orphanages, and other institutions which society contrives as substitutes for the family. These would be his control experiments.

But most of us are not natural scientists, and we must use methods other than theirs to discover and know the principles of child care. Human endeavours pursued for a particular purpose lead to a practical art. Family life is thus one of the oldest practical arts in the world. What is the substance of a practical art? It is compounded of three elements. It is taught first in simple precepts and rules which are handed down ; secondly in experience of its material ; and thirdly by example. Wilfred Trotter says of this, ' The method of apprenticeship is thus the keynote of education in the practical arts, because it brings the pupil into familiar contact with his material, and gives him the constant example of his teachers in the actual things which he himself will ultimately have to do.' Apprenticeship in the practical art of family life is a lengthy process. It must be entered young, and is a generation's work. And the art degenerates when its simple precepts expand to learned treatises, or when theory replaces experience. Happily, theories and treatises are beyond my theme, which is to invite you to see what the structure and technique of family life may show, and to reinforce that when you can by experience in the company and constant example of capable craftsmen and craftswomen.

I must first attempt to clear the ground by mentioning some obstacles and difficulties which may distort our observations. It is in the highest degree desirable that we should approach our task as unprejudiced observers with dispassionate intellect and open mind. That would be the method both of the natural scientist and

the eager young apprentice, but it is not possible without a moral and emotional effort most of us cannot, or will not, make. And that is not surprising. Family and children are words carrying a high emotional charge, and we all possess within us a feeling mechanism which reacts to the mere mention of these words. It is notorious that feelings will colour an outlook, and these feelings will differ greatly according to our temperaments and to the experiences we have enjoyed or suffered in our own families. The extent of these reactions is to be seen in the universality of comment on a neighbour's or near relative's efforts to bring up her children. Nearly every man and woman is quick to indulge in this exercise. We must regard this as part of nature's intention to keep a concern for children simmering in each of us below the surface of our minds. If we recognize these difficulties in ourselves, and take them into account, we can pursue our observations with more profit.

There is surprisingly little written about the technique of family life, and about the adaptations which instinctively take place in parents and children to meet the changing scene. There is, of course, the literature of family life written in our great novels and biographies. But these are personal comments written by artists who, *ipso facto*, are men and women capable of deep feeling. How coloured these are by the authors' own experiences is plainly seen in books like those of Dickens and Charlotte Brontë. It is true that from Lytton Strachey onwards a new school of biographers has arisen which sets out to present a more objective view of family life.

But these are no more free from coloured feelings than their predecessors. They differ mainly in being misanthropes instead of philanthropes. So you are left to draw your own conclusions from this literature of families, for it rarely descends to generalizations or to simple rules and precepts.

The social scientists have attempted to lay down rules of general validity. Anthropologists, sociologists, psychopathologists, economists, and educationalists have all taken part in this. The anthropologists have used the family for their studies of primitive societies. From these they have developed hypothetical sequences with the Christian monogamous family as the end product and ideal type, and others placed according to the degree in which they differ from this type. The early evolutionists turned their attention to the family, and somewhat naively constructed a scheme according to which promiscuity was followed by group marriage, group marriage modified into polygamy, and monogamy was the final step. The sociologists have looked at the family from another point of view, and used it as an example of a 'group' to argue their way to theories of social conduct. The psycho-pathologists, the economists, the educationalists, each of these has turned to the family from time to time, but in most cases they have been concerned mainly with end results in adult life, which they seek to explain by a study of children within a family, or to achieve by bringing early influence to bear on them.

There is little need for me to mention that politicians

also have had their fingers in this pie, for we have recently had before us the example of a State perverting its families and children to its cruel purposes. But we must not be too squeamish or self-righteous. Every state throughout the ages has tended to exploit children and to justify its actions in political theories. Indeed, much that has been done in the name of children has been an attempt to prepare them early for a type of adult society conceived and desired on political or economic grounds. Nature changes slowly if at all. It is within the memory of man when industrial and political necessity demanded cheap body labour of children in mills and mines. We must therefore search our own hearts, and ask ourselves if we have changed so much for the better in so short a time. How much that is now done in families and schools in the name of education is but a preparation of children for mind labour in later life ?

It would be churlish of me to leave the impression that the efforts of the social scientists have been in vain. I am concerned only to show that their line of country is not across our fields, that the study of the family requires a fresh approach by those trained in the method of the biological sciences, and that in the meantime the practical art of family life is best known through apprenticeship and experience.

Here I would make a parenthetical claim for two groups of people who are well provided with opportunities for the studies I have suggested. The first group is in danger of extinction. The second is struggling for survival. They are the village schoolmaster and the

family physician. Both of these can dispose their lives to remain within a community for a generation or more, and so to know it well. They can combine their vocation with an intimacy of social life which is rarely given to those in other vocations. Armed with something less than the industry of a Gilbert White, or the patience of a Charles Darwin over his garden worms, they should be able to give us the answer to many of the questions which face us. What are the needs of the family today ? To what extent are extra familial institutions such as schools, in pursuing their own aims of education, supporting or undermining the functions of the family ? How much is the dissolution of family life due to the excessive individualism of the past half century by which men and women assert their right to live their own lives and to express their own personalities ? Is not this excessive individualism the product of a mistaken conception of evolution ? Does not human welfare depend on a recognition that the unit of human existence is not the isolated individual but the family ?

II

THE SEVEN STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

II

THE SEVEN STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

LET me first recall for you some simple facts about the development of children from one age to another. In some degree or other these should be the basis of common knowledge about child welfare and education. Alongside this I hope to show how parents develop those attitudes and sentiments by which the practical art of family life is ensured. We can then consider the ups-and-downs of family life, and from this serial story I hope some lessons useful to you in your work will emerge.

It will simplify my task if at times I differentiate between physical, emotional, and intellectual development, although this runs the risk of over-simplification because all three are closely inter-related, and it is difficult to define the limits of emotional activity. Some of the facts about development are simple, but the mechanism behind them is mysterious and wonderful beyond belief, or beyond anything the scientists have yet dreamed of. The concept I wish to give is that of a series of stages in a life ending at maturity, or ending at various levels short of full maturity. Another way to look at it is as a succession of seasons each complete in itself, but with its own needs for the growth, happiness,

and education of the child in that season. In each of these stages or seasons there are particular dangers which may injure the children or the parents, or harm their relationship. It is best to keep the idea of maturity in the background. Do not regard the process as that of something small becoming gradually big. Let each stage or season be its own justification, like the different larval existences of an insect. In this we may see, for example, that the stage of development which rests between the ages of seven and twelve is for many people the golden age of life, when we are most capable of living nearest to what nature expects of us. There was something of this idea in the adjuration to consider the lilies of the field how they grow.

