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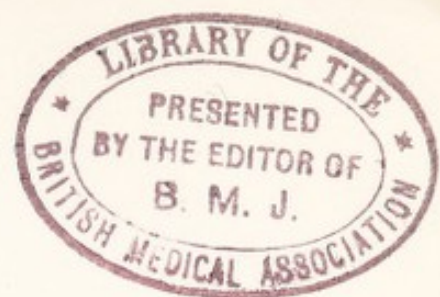
L. PIERCE CLARK



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THE NATURE AND TREATMENT OF
AMENTIA





THE IDIOT.

By VELASQUEZ. (*Vienna Museum.*)

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THE NATURE AND TREATMENT OF AMENTIA

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND MENTAL ARREST
IN RELATION TO
THE SCIENCE OF INTELLIGENCE

BY
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CRAIG COLONY FOR EPILEPTICS

ASSISTED BY THE STAFF OF
THE PSYCHOANALYTIC SANATORIUM AT RYE, N.Y.

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ERNEST JONES, M.D. (Lond.)
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHOANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION



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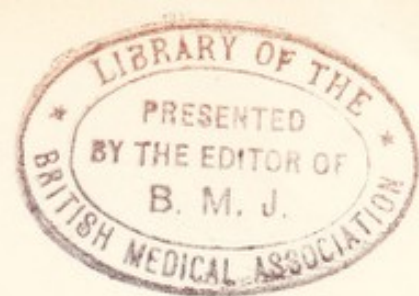
TO
SIGMUND FREUD

WHOSE DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY HAS MADE POSSIBLE
THIS PIONEER ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET
THE NATURE OF MENTAL ARREST



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FOREWORD

IN an Introduction giving an account of Psycho-Analysis Dr. Pierce Clark says that it does not pretend to be a complete or precise summary. The reader should bear this in mind and supplement it by reference to other standard works. After describing briefly the early attempts to understand the problems of amentia, particularly those made by Itard and Seguin, Dr. Clark comes at once to grips with the concrete material presented by such cases. For over thirty years he has made a close study of all forms of mental deficiency, and is well known for the contributions he has systematically made to our knowledge of the subject. In this book he describes in detail all the manifestations shown in a number of his cases, and patiently dissects the nature of the underlying factors.

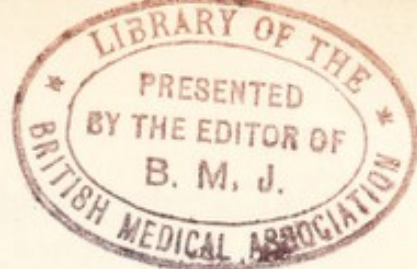
One can only admire Dr. Pierce Clark's assiduity in the immense labours he has devoted to this field, usually considered so unpromising. His unwearied enthusiasm in the studies and the unflinching hopefulness with which he has always viewed the possibilities of ultimate remedial measures have been a wide source of inspiration. It must be a source of gratification to him to observe that these hopes are beginning to meet with a very perceptible degree of success.

ERNEST JONES.

LONDON,
August, 1933.

CHAPTER I

THE first object of this work is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
sets. The second object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
groups. The third object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
rings. The fourth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
fields. The fifth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
modules. The sixth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
algebras. The seventh object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
lattices. The eighth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
crystals. The ninth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
solids. The tenth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
liquids. The eleventh object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
gases. The twelfth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
plasma. The thirteenth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
cosmos. The fourteenth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
universe. The fifteenth object is to show that the
principles of the theory of numbers are not
independent of the principles of the theory of
everything.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE

HE comes down the middle of the dusty road, one foot seemingly trying to walk on the other as he totters along in the midday heat. As he comes nearer his outline takes on the appearance of a scarecrow made of some molten stuff warped by the fire of its moulding. His arms flap loosely in their unkempt sleeves as this child of the good God stops. Wonderment and surprise are on his face, that we young, robust men should apparently be overcome by the fierce summer heat as we recline there by the roadside in the scant shade of a broken-down fence.

"Hello, man!" The aged child addresses the nearest of our group as he gazes with ill-concealed contempt at his obvious prostration.

"Hello yourself!" the man replies without attempting further conversation. And then as though a sudden desire for facetiousness strikes him, with due gravity and seriousness he calls out: "Say, George, why don't you stop all this heat? Just put that hot sun under a cloud, or take it out of the sky altogether."

Shuffling about in his much-too-loose clothes, George gropes for proper answer.

"He—He—that's God—might not like it. He takes care of things like that Himself. No, He might not like it—that way—I'd just be interferin'. No, I won't do it—that's His business."

His answer is greeted with peals of laughter. In his half-illumined soul, George feels that irreverence and levity are abroad in God's world. He turns away in sadness. As he continues on his solitary errand down the dusty road we hear him muttering, half to himself: "No; God's business is God's business, and there's no interferin' with it." And he glances up at the sky with a look of benignity as he shambles along out of sight.

I was of this medical student group. It was one of my first personal contacts with perpetual children. Soon the lecturer upon the subject put in an appearance, and we proceeded to

the wards to begin our studies in the problem of mental arrest, whose mysteries are but little less baffling to us than to the ancients of all lands.

* * * * *

The history of our cumulative knowledge in mental science has been accurately detailed elsewhere, to warrant its exclusion from the present work. Progress has been tediously slow, since so much has depended upon our insight, still far from clear, into normal development and the very beginnings of mind. Lacking a precise knowledge of the complex psychobiologic forces that go to build up the psyche, and the exact nature of its crippling agents, one has been forced to rely mainly upon objective behaviouristic studies. But assiduous efforts even here have yielded tardy results.

To aid in the latter task is our signal purpose, and to make clearer by detailed personal case-studies the genetic, or dynamic, forces at work in conditions of mental arrest. We hope to present a tentative psychologic theory of intelligence, but our major goal will be to consider the energies which have to do with the ament's immediate problem of coping with his outer world. In the final analysis the defect will probably be found to lie within the ego's constitutional or hereditary endowment. Yet until such time as we may definitely postulate this and use the knowledge for a greater helpfulness to the individual, we must rest content with attempting to understand the dynamic elements which influence mental functioning. It is our intention to show the nature of the psychic barriers tending to impoverish mental growth, to indicate how these emotional fixations have come about, and to formulate their direct connection with mental arrest. In addition, we shall make suggestions regarding the establishment of a sounder training-treatment for the feeble-minded; and on the basis of psycho-analytic findings shall point to possibilities of guiding the ament more scientifically in the choice of his environment, his education, and his future occupational activities.

It is not generally recognized that the number of feeble-minded is equal to and may even exceed that of the insane, upon whom the interest of so many laboratories of research is focussed. Yet not one psychological laboratory has ever been established for the complete, all-round study of the mental defective. It is hoped that a broader understanding of the

nature of feeble-mindedness will throw some light upon how and why mental arrests occur. We may thus contribute to our psychobiologic knowledge of the disorder and possibly make more potent our efforts to ameliorate the plight of this large element in modern civilization.

Though our compassion be great for the defective child, the need of understanding the mechanisms of intellect and emotions in *all childhood* gives signal emphasis to the study of the particular problem that confronts a certain ratio of the children of all peoples. We know that normal psychology has received its greatest accessions from the study and research of the abnormal. Indeed, our present knowledge of the normal mind and its workings could hardly have been attained otherwise. So in like manner we find that states of mental arrest are but the cruder presentations of those psychic conflicts through which the so-called normal child must pass.

Here, then, we have unlimited opportunity to see how the depth psychology of Freud points more clearly to the poignant, more or less unavoidable difficulties which confront all children at each stage of their mental development. Hence our work has a broad application beyond the present study. It applies to the imbalance and deficiency of the mental life of all children whose shadowy remnants of incomplete development perhaps still exist in the lives of all adults.

In order to make the psychoanalytic picture of mental arrest clear we shall present a series of expanded case-studies ranging all the way from the maximum state of mental arrest in the idiot, the idio-imbecile, the feeble-minded, the moron, up to the borderland types of mental arrest. Both the organic and the simple constitutional forms will be embraced in these studies. We have attempted to show how the organic lesion fixates the presence of a hypophrenia or mental arrest, and further entails a diminished power of mental development. We hold, however, that in all the lower grades of the constitutional types the mental impairment is often so definite, so rigid, that its behaviour is not dissimilar in effect to that in which a positive cerebral lesion can be definitely postulated.

However this may be, in hypophrenia the double factors of intellectual and libidinal or emotional arrest are more closely interdependent than has been heretofore outlined in the formal and descriptive literature of the subject, and the two conditions furnish a much wider field of study than has been commonly

thought to be the case. For instance, the precise and fixated psychic patterns in the hypophrenic furnish exceptional opportunities for continued research into the formed and constant ego-reaction that we find so variable and progressive in the normal child. The same may be said of the mental defective's libidinal engrossment in the *primary narcissism*, the state of infantile self-sufficiency; and, later, of his unsuccessful efforts to attain satisfactory objectivity in reality (object cathexis).

Our work enables us to see far-reaching values that may be gained through the study of the psychoses, especially the functional types where the libidinal arrests and fixations have regressed to the magic period of infancy. Of course the psychoses are less rigid, less mandatory for a continued fixation at these specific levels in development than those that obtain in mental arrest. The psychoses deal with the narcissism of libidinal regressions only, yet the evident unsoundness of the psychotic's grasp upon reality is also patent. Thus the problem of the two mental categories, hypophrenia and psychoses, may be opposite, but none the less complementary to each other, and their colligative study aids us in forming a larger picture of the mind as a whole.

Nor is our study less important in another and broader field not ordinarily regarded as allied to psychasthenics—that is, in the so-called irregular libidinal growth and development of the ego in normal children. While a close juxtaposition of normal with the abnormal is often not socially acceptable, yet some touch of those characteristics which have fallen to the lot of our less fortunate brothers is plainly to be seen in all. Scientifically, there can be no sharp dividing line between the hypophrenic and the so-called normal; it is merely a question of degree between these supposedly separate types of minds. We shall undertake later to show that the psychoanalytic studies of our common relationship point even more definitely than heretofore to variable degrees of mental arrest in the so-called normal. A precise study of the methods of education in mental arrest, therefore, is of incalculable value when applied to normal children.

To the various individuals interested in the problem of the feeble-minded who have so generously given their constructive suggestions in regard to the text of this book—unique in its application of the depth psychology of Freud to amentia—I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Ernest Jones of London, editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*; Dr. Howard W. Potter, Assistant Director of the New York State Psychiatric Institute; Professor Charles B. Davenport, Director of the Department of Genetics, Carnegie Foundation at Cold Spring Harbour; Dr. William A. White, Professor of Psychiatry at George Washington University Medical School; Dr. Paul Schilder, New York; Dr. Jean Frois-Wittman, Paris; Dr. Gilbert V. Hamilton, Director of the Bureau of Social Relations; and Dr. S. Ferenczi, who, while on a visit to the United States a few years ago, had an opportunity to see some of the cases that have been reported on in this book, and gave valuable suggestions and encouragement. But for the scope of the thesis and its application to cases studied over a period of years the author alone is responsible.

Several chapters have been read in abstract before various societies, notably the New York Psychiatric Society; the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded; the New York Neurological Society; the Bureau of Human Relations at Yale University; before members of the staffs of Letchworth Village and the Randall's Island City Hospitals and Schools; and at seminars held in conjunction with the staff of the Psychoanalytic Sanatorium.

Certain portions of the material have been published in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, the *Psychiatric Quarterly*, the *New York Medical Journal and Record*, the *Proceedings of the Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded*, and the *Archives of Psychoanalysis*.

THE AUTHOR.

NEW YORK CITY,
September 1, 1933.

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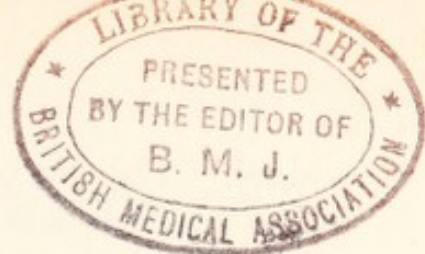
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THE NATURE AND TREATMENT OF AMENTIA

INTRODUCTION

IN attempting to apply psychoanalytic understanding to the problem of mental arrest, we shall be unable to avoid frequent references to phrases and formulations which are peculiar to the science itself. While we hope that the subject-matter to be presented, together with the case-illustrations, will give a clear picture of our point of view, we do feel that some degree of introductory explanation would not be amiss. For the benefit of those whose acquaintance with psychoanalysis may be brief, and for the sake of avoiding misunderstanding in general, we should like to summarize first some of the conceptions advanced by the Freudian school. What here follows is meant as the barest outline to clarify the terms and ideas which will be referred to later.

THE ID AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INSTINCTS

The energies which man uses for his emotional life are derived from the instincts, although usually he is not aware of the actual source of his feelings. Deeply buried and hidden from the individual's consciousness, these primitive instincts impel towards strivings and satisfactions which are often not acceptable from the point of view of civilized codes or social standards. Such impulses, however, are usually either merged with others less crude or are modified into forms which are more socialized and usable in everyday life. That part of a striving which, for any reason, cannot be allowed this expression and release into daily living is pushed back into the layers of the mind where the individual is not consciously aware of the impulse. We speak of the original striving then as having been repressed.

When an instinctual urge has not reached consciousness or, having once arrived, is pushed back it is regarded as "in the unconscious"—that is, buried beyond the awareness of the indi-

vidual. The unconscious reservoir of instincts and primitive urges we designate as an impersonal "Id" (It), which contains all the original, crude impulses, together with those which have submitted to repression. Unorganized, untamed, and without respect for any social restraints, the Id might be likened to what is sometimes popularly referred to as "the animal part of man's nature." It is characterized by all the wild blindness of desire and striving which we associate with the beast; and even when the more civilized part of the personality tends to repress the unacceptable impulses or to use them in more constructive ways, the Id still fosters the original urge, still pressing for gratification in its crude form. Conceivably, this primitive layer of the mind, the Id, harks back to the time in racial history when man's activities were more like those of his fellow animals.

THE EGO AND ITS FUNCTION

Yet, through centuries of experience and possibly from special necessity, there has developed out of the Id a modified part which is more organized and more capable of adaptation to the environment in which it exists. This is what we now refer to as the ego, that part of the personality most readily designated as "the self." It still frequently gives indications of its roots in the Id, but, in general, it has attained a more civilized phase and a more purposive character than the primitive layers of which it is a part. It cannot be localized in any physical way, but psychologically it includes the whole body and all the perceptions related to it. Indeed, Perception-consciousness, consisting of the awareness of sensations, feelings, and impulses arising from both the inner world and the outer world, is the chief characteristic of the ego. The perceiving of what has to do with the self and what goes on in the external world is the main task of the ego. It must become aware of the tensions which arise from unsatisfied impulses, and must seek to find a path of discharge for them; but, in doing so, it must recognize special circumstances and requirements from the side of the environment, and must endeavour to alter the path of instinctual release accordingly. The ego thus organizes and stabilizes the various untamed urges from the Id; represses some of them, modifies others, and strives to use the energy in everyday living.

THE PLEASURE AND THE REALITY PRINCIPLES

One of the earliest and most fundamental inclinations in emotional life, to which the ego at first conforms, is the Pleasure-principle. Under this tendency, whatever discharges the instincts and satisfies inner urgings is regarded as "pleasure" and is automatically striven for; wherever there is a failure to bring about this release of tension, it is felt as "pain" and is to be avoided. The immediate gratification of every instinctual desire would be the characteristic aim of the Pleasure-principle; and the ego, in its function of directing the impulses from the Id, would be required to follow this standard. Yet, in its contact with the outer world, the ego must also meet conditions which make the Pleasure-principle impracticable or unwise. Eventually it must recognize the situation in the real world and modify the blind striving for "pleasure" by acknowledging the necessities of actual conditions. There is thus set up a new standard for the ego, the Reality-principle, which requires that discharge of the instincts be brought about in such a way that real circumstances will also be accorded recognition. This does not imply that pleasure is given up; merely that it is delayed or postponed in order that reality may be met or in order that the ultimate gratification may be safer for the individual in his relationships with the outer world.

Probably, even in adult life, the Pleasure-principle is more of a governing influence than we realize; but at least it is blended somewhat with considerations in the direction of the Reality-principle, and it is the degree of this recognition of reality which, in part, marks the comparative strength of the ego. In its weakness of early life, the ego can merely perceive the more or less automatic gratification of instinctual promptings; there is the sense of a magic fulfilment of wishes, and, so protected is it from the necessity of meeting reality, the ego feels itself omnipotent. Later it strives more purposefully in accordance with the Pleasure-principle; but it is still primarily a "pleasure-ego," not yet adapted to requirements of the real world. Its further development comes when pleasure is not the only immediate concern, but a perceiving of reality leads to an attempt either to master it or to adjust to it. The ego sponsors the testing of reality, "trying things out" to learn more of the outer world and to discover ways of obtaining satisfactions in it. Through its independent experiencing, the ego thus develops added strength—

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not only in its power for meeting the actual conditions of the outer world, but also in its capacity for establishing wide, flexible channels for the release of instinctual energy.

LIBIDO AND ITS FUNCTION

Outstanding among these forces of emotional life with which the ego has to deal is the libido. Fundamentally, libido is the energy of the sexual instincts, but its most frequent manifestation is as a love-energy directed not only towards persons but into interests and activities. It is the enthusiasm in an individual's emotional drive, and it constitutes a large share of the dynamic force which a person carries into his everyday living. Its sexual or erotic significance may be largely lost in modifications ranging from passion, love, tenderness, affection, to friendliness, considerateness, and tolerance; or to pride, conceit, self-respect, self-satisfaction, self-esteem; or to interest, concern, enthusiasm, rapture, etc. One may use libido to love, admire, like, and esteem another person; or one may love oneself in similar degrees; or one may discharge libido by devoting oneself to participation in any field of endeavour. We speak of the charge of libido as a *cathexis* of libido; it is the mass of libido placed in that particular channel. When libido cathects (is invested in) the outer world, the process is called a *projection* of libido. On the other hand, when one is "given libido" by another person, he is *receiving* a cathexis of love-energy; and he may use it for building up his own sense of self-esteem and importance, or he may feel encouraged to reproject this energy, together with his own libido, into some specific interest or activity. When one "gives libido," therefore, he is assuring, supporting, giving friendly encouragement to another person. When one withdraws libido, he is turning his interest away from persons and things in the environment, and usually he becomes absorbed with his own self; that is, there is an *ego-cathexis* of libido. When one projects libido, he is giving love or interest to an external object; that is, there is an *object-cathexis* of libido. It can be seen that among all these possible uses of the libido there is involved the greater part of man's living; and, indeed, the directing of libido-discharge—not only into sexual pursuits, as such, but also into the whole range of life's activities—constitutes one of the major problems of the ego.

THE DEATH INSTINCTS AND THEIR FUNCTION

Another phase of the ego's task in directing the energies arising from the Id is in reference to the impulses of a violent nature, whose primitive urge is towards killing and destroying. Our conception is that this destructiveness is fundamentally directed against the self; that it is a part of the *death-instincts*, whose general tendency is one of forcing all organic matter back to an inorganic state. The idea of its own death is not accepted by the ego, but these deteriorative and degenerating forces are deeply ingrained in every particle of living substance; and the most that can be done is to use other instinctual energies to modify or postpone the destructiveness. The life-instincts, consisting of the libido in all its phases of self-preservation and erotic, living activities, are the forces opposing the death-impulses. It is the libido which surrounds the ego, supplies it with anxiety and self-protectiveness, and thus shelters it against the full charge of annihilative tendencies threatening from within. Most of all, however, the ego is saved when the death-instincts are fused with the life-forces into various blendings of destructive-erotic impulses. The libido, in being projected outward, draws with it the energy of the death-instincts, and thus turns the hostile impulses away from the ego into attitudes against the external world. The urge becomes one of destroying outer objects, and much of the primitive energy is released into activities of this nature. Yet, in proportion as the erotic element dominates the striving, this destructiveness may be tamed and civilized into attitudes of aggressiveness which are socially acceptable or useful. In proportion as the annihilative trend is the stronger, however, the activity will remain largely violent and anti-social.