The earliest part of life is automatic. It is the period within the mother's womb when from conception to birth the ovum grows nine hundred million fold. Judged by physical standards alone, the child before birth has already gone through by far the greatest part of its growth and development. Biologists divide this uterine life into a germinal period occupying about a week, an embryonic period of about six weeks, and a foetal period reaching to the end of pregnancy. I have called the development in these nine months automatic, but we know that much physical harm may then be done to the child. To foster the child's welfare in that period the mother requires freedom from injury, freedom from illness, nourishment and understanding. I stress the understanding, because towards the end of pregnancy a woman's outlook upon the world changes. She is in

the grip of new emotional forces chemically engendered which are appropriate to the occasion. Forces she has not felt before, and will not feel until she is at childbirth again. At the time of birth, and shortly afterwards, the mother's physical and emotional mechanism is changing in subtle ways to meet the needs of her child. We require insight and experience to get this understanding, and, although it is outside my province to discuss it here, I must at least mention it for two reasons. There may be amongst you those who can influence public opinion to create maternity services which will take into account these emotional needs of women before, during, and after childbirth. The other reason is nearer to our subject. It is that a woman's capacity for motherhood may be injured by a misunderstanding of her needs at these times. It is in the early months after childbirth that a mother establishes a right relationship with her child. Or, putting it the other way round, before a woman can reach a confident relationship with older children and a capacity to deal with them successfully, she must have experienced a sense of achievement and success in nursing and fostering babies in their earliest months of life. This is a point I shall return to later.

The different stages of a child's life after birth are more easily recognized, although since each stage merges gradually into the next, any attempt to define them too exactly is artificial. The *first stage*, lasting two to three weeks, we call the neo-natal period. In this stage the child needs care and nourishment, and the stimulus of

close contact with the mother. The mother has equal needs, the chief of which are encouragement and the opportunity to fall physically in love with her child by close contact with it. This is helped by the presence of a wise and experienced woman, and it is all to the good when these qualities are combined in the person of the attendant nurse. But they are not created by the passing of examinations. In the background the father now begins to play a minor but important rôle. Instinctive feelings urge him to show pride in his child and sympathy with his wife. This attitude of the man at, and shortly after, the birth of his child is often a subject of humorous comment, but it has a biological value, and something is wrong with a man who through inhibitions or other faults cannot possess these feelings.

The *second stage* extends until the child is six or seven months old. This again is a distinct period with its own special needs and processes, and the end of it is a transition to a different mode of living. The faculties of seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, and smelling are then developed with miraculous speed, and in this each day is a new adventure. The raw materials for growth and experience must be amply supplied, and the environment must be secure. If these materials are lacking, or if the environment is harmful, the development may be checked, and the loss may never be made good, leaving the child less in stature and sensitivity than it should have been. The materials needed for emotional development are every bit as important as those for physical development. These are supplied by the

individual attention of its mother, or of someone who acts as its mother. The father remains still in the background, providing only the sustenance of life. There are now reciprocal reactions between mother and child peculiarly adjusted to the occasion. In its waking moments the child demands companionship to provide that stimulus and encouragement which exercise its growing powers. The mother responds in a variety of instinctive ways to meet this need. She, and every woman like her, falls into the same habit of speech and noise-making with which she appropriately approves and disapproves, cheers and chides. She is emotionally altered for these purposes, just as much as a hen becomes another creature with the hatching of her chickens.

A biologist, looking on at this universal byplay for the benefit of the child, would recognize it as a physiological process brought into action by internal secretions from the mother's endocrine glands. At this period she is absorbed in her responsibilities. Her sleep requirements are adjusted to the needs of the child, and her feelings are fully engaged in her new experience. How much this takes place has been revealed to me by a woman who, trained as a physiologist, has been able to record her feelings. She is a professional woman, rare in her capacity to combine a busy technical career with the management of a family and the pursuit of an active social life. She does this with eminent success which comes from a quick intelligence, a warm heart, and a power of rapid decision. She tells me that for a few months after the birth of a child, while she is engaged in

its care and feeding, nearly every other interest leaves her. She is then unable to reach any decisions except those which concern the welfare of her child. She describes it as an irrational but deeply satisfying state. She goes on to say that her capacity to judge the actions of men and women is reinforced by a sense of confidence and sense of achievement which these experiences with her children have given her.

I am dealing at some length with this attachment of mother and child at this second stage of development, because the welfare of children depends greatly upon it. The right relationship of mother and child at this stage is justified, therefore, not for sentimental reasons, but on biological grounds. I would not mention a matter so obvious to most of you were not the attitudes and sentiments of mothers in danger of being perverted by a cult of too much hygiene which makes them afraid, and by misreadings of Freudian theories which make them guilty. Under these influences many mothers deny themselves these natural outlets of feelings in contact and companionship with their children, and that leads to an atrophy of maternal functions and to worse.

I have had opportunities of studying these effects at close hand in the Babies' Hospital, Newcastle. Here, young children with critical illnesses were taken for treatment, and their mothers were admitted with them to nurse and care for them. Each mother and child lived together in their own room, arranged to give an atmosphere of domestic comfort which would not be alien to them. In the background there were

experienced nurses and doctors to give technical aid when required. The mother was given as much responsibility as possible, receiving, for example, her child straight from an operating theatre into her own arms. She lived with the child continually, and at all stages shared fully in the credit for its recovery. A contrasting group of mothers, with infants similarly ill, remained at home while their infants were treated in Hospital. They endured the usual anxiety of separation and waiting which is common to those circumstances—a sensation of separation which, I suspect, is peculiar to the circumstances, and which no man and no woman who has not experienced it can appreciate. After a few weeks each mother returned to the Hospital to receive her child at the hands of someone to whom she gave the credit for its care and cure. A study of these two groups of women over many years has revealed remarkable differences. In sharing the experience with their children, the first built up their confidence and enhanced their capacity. They returned to their homes and neighbours with a sense of achievement which stood them in good stead afterwards. The other group had a sense of failure which reacted unfavourably on the child. They were obsessed by the dangers of trifling symptoms. A necessary continuity of experience had been broken through being parted in those critical weeks of anxiety. I think it is possible to learn from this some simple lessons about responsibility, and about the pattern of social aids which parents need.

The age of six or seven months is a transition from the

second to the *third stage* of a child's life. This third stage lasts for about a year, until the child is near the age of two. In one sense it is the hey-day of its life, when the child is living eagerly in an environment which is, or should be, almost completely devoted to it. It is a period of preparation before it is replaced by another child in the family, or passes out into a wider community. In this third stage of its life it demands instinctively those attentions by which it is educated, and receives them freely from all who come in contact with it. Discarding sentiment in this picture, we should examine it critically and appreciate its significance. Its purpose can be seen if we make the experiment of watching the behaviour of people admitted to the presence of a child eight or nine months old. Assume the child to be sitting playfully awake in an empty room. The person whose behaviour is to be observed enters the room. Immediately the child looks up to him, and he irresistibly approaches. He is now compelled to take notice of the child. He smiles, gestures, makes noises, and produces a bright object from his pocket or watch-chain. Whatever may have been his mood when he entered the room, it is altered to the purpose of entertaining, encouraging, and interesting the child. If you now admit one by one a succession of people to the experiment, they will all behave similarly according to the mood of the child. If it is happy they will play with it ; if unhappy, they will soothe it ; if troublesome chide it. They will use the same language, make the same noises, and play the same tricks. These are not what the physiologists call

conditioned reflexes. They are evidences of instinctive behaviour. A man who has never done these things before, or seen them done, will react in these ways. Persons who do not react in these ways are abnormal. The purpose is obvious. It is nature's compelling device for the education of children. If we accept the view that children of this age need this individual attention from one person and another, we must question the methods and results of those public nurseries where too many young children of the same age are kept together in a communal life which is imposed upon them before they are ready for it.

I shall describe four further stages after the age of two, making seven in all. I shall do this in barest outline, mentioning only the chief features of each, so that they may be recognized in the later discussion of the design and purpose of family life.

The *fourth stage* starts with the child's first independent adventures before the age of two, and ends with its first wilful acts of self-reliance at about the age of four. It is an imitative stage. The child can be absorbed in its own play, and remain still unself-conscious. It now makes its first excursions from its mother's side, to watch the manifold activities around it. The child is now all things by fits and starts, but nothing very long. It has no sense of adult time, and should have none at this age. In spite of this commencing independence, the child needs the propinquity of its mother or someone else to whom it may go immediately for reassurance. The parent technique alters to meet new requirements, the

mother playing one rôle, the father another. This is exemplified in the father's play, which now instinctively takes the form of hide-and-seek, and adjusts itself by alterations as the child gets older. The older children of the family or the neighbourhood enter into the child's life as the child enters into theirs, and older girls get here their first experience and responsibilities in child care in fostering children of these early stages.

The *fifth stage* lasts from about the age of four to about the age of seven. Habits are forming, personality is emerging. There is a new intellectual life vividly realized. Play is the essence of the period, and the child is not yet in the grip of the adult time machine. The imagination is now awaking, and story-telling is one of the child's needs, particularly at the end of the day, when his body is tired and he returns to the security of the parent's presence. This is a meagre but sufficient description by which to identify the fifth stage of a child's development. It is meagre because no adult can by recollection re-enter the mind of a child at this golden age of life.

The *sixth stage* lies in the years from eight to twelve, when boys begin their gangsterism in exploit, and when girls diverge from them in play. At this age they begin to create values, establish standards, and recognize ideal types. The outlines of character are formed and, for good or evil, lines of conduct are laid down. Precept plays only a part in this. They get it also from a practical experience of human nature in relationship with their brothers, sisters, companions, parents, neighbours, and

school-teachers. They see men and women at work unless they are absorbed too much at school. If they are lucky, they will see their fathers at work, but in modern life this happens too seldom. This sixth stage is a brief period before children are caught up in their self-made entanglements. It is a dress-rehearsal for life, in which they can engage in many physical and emotional activities without injury to their feelings.

The *seventh* and last stage of childhood covers the years of puberty after the age of twelve or thirteen, or a little later in some children. For the purpose of identification I need not describe it, because unlike the earlier stages of childhood it can be recollected by each one of us. We can remember what it feels like to be adolescent. The child then takes on the rôle of an individual personality, and assumes its responsibilities. It is a fumbling, furtive, and temporarily unattractive stage of life, when the apprenticeship is over, and before the skilled craftsman has emerged. The very unattractiveness of boys and girls at adolescence reveals the intricacy of nature's design and purpose. At that time it is a normal physiological event for spots to appear on the face, and for both sexes to be gawky and ungainly. In this design we may see the purpose of making the two sexes temporarily unattractive to each other, of holding them apart for a while until the grace and beauty of early manhood and womanhood bring them eventually together.

Each of these seven stages of childhood has its own rhythm of life and its own patterns. In these we see

physical, emotional, intellectual, and moral development proceeding at different rates, alongside each other. There is an appropriate nourishment and exercise of body, feeling, mind, and spirit required at each stage. The essence of the art of child care consists in applying these in their proper order. Applied in the wrong order, forcing one type of development at the wrong time at the expense of the other, may produce effects that are the reverse of those desired. This may result in physical and emotional cripples, or intellectual and moral prigs.

III

THE FAMILY

III

THE FAMILY

IN what follows I do not hark back to a sentimental approval of overcrowded families. Nor am I concerned with the falling birth-rate or with measures to reverse it, except in-so-far as families may become too small to fulfil the purposes for which they were designed. We must accept the established use of birth control, and its implications in a society based on the monogamous marriage, but we cannot foresee the end of this sudden biological revolution in which the human race has involved itself. The immediate questions facing us are: Can the purpose of the family be secure in spite of its restriction by the use of birth control? To what extent can nurseries or other substitutes replace the family?