SADISM AND MASOCHISM

Meanwhile, the ego must perceive that even the outward discharge of these cruder destructive impulses is dangerous for itself. Its task is to repress some of them, to modify others, and to use the energy as much as possible in everyday life. But the violent forces may break out, in spite of mergings with other impulses of a more considerate nature or regardless of efforts to stifle them because of fear of the consequences. The individual's cruelty, meanness, or attitudes of bitter hate may be seen as indications

of the deeper trend towards destructiveness. Such manifestations of the desire to hurt, to cause pain and suffering to others, have long been known under the label *sadism*. The trend of feeling or the activity which expresses this wish is regarded as *sadistic*; it is the tendency to direct the destructive impulses in only slightly modified form towards persons or things in the outer world. While sadism in its most vicious aspects is perhaps confined to the few, the *sadistic tendency* is present in everyone. Some repress it or hide it so completely that it is shown only indirectly or in special circumstances; others indicate it clearly in their animosities, their hostility, and their harshness towards people. Still others, by additional modifications, turn their sadism into aggressive attitudes, such as are seen in love-relationships or in business competition or in the general striving to master external conditions. In all these ways and in all these various degrees the ego may direct the destructive instincts into channels for discharge.

Frequently, however, the ego is fearful and seeks mainly to repress the sadistic tendencies. In such instances, it may happen that instead of violence or aggressiveness being projected into the outer world, it is used in the harshness of one part of the ego towards another part. The trend then is termed *masochistic*; for, in brief, *masochism* is simply sadism turned against the ego. It is often shown in the individual's severe disciplining of himself or his harsh self-criticism or his stern punishing of himself. Guilty feelings, remorse, self-pity, etc., would be indications that the ego has been castigating itself. Indeed, any situation where the ego tends to belittle itself may be labelled masochistic—and this may range from merely being "hard on oneself" to the extreme of actual self-torture or self-mutilation. Probably some degree of masochism is to be seen in all of us, but in general it may be said that the more one projects a consistent aggressiveness, the less will one be inclined towards masochistic moods. Obviously, much depends on the ego's strength and its capacity to sustain aggressive attitudes in everyday life; hence we may see again that the degree of ego-development greatly influences the ways in which instinctual discharge is accomplished.

Yet psychoanalytic data have indicated that the instincts pass through a development also. Particularly is this to be seen in the sexual instincts, for deeper understanding has long since discarded the theory that sexuality begins at puberty. From the very beginning of life libidinal impulses are in evidence, and their

development gradually progresses through various stages up to the mature expression which we recognize in adult life. What is popularly regarded as sexual is only a part of the total elaboration of erotic strivings. There are not only modifications due to socializing influences, but also infinite variations in the quality and in the aims of the sexual impulses, corresponding to different periods of development. One can understand the complicated manifestations of these impulses only by envisaging the whole range of libido-development.

PRIMARY NARCISSISM

In the beginnings of life, as the libido rises up from the Id, its first tendency is to flood the ego. Physically, this charge of erotic energy is used in pleasurable feelings connected with the body and bodily movements; but mentally it supplies the ego with a sense of security and well-being. It represents, in this latter form, a completeness of self-love and self-preservation. Libido has not yet been invested in any form of external object as we know it, but remains closely surrounding the ego in a phase of fundamental self-engrossment which we call *primary narcissism*. What characterizes the primary narcissism is not only that love-energy is directed upon the ego, but also that outer objects are not needed. There is a feeling of magic omnipotence, as if the whole world were a part of this great ego whose mere wish is law. Later developments may modify this early trend, but it continues as a tendency in such forms as emotional aloofness and attitudes of self-sufficiency. That the ego's worth is largely imagined, and is not the result of a real expenditure of effort or energy, is typical of the primary narcissism. Only when this early form of self-aggrandisement is gradually reduced does it play a more constructive part by holding before the ego an ideal of greatness to be attained. Even then its value as a progressive force depends on modifications of the narcissism which allow libido to be projected into an actual striving for accomplishments in the real world. The ego then receives love, not "by divine right," but from what it does or really is. In other words, the primary narcissism is given up in proportion as the ego develops actual strength in coping with reality and no longer needs a magic self-love and self-protectiveness.

SECONDARY NARCISSISM

The first great modification of narcissism comes about when the child no longer feels the mother is a part of himself but is an object towards which he must project effort. Libido flows outward to her, in order that more love may eventually be received into the ego. It is this release of erotic energy into the outer world which characterizes the *secondary narcissism*. It is still mainly a phase of self-love, since the aim is to comfort and satisfy the ego with an inner binding of libido; but it contains a recognition of need for the outer world and a willingness to make some expenditure to gain the desired reward. As the individual grows, he may give more and more into the object-world and require less and less in the way of subjective recognition. That is, his *narcissistic need*, or craving to be loved, may be reduced, and his ability to gain libidinal release into the process of doing, or into the activity of loving, may be increased. Yet the continuing narcissistic element may be seen in the need for encouragement or approval, in the expectation of being admired, and in the desire for various forms of libidinal applause following or accompanying a projection of effort. Indeed, the narcissism continues to exert an influence not only in the initial stages of contact with the outer world but also in all later object-relationships. But let us return to the other phases of early libido-development in addition to the narcissism.

THE ORAL STAGE OF LIBIDO DEVELOPMENT

In the nursing relationship, the child gains more than a satisfaction of nutritional needs; he is receiving an abundance of loving care and attention from the mother. In particular, as he sucks at the breast there is a pleasurable stimulation of sensitive membranes about the lips and mouth. Frequently he is observed to strive for this erotic gratification, quite apart from any promptings of physical hunger. The mouth becomes a zone calling for pleasure as such, and the nipple is a means for answering this libidinal need. Since the sexual impulses are thus centred mainly upon this form of release, the period is referred to as the *oral* stage of libido development. The aim of the instincts, at this stage, is for taking in pleasure through the mouth; and the energy is therefore called *oral-libido*. It continues all through life, in more or less modified form, as a com-

ponent in the total erotic striving. Outstanding manifestations of it are familiar to everyone in such pleasures as those of eating and drinking, of kissing, of smoking, and, indeed, of any satisfaction by way of the mouth. In more modified form, the oral-libido is doubtless one of the driving forces behind man's efforts *to draw from* the outer world materials for his sustenance, his happiness, or his success.

PRIMARY IDENTIFICATION

The infant, however, has as yet only a vague conception of an outer world. To him, in the fullness of her love and constant response, mother seems a part of his own personality. They are one, in feelings, in attitudes, and in mutual experiences. So complete is the emotional rapport attributed to this period, it is known as that of the *primary identification*. The child is said to identify himself with mother and to gain from this close union a feeling of possessing her strength. Later in life it is largely through the continued repetition of this tendency to identify oneself with another that new elements are introduced into the personality, changes of feeling or attitudes are brought about, and certain modifications in the ego occur. By identification, the individual comes to "feel for" another person and thus to attain an emotional understanding; or he comes to adopt mannerisms and points of view similar to those of the other; or his ego unites itself with the standards and codes of living which some other person manifests.

The ability in this way to take to oneself various phases of another's personality receives added impetus from the oral-libido. There is a further stage of the nursing period where the child is more active, more aggressive in his efforts to gain satisfaction at the breast. He is primitively and passionately concerned with "eating her up"; and this crude impulse to *ingest* the mother may be said to provide the dynamic force for continuing the identification and for incorporating into himself certain of her characteristics. Indeed, it is by taking mother into himself in this manner that the child later forms an ideal of what his conduct should be. He *introjects* her pattern within his own ego by ingesting the attitude she has shown; and there is thus established an inner guide, a part of himself which constantly urges him to attain a certain goal of behaviour or performance. This introjected maternal pattern is never thoroughly absorbed

into the ego, but remains a separate part, an *ego-ideal* which spurs the individual towards ever-distant perfection. Later identifications add new qualities and new standards to the ego-ideal, although undoubtedly the early influence of the parents continues to exert a strong pull.

ANAL AND URINARY STAGES

Meanwhile, the libido has been continuing its development. Through the activity of the bowels, the anus is established as a zone of erotic feelings which provides pleasurable gratification in the act of excretion. Moreover, before the child is weaned from the diaper, his fæces and urine regularly remain in contact with the buttocks and the lower extremities, producing for a time sensations of warmth and pleasure. Training later takes away this contact, but the child's libidinal interest still centres upon the products of his evacuations. In resistance against the training, the child may find pleasure in retaining his excreta, in "keeping what he has"; or he may feel that "to produce" is to create something of his own, an accomplishment associated with praise and power; or the fæcal matter itself may appeal as a valuable possession, to be treasured, to be handled, played with, etc., as a special, primitive delight. All of these activities represent gratifications of libido, and the early period during which they predominate is called the *anal* stage of development. It will be noted that not only new zones of the body are involved but also new aims in the impulse itself, a new *kind* of libido which is referred to now as *anal-libido*. Frequently a distinction is made for the strivings connected with urination, and a stage of libido development is marked as *urinary* in accordance with special kinds of impulses based upon pleasure in that process. More often, however, a summary includes this phase within the anal stage or refers to both as "the anal-urinary stage."

Later life sees the continuance of anal-libido in many different forms. Pleasure, concern, or interest in the bowel movements is perhaps the most obvious manifestation. There is also the joy of playing or working with dirt, mud, sand, or other substances whose unconscious significance is only slightly disguised. Certain forms of creative art (sculpturing, for example) may be recognized as socialized expressions of the cruder impulses from the anal stage. More generally, the love of money ("filthy lucre"), and especially the saving or hoarding of it, is directly

connected with anal pleasure. Constructive and helpful as all these trends may be, there are even greater possibilities arising out of the further modifications of anal-libido. In early childhood, training is directed towards creating disgust, shame, and loathing for the waste-products of the body; new values are encouraged for cleanliness, order, and regularity. Thus, by way of controlling the more primitive urges, new pleasures are found in directly opposite trends. Such a mechanism is called *reaction-formation*, and it is distinguished from repression in so far as the libido, by the very process of control, is immediately granted new channels for discharge. It may be safely said that all of our development towards the establishing of clean surroundings, towards organization and efficiency, etc., has originally to thank the anal-libido for its impelling force.

GENITAL STAGE

The next stage in the child's libido-development finds him discovering an area of pleasure in the genitals. As with all steps in development, some of the libido is freed from its attachment to earlier forms of expression and is brought forward to enhance the new trends. Oral and anal tendencies are partially displaced on to a different zone, and fresh quantities of libido are given satisfaction in various manipulations of the penis or clitoris. This and later periods of masturbation contain the elements of passion and genital self-gratification, which eventually may provide a necessary component in the mature sexual act. At this early infantile level, however, we simply refer to the libido as having been *genitalized*. It is the *genital* stage of development, and, like other stages, consists of pleasurable activities in itself as well as possibilities for later useful modifications. Probably much of the zest and enjoyment experienced in physical games and sports derives a degree of its energy from muscular erotism, which is closely allied to these masturbatic tendencies.

AUTOEROTISM

It is to be noted that in all the developments thus far, libido has gone mainly into gratifications connected with the body itself. In addition to the outstanding zones already mentioned, various other parts and surfaces of the body are also regularly involved in feelings of erotic pleasure. All of these forms of physical self-

enjoyment can be grouped under the general term *autoerotism*. In other words, that which is *autoerotic* has the libido directed into bodily satisfactions, and uses the outer world only as a means for obtaining this physical gratification.

AMBIVALENCE

Inevitably the child's autoerotic tendencies are subject to interference and denial from the mother. Weaning from the breast and bottle, training in nursery ethics, the control of trends toward masturbation, and, indeed, all forms of discipline, represent a repressive influence from the outside. To some extent, as we have seen, the child forms an identification with mother's attitudes and establishes an ego-ideal to encourage self-control. But the instinctual cravings are still very strong, and the ego is still largely a pleasure-ego. Impulsively the child would like to continue the early freedom of erotic gratification, and he loves "the good mother" whose tenderness allowed full satisfaction; rebelliously and bitterly he hates "the bad mother" whose attitude is associated with restraint and frustration. This holding of two feelings towards the same person at the same time constitutes what is called *ambivalence*; it is equivalent to dividing the other person into two separate personalities. Although its basis is in the early relationship with mother and, later, with father, it often may be seen all through life in various alternating and inconsistent attitudes towards persons and subjects for thought in general.

When, through further development and adaptations, the child has succeeded in resolving his ambivalent trend, he feels a tender affection for mother. His love is for her as a total personality, and is no longer dependent on her conformance to his inner needs. (At this point we must recognize that the female child now follows a different direction of development; she comes to form an affectionate relationship with the father. For the sake of brevity, we shall trace only the progress of the male, knowing that analogous trends arise in the little girl—but always towards a different sex than the similar tendencies of the little boy.)

THE ŒDIPUS COMPLEX

Usually at the age of two or three years, the boy's attitude of tenderness towards the mother is re-enforced by the steadily rising impulses connected with the genital-libido. He loves

mother and desires her as a partner in sexual intercourse, although at this time the striving is never brought to consciousness in such outspoken form. Simultaneously, he hates father and wishes to kill him as a rival for the possession of mother; but this impulse, too, is not allowed full expression. The two tendencies, however (the genitalized love for mother, and the death-wish against father), form the basis of the *Œdipus complex*, the adjustment of which has the greatest importance for further adult development. More correctly, this phase is called the *positive Œdipus complex*, for there is a usually less dominant phase which has the boy loving the father and hating the mother as a rival. This is referred to as the *inverted Œdipus complex*, and its influence on later life is equally important.

The Œdipus relationship and the impulses connected with it are deeply rooted in the unconscious as part of man's inheritance from the racial past. That which undoubtedly happened frequently in the history of primitive tribes is now invariably repeated in every individual, with but few conscious modifications as tribute to civilization. In early childhood the positive Œdipus situation is often expressed in such form as, "Father is going away; I am going to marry mother." Eventually, however, even this disguised manifestation of incest-desire must be repressed. Mother must be given up as an object for mature sexual impulses, and new objects must be found for the libido. From four years of age to puberty there is a latency period during which all obvious forms of sexuality suffer a strict repression. But in adolescence the genital-libido, spurred by added physical developments, presses forward for release and the problem must again be faced. There is an increase in masturbation and in the various socialized autoerotic activities. Gradually, however, the boy becomes more and more interested in objects apart from himself or his own immediate pleasure. At first his love may be directed towards those whose qualities greatly resemble mother's; they are merely reproductions of the mother-image, substitutes or *surrogates* of the mother. With broader development, however, he eventually chooses loved-objects further and further removed from the mother-pattern; the barriers against incest are thus avoided, and the boy becomes fully capable of releasing mature sexual instincts towards girls. Since it has to do with objects of the opposite sex, this is labelled the *heteroerotic trend* in his sexuality. The boy identifies himself with father and assumes the latter's masculine traits of aggressiveness

and powerful mastery towards the feminine passivity. The libido, thus used in conjunction with modified destructive impulses towards outer objects, has arrived at the stage of *adult sexuality*.

This stage is characterized not only by the presence of genital strivings and the solution of the positive Œdipus complex, but also by the more definite development of *object-libido*. Heretofore, by "object" we have meant anything through which an instinct attains its aim; or we have implied that it represents a person or thing in the outer world. Now, however, it is necessary to distinguish another significance for the term. In "object-libido," an *object* is someone or something definitely separate from the ego or any of its attachments—and towards which the libido is directed outward, unconditioned by hope of direct advantage to the self. *Objectivity* means the presence of this attitude of love or interest for the object's sake, as contrasted with projections connected with the ego's gain or protection. Unselfishness and altruism are popular concepts which approximate our meaning, but they do not sufficiently indicate the personal pleasure which objectivity offers through the discharge of libido. An *objective love* or an *objective relationship* is one where this gratification is obtained, but in such a way that satisfaction comes in the very process of loving, or in work for the work's sake, etc.

It is projections with this significance which constitute a release of object-libido and which form the basis of adult sexuality. The erotic impulses may be expressed directly in sexual intercourse, in love-affairs, and in marriage. More generally, however, as we have previously indicated, the libido is divested of its purely sexual aim and the energy is redirected into wider channels of living activities. That which marks the objective level of development is the presence of independent, responsible, aggressive attitudes on the part of the boy towards objects as such.

Meanwhile, the inverted Œdipus complex has had to be disposed of. In this phase the boy not only loves father but also comes to strengthen his identification with mother to such an extent that he assumes feminine attitudes towards the masculine object. When this is displaced upon father-surrogates and all men, it becomes one of the bases of the *homoerotic trend*—the tendency to find sexual satisfactions with objects of the individual's own sex. This inclination is universal, not only

because it is part of the Œdipus situation, but probably also because of a fundamental bisexuality in the human make-up. Its cruder aspects are usually repressed, and the trend is largely seen only in modified, socialized form. Close friendships between men, participation in business together, and the special intimacy of membership in clubs are only a few examples of the homoerotic trend (which, of course, have their counterparts in a woman's relationships with other women). Here, again, one may recognize that the primitive instincts, restrained and diluted, serve as an energizing force to bind men together and to lead to more constructive satisfactions.

THE FUNCTION OF THE SUPER-EGO

One of the most important outcomes of the Œdipus complex, however, is the definite organizing of a *super-ego*. This is the element within the personality that places prohibitions and demands repressions against the free expression of instinctual urges. It is to be differentiated from the ego-ideal in that the latter encourages the attainment of a definite goal, while the former centres at first mainly on restrictive, negative censorship. Moreover, the super-ego, from its close connection with the Œdipus complex, has its roots deep within the hereditary phases of the unconscious. Fundamentally it contains the threat of punishment if incest desires are fulfilled, for in the boy's unconscious is the fear that the penis will be cut off if he yields to the Œdipus-wishes. This *castration-fear* is typical of the formation of the super-ego, but the term "*castration*" has come to have a more general meaning than the loss of the male genital. Psychologically it refers to the loss of any phase of power or support. If the ego, for instance, has gained a feeling of assurance and confidence through its attachment to some strong person or some protective object, the separation from this attachment is felt as a castration. We speak of the event or circumstances which force the separation as "*castration*"; or the person whose actions and manner seem to threaten some loss to the ego is referred to as "*a castrating object*." The individual who experiences some such deprivation is spoken of, technically, as "*castrated*."

Inherent in everyone, then, is this fear that gratification of the Œdipus tendencies will lead to castration (physical punishment, loss of love or standing in the community, etc.). More-

over, through generations of enforcement, this prohibition has extended an influence against all trends of unrestrained sexuality and against all impulsive tendencies of an anti-social nature. The super-ego, sponsoring these threats of punishment, lies dormant within the individual from the very beginning, but it does not attain its commanding position until the Œdipus stage of development is actually experienced. At this point it is the father who stands in the way of the boy's sexual wishes towards the mother; and, once the ego has perceived the impossibility of incest, it is the father whose stern strength helps to repress the rush of the instincts. The child, whose ego is still weak, needs to introject this powerful restraining factor—and thus, by identification with the father, the boy brings into activity the organized, dominating super-ego. The hostile impulses, which had previously been directed upon the father, are now used partly for aggressive efforts in daily life and partly are taken over by the super-ego as its harsh energy for chastising the ego into repressions. As it extends its restrictions over the whole range of conduct, the super-ego undoubtedly comes to represent more than the command, “You should *not* do this”; apparently, like the ego-ideal, it also becomes a positive guide with such exhortations as “You *ought* to do this, you *ought* to be this way,” etc. Additional standards and prohibitions are taken within the super-ego from relationships with teachers and other representatives of socialized, restraining attitudes. These further attempt to mould or restrict the individual, and we refer to them in general as “super-ego attitudes.”

As we have already seen, one of the ways by which the ego releases instinctual tension without getting into social difficulties is by modifying the original impulse. A large part of the libido, when drawn back to the ego away from direct sexual aims, is available for new kinds of objective satisfactions containing no manifest element of sexuality. We then speak of the energy as “*de-sexualized*,” and the activity through which it again attains pleasurable discharge is called a *sublimation*. Obviously, the capacity for sublimating is of greatest value, inasmuch as it enables the individual to enjoy a freedom from excessive tension by projecting libido into the gratifications of creative interests and work in general.

FIXATIONS AND CHARACTER TYPES

It can be recognized that, as a whole, libido-development consists of a living through of various stages of instinctual inclinations. In the progress from infancy up to mature sexuality, libido is successively withdrawn from earlier tendencies, and stretches out towards new levels of discharge. Invariably, however, some quantities of the erotic energy remain attached to childhood stages of satisfaction, and the early trends are observable in every person. Whenever the amount of this libido is such as to emphasize one particular striving, we refer to it as a *fixation* upon that level of development. In other words, libido has not gone forward fully to further stages, but has lagged behind and become fixed upon a certain kind of satisfaction. There then comes a wider elaboration of that particular form of gratification instead of a progressive drive upward to higher levels. Frequently an individual's fixations may be so pronounced as to place a definite stamp on his personality. An anal fixation, for example, is found to produce such characteristics as excessive love of orderliness and cleanliness, rigidity and pedantry, avarice and "closeness" with money, obstinacy, defiance, perseverance, etc. Fixations at other levels lead to other typical elements in the personality, and this process is called "*character-formation*."

It often happens that one's fixations are not rigid enough to block seriously the full libido-development, but that they are strong enough to exert a constant pull in the direction of the early tendencies. When difficulties and barriers are met with at more mature levels, therefore, the libido readily swings back into the infantile channels for which it already has a special inclination. Such a return to earlier stages of development is called a *regression* of the libido. In analogous fashion the ego, having attained some degree of stability and independence, may still encounter problems and hardships of such a nature that retreat is its only way out. It may return to earlier attitudes of dependence and helplessness—a step which is designated as an *ero-regression*.

WHAT MAKES FOR A NEUROSIS, A PSYCHOSIS?

Regressions may not lead to more than an increased emphasis upon the fixations at various early levels. Possibly the libido will exert a greater influence in character-formation, but at least

in this way the energy arrives at some degree of release in everyday life. A nervous disorder results only when discharge of the impulses is blocked—either by the repressive attitudes of society and the super-ego, or by something in the impulse itself which is incompatible with actual conditions in the outer world. The symptoms of mental disease which then follow are *substitute gratifications* of the strivings which could not be directly satisfied. In other words, the disorder represents a retreat away from painful hardships in the real world. The flight away from *certain phases* of reality is what characterizes a *neurosis*; flight from *all of reality* marks the condition as a *psychosis*.

TRANSFERENCE AND COUNTER-TRANSFERENCE

Generally speaking, psychoanalytic therapy strives to draw the patient's libido towards the person of the analyst, in order that from there it may once more be projected freely into the real world. The patient's attitude towards the analyst is readily seen to be a repetition of earlier feelings directed towards his parents. Through the close contact of analytic treatment, he transfers some of his emotion on to the analyst, a parent-substitute. Such a relationship is called a *transference*, and the corresponding friendliness and understanding given by the analyst is spoken of as "*counter-transference*."

The above sketch of the main factors in emotional life does not pretend to be a complete or precise summary of the conceptions formulated by Freud's depth psychology. It may serve, however, as a rough, general background for the ideas to be discussed later. Just how these various elements we have mentioned affect mental functioning as such is the subject which we now wish to consider.

PART ONE

THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL ARREST

IN general, our knowledge of mental arrest, or amentia, has lagged far behind the progress made in understanding other forms of mental disorder. This may be due in part to the unfortunate fact that persons suffering from a mental handicap were long considered hopeless, and the incentive to work upon a problem holding so little promise was slight. The tendency was to regard the condition as hereditarily fixed and to feel that nothing further could be done about it. More recently, efforts have been made to train the ament towards an improvement in his capacities and a greater usefulness for the degree of endowment he does possess. Yet even here there is still great uncertainty as to just what a mental "defect" is, and just how it cripples the individual in his everyday life. Each observer postulates his own basis of approach and carries his formulations as far as possible towards an understanding. At present this seeming discord is unavoidable, for until each point of view has yielded its quota of reasonable conceptions and practical suggestions we cannot hope to achieve a complete helpful solution of the problem. The present study is an attempt to see how far psychoanalytic principles may be of service.

We are not primarily concerned with establishing the fundamental causes of mental arrest nor with evolving a general theory of intelligence. Our interest centres mainly upon understanding the individual as a human being, upon studying his attempts to get along in the world, and upon learning in what ways we may help him to function more successfully. Yet, to do this, some definite theory is necessary as a starting point, or at least as an understandable statement of our point of view. The general formulations which follow are with this in mind.

It is usually stated that mental deficiency ranges from the lowest grades of idiocy and imbecility to the lesser defects of the feeble-minded, the moron, the dullard, the mentally back-

ward, and the dull normal. A person suffering from the lowest grade of mental arrest, who is unable to sustain ideation, memory, and judgment, is classed as an idiot. In the next grade, where these attributes are present in a slight degree, the individual is labelled an imbecile. Some writers combine the two grades and refer to idio-imbeciles. A step above these lowest types is that stage of mentality in which some degree of independent existence is possible. This class is called the feeble-minded. They are looked upon as able to apply knowledge, so that they adapt themselves somewhat to existing conditions. However, they are said in general to be incapable of comprehending deeply and of mastering more than the concrete representations of a situation. They require supervision in their activities, and are often unable to discriminate between right and wrong according to current social customs, or to apply this differentiation in governing their conduct without considerable support and guidance. The moron is placed a little higher in the scale, and then come the other borderline groups extending up closely to the so-called normal.

DEGREE AND KINDS OF AMENTIA

It is our view, however, that these gradations are mainly artificial subdivisions in the total problem of mental arrest. The various groups overlap and shade into one another so imperceptibly that no clearly marked dividing line is possible. Most frequently, the classifications do not tell us of any difference in the *kind* of defect involved; they refer, rather, to the *degree* in which various capacities and functions are handicapped. To place an individual definitely in some one category is not to indicate his special problem, but is merely to estimate the average range of his mentality. While for descriptive purposes we may cling to the current clinical labels, therefore, our real hope for a deeper understanding would seem to lie in maintaining our perspective of the one large, general problem. In other words, we must consider the capacities and energies whose presence is necessary for mental functioning and whose deficiency in various degrees constitutes mental arrest.

Many investigators have sought to find elements of fundamental defect in the primary instincts, from the point of view that these are the first impulses in the development of human beings—the great unconscious reservoir of our common inherit-

ance. Psychoanalytically, one may regard the instincts as the deepest source from which our energy springs; and undoubtedly a flaw in their potentialities would greatly handicap the development of intelligence. Yet, after all, the instincts are blind; intelligence represents the power to see for them, organize them, and direct them into certain purposive activities. Since these are tasks which psychoanalysis ascribes to the ego, we may infer that intelligence involves both the primary instincts and the ego's capacities for using them. Inherited and developing trends of the instincts, therefore, would provide only one element in mental functioning; of equal if not greater importance would be the inherited and developing capacities of the ego.

If we can conceive of an individual existing entirely under the dominance of the instincts, any consistency in his living would necessarily arise entirely from qualities inherent in the instincts themselves. Activity would be automatic, and the ego would be passive or powerless. The individual's relationship with the outer world would be one of blind impulsive discharge, guided only by that innate compulsion to repeat which is characteristic of instinct. The repetition would not be in any way a reasoned, intelligent activity, but something powerfully urged from within. The ego would have no control over the disposal of energy, but would have at most only an attitude of passive perception as regards the instincts and their discharge. One might say that, both in reference to the outer world and to the inner world, the ego would be merely an observer.

A less primitive level in our imagined scale would find the ego developing further powers out of its capacity for perceiving. It would not only observe that certain stimuli arise from within and are released in various ways, but it would also recognize the results of these happenings. "Pleasure" would be associated with the release of tension and the gratification of impulsive urges; "pain" would be seen as the result of some interference with this process of discharge. The ego would possess the ability to note the factors which lead to pleasure and to recall this impression on the next occasion when similar instinctual forces arose. It would differentiate pleasure from pain, and would actively direct the inner energies into paths of immediate discharge; that is, the ego would function on the basis of the pleasure-principle. In a certain sense we might regard this as an "intelligent" guidance, for it is purposive in its functioning. Yet it is entirely in reference to inner conditions, to an adapta-

tion to instinctual needs. As regards the outer world, the ego would strive rigidly to avoid the painful and would go towards the pleasurable; there would be no "neutral" perception of external conditions as they are. Apparently, adjustments would be largely impossible, and certainly an individual could not exist long upon such a basis.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF INTELLIGENCE ?

Intelligence as we usually regard it would seem to constitute more than a submission to the repetition-compulsion, more than a conformance to the pleasure-principle. It must in some way meet and consider the elements in the individual's environment. Such terms as "adaptability" and "educability," which we ordinarily associate with intelligence, have reference to existing conditions in the outer world. In other words, the ego must have developed not only skilfulness in directing the instincts along paths of discharge, but it also must have power to use these impulses in ways which will enable the individual to cope with reality. For this to be possible, the ego must modify the pleasure-principle into what psychoanalysis has labelled the reality-principle. That is, the instincts are not granted full and immediate discharge; gratification is delayed and altered into channels which conform more to reality. Pleasure is not renounced, but is postponed, to allow a greater adaptation to actual conditions in the outer world. The manner in which the ego carries out this modification and the ways in which it redirects instinctual energies would seem to have much to do with intelligence. It is not simply a matter of "control and use of the instincts," which is surely a part of intelligence; but more specifically it concerns those processes of educability, adaptability, and functioning which we commonly mean by "intelligence." Without some degree of acceptance of the reality-principle, the ego could not learn, could not adapt, and could not long exist in reality. To do so, certain capacities must be present in the ego and certain developments in emotional life are necessary.

First, in regard to the ego, we have recognized a capacity for *perception*. As soon as the reality-principle is followed, this capacity takes on a new significance. Through the sense-organs there is not only the reception of stimuli from the outer world, but a recognition also of the quality "realness." It

constitutes "taking in" impressions of things as they exist and recognizing their existence, regardless of pleasure or pain (although differentiation of these continues, too). The ego's capacity for receiving these impressions and of recognizing the essence of them would certainly be one of the necessary factors for intelligence. Further, however, the ego has the power of *attention* which "meets the sense-impressions half-way instead of awaiting their appearance" (Freud). In other words, there is not only a passive ability to receive, but also a potentiality for actively seeking impressions of reality.

A system of *notation* deposits these impressions within the mind. They are not kept fully in consciousness, the individual is not aware of them at every moment; but they are stored away where they may come to consciousness at any time. From a psychoanalytic point of view they are "in the fore-conscious"; that is, latent and capable of being brought to the individual's full awareness. *Memory* would be the ego's capacity for again bringing into consciousness these deposited notations.

Another important power necessary for intelligence is that of *ideation*. This might be defined as the capacity to formulate the various impressions and memories, to mingle and fit them together in infinite combinations to form a conception. As we know, the ego has the general task of organizing and making a synthesis of all the fragments accumulated within the personality, whether they be instinctual, subjective data or elements from the object-world originally alien to the ego. Ideation, therefore, is doubtless to be regarded as a part of this general ego-capacity for synthesizing. Insight would be a result of this formulating of scattered impressions, and what we commonly call "educability" would depend greatly on the possession of all the above capacities, from perception to ideation.

There is also the necessity for *passing judgment*, to decide whether or not a particular idea is in agreement with reality. The individual makes this decision by comparing his idea with the memory-traces of reality already stored in the fore-conscious. His judgment is of the realness of what he conceives, just as, earlier, another capacity had reference to the realness of what he perceives. Doubtless there are other forms of judgment—discriminating between right and wrong, deciding what is most advantageous, etc. Yet apparently the capacity for *comparing* is common to all judgment. The comparison may be with

reference to memories of reality or to other ideas connected, perhaps, with social standards and moral codes. The capacity for this comparing would provide an element for intelligence, and doubtless it has a great influence upon that particular phase, "adaptability." We might say that the ability to compare, by bringing a firmer insight and by cross-checking the various impressions and memories, makes ideation more soundly based on reality.

The capacity for *thinking* would seem to develop out of ideation, and suggests also the ability to reason and to evolve plans for the activity which eventually will be most advantageous or efficient. Here, again, adaptability would be closely affected. Included in the capacity for thought, although perhaps slightly modified from it, is the ability to imagine; and where this pertains to picturing a future possibility, the quality of foresight comes into being.

We place these various capacities within the ego because they have to do with the guidance, organization, and direction of elements in the personality—which is the ego's task. Obviously, perception, notation, memory, and ideation are indispensable for intelligence; as are also judgment, thought, reasoning, and foresight. An insufficiency in any one of these factors would doubtless constitute a mental defect, but it must be recognized that actually they are all interdependent. Perhaps the capacity for perception may be regarded as the most fundamental; yet even this would seemingly be influenced, in practice, by defects in memory and ideation, for example. Similarly, although our observations may tell us that an individual's thinking and foresight are at fault, they may owe some of their deficiency to a flaw in perception, ideation, or memory. Indeed, as we see the ament in everyday life, it may be unwise to indicate any one specific element in his endowment as responsible for his mental failings. More probably there is some deficiency all through the range of each of these capacities; in the main we must differentiate only on the basis of degree (and quality) and in the general ability to get along in the world.

Apparently the capacities which we have mentioned are inherited and are phases of the ego's original endowment for functioning in the outer world. The innate potentialities from heredity would seem to place a limit on the extent to which these faculties may develop, and probably no amount of training in the individual can stretch them beyond their predeter-

mined boundaries. Nevertheless, it is our view that while the individual is born with certain potential capacities, there is still the problem of developing these within the range of his inheritance and up to the boundaries which it sets. Again, in general it is possible that certain channels and degrees of development are inherent in the ego-patterns handed down through generations of racial history. We feel, however, that in a given individual even these are not decisive, but that there is "a process of competition and selection in the formative complex of growth" (Gesell). In other words, the ego need not use all the patterns and tendencies left it by heredity. It unites, absorbs, and develops some; it dismisses and loses others. Similarly, with the capacities which contribute to intelligence, there may be a wide variation within the innate limits; and possibly many perversions of development into channels less compatible with further progress. The factors of experience, environment, and individual need would seemingly modify the paths of growth roughly determined by endowment.

The great practical question in the problem of amentia is how to foster development of various necessary capacities up to the full level of their possibilities. A training-treatment may place the ament in an environment most likely to increase the use of such faculties as perception, memory, ideation, etc. It may give experience a greater chance to bring out and organize the embryonic potentialities. It may supply relationships which add to the individual's need for fully exercising his inherent powers. In other words, while we may not alter the limits of intelligence defined by heredity, we may deal with the dynamic phases of growth and functioning, in the hope that development may reach its greatest possible extent within the individual.

In order that this programme may be followed, however, it is first necessary that we understand more about the dynamic phases of intelligence. To many it seems that intelligence, as such, involves merely the possession of certain capacities such as we have outlined. They would regard the actual functioning of these capacities as something apart from the pure problem of intelligence. Nevertheless, our discussion has indicated that the process of using the various capacities is closely connected with their attaining full development. It would seem that both possession and use would be involved in the total concept of intelligence. But, whether one regards functioning

as part of intelligence or merely as an application of intelligence, the problem of mental arrest is closely connected with this dynamic and developmental factor.

It may be that there are other sources of energy within the mind, but at least we may say that instinctual development *contributes* to the dynamic phases of intelligence. In regard to perception, for example, the ego needs not only physical and concrete capacities, but also the driving force to carry them into operation. Whatever lends impetus to the "taking in" of the outer world would increase an individual's use of his perceptive faculties. Forces which impel towards a uniting and binding together of elements within the mind would be of service to the ego in its function of synthesizing. They would thus provide added energy for such processes as ideation, thought, and judgment. Moreover, the general capacities of adaptability and educability would depend to a great extent upon the impulsive forces available for use in adjusting to or learning about reality. Indeed, one might define intelligence as the capacity for acquiring, absorbing, and using knowledge in an adaptive mastery of reality. By doing so, we shall intend to include all of the factors previously mentioned; but we shall pay particular attention to the energies which necessarily flow into the active functioning of this capacity.

THE PROCESSES OF LEARNING

The acquiring and the absorbing of knowledge are processes which seem to imply that the individual takes in and makes a part of himself the abilities, mannerisms, and understandings which enable him to get along in the outer world. That he "learns" much of this through contacts with parents and teachers is readily demonstrable. That he acquires considerable knowledge by an exploring and an independent experiencing of reality, seems equally evident. In just what way, however, may we describe the mechanism of these attainments, and what impulsive forces are necessary for their evolution?

Clearly, after the process of learning, the individual possesses something which he had not previously had. An abstract substance which was formerly inherent in the outer world has now been incorporated into the self. Something has been added to the "I understand, I know." In other words, the ego has gained increased power for mastering the environment.

We may say, first, that the individual had perceived some part of the outer world which attracted him; his interest had been aroused and he had felt impelled to stretch out towards the object in an attempt to grasp it mentally. Next, he had "taken in" the content of what he grasped; he had felt a oneness of understanding with "what it is," "how it works," or "how to do it"—as if the object were now a part of what he already knows, a part of himself. That is, by symbolically ingesting the substance of what he had perceived, he had made an identification with the outer object. Finally, he had absorbed this new acquisition so thoroughly that it became a working part of his own personality. He had learned.

If we are to understand the development of this process of learning, therefore, we need to consider more in detail the history of man's capacity for making identifications, for ingesting or introjecting outer objects. Theoretically, we might go back to the first vague beginnings of an ego in intra-uterine life. It is conceivable that even here there is some degree of perception of an outer world, some faint impulse to incorporate certain phases of the environment within the ego. Seemingly, however, the process of "taking in" would be hazy and ill-defined; something more must be added before the infant's capacity for appreciating the outer world can develop in scope and depth. The fantasies, and occasionally the memories, of countless patients under analysis have suggested that in the earliest stages of life after birth a fairly definite guiding-principle is established. Whatever is gratifying and responds readily to subjective needs or wishes is regarded as part of the ego; whatever is frustrating or beyond control is viewed as foreign. The nursing mother, for example, is at first looked upon as a part of the child, since she answers his every desire and maintains with him a oneness of blissful harmony. So immediate and complete is her response and loving care, it is as if she were contained within the infantile ego itself and were a phase of its means for gratifying the instincts. But soon the child must perceive that mother does not always respond at once to the inner needs; she is not fully under the control of his ego, as she once seemed to be. He thus begins to recognize her as an outer object; and it is his attitude towards this first "external" person that we wish to study more carefully.

Whatever the actual experiences of intra-uterine life, it is clearly demonstrable that *in reminiscence* the state is looked

upon as one of perfect peace—a wish-free existence in which the individual seems to have had a magic omnipotence in the fullness of instinctual satisfaction. Following birth the child, in his frequent regressions into sleep, gives some evidence of a desire to recapture the stimulus-free Nirvana of pre-natal life. Yet, at the same time, there is need for the mother, both for nutritional reasons and for emotional. As long as she is seemingly obedient to the omnipotence of his wishes, there is no conflict; but when she is perceived as a separate object, sometimes failing him, the child manifests two trends of feeling. One trend, including a frequently observed resistance to nursing, would seem to impel towards aloofness and a magic self-sufficiency. The libido tends to remain out of contact with the environment and to fasten itself tightly around the ego in preserving the sense of omnipotence. It is this unwillingness to project libido outwards, this flooding of the ego with fantasied feelings of greatness, and this denial of any need of the outer world, which we associate with the primary narcissism.

The second tendency, however, and usually the stronger one, is in the direction of a dependence upon the mother. Circumstances force the recognition that, although she is a separate object, she is a needed one. Some part of the child's libido is tentatively projected towards the mother to form a close bond of emotional attachment. But the child's love for her is still narcissistic. It is not towards a completely separate and independent object, but towards a person who was once regarded as part of his own ego and whose activities still may be partially controlled by the child (crying, magic signals, etc.). Moreover, the projection of libido is not into a loving of the object for the object's sake. Rather, it is a love which demands and expects an abundant return. In other words, libido eventually serves the self-love, and thus continues to maintain the narcissism. Yet this trend must be differentiated from the *primary* narcissism because it includes some recognition of the outer world and the child's needfulness. More particularly, it involves an initial expenditure of libido on the part of the child before incoming reward and gratification may be expected. We therefore refer to it as *secondary narcissism*; and it is this willingness to make an effort, in order to gain self-satisfaction, that we shall later see as an important driving force in the child's development.