There is a tendency nowadays to regard the home merely as a training ground for citizenship, and the family as a community in which children learn their first social lessons. These are rather nebulous notions, and beg many questions about citizenship and communal living. I prefer a simpler outlook on the purposes of the family. It exists, first, to ensure growth and physical health; secondly, to give the right scope for emotional experience; thirdly, to preserve the art of motherhood; and fourthly, to teach behaviour. Given

these things, citizenship and community life will look after themselves. Without physical health and the environment that makes it, without emotional health and the happiness and security which goes with it, without parental wisdom, and without capacity for neighbourly behaviour, there can be no citizenship or other virtues.

A family at its best would have in it five or more children without wide gaps in age between them. The parents at their best would come from similar families, but preferably not the firstborn or the last born of these families. This variety gives the necessary range of characters. There are no star players on this stage, for all are equally stars. They play their parts and live their lives in a constant interchanging of relationships up and down the scale of the ages, and they do this within indefinable lines of conduct automatically accepted as their code. Although the acts are unrehearsed, the players do not go far astray, for they are under the influence of two unseen forces. One is an instinctive mechanism guiding the parents. The other is the culture of the family handed down in simple precepts, and rules from one generation to another, or less effectively by the example of one neighbouring family on another. The mother is the continuous thread throughout all this. Men create the materials and techniques for living. Mothers preserve the craft of living and transmit it from one generation to another. That is a woman's function as much as the preservation of the germ plasm within her ovaries.

The *first purpose* of the family is to foster the growth and physical health of its children. This is a concern deep-seated in the minds of parents, as anyone will know who sees welfare centres and doctors' consulting rooms. In my experience this concern is felt equally by mothers and fathers, although it will show itself more in the mother, particularly with her youngest children. It is estimated that there are about five per cent of parents, some of high intelligence, others of low intelligence, who are incapable of this concern. But the presence of these in our midst does not affect the argument. The mother is equipped for her duties by developing sensitivities to danger beyond the range of normal feelings. She will hear the whimper of a child in a distant bedroom when other ears are deaf. She will waken instantly alert to the needs of her child when strangers would do no more than stir slowly from their sleep. Mothers are guided also by rules about child health which in the past they have learned from older women. These rules need bringing up to date. It is one of the triumphs of our civilization that we have discovered enough almost to eliminate disease in childhood. We fail not through lack of knowledge, but through failure to spread knowledge and apply it. It is therefore the responsibility of parents to possess a simple knowledge about health and the nature of disease in childhood, and we can console ourselves that this can be gained without engendering a morbid anxiety about ill health.

The principles of hygiene, the principles of nutrition, and the nature and symptoms of the common preventable

diseases are within the comprehension of all intelligent people. The cause of a new baby forcefully vomiting, the danger of contact infection from a tuberculous adult, the criteria for clean milk, the symptoms of the common infective fevers, the simple methods of home nursing, these and a dozen other simple facts are part of the knowledge which mothers and foster-mothers should now possess. This knowledge is near at hand, and its facts are easy to memorize. We have advanced a considerable way in this health education, thanks mainly to the Child Welfare Services, to modern journalism, and to a few doctors who have interested themselves in this work. But this work has been uneven, and a great deal remains to be done. I hope that a future lecture in this series will be devoted to this subject of informing parents and foster-parents about the physical health of children and their common ailments and diseases. The principles of these will best be understood if we recognize that at each of the seven stages of development there are appropriate protections, appropriate nutritions, and appropriate exercises ; that the first six months of life is particularly dangerous through contact with infection ; and that much can be endured between the ages of seven and twelve which would be harmful at any other age.

The *second purpose* of the family is to give scope for emotional experience. In the earliest stages of childhood this is gained entirely within the family. Later it extends beyond. Each of the seven stages has its appropriate experiences and adventures, and through these a child

develops sensitivities, gains a working knowledge of human nature, and becomes educated in the art of living with other people. Thereby they create a capacity for companionship, for comradeship, for friendship, and for love. If a child's emotional experience is faulty at any stage of its development, it may to that extent be incapable of these things in later life.

The main difficulty in writing about emotions is in the inadequacy of definitions. When we attempt these we enter the field of terminological controversy. At one end of the scale emotions come near to reactive feelings, at the other end to acquired sentiments. Definition is made still more difficult by the alternative meanings of the very words we use. For example, pride in one sense may be that wholly pleasurable emotion which a mother experiences on seeing her child take its first step, or watch her boy in his first race. In another sense it may be that state of mind which we recognize as intellectual arrogance.

Leaving aside all definitions, we know what we mean by joy, tenderness, hilarity, anger, rage, dread, suspicion, jealousy, grief, remorse, apprehension, fear, disgust, and so on. These are emotional states, each with its own physical sensation. We know that each of these states and sensations arises involuntarily at a physical or emotional experience, or at the recollection or imagination of these. We know that these experiences occur more often in relationships with people than with things. The particular physical sensations which accompany each emotional state are so peculiar to that

state that we can presume a physiochemical mechanism within the body which operates each different emotion.

The view I wish to propound is that just as physical health must be developed at each stage by nourishment, play, and exercise appropriate to that stage, so it is with emotional health and emotional development. This experience should not be directed continually to a cultivation of the pleasurable emotions. It is a poor heart that never rejoiceth. Equally it is a poor heart that never weeps or melts in tenderness. Permanent happiness is a myth and, in seeking it as an end in itself, we may lose the means of finding it. It does a child no harm to experience the emotions of jealousy, dread, remorse, apprehension, fear, and sorrow, if only the parents are in the background to support and sustain. If the sorrow of death falls upon a family it should not be hidden from the children. They should share in the weeping naturally and completely, and emerge from it enriched but unharmed. But the physical presence and good example of parents or foster-parents are absolutely necessary, otherwise children will be painfully harmed and carry evidence of these injuries in their later years. In this lies the real apprenticeship to the craft of living.

The give and take of family life should provide this range of emotional experience without leaving any scars. In childhood we can bear to hear the truth about ourselves from our brothers and sisters when we could not suffer it from anyone else. By this very process children may be immunized to later dangers or fortified to meet them. Games, toys, and story-telling are the

chief means to these ends, and the instinctive play patterns of young children appear to be specially designed to exercise them in these ways. Take, for example, the readiness with which a two-year-old child will enter into a capture and escape game with its father. It is indulging in the first sensation of apprehension followed by relief, emotions which are then entirely harmless for the very reason that the familiar father is the participator in the exercises.