THE NEED OF GIVING UP A PART OF THE
PRIMARY NARCISSISM

Meanwhile, it is necessary that some part of the primary narcissism be broken down, to free libido for a full experiencing of the nursing relationship and the development of secondary narcissism. The child can no longer remain aloof and hallucinate his omnipotence; he must give himself emotionally to the situation as it exists. Even as he follows this course, however, the primary narcissism still forms a resistance and its influence can be noted long after it has ceased to be the major trend. The child projects his libido into the activities of the nursing period, but, as psychoanalytic evidence indicates, there is still a striving to *regain* omnipotence, to *recapture* what was once part of his own ego. The recognition of mother as an outer object, therefore, is accompanied by an instinctive desire to incorporate her once more within the child. He ingests her, not only in the physical sense of drinking in the milk, but also emotionally. In feelings he makes her a part of himself again; that is, he forms an identification with her, and from this identification he gains a renewed sense of protection and assurance for the weak and love-hungry ego.

ORAL AGGRESSION AS THE BEGINNING OF
INTELLIGENCE

When one studies the crude and primitive impulses behind this ingestion of mother, it is possible to understand that the unconscious urge is really cannibalistic. Such tendencies, of course, are deeply buried and, through generations of civilized life, have lost much of their original significance. Yet many case-studies have suggested that the aggressive biting of the breast represents a remnant of this cruder striving, and is an indication of the universal impulse to eat the mother and incorporate her once more within the ego. Two components may be distinguished in this instinctive effort to engulf the mother: (1) The life-instincts striving for self-preservation and libidinal gratification; and (2) the death-instincts aimed at destruction and annihilation. A fusion of the two classes of instinct turns the destructiveness outward and partially tames it, while lending aggressiveness to the erotic approach to mother. The child, therefore, does more than passively

feel a oneness with mother; he is impelled to strive constantly to take her into himself.

Actually and physically, of course, this oral ingestion of mother cannot take place in its fundamental form. Nevertheless, the need continues and the instinctual energy presses forward for gratification. The only outlet is by means of a modified and more acceptable discharge of the acquisitive impulses. Observations indicate that the child goes on ingesting mother, but that the process is altered in two respects. He takes her in, not only by sucking and biting, but also by exploring her breast and her whole body with his hands. Moreover, his eyes, ears, and nose are also put to use in "knowing" her and in learning more about her. In other words, his capacity for perception is directed towards this first external object, and the energy which previously supplied an oral ingestion now contributes driving force for all methods of "taking in" the mother. She is incorporated within the ego once more, this time in a more symbolic and abstract sense.

The second modification concerns the substance which is taken in. Instead of mother's physical self, the child now incorporates her manner, her ways of understanding and doing things. Her attitudes and feelings are introjected within his own pattern, as if the mother were herself within his personality directing them. At first this can be seen as a mere copying and imitating of the mother; but later the child begins to absorb these characteristics and make them a real part of himself. They are no longer separate entities, but have been fused within the ego, an indistinguishable part of his own personality. They are now his ways of understanding and coping with reality. One may say that he has "taken in" the mother-identification and has digested its substance to nourish his power for getting along in the outer world. He has "learned" something. Later, an infinite series of further identifications with mother-substitutes (teachers, etc.), followed by a similar absorption within the ego, may contribute further learning in a wider range. The process is apparently what we ordinarily term "learning from example" or "learning from observation."

Another way of learning seems to represent a more independent activity. Following the weaning from mother, one may see the child venturing into his environment, seeking contacts with inanimate objects. He approaches them to explore and

investigate, often by touching and feeling them, frequently by taking them into his mouth. In the latter is seen directly the impulse to ingest the object, to make it a part of himself, just as he felt toward the mother. Similarly, he has grasped the mother's breast, not only with his mouth, but with his hands. One might say that all such grasping is that of ingesting, of making the mother's body a part of himself as he explores and investigates it. Just as he learned to know her, so he now learns to know these inanimate objects in the outer world. Symbolically he may be said to be re-experiencing the identification with the mother over and over again, as he mentally ingests these "things." They are his outer world, just as the mother once was; they now stand in her place, to be learned about in the same way. Thus, by repeated processes of identification he gets to know what "things" are like, what they consist of, how they work, etc.

IDENTIFICATION AS PATTERN FOR LEARNING PROCESS

The identifications with "things" are thus similar to identifications with people. This fact would seem to fit very well with the familiar attitude by which the child is seen to regard all "things" as animate objects, as people. He makes his identification with them, he absorbs the identification within his own pattern, and we say he has learned about them. Possibly "learning by experience" sometimes implies more than this process of identification with people or with "things." The child may formulate a general conception of happenings in the outer world from what he notices personally in addition to what he experiences vicariously in identifications with other objects. What he has absorbed as general knowledge, however, might be said to come about through an identification with his own ego as it was at the time of the experience.

THE THREE PROCESSES OF LEARNING

Indeed, all of the mechanisms by which knowledge is acquired may be seen to contain some element of ingestion, of identification, and of absorption of the subject-matter. Higher levels dealing with the acquisition of words and abstract ideas may involve greater symbolization of the identification—a further step away from the original, more nearly concrete

identification with the mother. To learn from books possibly requires an identification with an imagined object (the author), or perhaps with the words which express his meaning. In general, then, one could say that all identifications have as their common base the original impulse to ingest the mother. As the child develops more and more, the process becomes more highly symbolized; it is less and less physical and concrete, more and more mental and abstract. This, too, is in accord with our usual conception that mental defectives are less able to grasp the abstract than the concrete. Psychoanalytically, we might interpret it as a failure to advance beyond the earlier primitive forms of identification—those still closely allied to the actual, physical ingestion of the mother.

This leads us to consider what factors could possibly retard such an advance. Why have some people little aptitude for acquiring knowledge? Why do others possess a greater capacity, but mainly regarding purely concrete things? Why are there those who, highly intelligent in many fields, are, regardless of the factor of education, slow and deficient in grasping the conceptions of some other field? According to our formulation, we must look for possible answers in the individual's capacity for making identifications—and perhaps in the libido economy generally.

It may be that in some individuals the primary narcissism remains so rigid that there is little need for identifications with external objects. The ego, surrounded by its feeling of magic omnipotence, does not seek further attachments—or those which it does make are quickly withdrawn from reality and are applied further to the strengthening of the primary narcissism. Such people would seem to have little capacity for acquiring knowledge of the outer world. Other individuals may have more need, and thus remain less aloof from objects in the outer world. They, perhaps, will be able to make a wider range of ingestion, displacing it further and further from the original identification. It is possible, however, that the degree of need would extend only so far as physical, concrete objects can satisfy. As much libido as had been loosened from the primary narcissism may be used up in attachments of this nature; there may be no (libidinal) need for identifications in a wider field such as the more abstract and symbolic might offer. In such cases it would seem that some capacity for learning would be present, but that it would have to do largely with concrete things.

EGO NEEDS IN AMENTIA

The third question, too, might be regarded as depending on the distribution of libido. Whereas the *amount* of need may have much to do with determining the extent of identification with outer objects, the *nature* of the need might well influence the *kinds* of identification made. It seems reasonable that the child would form attachments and attempt to ingest identifications which answer his libidinal needs. If certain people or things have within them the qualities which can supply the needs of the ego and of the libido, then they are the ones to be ingested. Whatever these needs are, in each individual, may determine in what directions his capacity for identification lies. He may be able to learn quickly in many fields, but may be deficient in others.

Moreover, the steps by which knowledge is absorbed may offer further difficulty. We have seen that identifications are made in response to the ego's needs; that one of the impelling forces is the secondary narcissism, for it is with the expectation of a libidinal gain to the ego that energy is projected towards the object. In addition to the narcissistic satisfaction, we may recognize an autoerotic gratification in the process of orally ingesting knowledge. These factors apparently supply much of the dynamic urge towards "taking in" the outer world; but we may wonder how the process of absorbing knowledge is carried out. Seemingly the libidinal or erotic phases of the identification must be disassociated from the subject-matter before the knowledge can be digested into the ego. The purely pleasurable factor, while providing an initial urge, must eventually be separated from the content of what is acquired. Otherwise the gratification in the process of acquiring will remain the major goal, and the ego will have gained no increased power for using its understanding in adapting to reality. It would be as if the nursing child were so engulfed in the mouth-pleasures and "organic erotism" of receiving milk that his digestive processes did not function. As long as the ego is flooded with libido from an identification, it has difficulty in binding the new elements to itself; but if it can discharge the erotic energy into renewed investments in the outer world, the knowledge which was ingested may remain to become merged with the total ego-power.

One way in which this might take place is for the individual

to reproject the libido constantly into new identifications and further acquisitions. Each bit of knowledge would thus be absorbed in proportion as the erotic energy which brought it in was returned for additional ingestions of the outer world. Here would be the familiar example of the person whose major activity is continually to acquire more knowledge. The more he ingests of advanced learning, the more firm becomes his grasp of the elementary phases. Nevertheless, there would still be the danger that such acquirements would remain factual and useless, that they would tend to over-emphasize the narcissistic satisfaction of erudition. The absorption could not be complete, the ego's capacity for getting along in the world would not be fully advanced, until this erotic remnant found separate release. Indeed, the piling up of narcissistic rapture might tend to increase tension within the ego and possibly lead to neurotic difficulties.

USES OF KNOWLEDGE

The sounder and more progressive way of absorbing identifications would seem to be by reprojecting energy into objective relationships with the outer world. The subject-matter acquired could be put to use in a further testing of reality, further experiencing and checking to solidify the knowledge within the ego. As is commonly observed, the *using* of knowledge in everyday practice is probably the surest means for strengthening one's grasp of the substance. The libido is not kept to surround the pleasure of acquiring nor the satisfaction of possessing, but is given out once more into a release which aims primarily to further the advantage of the object. It becomes object-libido, and is thus separated from the special needs of the ego. The knowledge itself remains identified and firmly fused into the total ego, and is available, as part of the ego, for adaptive mastering of reality.

When this absorption has not been carried out, we say of a person that the knowledge has not been "made his own." He has not really learned, since the identification is clearly not yet a part of himself. Seemingly the subject-matter has been taken in, but it remains a separate part of the ego, unfused with the ego-nucleus. Thus we see a copying and imitating of other people's attitudes, an "acting as if" their knowledge were his own, yet an apparent failure to use the subject-matter as an indistinguishable part of his own pattern. (The case of

Jack, to be presented later, will be an example.) Possibly the identified substance goes to swell the ego-ideal or serves to enhance the narcissism as one part of the ego applauds another part for its possessions; but it does not go to nourish the working power of the total ego. The libidinal (autoerotic and self-aggrandizing) phases of the identification dominate and the ego gains only an abundance of self-love.

Here one sees the secondary narcissism and the need of the ego, which have previously been impelling forces toward acquiring knowledge, now acting as possible barriers. The more libido the ego requires for protection in its weakness and for its own (autoerotic) satisfactions as it ventures into the outer world, the less can be freed for an objective discharge. The identifications would be used mainly for an ingestion of libido, for narcissistic and autoerotic purposes; they would be taken chiefly to strengthen the secondary narcissism and the ego-ideal. They would not be fused into the ego, to complete the process of learning.

In general, then, we may recognize that there are countless possible difficulties at every stage of the process of learning. In its dynamic phases, educability would depend not only on the extent to which the primary narcissism had been loosened and the secondary narcissism brought into play, but also on the degree in which the latter could be supplanted by object-libidinal activities. Ability to learn would look not only to the oral-erotic and destructive instincts for driving force in acquiring, but also to the development of objectivity for absorbing and using knowledge. Thus, even if the ego accepts contacts with the outer world, it may cling to dependent relationships and be afraid to venture into reality alone. The secondary narcissism may inhibit the completion of the process of learning. Again, there may be a tendency for the libido to remain fixated at pre-genital stages of development (oral, anal, urinary, autoerotic, etc.), and thus not be available for object-cathexis. Moreover, the destructive impulses might tend to turn inward against the ego (super-ego punishments) rather than outward into channels of ingestion and mastery of the environment. In brief, emotional development, through its potentialities for supporting or resisting the process of acquiring, absorbing, and using knowledge, may be seen to have a constant and important influence on educability.

In our conception of intelligence, however, we added that

this knowledge must be used for an adaptive mastery of reality. That is, adaptability would be closely related to the reprojection into the outer world of energies and substances acquired from identifications. It would include the ego's ability to use the powers at its disposal for coping with external circumstances—both those in its usual environment and those more new and strange to it. Here, again, emotional trends would affect the quantity and quality of the dynamic forces available. If the erotic instincts, for example, have not developed to a certain degree of objectivity, their energy cannot be used for reality-testing and adjusting. If they remain largely in their crude or infantile forms, the ego will require for their repression or control energy which might otherwise be directed towards the outer world. Again, if the destructive impulses do not attain a fusion with libidinal forces, there will be lacking that socialized aggressiveness which is so necessary for meeting and dealing with situations in the environment. Moreover, the ego itself must have, not only the capacities mentioned earlier, but also a quality of strength in directing the impulses and abilities at its disposal. A full development of stability and independence on the part of the ego would be vital for its task of adapting, inasmuch as weakness and dependence imply an insufficiency for handling whatever may confront the individual. Indeed, the ego's need for protection and support would tend to heighten the inbinding of narcissistic libido and would thus deny the object-cathexis necessary for a flexible conforming to reality.

STRUCTURAL THEORIES FOR AMENTIA

It may be that by viewing intelligence in terms of these dynamic forces within the ego and the instincts, we lose sight of the more fundamental factors having to do with mental capacity as such. In other words, if we say that mental deficiency consists of some failure in the processes of acquiring, absorbing, and using knowledge for an adaptive mastery of reality, what are the specific defects which lie behind this failure? In many instances, brain lesions and organic injuries or defects have been indicated as the basis for a mental arrest. Other investigators have referred to "a pathologic variation in the germ cell," which makes complete mental growth impossible. Another plausible explanation for mental deficiency is advanced by those who hold that there is a defect or arrest in the develop-

ment of the neurons. Each of these points of view would seem to be a reasonable attempt to determine the basic cause of mental arrest. Each consists of a formulation which the observed data frequently appear to warrant. Yet we feel that none of these theories can indicate just how the fundamental cause leads to the difficulties which the ament is seen to have. Nor do they contain possibilities for understanding the individual in such a way as to help him in his problem of getting along in the world.

Our belief is that even in cases where a definite organic injury is present, there are dynamic or psychological factors which play a prominent part. The ego, as we view it, is not only an organization of character-patterns and abstract capacities, but also is made up of the sum of the physical elements constituting the human body. The total "self" would consist of the individual's body, his mental impressions from it, and his co-ordination of the somatic, as well as the psychic elements referring to it. Any wound to the physical structure must be reflected in the ego's efficiency and in its sense of power to govern the total organism in its approach to reality. Especially must a handicap result, if the injury is to that portion of the machine which is most sensitive and most needed in the process of guiding or directing. A lesion in the brain, therefore, or an injury to the central nervous system would greatly impoverish the weapons by means of which the ego carries out its appointed tasks. Furthermore, a physical injury of this nature results in a severe psychic wounding of the ego. The sense of self-assurance and confidence is deeply hurt, for the ego misses some part of its feeling of completeness. In a sense it has been castrated, and it automatically seeks some emotional compensation. Case-studies have suggested that the ego's need for love is greatly emphasized in such instances; that there is an added impounding of libido within the personality, as a narcissistic agency for psychic healing and soothing. An injury coming early in life might thus serve to inbind a more solid formation of primary narcissism, and the extra narcissistic need might well inhibit the full ingestion and absorption of identifications. In other words, a lesion might cripple mental development, not directly, but through its burden of handicap upon the ego and the libidinal processes necessary for mental growth and functioning. We must grant to organic factors, wherever present, a share in the causation of mental enfeeblement; but we hold that it is mainly through its effect upon the

ego and upon the distribution of available energies that a physical defect exerts its mental crippling. If we regard the problem in this way, it seems to bridge the gap between an atypical organic "cause" and a "result" in the realm of mental functioning. Perhaps it also explains why many cases of amentia are found without established lesions; that is, a somatic defect is not *necessary* to cause mental arrest—but it does exert an important influence in cases where it appears.

Experience indicates, however, that in the greater number of aments there is no gross brain lesion, either from injury or from the less detectable sources of intra-uterine "infections." Moreover, the inflammatory or degenerative lesions, frequently postulated in individual cases, fail of a general substantiation. It is conceivable, therefore, that an injured or crippled brain may not be of such etiologic moment in amentia as a defect which is present from inheritance or from a constitutional failure in development. In other words, a traumatic injury, where present, may be less injurious than that which lies innate within the very lack of hardiness or strength in the individual's capacities. Clinical facts often go to show that patients with a cerebral hemiplegia or diplegia offer greater possibilities for future development than the aments who are hereditarily or constitutionally handicapped. The more decisive point, even in cerebral cripples, would seem to be the qualities inherent in the individual ego. Thus, for the more determinative factors in amentia in general, one is seemingly forced to turn towards the fundamentals of inheritance or to the innate character of the germ plasm, the neurons, etc.

We should prefer to summarize these basic crippling factors and recognize them simply as constituting a fundamental ego-defect. Whether this be in the germ cell or in the development of the neurons, we may at least say that the total ego is without some degree of its usual endowment for meeting reality. In dealing with amentia, whatever more remote etiologic data may be held responsible for its inception, our major concern practically is with the imperfections noted in the ego's functioning. Here we must leave concrete, physical representations and turn towards capacities which have to do with definite mental processes. Our point of view is that the ego's defect lies within such capacities as perception, memory, ideation, judgment, and reasoning. These are specific phases of its endowment, necessary for mental grasp and adaptation or mastery of its

surroundings. They may be originally handicapped from some physical lack in the elements which go to make up the ego (germ plasm, neurons, etc.); they may be crippled at some time as a result of organic injury (lesions, etc.); or they may be innately defective themselves as capacities forming part of the patterns which the ego inherits. Whatever the ultimate, basic cause, the important fact is that these capacities are the defective elements most typically observed; and these functions are the ones which need helpful understanding if development is to be brought up to the highest possible level of individual usefulness and happiness.

THE NATURE OF EGO DEFECT IN AMENTIA

Our opposition, therefore, is not against the scientific investigators who indicate organic or constitutional defects as the basis of mental arrest. Rather, we take issue with those who infer from these findings that "therefore nothing can be done about it." Our opinion is that a recognition of certain unchangeable, irremediable factors in an individual is absolutely necessary; but that within the limits imposed by such physical or deeply ingrained handicaps there is much that can be better understood and more constructively dealt with.

It is for this reason that we emphasize the dynamic elements in the problems of amentia. They are the moving forces of energy which must be used in the actual functioning of whatever capacities the ego does possess. They are the vitalizing powers which are necessary for advancing mental development as far as inherently possible, and for directing this development into the channels of greatest individual efficiency. We refer specifically to instinctual energy, for it is from the libido and from the destructive impulses that the driving force for all contacts with reality seems to come.

Thus the main, immediate problem in mental arrest seems to concern the aspects of ego-development and the uses to which emotional energy is put. If we are to understand and help retarded individuals, we need to study the formation of primary narcissism and its effects upon the capacity for making identifications. It will be pertinent to investigate the manner in which oral-libido is used with the destructive impulses for an ingestion of knowledge from the outer world. We must get a clearer insight into the development of secondary narcissism,

its advantages in supplying the urge towards grasping reality, and its disadvantages in obstructing the full absorption of what is taken in. Our understanding of the ament will be further advanced if we can observe the extent to which he has attained objectivity, by means of which he can reproject and use his acquirements for adaptive purposes. And finally, we may better appreciate his difficulties in attaining a social adaptability and in adhering consistently to moral codes when we see more deeply into the formation of the super-ego.

These are the factors we feel are all-important in any theory of mental arrest which strives to deal with backward individuals as living beings. They are the elements which seem to influence the ament's functioning in everyday life and his possibilities for a restricted but at least a further elaborated development. What we have here summarized as a theoretical formulation, we hope to illustrate more in detail in the chapters which follow.

PART TWO
THE MAXIMUM STATE OF MENTAL ARREST

I
THE SAVAGE OF AVEYRON

THE first serious attempt to open the mind of an idiot properly begins with the work of Itard. Late in the eighteenth century a child was discovered in the southern part of France who, although about twelve years old, had developed none of the mental qualities of humankind and was leading the life of a savage. He was disgustingly dirty, raced about with extreme activity and agility in climbing trees, and when standing or seated would balance his head and trunk like a wild animal. He wore no clothes, yet stood extreme temperatures easily. Usually he would bite anyone who approached him. Indications of emotion as we know it, however, were entirely lacking, and he seemed not to hear the human voice. He would not turn at the sound of a pistol shot, but would turn if a walnut was being cracked (familiar food). Human speech of any kind was entirely absent.

Itard assumed the care of this boy, Victor, for four years—during which time he attempted to train him towards a closer adaptation of civilized customs. First he educated the skin senses, and within three months Victor was able to distinguish between cold and warm, smooth and rough, soft and hard bodies. By putting him out in the cold after a warm bath, Itard accustomed him to the use of clothes, which he soon learned to put on by himself. Speech and the auditory recognition of words, however, presented problems which could not be solved. Victor became able to distinguish significant sounds and intonations of voice which helped him roughly to recognize the sentiments of his companions. He also could find similar ways of communicating his own simple needs and wishes. But Itard was never able to get him to talk nor to understand the spoken word.

He was more successful in getting him to comprehend

familiar objects by drawing them on the blackboard and placing the objects over them. Victor was slow to understand, but when he finally did, the next step was to substitute the written name for the drawings. The deaf and dumb are known to pass easily from one set of symbols to the other; Victor, however, did not. The method was therefore modified, and Itard first conceived the idea of using the well-known form board. Victor learned a series of letters rapidly, and later could assemble the symbols "l-a-i-t" (French for milk) and came to recognize the common words. Eventually he could read the name of an object and indicate it in its concrete form. Memory was trained by a method akin to what we call today the delayed reaction. After reading a familiar word, Victor would be sent out to fetch the corresponding object. At first he forgot very quickly. Then he ran, in order not to forget during his trip. In the end, memory lasted longer and longer, and the child was able to do these simple errands rather well.

While Victor did not show any great affection when he saw Itard coming for the lessons, at other times his love for his master was unmistakably demonstrated. The boy also indicated a very great fondness for the governess who was closely associated with him. Moreover, he began to give clear evidence of joy, of satisfaction, of sadness, of sorrow with abundant tears, and he gave appropriate response to praise and blame. An attempt was made to teach him the notion of justice. One day, when Victor was expecting a reward for good work, his master, with a severe look, dragged him toward a dark room. The child when he had been bad was sometimes taken there, and had always entered without resistance. This time, however, his revolt was such that he kicked and bit his master's hand. Itard interpreted this as a perception of "injustice." He adds, "How sweet it would have been for me to tell him to what degree the very pain of his biting was filling my soul with satisfaction."

Yet, on the whole, Itard felt that he had failed with Victor. His theory had been that by mechanically "educating" the senses he could awaken the child's sleeping intelligence. When the boy did not gain the ability to comprehend spoken words nor acquire the faculty of speech, the master was confronted with a problem he could not understand. He recognized that with the coming of puberty it might be possible to utilize the boy's erotic energy for constructive purposes, but he feared

that Victor might be led to commit "acts of revolting indecency" while still in the process of being trained. The experiment was therefore abandoned at this point, and Victor was left to private care—still an enigma to Itard.

ITARD'S REAL SUCCESS

Our feeling, on the other hand, is that Itard succeeded where he thought he had failed. Intuitively he seems to have gained results which in theory he felt were unimportant. Here was a boy whose primary narcissism had kept him emotionally aloof from the outer world. What contacts he had made with reality were at the level of an animal-like existence, auto-erotic in character and with little need of objective, socialized relationships. Victor, for example, was unable to form the identifications necessary to imitate and learn speech, because there was no need, within the ego, for this means of expression. Had he lived from the outset in an environment of human beings, it is possible that he might have formed attachments and that the need for love would have impelled him towards various identifications. Either because he was without this reward to the secondary narcissism or because primarily his impulse was to remain aloof anyway (probably both), Victor's capacity for identifications in reality was greatly inhibited.

INTERPRETATION OF ITARD'S WORK

Itard entered the boy's emotional system, gave him libido, and won his love and confidence. This attachment and that for the governess seem to have brought Victor into closer contact with the outer world. Some part of the primary narcissism was evidently loosened and made free for identifications. Just as the need for understanding clothing and grasping the idea of hot and cold was aroused in the boy, so the drive for comprehending various tones of voice was stimulated by the ego's need. Through the incentive of the secondary narcissism, Victor was able to make identifications with the concrete letters of the form board. Apparently, however, the more abstract symbols (such as the written and spoken word) required too great a step away from the primary narcissism and the more primitive forms of identification. Yet there was some absorption of the identifications he did make, for the boy was able

to apply his knowledge in the running of simple errands. Not only here, but in the response to praise and blame, we can see the reward of love as the impelling force towards contact with reality. Wherever self-sufficiency (primary narcissism) was complete, there Victor failed to grasp the external idea. As in the case of speech, his simple needs were amply satisfied without reaching towards a new identification.

In regard to the incident of "injustice," one inference is that the child had previously ingested an identification with that part of his master which praised "good" and punished "bad." In other words, he had taken on, from Itard, some degree of a super-ego which urged punishment for anti-social acts. When no naughtiness had been done, however, there was no inner force to condemn the deed. The destructive energy remained, not with the super-ego against the ego, but with the ego against the external object (*i.e.*, against Itard). Thus, where punishment had usually been accepted, it was rebelled against when the punishing agent went beyond the scope of the identification. This suggests that Victor had advanced beyond the stage where praise and blame were the only means of evaluating right and wrong. Another possible interpretation of the happening, however, is that, having just given libido to a task, the failure of the expected return to the secondary narcissism stirred Victor into violence against the frustration. Perhaps the idea of "justice" was not involved at all.

Details, of course, are lacking for more than this speculative interpretation of Itard's work. It seems fair to say, however, that he did succeed in making a more socialized being out of Victor. He detached him from some of his primary narcissism and made it possible for the child to form a wider range of identifications in reality. In so far as this entailed a greater grasp and understanding of the outer world, we may say that the problem of developing Victor's intelligence met with success.

SEGUIN'S PRINCIPLES

Almost immediately following Itard's lapse of interest in his pupil, the elder Seguin organized a complete system for the "intellectualization of the senses." His work, broadly constructive so far as scientific, physiological principles could conceive of, was based on the possibility of a mechanical upbuilding

of the mind. The aim was to train the various faculties which go to make up what is termed "mind," and thus to educate the individual closer to the average of his fellows. It seemingly was a more highly developed application of Itard's theory with Victor, and has been used extensively in educational plans for all states of mental arrest. Yet we feel that it fails to take into account the motive forces which lie behind the mental faculties, the driving power which makes it possible for them to function. Our view is that the human mind cannot be regarded as a mere summation of its parts, but that further progress towards understanding awaits deeper research into the dynamic factors. Just as Itard failed, so, it seems, must all mechanical methods for educating the senses fail. Just as Itard succeeded, however, when he unwittingly put to use the emotional energy of his patient, so it may be that future advances in helping the idiot depend on principles which incorporate this element.

OUR PROBLEM WITH THE IDIOT

It is generally observed that the idiot appears to keep rigidly to his own internally conceived world and perhaps gains as much satisfaction in it as the average person does in the object-world. He is seen to keep very busy within the narrow confines of his separate existence; self-centred feelings are said to dominate his emotional attitudes, and he liberates only those impulses which are immediately concerned with momentary pleasures. Descriptive accounts make mention of the idiot's inattention, lack of concentration, poor memory, indiscriminative judgment, and diminished sense functions. Observers also take note of the frequent violent outbursts of rage when irritation or opposition is encountered. Often, too, the child goes to extremes of self-mutilation to a degree rarely seen outside of idiocy.

THE DESTRUCTIVE INSTINCTS

Nor are these self-destructive tendencies, which we shall attempt to explain psychoanalytically, at all rare in aments. Institutions are filled with feeble-minded individuals who tear and mutilate themselves. There are many who tongue-bite; who beat themselves on the face or body; who strike their noses or ears; and who pull out their hair or nails. Some rub or tear

their ears. Frequently they bite their arms and wrists furiously. Large keloids and thickenings of the skin and subcutaneous tissues are often present on the backs of the hands where aments customarily bite themselves. Many welts are found in favourite places for their attacks upon themselves. Some idiotic children even destroy their eyes and ears altogether. In rare instances they actually ingest parts of their own bodies in pleasure-sucking and eating activities.

According to our formulation these traits, common to all idiots, are explainable in terms of the metapsychology of Freud. Since they have to do with the disposition of mental energy, an understanding of them may give us a broader conception of idiocy as such. Our original hypothesis has suggested that the fixation of libido on the earliest levels of primary narcissism would be one of the strongest barriers against attaining a mental grasp of reality. Moreover, it was inferred that the use to which destructive impulses were put would greatly influence the child's progress in ingesting parts of his outer world. We shall want to see what rôle these and other emotional factors seem to play in the individual cases which follow.

II

PRIMARY NARCISSISM IN THE IDIOT

Our first psychoanalytic study will show in detail the extreme manifestation of primary narcissism so characteristic of the maximum state of mental arrest. In citing the evidences of a libidinal fixation on the intra-uterine phases of development, we cannot of course regard it as a static condition. Just as in all personalities there is a dominant trend, but with it are varying streams of interest and capacity at other levels. Thus, in our illustration, while the ego seemingly desires for the most part to avoid identifications, there are indications even here of some approach to reality. The libidinal tendencies, however, mainly elude the oral stage of nursing, both in its concrete and its symbolic significance. Our character-picture also serves to designate the perversion of destructive impulses into paths leading away from a grasp and understanding of the outer world. It is the exaggerated degree of these outstanding trends which we postulate as underlying the failure to ingest and absorb knowledge.

RALPH

Ralph is a boy of about sixteen, mentally graded as an idiot, but in fine condition physically. Notwithstanding this rating he is able to read a little, is capable of spelling a few simple words, and can remember correctly the names of many people and objects with which he is not in constant contact. He is reported to have been unusually slow in beginning to creep and walk, but no physical ailments were discovered as possible causes. In fact, no organic basis has been found for his condition, which is assumed to have been present from birth.

He does not take readily to his new surroundings. Without apparent cause he begins the bleating, rasping yell which constitutes his crying: "Maa-aaa! Maa-aaa! Maa-aaaaaa!" It is not a sad weeping, but rather one to assault the peace of the world with its raucous inharmony. Tears flow in abundance; his face is screwed into distortions of pain. Yet the impression is one of violent protest—not of suffering. He begins to accent the second syllable: "Maa-aaaaa! Maa-aaaaa! Maa-aaa-aaaa-aaaaa!" The sounds become more dryly coarse and harsh, but always there is that emphatic rhythm, "Maa-aaaa," with the stress coming at the end. Now he swings his fist solidly against his ear—again—again—again. Beating himself constantly, he continues his disrupting cry as though he had entered an endurance-contest with the world. He seems to imply that he will hold out as long as the latter will; he will gather new strength; he will keep up for ever this discomfiting, disturbing, annoying yell.

A football helmet is placed on the boy's head to protect his ears from his self-inflicted beating. Otherwise it seems as if he would batter them to a pulp, so intent is he on castigating himself. When his arms begin to tire his head swings sharply against his fist, giving force to the blow from that end. Relentlessly, over and over and over again he punishes this convenient part of himself. Sometimes he does it silently; rarely he cries without beating himself. Usually he pummels away to the accompaniment of those raucous, rasping, tearful bleats: "Maa-aaaa! Maa-aaaaaa!" Even with his helmet on he swings his fist forcefully against the side of his head. Sometimes he shifts the point of his attack and jolts his chin sharply against his projecting shoulder; he must manage some way to

overcome all obstacles; he will manage somehow to injure himself cruelly with these monotonous blows with their accompaniment of "Maa-aaaaaaaaa! Maa-aaa! Maa-aaaaaaaaa!"

But now Ben (the attendant) is holding his hands. The boy quiets a little, but still occasionally taps his chin downward. There is no reply to questions as to what is wrong, no response to soothing assurances. His hands are tied loosely and he takes to the process willingly. As his companion sits in a chair, Ralph squirms and wriggles on the floor into the opening between his feet. He strives frantically to wind the man's legs over his shoulders, around his body. Tighter he presses together the enclosure. At last he is wrapped. He might still batter his chin against his shoulder; he might still yell and cry, but these gestures have no meaning now. He is tightly enfolded, snug, assured. He sits thus for hours, completely calm, serene, so long as Ben's encircling legs do not move.

Now at last he seems happy with his new friend, who, like a perfect mother, takes care of him so completely. Ben rouses him in the morning; gives him a comforting, refreshing bath; dresses him; brings food to him; stays constantly with him the entire day. He can be perpetually secure in this snug routine, need only to indicate his slightest displeasure by a definite "Nam," and Ben will try valiantly to discover his wants. Occasionally it is necessary to utter words at the peak of bated breath: "Ben will sit in the chair," or "Ben will go walking." Most of the time, though, his desires must be surmised. He keeps repeating "Nam" until the attendant grasps the right idea.

Others approach. Ralph doesn't want Ben to be talking to these people. He wishes them to go away so that they two may be alone together. He protests "Nam—Nam—Nam!" Still no response. "Ur—urr!" He pummels the suffering ear, jolts the scarred chin. "Nam!" Nothing happens. Well, then, let them have it! "Maa-aaaaaa! Maa-aaaaaa!" Like a mighty Samson, he'll pull the whole world down over his head! He'll teach them to respect the majesty of his wishes! "Maa-aaaa! Maa-aaaa! Aaa! Aaa! Aaa! Aaaa!"

The two walk rhythmically along the path. His arm is tight around his companion's body; Ben's arm enfolds him snugly as he grips Ralph's other hand. Thus engulfed he strides happily along, at peace with the whole world. Indeed, the bubbling rush of joy inside is too much—he begins to

chuckle gleefully. The surging happiness breaks out in meaningless sounds, rapidly uttered: "Whaddu—whaddu—whaddu—whaddu—oh—ho—ho—he! Whaddu—whaddu—whaddu—whaddu—oh—ho—ho—he! Whaddu—whaddu—whaddu—whaddu." He leaps forward, even out of this comforting embrace, to dangle his finger ludicrously before his mouth—laughing gleefully, uproariously. That pleasure-feeling so expands within him it seems to shake his whole body in a tickled trembling—as if his insides would turn somersaults if he didn't keep up that dancing, leaping movement.

Suddenly he breaks into a run—races along the path far ahead of his companion. There is to be a chase! With a wild rush of laughter the boy speeds away as Ben attempts to catch him. For a few seconds the attendant tries to win him back by turning indifferently away, but from the distance comes a rasping, shrieking "Nam!"—no activity; simply this threatening, domineering shriek. Ben returns. It is to be a game! Ralph is to enjoy the lustful glee of being sought, of being chased, of having someone striving wildly to come to him! "Oho—ho—ho—whaddu—whaddu—whaddu—whaddu!"

As they return to his room he strides confidently towards a definite chair. No, Ben is not going with him; he is ready to be alone. He sits sideways on the seat with his legs dangling over the arm. Next he slides down further and further on his back, at the same time doubling his legs back over his body. Further, further he edges himself down—down on to the back of his shoulders and neck and head. His legs come all the way up and back, catching in the chair-arm behind him. In the flash of a second he has doubled himself into this position, upside-down, cramped, uncomfortable—in other people's eyes. But to him it is the utmost in snug security. There he is happy to remain, almost interminably, alone, perfectly content. No need of shrieking "Nams" now! No need of hoarse, dry-eyed crying! Everything is as it should be and as it once was—or, at least, as nearly so as it possibly can be—out in this world where such positions are only vague, haunting memories.

Observation tells us that this is his favourite position. It is the one condition under which he may be left alone. Invariably he seeks it, or something similar to it, whenever he is left to his own devices. So uncannily does it reproduce the posture of a child in the uterus that we can scarcely avoid the inference that his unconscious aim is to recapture the security

associated with that retreat. In bed he repeats it by curling up, deeply buried in the darkness of smothering blankets. Moreover, the tight enfoldment of his attendant's legs around his neck and body is a much-desired condition which again could have its basis in the earliest enfoldment by the mother. His need ever to be tied or held might also be taken as a part of his unconscious wish to feel the firm grip of an attachment to the mother's body. Such a formulation would lead us to believe that this boy's strongest fixation is on the pre-natal security of engulfment within the womb. Seemingly his weak ego is fearful of leaving its first protection. Apparently the erotic instincts hold fast to this earliest form of gratification.

HATRED TOWARD REALITY

To be placed in a new environment would appear to mean a loss of the previous attachment. As we have seen, Ralph protests against it bitterly. What stands out, however, is the manner in which he carries out his rebellion. Obviously, he hates this world which castrates him from his security, and the raucous crying is his attack upon it. Yet soon he begins to beat himself, sincerely and violently. Possibly it is a gesture which has been found to arouse anxiety in the mother-substitutes who take care of him. The evident sincerity of his viciousness, however, would suggest a deeper motivation. He appears to be doing to himself the violence which we might expect him to direct against a hostile outer world. In other words, the destructive impulses (which might have gone into an aggressive attempt to conquer and subdue the environment) are quickly turned inward against himself. The unconscious purpose would be construed as one of self-annihilation; and the trend would be regressive (towards the loss of self within the mother) rather than progressive towards developing power to attain satisfactions in reality.

It is an interesting question, why the boy's violence centres mainly on his ears. The thought occurs to us that in destroying these organs he would be annihilating one of the means by which reality is perceived. Possibly the unconscious motive is to shut out any recognition of the hostile outer world. He will not hear any indications of it, he will have no contact with it through this particular sense. In a similar way, by disappearing under the blankets in bed, he may be blotting out the

sight of external objects. Both activities might be regarded as a part of the retreat away from a reality which has proved unfriendly and unsatisfying.

THE VAGUE BEGINNINGS OF SECONDARY NARCISSISM

We note, however, that under certain conditions Ralph begins to form an attachment for his new companion. These conditions are evidently associated with a continuance of the enfoldment and a conformance to his need for magic omnipotence. He is to be cared for completely, and his wishes are to be foreseen. He need make no effort to explain his wants; his attendant is to be so entirely in rapport with him that Ralph's meaning will be tacitly understood. If not, then a vigorous "Nam" will be all that is necessary to set him right. We would conclude that the boy does not remain entirely wrapped in his womb-like existence, but has need for a slight degree of external relationship. This, however, is to be used merely to regain the completeness of that earlier situation. That is, he seems to make a passive sort of identification in order to draw from it the fuel for his primary narcissism.

What happens when these needs are abundantly answered is strikingly demonstrated. Our impression is that Ralph is so flooded with the libido which his attendant's care has given him that he fairly bubbles over with glee as they walk along the path together. He can seemingly afford to leave the physical enfoldment of his companion's arms and engage in a more active form of autoerotism. It is as if the ego were so fully wrapped in its libidinal blanket that it need no longer shrink from an actual separation. Yet such a great store of energy has been impounded that it seems to surge up in great waves of elation, demanding release, expression. As he races and plays and chuckles at his ludicrous gestures, he is evidently discharging some of the tension. We may notice, however, that it cannot have the cathartic effect of an objectivity, but rather is bound to the autoerotic level. Only temporary release is provided, for the libido eventually returns to the ego. Even the game of chase serves, not as a mutual indulgence, but one where libido is constantly returned to him in the attendant's frantic efforts to capture him—that is, to enfold him. It is seemingly the highest level of activity he attains, achieved only under a constant inflow of libido.