In outlining a child's emotional experiences in its successive stages of development, we can exclude the neo-natal stage of the first two or three weeks of life. To all intents and purposes the child is then still part of the mother, and its emotional life has not been awakened.

I have already dealt with the second stage of childhood at some length. It lasts until the child is six or seven months old. In this period the infant should be the prime concern of the mother or foster-mother, and a binding relationship should then be established between them. To achieve this in full degree there should be no other infant of the same age to share this concern and relationship. This means that the child should not be living in a communal nursery at this stage. Its emotional capacity is now encouraged in manifold exercises by which the mother praises or chides, approves or disapproves, using gestures and sounds which are the universal language of all races. This relationship and encouragement are at their best if the mother is breast-feeding the child. This endows the mother with a

confidence and certainty not to be gained in other ways. On these grounds alone, and apart from its benefit to the physical health, breast-feeding is justified. If the child must live without its mother, a substitute should be found to undertake the responsibility of individual attachment to each child in this second stage of its development.

In the third stage of childhood, lasting until the age of two, the child should still be the only pebble of its kind on the family beach, claiming and receiving the constant encouragement and admiration of its parents. In a natural set of circumstances it would shortly be displaced by the birth of another child, but for this brief period it remains the centre of care and attention. The child is still unself-conscious, so no harm will come from these devotions. By cuddling and fondling, by a little teasing and much coaxing, its capacity for feeling is educated. The simple reactions of joy, fear, apprehension, and relief are now established. But these experiences are short-lived. They are trial flights in emotional experience which end safely if the reassurance of the mother's presence is near at hand. Fathers and older children play an important part at this stage, for it is through them that the child emerges out of the world centred on its mother into a wider field of human relationships. It is a period of venturing forth in cautious steps.

In the fourth stage, between the years of two and four or thereabouts, the child's emotional experience widens. It passes then into the self-conscious stage,

and becomes capable of shyness. It participates in the communal life of the family without entering fully into it. It now needs the company and example of older children. This is the debutant stage of childhood watching all that goes on around with wide-open eyes. But the child still responds to cuddling and fondling, and will find a way to seek from its parents its individual share of these at odd moments of the day.

Some of the child's emotional reactions are now fixed to experience. The fear of a stranger, the joy of a father's return, the anger of deprival, the happiness of discovery—these are the very substance of a child's life at this stage. If these are to be assimilated and turned to good account, the child requires the propinquity of its mother, or of someone else in whom it can immediately find reassurance if the need arises. At this age a child interprets its new experience by reference to her or to some other trusted person. If a bomb falls, the child turns not to the scene of the noise, but to the expression on her mother's face to seek interpretation of the event. In the same instinctive way a mother in the presence of danger turns to her youngest child regardless of herself and all else. This interpretative function is one of a mother's greatest contributions to a child's welfare and emotional education.

Play, which is an all-important part of a child's emotional development, now takes two forms. These are the beginnings of group play with three or four other children, and the solitary play which finds outlet in odd activities. There should be no disciplined regularity of

these forms of play, because the child is not ready for marching and parading even if these be arranged to the allurement of a flute, or to the tinkling of a piano. Before the age of five the confinements of time, space, and organized communal routine must be avoided as much as possible. Living within the protectorate of the family, or in a nursery arranged as near to that pattern as possible, the child should be free to enjoy its own solitudes, and its own engagements with a variety of characters from the milkman to the street musician, from the grandfather to the baby sister. At this period, and for the last time in its life, the child is completely uninhibited in entering into these relationships. This opportunity must not be withheld from children, and it is for this reason we must question the wisdom of absorbing too much of their days in nurseries and nursery schools where variety is lacking. Village life, with its opportunities for standing and staring, provides this rich variety unhampered by time schedules. The problem in urban life is to provide these same advantages and opportunities.

The fifth and sixth stages of childhood carry a child from the age of five to the age of twelve. It is the golden age of life before puberty brings its new significances. Every day should be a new adventure, unclouded by a brooding future and free from a wistful past. The child is now conscious of its own personality, and is questing in every direction for ideal types to imitate. That so few children enter fully into the warmth of this golden age is one of the tragedies of our way of living. The fault lies

mainly in the ambitions of so many parents who have designs on their children's careers, and of those schools which lend themselves to the same purpose.

I am not pleading here for discipline free schools and homes. Children between five and twelve welcome discipline if it is just and axiomatic. It simplifies their actions and relieves them of responsibilities which they are not ready to bear. But within this discipline there must be freedom and versatility. Play is the essential activity, and year by year this becomes adjusted to new obligations, duties, and intellectual interests. It should be organized as little as possible. The essence of educative play is that it should be devised by the children themselves, as will happen naturally if the opportunity and time be provided.

In the companionship and competition of unorganized play these older children find much of their emotional experience. In this way they can become familiar with the sensations of envy and happiness, remorse and joy, anxiety and relief, tenderness and hostility, fear and security, pride and shame. These can be experienced at this age in a manner which gives an apprentice insight into human nature without doing injury. At the same time the family, and the community outside the family from which friends are chosen, play reciprocal parts in providing experience. Some parents have a skill in these arrangements which comes near to genius. They are usually people who do not obtrude themselves into their children's daily lives, but impose just rules of conduct and demand commendable standards of

behaviour. They are nearly always tolerant and unselfish people, achieving their results more by example than by precept. Their relationship as husband and wife provides the most important of these examples in its display of courtesy and chivalry. Against this background their children's emotional lives will pursue an even course, however violent their fluctuations from hour to hour.

The natural grouping and re-grouping of these older children in their different forms of play is biologically interesting, and has all the appearances of design and purpose. The boys depart to arrange their own games and gangster play, and the girls on their part pursue their own bents. Here again I would draw attention to the natural tendency of older girls to seek out a child of two or three whom they may foster. In the same way a boy will sometimes seek out his younger brother to be his guide and philosopher and friend. I emphasize this because I believe that the group in each of your cottages and homes should be arranged to imitate the family in this respect, and include the children of different ages in order to provide the oldest of them with this opportunity of developing their capacity for tenderness and care.

The seventh stage of childhood carries the child into the new emotional world of puberty. Up to this point children may have been active, eager, and friendly, now they become reticent and quiet. They require more sleep at that stage than at the preceding stage. Their interests change. A girl who has been devoted to play,

and has sought every opportunity of giving help to her mother, now goes cold on these duties. For this short period she is not domestically minded. She is busy with her own emotional interests. Applying the principles that each stage of childhood must have its own appropriate experiences, and that an experience inappropriately applied may produce effects which are the reverse of those desired, parents and teachers should understand the particular needs of boys and girls at this age. For example, it appears to me to be wrong to teach domestic science and 'mothercraft' to girls of fourteen. They are ready to receive that instruction before that age, and will return to it again later, but at puberty they are chiefly concerned about themselves, and it would be preferable to teach them the art of dressing and deportment at that age.

I shall here summarize this description of emotional life in the different stages of childhood. In each of these a child should have its full experience, from cuddling and fondling in early infancy, to happy competition and serious endeavour in later childhood. It is part of the parents' duty to arrange and control family life to these ends. This should be done unobtrusively. The children must adhere to a few daily routines, but otherwise they should have time, opportunity, and freedom to plan their own activities. In this way a wide range of emotional experiences can be assimilated and turned to good account in the successive stages of childhood, but only if they are gathered against a background of parental love, tolerance, and example. Side by side with this there

should be a code of moral conduct authoritatively applied in early childhood, and reasonably accepted in later childhood. Here again the essence of success is to apply this code in a manner which is consonant with the age and nature of each child. In the earliest stages mother and child should be bound in a close physical relationship. That is the foundation of emotional education. Stage by stage new experiences are added by contacts with the father, with brothers and sisters, with neighbouring children, and with various adult types of men and women. The family exists to exercise children in these experiences, and to provide a place in which they may argue and talk about them before the reticence of puberty falls. The parents exist to sanction and to interpret these experiences. The aim of emotional education and experience is to reach a maturity which renders us capable of enjoying, enduring, and understanding human relationships in later life. The immediate purpose is to nourish the child, and to supply him with a preliminary knowledge of the raw material of human nature. There can be no wisdom in later life without this knowledge.

IV

THE ART OF MOTHERHOOD

IV

THE ART OF MOTHERHOOD

IF there were no mothers there would be no families. It is equally true that if there were no families there would be no art of motherhood. It is the third purpose of the family to preserve this art.

A woman does not become a mother merely by giving birth to children. Motherhood in the sense in which I use the word includes the art of encouraging and controlling children. It is a practical art. It may be highly developed in a woman who has no children of her own, but it is seen at its best when a mother reaches her maturity with an experience of six or seven children behind her. From each of these she has learned something. If you watch a mother in the fullness of this maturity, you will see her dealing with her children with certainty and instinctive quickness. For each child according to his age and mood she uses the right touch, the right attitude, and the right word. She will turn to her petulant schoolboy with a little chiding, to her puling infant with tender fondling, to her distressed schoolgirl with ready praise, to her five-year-old child with patient encouragement. She will use reproof, praise, sympathy, laughter, and all the other instruments of emotional control and guidance. In the midst of her daily life she conducts this orchestra of many players in

many moods. There is little need for me to say that to be completely successful in this responsible task she needs a husband who will courteously and chivalrously provide shelter and protection, and also sustenance for her mind and spirit.

Some may regard this as a romantic picture of motherhood, but I will counter this by saying that it is attained in many families at all levels of culture. That so many parents fail to attain it, is in some part due to a failure to present this picture clearly to them as an ideal capable of realization. The tendency nowadays is to exaggerate the economic difficulties of motherhood, to depict its tribulations and to belittle its compensations and rewards. Much that passes for social aid to mothers is construed in a way which raises their fears and undermines their confidence. They are relieved of their children when they should be relieved of their chores. They are tempted to wage-earning when they should be paid to make a home. The core of the trouble is that our economic system is not based on a philosophy of human welfare which recognizes the right of every mother of a family to possess the means of home-making if she so desires it. To use Sir William Beveridge's words, 'A family still remains the greatest single cause of poverty', and it will continue to be so in spite of the family allowance which is shortly to be given. The trend of our political and social life still tempts parents to prefer a motor-car instead of a child, and this will not be altered by dangling before their eyes the bogey of a declining population.

The receding age of marriage is another factor which undermines motherhood. This also is economic in origin. It has two effects. Firstly, it postpones the age of child-bearing beyond the period of greatest fertility, and, more important still, beyond the age of woman's greatest sensitivity to the lessons of motherhood. Secondly, it increases the proportion of spinsters who seek outlets in professional tasks many of which are substitutes for a mother's work. If mothers were provided with greater facilities and more ample means for home-making, we would to that extent need fewer women in our social services. In spite of these handicaps motherhood remains the most rewarding occupation in the world. Children who are reared healthy, sensitive, and courageous are indeed hostages to fortune.

Much of what I am saying on this subject of motherhood has been said so often before that it has become commonplace, but I wish to stress one technical aspect of it which may be important to some of you concerned in providing institutions for homeless children. I have said that a mother requires the help of a husband who will courteously and chivalrously provide shelter, protection, and encouragement. I believe that this relationship has a profound biological significance. It cherishes a woman and inspires her in her endeavours. If this principle be applied to institutions for homeless children, it would lead to the appointment of men advisers or supervisors to provide the same kind of support and encouragement to the foster-mothers who are in immediate charge of children. Suitable men may

be difficult to find. They should be chosen for their sincerity and courtesy, rather than for their administrative ability. Most suitable men will not readily take on these duties as a whole-time professional occupation, but a substitute may be found in a medical practitioner who will be near at hand to undertake the responsibility of advising and helping a foster mother in the same manner as a family doctor can help the mother of a family.

V

FAMILY BEHAVIOUR

V

FAMILY BEHAVIOUR

THE fourth purpose of the family is to teach behaviour. I have already touched on this in saying that children should gather their experience within a code of moral conduct authoritatively applied in early childhood, and reasonably accepted in later childhood. But it goes further than the children. The parents themselves are altered for better or for worse by the manner in which they play their parts within the family.