POINTS OF FIXATION

From this brief summary of our impressions we may formulate a tentative outline of the emotional development in this case. Let us say that the main bulk of libido remains attached to intra-uterine pleasures. The actual state of enfoldment within the mother had to be given up, but the instincts still seek gratification at that level by means of situations which most nearly repeat it. Instinctual development has, therefore, lagged behind. Perhaps some part of their energy has gone forward to the stage of mother-identification where an emotional attachment to her (or to surrogates) has provided support for the ego's weakness. Thus there has possibly been some detachment from the primary narcissism in a projection of libido towards this dependence. Yet even here there is apparently small gain to the secondary narcissism, for the chief aim is one of restoring completeness to the original magic omnipotence. So slight is the outward drive of erotic instincts that they do not draw with them an object-cathexis of the death-instincts. So needful is the ego of constant enfoldment that it cannot sustain a vigorous hate for the hostile world. Destructiveness remains chiefly directed against the self, and we see it manifested in Ralph's most characteristic gesture, that of viciously and cruelly beating himself.

EXAMPLES OF BEHAVIOUR

With this background we may gain a clearer understanding of this idiotic boy in various experiences noted by those in charge of him at the time. While they provide further illustration of his fundamental fixations, they may also give some hint as to the shadowy spray of energy into other, more advanced channels. Let us see what inferences we can reasonably draw from the reports.

"Ralph started the day with several crying spells, beating his face and rushing away into the corners of the room, often with a terrified look upon his face. I spoke to him very softly and assured him that no harm would come to him, but he seemed very suspicious of the new person and was very reluctant to obey. He commenced talking to himself: 'No boy sits on my lap. Oh, you little beast, you deserve a good whipping. Oh, no! She is my mother, not your mother. . . . I can't do it, that's all.' As we went outdoors, he suddenly

threw down his gloves, started to punch his face, and then ran away. On being asked to pick up his gloves, he did so, but immediately ran toward the lawn, jumping, beating his face, and screaming, 'Nam!' I showed no concern, but waited quietly. Ralph then ran across the ploughed field, and, when asked to come back, picked up a handful of dirt and threw it in my direction. He was induced to come back, but his face was flushed, his eyes distended, and he showed unusual energy in running across the lawn to the porch, where he stood screaming and beating himself. Sympathetic inquiries as to what was wrong only brought the reply: 'Ben will tie your hands behind your back.' He was encouraged to ride his wheel, and it was arranged to hold his hands instead of tying them. In this way he soon recovered and took a long ride, without further trouble."

INTERPRETATION OF EPISODES

Evidently the stress of forming a new attachment brings with it a castration from his previous enfoldment. The ego seemingly rebels against widening the sphere of identification to include his new attendant. It is noteworthy that some violence is directed against the object, although in general the trend is towards self-destructiveness. Only more libido and some promise of enfoldment succeeds in restoring calm. What possible significance his mumbled phrases may have can better be inferred from a report of his mother's visit a week later.

"Ralph's parents came to visit him. At first he seemed pleased to see them, but once they were in the room he began to cry and jump and beat himself, his face crimson and his eyes distended. His mother tried to quiet him, but he broke away from her and continued to shout and cry. The content was as follows:

" 'Yes, you are a bad boy. That is the point. No, you are not going to bed. She is my mother, not your mother. Oh no, no boy sits on my lap.' Eventually the tantrum was ended by his mother's solicitous attitude. He brought the stool over to where she was sitting, sat down beside her and started to laugh. His mother volunteered the statement that his remark, 'She is not your mother,' was in reference to the daughter of his nurse. The little girl would often say this to him when she saw him being nursed."

In our judgment, his words have to do with the "bad"

mother. That past reminder that the tender, nursing mother (surrogate) was not his own possession must surely stir associations connected with the loss of that first attachment—the forced recognition that the mother would not always be a part of himself. This castration, together with all the other denials expressed in his mutterings, is charged against the “bad” mother—the mother who weaned him and frustrated his desires. The fact that, in both instances, his words came at a time when some disturbance had taken place lends added plausibility to this interpretation. It is as if the present-day frustration brought up, out of the unconscious, memories of all the other treacheries of the “bad” mother, and the recollection is impulsively expressed, without censorship. Let us note, moreover, that the words are said from the point of view of the restraining mother, the repressive force. Similar to his self-beating, then, we should say that the destructive energy (sadism) is directed against himself rather than outward against the disturbing object. Just as another individual’s affective memory would reinvoke a sadistic outburst against a denial, Ralph’s unconscious association seems to have been used to re-enforce the masochistic reaction.

Just what, however, is the denying, disturbing element in the present-day situation? As far as we can discover, it has to do with the giving up of old attachments and the forming of new. The new attendant cannot understand him and provide for him in the perfect way; it means a castration from the old companion. Seemingly it is another weaning—possibly another birth trauma, to be separated from that which formerly protected him and to be propelled towards something new, strange. Ralph’s resentment against such an outrage would appear to be expressed in his characteristic manner—an impulse to destroy the self. Yet we might expect that in the second episode, with both the mother and the attendant present, he would have no cause to feel castrated. Perhaps it is because the mother’s value to him has by now partially deteriorated, while the attendant’s ability to enfold and protect him has not yet attained full assurance. We can possibly better illustrate our meaning by reference to another visit from his mother after Ralph’s attachment to his attendant had been greatly strengthened.

TYPICAL REACTION TO MOTHER

"At first sight of her he seems to fly into a terrific rage. Crying loudly in that coarse, rasping bleat, he pummels himself constantly on the ears, on the face and chin. His mother steps towards him, speaking kindly, with soothing assurance. But the harsh yelling only increases to the point where it seems to tear his throat; he punches himself harder and refuses to be quieted. As his mother approaches him he runs away. He will have nothing to do with her; he will not allow himself to be influenced by her gentleness. Louder and louder the stormy protest racks his voice: 'Maa-aaaa! Maa-aaaa! Maa-aaaaaa!' Finally, in desperation, his mother leaves the room. Alone with his attendant, Ralph becomes calm. The beating ceases; tears dry on his now relaxed face. It is as if there had been no disturbance. Yet the instant she returns he storms into his harsh crying and immediately resumes his violence to himself."

As we would understand it, a fixation on the primary narcissism tends to hold him aloof from attachments in the outer world. Thus, a new attendant is received with rebellious protest and self-destructiveness. Yet the new identification is accepted as soon as it is found to supply the enfoldment and the complete rapport associated with a constant physical attachment. But the mother herself as an identified object seems to have been dropped into the discard so soon as she no longer contributed regularly to his engulfment. She is apparently remembered only as the "bad" mother, the one who denied him and cut him off. The attendant is given a valuable significance because he maintains Ralph in his intra-uterine and omnipotent satisfactions. It may be that this slowness in making new identifications and this quickness in shedding old ones can be taken as a basis for Ralph's lack of mental capacity. His identifications seem to be made entirely for their worth as contributors to his recapturing a womb-like security; they go to feed the primary narcissism. They are not absorbed within the ego for greater power in grasping and understanding reality.

On another occasion the following report was made by the attendant: "I set out to take him for a walk. He immediately puts one arm about me, seizes my thumb with the hand of this arm and takes my other hand also. As we approach

the path to the lake, I stop and ask Ralph what he sees. 'Yes,' he says, his eyes wandering, although I have definitely pointed to the chickens. I ask him again, and this time he says, 'Chickens.' At the first gate he attempts to bend down without touching the bar. When I say, 'Lift the bar up,' he starts to beat his chin against his shoulder and to make grunting noises, while there is a pouting and coarse trembling of his lips and a contraction of his facial muscles. I lift up the bar, and as we pass through I say, 'Well, Ralph, tomorrow you're going to lift the bar up.' When we reach the falls I stop, and Ralph tries to push me forward. I resist and ask, 'What is that, Ralph?' 'Water,' he replies, and attempts to urge me forward. 'What is the water doing?' Ralph replies, 'The water is falling.' During the entire walk he starts to beat himself, grunt, cry, screw his face up, and pout his lips, every time I attempt to disengage myself. On a later occasion, as we walk, he stops at each gate and strikes himself once or twice upon the chin before lifting the bar in response to my request."

It seems characteristic of the boy that he resists performing for his attendant. We note that at every point where something is asked of him there is some manifestation of rebellion. Even the reward of his friend's increased love and approval cannot seem to remove this reluctance. Quite often he is urged to repeat the letters of the alphabet. Whether he begins with the first or the last, he invariably announces them incorrectly when half-way through. His tone is one of annoyance and impatience; frequently he grunts and beats himself. Our inference would be that he is unwilling to spare the libido necessary to concentrate on his stunt, in spite of the fact that it will be returned to him abundantly in a triumph for the secondary narcissism. In short, he wishes to be loved by divine right (primary narcissism) rather than be required to make even a tentative projection.

ATTEMPTS AT EMOTIONAL CONTACT

In an attempt to encourage some measure of external interest, ideal conditions were arranged. His favourite attendant, Ben, was kept close to him. Another idiotic boy, Jimmy, was allowed to play in the same room; and the instructor, without directly urging anything, tried to make active play seem accessible and attractive. The following is taken from reports of these meetings:

"Ralph comes in for the interview willingly as long as he has the helmet on. He sits on the floor as the blocks are spread out, gets a chair near him and twines his left leg through the rungs. He fingers a few blocks for a minute or so, then assumes a distracted air, taps himself lightly on the face, gets up, and walks to the sofa where Ben is sitting. He begins to finger his shoe-lace, and in a short time has the index finger of his left hand tied. Ben slowly moves away and begins to play with the blocks.

"Ralph moves towards him and settles himself between Ben's knees. In a few moments he has the index finger of his right hand tied. He remains in this position quietly until Ben moves. Then he looks sad and begins to hit his chin against his knee. Ben asks him what is wrong, but he makes no reply. Under coaxing, Ralph unties the left finger, but hesitates to untie the right one, although he finally does, when he is given careful attention. If Ben asks him to do anything, even to help him, he breathes quickly, appears agitated, finally taps himself on the left side of the head, uttering a grunting sound of disapproval.

"We give him a special box of odds and ends. He looks at them with interest, takes them apart, but after about five minutes he resumes the light tapping of his left ear. He refuses to allow Ben to tap the ear. He holds Ben's arm and makes a face as if Ben's blow might hurt, moves away and taps the ear himself as he assumes a thoughtful air and hums a tune. Now we do not demand anything of him. We make him comfortable, keep near him, and he is contented to watch Jimmy build towers of blocks, laughs at the latter's funny antics, and finally picks up a few blocks himself and fingers them for a few minutes. Now he leans against Ben, looking at Jimmy. He has a thoughtful expression, occasionally hitting himself a very light tap. He draws a chair near him and puts his right arm in and out of the smallest places formed by the rungs. Again he appears satisfied and watches the play, only occasionally tapping himself. Once he says, 'This boy.' Soon he picks up the blocks and throws them at Jimmy, laughing with glee as he hits him. When the latter protests and appeals to Ben, Ralph stops and begins to play with his shoe-lace; he dangles it and makes a groping motion towards it with puckered-up mouth. When Ben talks with the instructor the boy becomes annoyed, hits himself, cries, dangles the shoe-lace, hits

himself again, and cries harder. When Ben stops, all these activities cease except for the attention to the dangling shoelace.

"As the training hour ends we all get up and begin to put the blocks and toys away. Ralph stands up quickly; he cries and beats his head. The instructor stands back of him, both arms and legs around him pressing tightly. The boy gradually bends over and, in this position, picks up blocks. This finished, the instructor picks him up in a ball, places him on his lap and rocks him. He is contented to remain in this ball-like posture even when Ben leaves the room. As soon as he is straightened out, however, he cries and hits his head; he then follows Ben into the house for dinner."

Much of the above material simply illustrates what we have noted before, such as the need and wish for enfoldment, the contentment in an intra-uterine position, the expression of rebellion by means of self-punishment, etc. We note in addition, however, that under ideal conditions of attachment to the mother-surrogates (the instructor and the attendant) or a symbol (tight part of a chair, etc.) there is a possibility that he might project his interest on to some external object. His attention is fragmentary and soon wanes, but there would seem to be some indication of an impulse in that direction. Similarly, his sadistic glee in throwing blocks at Jimmy suggests the possibility that under special conditions he is able to direct his destructiveness outward. Usually, however, as we have seen, it is the super-ego which takes over the energy and applies the punishment towards a beating of the self into oblivion. Something apparently takes place within him to allow the libido and the energy of the death-instincts to discharge towards an object, even temporarily.

Our feeling is that the ego rests secure only when there is an actual, physical reproduction of the organic attachment to the mother or the engulfment within her. Whenever reality makes this possible, then Ralph is potentially capable of a slight experiencing of the outer world and some aggressive attack upon it. The infinitesimal degree of this would seem to be decided by the ego's weakness and its need to remain fixated at the intra-uterine level of primary narcissism. It is noteworthy that all of the abilities which Ralph has acquired have to do with things which can be learned while still enfolded and gripped by another person. Otherwise he has shown little capacity.

We would explain this on the ground that his testing and attacking of reality have been inhibited by the above factors.

POSSIBLE SYMBOLIC NURSINGS

One further activity in the play session seems to be characteristic—namely, the dangling of a loose shoe-lace before his puckered, groping mouth. Often the same gesture is made towards a limp forefinger or the finger of a glove partially loosened from his hand. Occasionally he shakes pieces of food on the end of a fork, to the accompaniment of this same erotic glee. The shape of his lips, together with the wild rush of joy during the act, makes it reasonable to suppose that some element of the nursing relationship is being symbolized. Observations have indicated that this, too, takes place only under special circumstances. If the boy has received a maximum of attentive enclosure and attachment, he appears often to plunge into moods of overflowing ecstasy. On such occasions, as on the walk with the attendant previously portrayed, the excited shaking of a nipple-like object (finger, etc.) before his mouth seems to be a mode of temporary release for the supercharge of impounded libido. At other times, such as in the play session, when general conditions are ideal, but some disturbing factor enters, the dangling gesture might be interpreted as a means for solace and self-comforting. For example, Ben's turning his attention to the instructor would appear to be a castration for Ralph, and he protests in his usual way. Accompanying the protest, and even continuing after reassurance has been given, there is the oral-erotic interest in his shoe-lace. It is as if a part of the boy were attempting to find a substitute gratification, even though his major concern is with raging against the loss. Then, when enfoldment is resumed, the additional pleasure is kept for a while, perhaps to heal the wound that was temporarily suffered.

It would seem, then, that some part of Ralph's erotic instincts have developed to the stage of oral satisfaction. The more surprising fact, however, lies in the quality of his activities at that level. At no time does he actually put his finger in his mouth, nor does he take in the objects such as the glove and the shoe-lace. Always it is as if he were dangling before him the possibility of mouth-erotism, but were content to let it remain there. We get the impression of an oral fore-pleasure, without the impulse to complete the act. It is no zestful

smacking of the lips in anticipation of a pleasure that is to come; rather, it seems to be a centring on the lustful activities which precede. We might regard it as a premature ejaculation of libido into the situation which ordinarily is merely preparatory. In no other connection does Ralph show the possibility of an oral interest, except perhaps in the actual taking of food. Let us summarize our impressions of this process.

The boy refuses to eat unless he is at the same time enfolded by his attendant. If the latter withdraws his encircling arms, Ralph at once slides down in the chair, twines his own arms through the bars of the back, and remains tightly wedged there until conditions are remedied. As he eats, he pauses at times to dangle a particle of food before him, laughing gleefully. He does not follow this with an ingestion of the food, but continues shaking it until it falls back to the plate. Upon being urged, he takes up the process of eating. Here there is a seeming paradox. He never fails to clean up everything that is put before him, yet he rarely appears to be enjoying his food. He eats large quantities, on a few occasions asks for more, but in general gives no impression of pleasure in tasting, biting, or mouthing the substance. He has seemed at times to show a preference for certain kinds of food. During one period it was meat; another, potatoes. But these indications have not been constant or certain enough to allow even a tentative inference. The only general conclusion which we may draw is that Ralph's enjoyment of eating consists in the combination of being enfolded and of feeling a fullness in the stomach from having taken in an abundant quantity.

Our speculations on the oral phase of his development suggest that Ralph has not progressed to the stage of pleasure through the mouth or in the process of ingesting. Perhaps it is possible theoretically to divide the nursing stage into three parts. The first concern of the child could be inferred to be to regain the "stomach satisfaction" experienced during the pre-natal existence. The comforting sense of satiation would be an experience of the whole organism, but with the stomach at that time "the dial-plate" of bodily happiness (just as in various later periods the mouth, anus, genitals, etc., assume the leading significance in erotic life). At that time nourishment by way of the mouth was unknown, and in the new order of things the *process* of obtaining would supposedly be secondary to the actual fact of attainment. The child is pictured as

having to learn to nurse, and presumably has to discover the pleasure to the mouth only after the initial drive for stomach-erotism has led him towards the new process. Possibly the first satisfactions in the nursing act are not in the oral zone, but in recapturing the satiation of intra-uterine life. Mouth-pleasure would later begin to have significance as a correlate of the first gratification. When this oral-erotism has attained an established value, then the third stage might have to do with using the mouth as a means for aggressively ingesting the mother (biting the breast; symbolically, in absorbing the mother-identification, etc.). Thus Ralph's fixation at the intra-uterine level may tend to hold him at the first stage of oral development and to block him from any strong impulses towards oral-erotism and sadistic engulfment of objects.

Here we may find another basis for his lack of mental capability. The development of these last two phases of the oral level would seem to provide the desire and the aggressive drive for the ingestion of identifications and the acquiring of knowledge of reality. Lacking these impelling forces, Ralph seemingly fails to approach the outer world for the purpose of taking within himself the means for increased mastery over it. His capacity for doing so would appear to be inhibited by a fixation ante-dating the oral-ingestive level.

In play sessions and during the day with his attendant, objects were placed within his reach which could be broken and destroyed. The hope was that when he could feel personally secure, he might be encouraged to project some of his interest outward; that he might find some degree of object-cathexis for his destructive impulses. It was noted that he eventually took some pleasure in pulling apart thin sticks of wood or brittle grass. Enfolded by his companion, he would sit for hours playing in this way. Later he even ventured forth alone to gather material for his interest. But the final impression was that Ralph was really not getting his chief pleasure from breaking up the objects; there were no indications of a joy in the act of destroying, as such. Instead, he seemed to want to peel off the bark or the outer layer of what he was working on. With a sharp thumb-nail he would strip the covering, but did not care to smash the substance. Similarly, with paper boxes and bundles, his primary concern appeared to be in pulling apart the wrappings to see what was inside. His face showed intense interest as he peered in every corner of a box or between

every layer of paper, but he quickly discarded the remnants without further attention.

If we attempt to judge the impulses which lie behind this activity, we are confronted with three possibilities. It may be that this boy is unconsciously interested in getting inside the wrapping which covers these objects, just as he would wish to get inside the mother, who was the first object. Such an interpretation would be in accord with the characteristic trend of his destructiveness (to annihilate himself), and with his observed tendencies towards engulfment within an object. It would bear the stamp of his intra-uterine fixation and his desire to avoid contact with the outer world. A second possibility is that he is trying to find something. This seems borne out by his searching attitude in connection with the boxes, and it is further supported by the following report:

"He enters the office for his interviews more willingly. He walks about for a short time on tiptoe, waving his arm so as to make a loose portion of his glove dangle, and following the movements intently with the usual puckering of his mouth. He is permitted to roam at will and to look into anything that seems interesting. On one occasion, in making his rounds of the room, he finds two lolly-pops. He takes them at once, goes over to Ben and pushes him into a chair. Now he sits on the floor between Ben's legs and begins to eat the candy. With a piece in each hand, he has an arm wound around each of Ben's legs, which are over his shoulders and crossed in his lap. Occasionally he dangles a stick of the candy and looks at it with the groping attitude, but in general he chews up the candy quickly and is content to remain quietly attached to Ben."