Some may argue that I am putting the cart before the horse. They will say that a man's character is fixed before the age of marriage, and that as he was before he became a father, so he will be afterwards. A bad man will become a bad father, a good man a good father. In the same way they will argue that a selfish girl will become a selfish mother, a lazy girl a lazy mother, and so on. But this is only half the truth. The outlines of character and behaviour are, of course, laid down before the age of marriage, but for many years afterwards the care of children engenders qualities which have a permanent effect on the character and behaviour of men and women. A woman may never learn true patience and tolerance until she has exercised herself in these things through a responsible care of children. A man may

remain selfish and arrogant until these faults are softened by his responsibilities as a father. Chivalry and courtesy, qualities I set great store on, will reach their greatest heights in a man who exercises them constantly in his own family. The effect of this discipline on character and behaviour is seen in the example of the sympathy and unselfishness aroused by the sight of a lost or homeless child. If this happens in a community of neighbours by the death or desertion of parents, the woman who will most readily come forward to give a home to the lost child is one who already has a large number of children. It is no uncommon thing for a mother who has ten children to come immediately forward to undertake this responsibility, when the woman with a single child will stand aside. This capacity for philoprogenitive feeling grows on what it feeds on. The more it is exercised the greater it becomes. Shakespeare went far in saying, 'Man's nature is subdued to what it works in', but we cannot doubt the truth of this if we observe the mellowing influence which the responsibility of children has on the nature of men and women. To watch the manner in which they fulfil their parental function is in the end one of the finest tests of maturity and character. It is a test also of a man's capacity to manage his affairs outside the family.

When we speak of behaviour within a family it is, however, the children we usually have in mind. In studying the behaviour of children, I would suggest that we regard it in the same light as physical health and

emotional health. It is a condition to be cultivated stage by stage by appropriate nourishments and exercises. As there are nourishments and exercises for physical health, others for emotional health, so moral health has its own needs. Here again the important principle applies that what is good for one stage of childhood may be harmful for another. It is not a case of getting a child as young as possible and fixing its character early. It is not necessarily true that as the twig is bent so will it grow. If bent too early it may break. If bent too hastily it may splinter. If bent too late it may spring back.

Each stage has its appropriate needs, and the art of teaching or developing behaviour in children is to know when and what to do. If Huxley is right in saying that 'Good is a matter of moral craftsmanship', then that parent is a successful craftsman who knows that to force communal behaviour on a child before he is ready for it may produce unexpected and undesirable results in later life ; to enforce too early a moral code of truthfulness may be as harmful as neglecting it until it is too late ; to demand unselfish sharing of toys at two years old may be as harmful as excusing it at ten years old.

If we knew as much about behaviour and moral health as we do about physical health, we would take the seven stages of childhood and describe what could be done in each of these to encourage development. We would measure moral growth. We would become familiar with the childish moral ailments and know which were transient and which were dangerous, which were curable and which were incurable. With experience

we would be able to recognize which moral illnesses would confer immunity from later trouble, which would spread like infections, and which leave permanent scars.

I am not speaking lightly when I use physical health as the analogy of emotional and behaviour health. I believe that the same principles will hold good in all these fields. A few children will become physical cripples because of inborn faults, others because of illnesses and accidents imposed upon them before they are resistant or immune ; but apart from these occasional accidents the body conforms to a law of natural self cure if it has been prepared and nourished rightly. It is the same with moral illnesses and ailments. Children must be protected from some moral illnesses and nursed through others by individual care. That way lies immunity and health. Were we masters of these rules we could reduce behaviour to the level of a moral science. But we are far from that, and will not reach it until we have found a modern Vesalius and a Harvey who will describe more clearly to us the anatomy of behaviour in its different stages of development, and a modern Sydenham who will describe more clearly for us the nature and source of moral illnesses and behaviour faults. Psychology has not taken us that far yet. It is still in a pre-Vesalian state.

It strikes me that the Church might undertake this task, and their Sunday Schools might then become places of enlightened study of these problems. They might study, for example, persistent untruthfulness, and determine its effects in later life, in the same way as a

medical scientist might watch the progress of a chronic illness. They might find out for us at which stage of development particular disciplines are best applied. They might find that moral and intellectual priggishness are caused by disciplines inappropriately applied at the wrong stages. By observation and experiment they might discover at what stage of development a child is capable of appreciating an ideal type of behaviour, and how that should be represented to them. In doing this, I feel sure they would discover the need to lay the same emphasis on a type of ideal womanhood, as on a type of ideal manhood, for it appears to me to be a fault of most religions that they present only the ideal man for imitation, and too often they do it in a manner which appears irrelevant to women and to children.

Until these moral teachers come along and help us in a more precise way, we must rely on the family itself for training and for teaching behaviour, with the school playing a somewhat remote but important part in the background. Here we must fall back on the methods of the practical arts which I mentioned earlier in this lecture, in which apprenticeship is the keynote of education, with the children exercising themselves as brothers, sisters, and neighbours in the behaviours they will have to follow in later life, under the constant example of the master craftsmen who are their fathers and mothers. As in all practical arts, they will be helped by simple precepts and rules, which must be sorted out from the multitude of sayings of every moralist from Confucius to Kipling.

As one whose habit it has been to study the nature of some of the diseases which man brings upon himself, I would say only that we fail most often as examples to our children through parental indulgence, parental indifference, and parental selfishness. But this needs careful interpretation, for it all depends on the stage of development which our child has reached. Indulgence may be a virtue at one stage and a vice at another. Indifference and selfishness are never justified. They are the cold winds of parental behaviour which may blight a child. But something near to indifference occasionally has its place, and this was no doubt meant by a now outmoded moralist who said, 'It is the business of parents *mentally* to forget but dynamically never to forsake their children, an active and strenuous business which must not be shelved off to a stranger'.

I will say no more about family behaviour and parental example, but end with another's words, 'We of this self-conscious, incredulous generation seek to sentimentalize our children, analyse our children, think we are endowed with special capacity to sympathize and identify ourselves with children. And the result is that we are not more childish, but our children are less childlike. Know you what it is to be a child? It is something very different from the men of today. It is to believe in love, to believe in loveliness, to believe in belief.' So said Francis Thompson, remarkably for a childless man, but he, like many of you, had great experience of family life in the places where he had lived.