Here it seems as if the boy had found an answer to his seeking. To generalize we might say that Ralph tries to find in his environment that which will go to complete his autoerotic satisfaction at the level of primary narcissism.

Again, however, it may be that he is engaged in an exploring of the outer world simply to see of what it consists. Apparently this would represent a higher level of interest than the other two possible motives, and it scarcely seems compatible with Ralph's other tendencies. Our inclination is to regard his tearing of things apart as being primarily connected with his known fixations at the pre-oral level. The fact that rarely does his destructiveness go towards outer objects leads us to believe

that the main trend of the death-instincts is inward, uninfluenced by object-libido.

ACTS OF REBELLION

In searching for other channels in which Ralph's libido may seem to be directed, we find many reports of his wetting himself; occasionally of his soiling himself. While these often occur in bed and under circumstances which suggest an element of pleasurable satisfaction, the impression nevertheless is that they are more frequently used as a means of protest. Time after time, when the boy has been temporarily in the keeping of a strange attendant, the notes read: "He cries, beats his head, and wets himself." Quite often, even with his favourite, Ben, when there is a denial of his wishes the tantrum which follows is accompanied by voiding. Moreover, at those periods where attempts were made to wean him from his close attachment or from the fetish of his football helmet, the following nights would include an incident of bed-wetting. Sometimes there could be no doubt whatever of the rebellious character of his voiding. He screams and yells and punches himself in protest over some frustration. He may be standing within a few feet of the toilet, but he does not avail himself of it. He urinates deliberately on the floor, within full view of the attendant, as if to say: "There! Take that!" Erotic feelings do not seem to be present; rather, a disgusted air of calculated violence.

It may be that here is the highest form of his projection towards the outer world. Some part of his hate would seem to be directed outward, some degree of affect given off to the environment. Otherwise, the destructiveness seems bound to activities which do not bring him into contact with external reality; libido is attached to experiences which envelop him within himself. Frequently it seems as if whatever progress he has made towards the anal and urinary levels of development has brought the beginning of a recognition of the outer world. It is as if by his partial experiencing of this stage he had discovered a means for attacking rather than constantly retreating. Yet we may recognize how abundantly this partial advance is inundated by the stronger trends of self-destructiveness and withdrawal to intra-uterine satisfactions.

Another level of interest deserves mention, as suggested by the following quotation from observations of the play session:

"On rainy days when he is not so active he evidently finds

the environment boring, for he gets restless and petulant, and on such occasions he pulls out his penis and treats it as he does the dangling finger."

That he should feel the need for autoerotic activity, under the circumstances, is not surprising. Usually he walks considerable distances during the day, and in the absence of satisfactions from this physical erotism it seems natural that he would search for substitute gratifications. We might expect that dangling objects would serve this purpose, and we could regard his interest as being at the pre-oral level mentioned before. But apparently there has been some displacement to the penis as a nipple-like object. In the scene quoted, it would appear that he is not using the genital as an organ of pleasure, but is still centring on the breast significance. Yet other observations indicate that he occasionally handles the penis without mouth gestures, and, since puberty, has masturbated while in bed. Our inference would be that some libido has gone forward to the beginnings of the genital stage of sexuality, even though the main bulk remains with the fixations previously noted.

PRIMARY NARCISSISM AND AUTOEROTISM

This study has failed if it has not indicated that Ralph's pattern consists of an abundant concern with the very earliest levels of development, together with a shadowy, scattering spray of interest into later channels. The major drive of the libido appears to be towards the intra-uterine satisfactions, where the weak ego may continue to be completely protected, and autoerotism may carry with it a minimum of contact with the outer world. He apparently looks to the environment only to preserve his primary narcissism and to give him a magic omnipotence without effort on his part. To such an extent is he fixated here that when we approach the nursing stage, while we find evidence of stomach-pleasure analogous to pre-natal satisfaction, there is little suggestion of progress to oral pleasures and aggressive ingestion. The identifications which he makes, rather than being engulfed to strengthen his own ego, are used to continue the womb-like protection of its weakness. Or, as seems to be the case with the wraith-like super-ego formation (identification with the "harsh" mother), he fails to co-ordinate them with his own pattern. (He either rebels against the super-ego restrictions or makes them an occasion to batter

himself.) If we search for evidences of a formation of secondary narcissism, we see some libido going into projections of this nature, but there appears to be resistance against too great a separation, even temporarily, from the primary omnipotence. Finally, as our investigations touch upon the higher levels (anal-urinary interests and genital erotism), the impression is of a gradual fading of the libidinal drive until, when we look for possibilities of an objectivity, the indications are too slight to be observable.

We might wonder for a moment why this boy does not develop symptoms of a definite disease. His fixations, together with the general tendency of the death-instincts to turn inward, would suggest the possibility of epilepsy, for example. As we understand it, however, Ralph gains his satisfactions within the sphere of his everyday life; he has succeeded in remaining aloof from reality, and thus does not need the retreat into symptoms. Probably his self-destructiveness provides a continual partial discharge of the death-instincts. By beating himself cruelly, he not only shuts out reality (as in destroying his perception of it through the ears), but also releases the forces of violence which would otherwise need discharge either in objective aggressiveness or disease-symptoms. Thus we would say that epileptic attacks, for instance, are not necessary as dischargers of impounded destructive energy. In general, the fundamental difficulty is not that he "takes in" reality and then, because of conflicts, must repress impulses and retreat; it is that he mainly fails to take the first steps toward contact with the real world.

Probably the greatest factor in inhibiting his mental capacity is his failure to detach himself from the primary narcissism. He may be regarded as unable to form the wider range of identifications which provide a basis for understanding reality. Secondly, his destructive impulses do not go into the oral-ingestive aggressiveness towards the outer world, which has been postulated as a necessary element in grasping and absorbing knowledge. Moreover, his inner needs also form a barrier against the projection of libido into activities which reward the secondary narcissism. In other words, the weak ego requires a constant enfoldment; it cannot consistently explore reality even to gain an eventual increase in the love it will receive. Finally, even though hazy wisps of progress may be noted in the above directions, he is apparently unable to re-project the substance of what he

does "take in" from identifications. Through lack of a sustained object-cathexis he does not absorb and use the little knowledge he does acquire. As a general summary, we should say that the ego's weakness and the fixation of the instincts at early levels make necessary his remaining withdrawn from the contact with reality which mental development implies.

POSSIBLE PLANS OF THERAPY

It is difficult to suggest any hopeful method of therapy for this particular case. Our actual procedure has consisted almost entirely of the usual nursing care and observation. Ralph has been allowed to experience freely the interests which constantly attract him, and efforts have been made to avoid all stern repressive measures. That some slight change is taking place within him, however, seems indicated by the fact that he now no longer seeks the chair and the foetal position in it. Evidently this particular form of retreat has ceased to have libidinal significance; it has served its usefulness and may be dropped off. Possibly this indicates that the outer world is beginning to seem less terrorizing to him; it may forecast a closer contact with reality and a new investment of libido into higher levels of interest. Yet, obviously, the alteration is so slight in comparison with the many other indications of primary narcissism, we may expect little real advance.

Our formulation of Ralph's case suggests that the more he can be allowed to destroy objects, the more likely he will be to turn the energy of the death-instincts away from himself. Yet apparently the difficulty is that his libido does not flow outward sufficiently to draw with it the destructiveness. To make this possible, it is indicated that he be enfolded and supported by his favourite attendant as the two together strive to project interest into outside activities. Ralph must always have the constant love and approval of his companion, who, while still sheltering him, may continually give libido into attempts to maintain contacts with reality. Physical enfoldment will reduce much of the need for hitting himself, and apparently should be continued until the destructive impulses have found more consistent objectivity. Probably a weaning from the attendant's enfolding body should not take place until the weaning from self-destructiveness has been accomplished. Tying of the hands should be avoided as much as possible, in

order that Ralph may have opportunity to develop uses for them in grasping, clinging, or holding on. The first goal apparently should be the establishment of a firm identification with the attendant; then, if possible, the using of the identification for support in exploring reality; and, finally, a weaning from this identification, and the requirement that he give something of himself in order to win approval.

In general, although we may encourage the boy to develop more fully within his limitations, probably the most that can be said is that our understanding gives us a greater capacity for making him happy under present conditions. Our major aim in formulating a conception of Ralph's difficulties must be that it will provide a fundamental basis for understanding the higher levels of mental arrest. It is our hope that the comments made here will be suggestive for further research.

III

We may next undertake to show a type of the same state of maximum arrest in mental development, but one in which further advance has been made in the formation of secondary narcissism. That is, there is a greater willingness to project libido into some contest with the outer world, although this effort is largely restricted by the need for constant and immediate rewards. Even this slight advance, however, is still heavily conditioned by the earlier fixation on the primary narcissism. The ego's desire is to cling to its original aloofness and magic omnipotence; or, when some venturing forth is permitted, the tendency is to withdraw quickly into a state of separateness and self-protection. Apparently, development has included some phases of oral ingestion, to allow a somewhat broader "taking in" of elements in reality; but the urge towards a primary self-sufficiency continually interferes with a sustained grasp. While identifications are possible, the flow of libido towards outer objects is so transitory that these identifications are not firmly held nor is their substance absorbed and fused into the ego. Finally, the need for a protected aloofness is so great that instinctual energy is impounded away from discharge, and is periodically given over to regressions which re-establish the early stage of primary narcissism.

JIMMY

Jimmy is such a cute little fellow, all alone out there on the front lawn. There are no things for him to play with, but he seems perfectly happy. Up and down, across and around the grounds he walks with quick little strides, ever in motion—restlessly, continually moving. He stops to gaze vaguely at a passing car, with the appearance of one who is distracted from a complicated problem and still considers it as he looks up. For a moment he stands quiet, abstracted, endlessly walking, thinking. Scattered pieces of his muttering come to our ears: "Sssh—churrr—churrr—churrr!" It is a whispered, secret conclave with himself as he murmurs tentatively: "Like go taxi—goo' boy—like go taxi—no hit little girl—churrr!" Still considering, he looks vaguely into the distance, eyes wide, staring in dreamy fixedness. A bright, sunny smile comes to his lips; his whole face is lighted up. Happiness is in his eyes—a cute little fellow, out there all alone.

Jimmy is now sixteen years old. He was diagnosed at three years of age as a low-grade idiot, impossible of control or direction. His mental state was considered secondary to a meningitis. The latter in turn was regarded as secondary to a double inhalation pneumonia from a severe chronic colitis at eighteen months of age. Following the meningitis there have been attacks of grand mal epilepsy occurring every two or three weeks.

It was stated that he was essentially normally endowed at birth, but had an acquired mental defect. When he first came to the psychoanalytic sanatorium, eleven years ago, he could not express a want, depending completely on others to provide for him. He knew nothing at all about dressing himself, and could not tell one garment from another. He showed great activity and roamed aimlessly about, usually holding on to some round object, such as a stick. It is in one of these endless walks that we have just seen him.

He is greeted heartily: "Hello, Jimmy!"

It is as though he had not heard. There is no change in his restless wandering, no alteration in his appearance. For him it is seemingly enough to have his own world, his own theatre where he may be actor and audience at will. Others seek completion of their world by contact with objects; Jimmy has apparently completed his world within himself. His love

is for himself; his happiness is by himself. Yet we would not call him independent, in the true sense. As with Ralph, it is not strength which keeps him aloof, but weakness. The ego prefers to remain within its own protective shell.

Surely we may characterize the main trend of his interests as autoerotic. The evident joy he obtains in for ever walking, ever keeping in motion, is far in excess of an average child's pleasure in such things. It is ninety per cent. of all that Jimmy does. During the course of a day he walks miles and miles—rarely to get anywhere; usually merely for the pleasure in the restless activity. Certainly it supplies him with plenty of healthful exercise, and would seem to be a much-needed releaser of inner tension. Yet, that this discharge is only temporary and really serves to impound further tension is apparent from its autoerotic character. The libido does not flow outward on to objects, but returns to the ego. One possible explanation for his epileptic attacks is that they serve forcibly to discharge this libidinal tension which he is unable to release in ordinary objectivated interests.

Often there are times when Bob promises him a ride in the car. "Like go taxi." Jimmy races out, scampering with his quick little strides towards the car. On the way he stops suddenly, as if overwhelmed by an untamed rush of infinite joy. The happy smile on his face becomes a tight clenching of teeth; he doubles over, digging his elbows in his ribs, clasping his hands—"Oooruh!" It seems as if he can hardly hold the bubbling surge of things within him. "Oooruh—*like* go taxi—ooruh!" The force of the wonderful feeling keeps him hugging himself at every other step. "Like go *taxi*—ooruh!" It is like a little boy impulsively hugging his mother in a rush of joy and gratitude. How passionately he squeezes himself, as if to hold that feeling in and to add to it! He needs no second person with whom to express this utter joy. Wild happiness, racing through that little world of his, appears to find its best expression in the exuberant fullness of his tone as he repeats: "Oooruh!"

He sits in the car, waiting, anticipating. Whispering assuringly to himself, "Like go taxi—go downtown," he stamps restlessly on the floor. Impatiently he shifts his position. Here comes Bob! A bright, sunny smile spreads on Jimmy's face; his eyes shine happily. He breaks out in endless chattering: "Like go taxi, Bob—like see Bob—goo' boy,

Jimmy—no hit Dick—Spotty nice girl—no hit Spotty. No take nap—go downtown—like go *taxi*—ooruh !”

He is quiet. The car is in motion. Sitting stiffly erect, straight as a ramrod, he stares vaguely out the window. Not a sound comes from him, not a single restless movement. Yet he cannot sit back in his seat; he is like one tensely on edge, not to miss a single thing. Eyes wide and staring, he dreamily drinks in the ecstasy of motion. Far away from everyone, he drifts and floats and rocks inwardly with the regular waves of rhythm. “Sssh—churr.” His glance happens to meet Bob’s, as if to ask casually, “Are you enjoying all this, too?” The bright smile is full of meaning, a silent thanks, a subtle understanding. “Like go taxi, Bob.” Then he turns away, to concentrate on it by himself.

If our impressions are accurate, we may readily point to such experience as indications of an intense autoerotism. Let us notice also that happiness, pleasure, joy, etc., are feelings primarily to be kept to himself. Jimmy’s emotion does not regularly seek an expression in the outer world, to be shared and exchanged with other people’s. Only a flash of affection overflows to his companion; most of it is held within the scope of Jimmy’s own narcissism.

CONTINUES TO BE NARCISSISTIC AND AUTOEROTIC

Other pleasures seem to have similar elements of narcissistic and autoerotic satisfaction. The boy has developed an extraordinary agility in bending his head backward at the neck. He indulges in this constantly throughout the day, whether alone or with other people. Frequently it seems as if he is working for the attention and concern to be aroused in others. More often the gesture comes when he is apparently bored, and it appears to supply pleasure in itself. We picture the blood rushing to his head, throbbing and pulsating in regular rhythm—giving a strangling sensation, yet a swelling surge of wild joy. For many seconds he holds this position—his expression blank, oblivious to anything going on around him. Now he returns to normal posture, still silent and aloof—a little bewildered and vaguely startled. There seems to be a minute or two of puzzled reflection; sometimes, a quick resumption of restless pacing; then, once more an indulgence in this backward bend of the head.

No interpretation of this activity can be positively established, but we venture a speculation. Seemingly the movement represents a retreat away from a world which is dull and unsatisfying, to a condition of ecstasy. Such rhythm and auto-erotic gratification were the keynotes of existence once, within the mother and soon after birth. May it not be that he still seeks to recapture that Nirvana, in his flight from reality? Perhaps he is unconsciously returning to pre-natal life, followed by a rebirth when he straightens up and again contemplates the outer world. It may be that he would wish to find it magically altered when he resumes contact with reality; disappointed, perhaps, he substitutes physical activity—but then, occasionally he must retreat again, as if each time hoping to return to a more acceptable environment. These possibilities suggest a death-and-rebirth mechanism such as is often ascribed to epileptic attacks.

If this is true, then we may sense a difference between Jimmy and Ralph. Both are apparently sheltered within the shell of primary narcissism, but Jimmy is able to carry his along with a degree of contact with the outer world. He, at least, may walk about, alone, in parts of reality, needing no physical enfoldment. His attachment to the primary narcissism and intra-uterine fixations is seemingly more subtle and abstract. Ralph, on the other hand, requires an almost constant physical representation. His enfoldment must be more concrete. Moreover, when he assumes his intra-uterine positions, it is as if to remain there for ever. But in Jimmy's case we get a stronger impression of the impulse to *return* to an outer world—not only a regression, but also a rebirth. It would suggest that with him there are possibilities of extra-uterine forms of satisfaction, at least to a wider extent than was inferred with Ralph.

Mainly, however, our understanding of Jimmy depends on our recognizing that he has a separate world of his own. The real world must offer definite compensations before he can be inveigled into emotional contact with it. At first it was almost impossible to gain his attention for more than a few seconds at a time. He became cross and petulant under direction, and mental training was slow, due to his total lack of concentration. However, it was possible to try little drills each day until at last it became noticeable that he was beginning to show comprehension and to pick up a few simple words. He was always given the best physical care, combined with a loving attention,

which soon induced him to form a fond attachment for those responsible for his treatment.

An incident characteristic of that early training period was the following: Jimmy would often be in the room with other children during their periods of play instruction. He could not be induced to take part, but apparently his fondness for the staff-member in charge led him to enjoy being close to her. In a kindly, singing tone, with a rhythmic swing, she would teach the children: "Peas porridge hot——" There was joy in the other children's voices as they repeated this and other nursery rhymes; but Jimmy was unable to imitate them when encouraged to do so.

One day, however, he was discovered by himself, reciting several of the lines he had overheard. "Peas podge hot—peas podge coal; peas podge *in da pot*—nine days old!" Apparently he understood nothing of the literal meaning of what he was saying, but was obtaining great pleasure in the heightened rhythm of the reciting. Efforts were made to increase his ability in this direction by further playing on the rhythm. Beating time and clapping hands as he repeated the words, he took to this play-instruction, and eventually was able to repeat nearly all the nursery rhymes. In finishing a stanza, his tone would be overjoyed as he clapped his hands in self-approval, and generally his manner would suggest an impulsive motion to hug someone or to be hugged.

It seems reasonable to interpret this final gesture as indicating a need and a reward for his effort. His interest probably was centred on two factors: (1) The reception of libido during the reciting itself, and (2) the final reward at the end, in the form of increased love from his teacher. The first would include the autoerotic pleasure in the rhythm, and the flooding of his narcissism by the teacher's loving participation with him. It suggests the rhythmic ecstasy of the nursing period—or, even deeper, that of the life-before-birth. It is as if, from these earlier periods, Jimmy has kept an impression of the pleasurable features as a means for estimating future adaptations—a sort of background by which he may judge the expediency of subscribing to a given experience. It is definitely the pleasure-principle which guides him. The second factor in his willingness to recite may be recognized as involving the secondary narcissism. This phase infers a partial postponement of libidinal gratification until after the effort has been made. It

carries with it the suggestion of a giving out of love towards an object, but with the expectation of a greater return.

We interpret the whole incident somewhat as follows: First, through the influence of his primary narcissism, Jimmy resists the forming of an identification with the teacher (mother) and, instead, holds to a sense of self-sufficiency and aloofness from what the other children are doing. Next, however, through autoerotic pleasure in the process of taking in (nursing), he incorporates the object (teacher and rhyme) within himself. He drinks in what the others are saying; he observes and understands the joy of it. Yet his impulse is to keep it all to himself; he would like to stop here and retire to his shell with his new acquisitions. Finally, he agrees to make a little objective effort—but only under the restriction that the secondary narcissism shall take its toll in the teacher's extra love for him.