VI

THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY

VI

THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY

SO far, in broad strokes, I have attempted to depict the family as a place of warm activity which fosters the welfare of children and the wisdom of parents, a place in which an apprentice experience of life is gained, a home with a tradition, a school of character and moral concepts, a device well suited to its purpose through countless ages of trial and error, of successes and failures. Now, and perhaps for the time being only, we are saying good-bye to all that. Families will be restricted in size. In the next generation the majority of parents will themselves be the products of these restricted families. Their childhood apprenticeship will differ from that of their ancestors. This denotes a mutation of prime biological importance. It is worth while examining carefully its causes and effects.

The primary causes are obvious. Families will decline through the use of birth control, and through the postponement of marriage beyond the age of a woman's greatest fertility. The subsidiary causes are the status of marriage altering to that of a companionate association, the parents' desire for a greater freedom to live their own individual lives, and their desire to have fewer children in order to spend more on the education and equipment of each child. All these causes do not operate

universally. Already, I notice that more young parents of the professional class are deciding to have families of five or six children than was the case ten years ago. They are doing this in spite of the economic uncertainty of the future, and in a belief that that way lies greatest happiness. They are regarding their marriages as a social contract, and not as an erotic episode. But these are straws in the wind, and do not yet indicate a general reversal of opinion or policy. They will form a small aristocracy of great social value, and it will take a few decades for their example to act on others.

We must therefore face the decline of the family. The effects of this will be standard families of two or three children, the failure of the family to provide the full experiences for the development of its children, and a search for social instruments outside the family to substitute these experiences. The ultimate effects will depend on man's capacity to adjust himself to these changes with wisdom, intelligence, and faith.

All these changes are not necessarily disadvantageous. We shall reap a little reward in a lower infant mortality, and an improvement in the physical health of children. Education may ultimately lead parents and educators to consider in what the true welfare of children consists. Schools may follow their present trend of widening their conception of education. Beyond that we cannot see. But it is within the bounds of possibility that our civilization will decline through a failure to preserve and promote family life and the neighbouring society in which it should be set.

The crux of the matter is the attitude of the State. Up to the present the State has always been a supporter of family rights, and in its encroachments on parental authority, or upon family feeling, it has simply obeyed an irresistible necessity. But up to the present, legislators and Government officials have been brought up in families which have been large and humane. From now onwards the proportion of bachelors, spinsters, and only children in our governing class will become larger and larger. Most of these will be people who have been trained mainly in politics and in economics. Few, if any of them, will have studied biology, which is a necessary component in the intellectual equipment of people who are legislating for the welfare of children. We must therefore remain apprehensive if power remains in the hands of people inexperienced in family life whose political philosophy is based on economic theory. They may not understand whether newly created social instruments such as nurseries, nursery school, and community centres will benefit or harm the family.

More than fifty years ago Charles Pearson wrote a book on national life and character in which he predicted ' a state of things in which marriage will be contracted without reflection and broken up without scruple, in which children will be cared for when they are young with even more tenderness than of old, but with incomparably less anxiety to fit them for the moral obligations of life, and in which the claim of parents to be obeyed will cease with the children's need of support. Family life will be a gracious and decorative incident in

the system of such a society, but the family as a constituent part of the State, as the matrix in which character is moulded, will lose its importance as the Clan and City have done '.

To a biologist fifty years is a very short space of time, and we cannot yet see the end of the journey we are taking. Plato's conception of a commonwealth in which children are to be taken from their mothers and brought up by the State, and the example of Rousseau's experiments with his own children, fell on stony ground. The instinct of parental love is so intimately associated with our nature that we cannot imagine it will ever die out. But we must recognize that the modern State may be governed and administered by people whose parental instincts have atrophied, and who have little or no experience of family life.

At all stages of civilization the family has merged itself in its neighbouring society. It has been part of the tribe, the clan, the manorial village, or the country town. This association of family with neighbouring family produced its own forms of mutual aid and social security. Until the nineteenth century the State did not encroach upon the family, and limited its actions to the care and control of vagrants and delinquents. Beyond that there was no social legislation.

The nineteenth century brought three revolutions which changed life. There were the conception of equality and liberty which loosened the social structure, the idea of evolutionary human progress which loosened religious beliefs, and the rapid growth of industrial

towns which dissolved neighbourly relationships. Mankind then struck its tents, and has been marching hither and thither ever since. The change which most concerns us here is the dissolution of neighbourly relationships. Year by year an increasing proportion of our families come to live in towns alongside other families with which they have no intimacy, and for which they feel no obligation of mutual aid. This change for the worse is hastened in many places by the flight of those citizens capable of social leadership from the towns in which they work~~ed~~ to the dormitories in which they s~~lept~~ SLEEP. The tragedy of the Jarrows between the wars was not their unemployment, but the absence from those towns of people with enough wit and means to make unemployment endurable, and to create their own mutual aid.

Man is a resourceful animal, so it is not surprising that he reacted to these alarms and excursions of the nineteenth century in a variety of ways. For the welfare of homeless children your great voluntary societies were created, and the State came forward with new social legislation. Schools, orphanages, hospitals, welfare clinics, nurseries, school meals, kindergartens, and nursery schools were amongst the instruments provided. Late in the day the much belated reform of family allowances was made. Most of these instruments were hastily devised, and many quickly outlived the occasion of their need. The time has now come to review and reshape them. Accepting the premiss that the purpose of the family must be secured, we must ask ourselves to

what extent they are aiding or hindering the family, and the spontaneous neighbourliness in which it should be set.

I cannot here enter into a discussion of these various social aids to the welfare of families, but will conclude with a personal affirmation. Anglo-Saxon civilization has been built out of the character and faith of its people. In the past these qualities have been engendered by the influence of family life on children and on parents, and developed by their experiences in companionships with other children and other parents. We of this generation through the decline of the family are witnessing the most sudden biological change the human race has known. The dangers of this sudden change are intensified by the decline of neighbourliness, by the encroachments of State institutions on the family, and by the spread of a materialistic individualism. The complexity of modern society commits us to an increasing arrangement of our lives by the State. Anglo-Saxon civilization will decline unless people re-create natural neighbourliness, and unless the State bases its actions on a philosophy of human welfare which recognizes that the unit of society is not the isolated individual but the family. To that end the function and the purpose of the family must be known and realized, and our social legislation, our methods of education, our spontaneous mutual aid, and our public spending of money must be adjusted to that purpose.

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