It is interesting to note that he soon "forgot" a great deal of what he had learned. Ordinarily he now can recite only parts of the rhymes, and the main interest centres almost exclusively in the rhythmic clapping of hands and the eventual approval of the audience. Frequently a child friend of his will join him in this play. With Jimmy joyously taking the lead, they beat the time together: "Peas porridge hot; peas porridge cold—peas porridge in the pot, nine days *old*." At this point Jimmy fails, although he continues to hit his companion's hand in a perfect rhythm. The teacher prompts: "Some like it——" With eyes vaguely wandering, Jimmy grudgingly murmurs, "Hot," a finality to his tone as if to show that this is as far as he wants to go. But the teacher continues: "Some——" This time Jimmy's attention is withdrawn completely; he walks restlessly about the room. "Like go taxi—go downtown." The other persists, emphasizing the rhythm as she recites: "Some like it cold; some like it——" Apparently Jimmy is only slightly interested. He rushes out the final words in an impatient mutter: "In-da-pot-nine-days-old!"

Seemingly the only part of that earlier educational experience which he subscribes to now is the element which serves his autoerotic and narcissistic needs. He keeps the autoerotic phase entirely (clapping, beating time), but resists any undue requirement that he continue in a projected effort, even though a narcissistic reward is probable at the end. He wishes to get the reward quickly, to apply it immediately to his self-satisfaction, without going through a long process of

earning it. In other words, his attainment to the level of a projection based on the secondary narcissism is reluctant and uncertain. He falls back to that stage of primary narcissism wherein the contact with reality is made for immediate gratification and retreat into magic omnipotence. Nevertheless, he seems more definitely attached to the higher level (secondary narcissism) than Ralph. The latter, too, was seen to perform "stunts" in response to libidinal reward, but he impressed us mainly as either retiring quickly with the spoils or, more often, remaining implanted in his intra-uterine aloofness and enfoldment. Jimmy, as we shall see more clearly later, is often observed to volunteer "tricks" of speech and accomplishment to win love from his environment. He not only forms attachments for those who best understand and answer his pleasure-needs, but he also willingly does things for such people as long as this relationship exists. But, of course, let them fail him, and how quickly he resists their pleas!

Apparently this mechanism played a part in Jimmy's first learning words. His outer world imposed on him the requirement that if he was hungry, he must indicate it in some way. Probably fits of crying and bursts of temper were the first signals of this need, yet we picture the child slowly sensing the vagueness of such communication. The teacher (mother) did not always respond accurately to his signs of want; the identification was not complete. It was asked of him that he project something of himself out towards the environment, to find a means of communication. The result would be greater autoerotic and narcissistic satisfactions for himself. "Want supper" became something that the outer world could respond to more readily. "Want go toilet" was a signal that resulted in his risking less disapproval. (This was first expressed by the utterance "Fu-fu"—an expression he coined from watching his nurse's face, noting her sniff, and imitating the sound. It would seem to indicate some degree of active identification with outer objects.) "Like go taxi" and "No take nap" were expressions which might influence reality to conform to Jimmy's wishes. "Ear hurt" would sometimes be a start towards having tension released; and frequently was followed by a pleading "Pain go away," as a further signal and request that something be done.

Names of people seemed to have the same importance: that is, wherever the person supplied Jimmy with autoerotic and

narcissistic satisfactions, there was an attempt to assimilate a name. "Marka" was a favourite nurse who cared for him devotedly; Bob was valued as a provider of rides in the car. "Susie," "Arhah," "Tom"—all were names which had a pleasurable quality in themselves. "Miss Doosat" had a happy rhythm to it, as well as referring to an almost indispensable person. "La Morgan" seemed to feel good to say, in addition to its being the name of the one who announced meals.

Yet this cannot explain the whole of Jimmy's vocabulary, nor his varied uses of it. It seems evident that his nurses early showed extreme interest in every new word he uttered. His reward would be an impulsive hug, a quick laugh, a kiss, a smile—at least approving attention. What wonderful, joyful satisfaction to his deepest cravings! Nowadays he frequently initiates such scenes by reciting freely many of the expressions he has learned. With no apparent connection he races through: "Supper half-past seven—La Morgan ring bell—Sopsie nice girl—like go taxi—goo' boy—no take nap—like tease Billy."

The underlying urges towards learning (personal need, autoerotism, narcissism) seem no different in this boy than in most children. We notice, however, that "Want supper," "Want to go toilet," and "Like go taxi" are certainly brief ways of expressing a desire. All of Jimmy's phrases are economical; frequently, as with "Father is," they require further knowledge in order to be understood. Seldom does he have more than one way of expressing an idea. All meals are "supper" and all meals are "half-past seven." Men who appear alike are named "Charley," "Bob," "Count," according to their resemblance to the original person bearing that name. Learning to dress himself, he would make a quick try at it, but if success was not immediate, the effort was dropped. "Tan't—tan't do." Even with articles of clothing he has once mastered there is still a frequent plea for help if any difficulties are encountered. Similarly, he forgets the words which have ceased to have an immediate purpose. In short, we may observe in all of this how sparingly he is willing to objectivate. Always it must serve a narcissistic purpose; even then, he will give himself as little as possible.

Our total impression is of Jimmy's grudgingly letting go a bit of his primary narcissism—only provided the return to him is sufficient in the way of tribute to his secondary narcissism

and autoerotism. The rigidity of that primary narcissism would seem to be one element that differentiates him from other children. Another seemingly important factor is that he has apparently twisted the use of his vocabulary, etc., from the mere expressing of a want in itself to the doing of tricks for reward. Our inference is that this trend is not primarily to establish an objective contact with the outer world, but to enlarge his own sense of being loved (secondary narcissism). We picture him swinging delicately from one position to another: now holding aloof in self-sufficiency, centred in his world of autoerotism; now striving meagrely to gain rewards of love and approval from the outer world.

It is just this scanty effort to win love for himself that has seemed to provide leverage for the development which Jimmy has attained in the past ten years. For "Marka" he would try to dress himself; for her he would make some attempt to be a "goo' boy"—because she loved him and played with him in the way he liked to play. Nowadays, as we have previously noted, he is able to use words to express a want, and he seems even more capable of understanding simple remarks or questions from others. A frequent performance of his is to carry an object from one person to another who is in a remote part of the grounds. Only the instruction, "Please take this to Susie's room," is necessary, for Jimmy can find his way without help. "Get me the keys from Elsie" is sufficient for him to go to the kitchen, report to the cook, "Susie want keys," and return with the desired object. Obviously, however, these errands require less intelligence than if he were asked to find a towel in Bob's room; or, not finding the object where it was said to be, to be able to hunt for it logically. In such problems Jimmy fails, and he either wanders to other interests or returns and replies to questions: "Tan't find."

We are interested in noting that, in the first type of errand, Jimmy is required to be less objective than in the last. To get the keys he needs to grasp Susie's idea; he must comprehend who Ella is and where the kitchen is located; and finally he must understand the return to Susie. In getting the towel, however, he not only must be able to make these contacts with the outer world, but more. He must be capable of many identifications, to understand in what places a towel might be or to realize where a person might put such an object. Apparently, in this second task the reward of love cannot sufficiently overcome the primary

narcissism to allow him to make these extended contacts. Similarly, the trying out of possibilities and the gradual elimination of false moves seems to require too much of the ego in the way of objectively experiencing reality. In this and in the process of eliminating mistakes by observation he appears sadly deficient.

IMITATION AND MEMORY

If ability to remember be a test of intelligence, then Jimmy can be credited with this much: he rarely fails to recall a face and the name that goes with it, even if the person has been absent for years. Occasionally he shows himself capable of remembering outstanding occurrences, and his remarks indicate a fair comprehension of what has gone on around him. His imitation of people's characteristic gestures or actions may be a further sign of intelligent comprehension; certainly it indicates his ability to remember.

Yet it is in the nature of this imitating that we see what seems to be characteristic of him. He often sees Anna playing a card game called "Go fish." Without definite instruction, he enjoys taking a pack of cards for himself, sitting at a table, and going through the motions he has seen others make. "Like play go-fish—go-fish, Anna!" The meaning of the cards, the rules and purpose of the game, are all foreign to him; but apparently he has comprehended that the drawing of a card from the pack before him should follow the remark, "Go-fish." This much he has mastered, but the imitation of others, in itself, seems to provide the pleasure. Not only do people applaud his cuteness, but he himself thrills and hugs himself with secret glee. In this and similar forms of imitating we might say that he makes a partial identification with the object, but rather than use it for further projection and social contact, keeps it for his own autoerotic and narcissistic purposes.

A second kind of imitation seems to carry with it more assimilation and objectivated effort. He struggles to pull off his overshoes—fails—quickly presents his foot to the instructor. "Tan't do." But the instructor begins to tug at his own shoe, making obvious gestures of great effort. At first Jimmy tries to distract the latter's attention by pulling the man's hand away from the shoe and towards his own. As the instructor playfully persists and exaggerates the grunting and straining, the boy chuckles gleefully—although a little reluctantly.

Soon he gives up his resistive attitude and quietly watches the movements, head cocked slightly to one side, lips pursed. Finally, he begins to pull at his own shoe with the same gestures the instructor is using. Together they strain at their separate tasks. Jimmy's shoe begins to slip a little; he is cheered and encouraged by the other. Now it comes off entirely, and Jimmy happily announces: "Shoe off, Tom." He swells out his chest and claps his hands as he smilingly anticipates the reward. Yet there is more of relief than pride in Jimmy's tone, and he turns to other interests rather than work on the second shoe!

We might interpret such incidents as going a little further with the process of identification and making more objective use of the imitation. Yet we notice that first Jimmy tries to win the other person over to *his* system of being waited on, a magic accomplishment of *his* wishes. Next, the instructor gives libido to the situation by making a playful, pleasurable scene of it. He brings the whole experience within the scope of Jimmy's autoerotic pattern and its pleasure-principle. Then the boy is willing to make the necessary identification; and with the reception of more libido and the possibility of narcissistic reward he can finally give himself to the required effort.

A technique of further training was based on this understanding. The instructor made situations as pleasurable as possible, joining Jimmy in his forms of play and conforming to his wishes. After winning the boy's confidence in this way, restrictions were placed upon his restless activity by sitting in a chair directly opposite Jimmy's, with the instructor's legs surrounding his own. Under a procedure of constant libido-giving, the instructor was able to gain Jimmy's attention to various simple questions such as "How did you sleep last night?" or "How do you feel?" The boy was able to answer appropriately, "Sleep fine," etc., and short conversations of this sort were possible. Soon the boy noticed that his big friend was accustomed to write a great deal. He would watch reflectively as the man dramatized feelings of pleasure in doing this strange thing. Finally, Jimmy ventured: "Want write, Tom—Jimmy do." He was provided with pencil and paper, and began filling the page with "m's" and "n's," much as he had seen the instructor do. Later he was able to imitate the making of "o's" and, with some difficulty, "x's."

The play sessions were full of this joy in writing and talking with Tom. The instructor was able to say, "You will find

paper in the drawer," and Jimmy would immediately search until he found what he wanted. He occasionally would show resistance to leaving the room to get a pair of scissors upstairs, but with coaxing and assurances he became able to perform such tasks. Cutting up paper was then discovered as a further amusement. Similarly, from watching the instructor make various patterns with blocks on the floor, Jimmy was able to extend his use of these objects in new directions. At first he wanted to prevent such interference with his own system of aimless play, but apparently his companion found something pleasurable in it and wanted Jimmy to help him; so the boy reluctantly joined in. The immediate praise for this step made it worth while to continue making the effort. Later, under the same procedure, he was willing to accept a third person in the play group; and thus Sammy became one of Jimmy's close friends.

Now Sammy and the instructor began to correct Jimmy whenever he said, "Watch Jimmy do," or "Want go downtown." Their hints that he say, "Watch *me* do this," and "I want to go downtown," brought a vague response of "Yes." Frequently, when they persisted, the boy became annoyed, and would burst out irritably, "Stop it, Tom!" But in the end he came to a seeming acceptance, and was able independently to form such long sentences as "Please may I have some more paper?"

To Jimmy these periods of close attention became moments of enthusiastic happiness. He always appeared willing to leave anything he might be doing to "work" or "have talk." His face would beam as he squeezed his arms to his sides in a spasm of childish glee. Running to the office, he enters the door, locks it (an accomplishment recently acquired), takes off his coat and throws it carelessly on the couch. Attempts are made to get him to be more orderly, but no matter how gently it is suggested, he frowns and shakes his closed fist in a gesture of extreme annoyance. Each morning, however, the instructor goes through the motions; the coat is either hung up or folded and placed on the back of a chair. As long as others do it, Jimmy shows no displeasure; but he still resists any hint that he try it. A game is made of it; he is praised, and great enthusiasm is shown at every effort he makes. He laughs joyfully, is spurred on by the pleasure, and finally performs the feat alone. But the next morning he forgets to do it. The instructor reminds him, "Let's put coat and hat away first."

Jimmy stiffens a little, hesitates; but when motions are made to do it for him, he pushes the instructor aside. In annoyed tones he says, "I'll do it," and he attends to the coat and hat carefully.

At another time Jimmy enters the room. The instructor and Sammy greet him pleasantly but remain seated, saying nothing. Jimmy walks up and down the room restlessly. Eventually he offers: "Cold outdoors, Tom." The instructor agrees, "Yes, it's very cold," and again is silent. The boy hesitates, looks at him quickly, and seems to sense something unnatural about the setting. His voice is somewhat anxious as he says with a slight rising inflection, "Hello, Tom!" In a very friendly tone the latter answers, "Hello, Jim!" The boy is evidently not fully assured, but now he ventures: "Good boy, Tom—play blocks Sammy, may I, please?" The instructor agrees, whereupon Jimmy smiles happily and hurries to get the blocks.

Apparently here was an instance where our little patient assumed the initiative in venturing towards outer objects. In fact, our brief survey of the instruction periods is intended to indicate some of the steps he was willing to take. It seems clear that a patient, loving approach succeeded in enticing him to make new identifications with "persons" and "things" in the outer world. By means of these he began to take on ways of doing things which were more appropriate to reality. The start was evidently made towards renouncing some of his own shut-in system in favour of a greater co-operation with the environment.

It is true that nowadays he makes little use of what he then learned. He still recalls with gleeful pleasure the happy significance of "have talk." A reference to it will rarely fail to stir memories of what he did, accompanied by an expectant, "Oh, gooie, gooie, gooie!" Frequently he seems to be repeating the scene by himself as he says, "Want go taxi—I want to go taxi." But in the main he shows that he has not really acquired the patterns which he provisionally accepted during the lessons. As with the nursery rhymes, he has kept the autoerotic and narcissistic values, but has not absorbed the substance of the identifications within himself. Yet it seems without doubt that, with the same degree of understanding help, Jimmy would still be able to reactivate the elements of his partial advance.

There are many forms of resistance, however, which he places as barriers to the required objectivity. Just at the point where questions are coming regularly and a great deal of attention is required of him, he yawns prodigiously. Sometimes his head droops a little or his eyes look sleepy. It seems apparent either that he feigns this drowsiness or that fatigue has come as an unconscious desire for flight away from a demanding world. At another time, when a question is asked him, he does not turn completely away, but his look is dreamy, as if just on the verge of abstraction. A vacant, inattentive "Huh?" offers some response. Yet repeated questions bring similar answers and an impression that ground is being lost. Finally, Jimmy breaks out with a new subject: "Ben—want go taxi" (pleading tone)—"good boy—go downtown—see Mike—taxi—no nap—no go bed—go downtown, please, may I?"

ABSORPTION OF LIBIDO TO SELF

This diverting of his questioner's attention to other things is characteristic. He would have his companion interest himself in the thing in which he is concerned; he would turn his friend's love to his own purposes. Many times he took the instructor's chin in his hands and turned his head towards himself—to make sure of undivided attention, that he is the whole show, and that some other, more difficult subject is not continued! Whenever someone persists in the effort to get him to put his own rubbers on, there is the usual whining protest, "Tan't, tan't do." If, in spite of repeated protests and magic gestures, the older man keeps gently suggesting effort and perseverance, Jimmy gives vent to a sobbing whimper: "Ear hurt—Ben—ear hurt." Holding his ear and exhibiting every sign of pain, the little boy continues his pitiful signals. "Want see Dr. Murray—ear hurt."

Once more we cannot be sure whether his distress is real or pretended, even though examination would show no physical disorder. Whether it be hypochondria or a conscious trick, we may interpret the occurrence as a resistance against the projection asked of him, and a bid for more incoming libido. It is remarkable that in practically every one of the many occasions where "Ear hurt" is used, if his companion imitates Jimmy's tone and playfully exaggerates the situation, he breaks into laughter. The whimper seems reluctantly to give way to a chuckle; the scene becomes one of fun and pleasure; Jimmy

is at ease, and mention of the pain is dropped. Our inference is that in an amusing, playful situation he is not required to give anything; he is entertained and given a good feeling. Therefore, the outer world seems friendly; he needs no defences, no further resistance against its demands nor further extreme bids for its favours.

It really does not matter whether we formulate Jimmy's resistance as being against giving himself to the usual order of things or as being against giving up the world of his own which has proved so satisfying to him. Both are included in the conception of his primary narcissism. To remain aloof in his omnipotence or, if he ventures out, to withdraw quickly with libidinal gains is to keep himself from a consistent contact with the outer world. Although an element of projection on the basis of secondary narcissism is present, there is scarcely any objectivity. Evidently the ego is too weak to venture far from its protections and the pleasure-principle which preserves them. Yet, theoretically, there would seem to be the possibility that with the ego patiently supported (by the instructor's special kindness) some degree of object-libido might eventually be sustained. This, according to our understanding, would allow the absorption of identifications, which Jimmy now so clearly lacks.

BEHAVIOUR RESISTANCES

One more reaction to his environment is worthy of mention. We picture him in his restless, unceasing movement around the room. Someone finally suggests, "Jimmy, come on and sit down!" Quietly and decisively he announces, "No sit down chair." He goes about his walking, as if that were all there was to it. His manner suggests he is a little annoyed that he had to speak at all. But now he has spoken. That is the end!

"Jimmy, come here now and sit down. You need rest, after all that walking. Come on!"

"No—no—no—no—no!" Fretfully he piles on his refusal. Now he steps towards the person nearest him. "Oo-oo," he emphasizes the slap he gives him, a sharp, vicious blow. There!

"Jimmy——!"

A shrill, blasting shriek interrupts the speaker. Jimmy stamps his foot tremendously on the floor. "No sit down

chair!" he yells. Now, in a quick series of motions he slaps Dick on the back—moves restlessly on to pull Harry's hair—he kicks out at May—scratches Sue—slams the door with fierce vengeance in his look. It is as if the whole place were wrong; everything is the object of his fury. With jaw clenched, a vicious "Rrrrr" breaks through, as he strikes out. The full force of his bitterness seems still tightly checked—but what a devastating attack! We can only judge the awful force of his hate by the power of this viciousness that is allowed to break out. What he would do to us all, if he only could!

He pauses to note the effect of his explosion. Blankly he looks around, and our impression is as if he were questioning: "What has happened? What is going to happen?" A look of terror comes over his pale face. As the nurse moves towards him, Jimmy flees in panic, screaming pitifully: "No-no-no—goo' boy, Jimmy—no more hit Dick." Yet such outbreaks are characteristic of Jimmy every day. They seem to be a part of an eternal struggle against a world which constantly denies him the sort of pleasurable existence he wishes.

Here again we may distinguish a difference between Jimmy and Ralph. The former's sadistic reactions to frustration indicate that much of the destructive energy is directed outward. There is a discharge upon reality, which would suggest the possibility of an aggressiveness in attempting to master it. Evidently, however, there is not enough object-libido to fuse with this destructiveness in a more socialized attitude of forcefulness. The energy of the death-instincts must eventually obtain release in an epileptic attack. Yet Jimmy at least ventures further along the path towards aggressiveness than Ralph does. The latter turns nearly all of his violence inward, whereas Jimmy appears to offer some degree of a bitter struggle against reality before retreating from it.

It may be that the boy's mental and emotional difficulties are largely conditioned by his organic injury. Some degree of advance would have been made away from the first stage of primary narcissism and towards the beginning of an acceptance of the outer world. The lesion, coming when it did, would inhibit this progress. There would be not only a weakening of the ego, but a severe psychic wound, requiring abundant narcissistic libido for healing and soothing the insult. As he continued through life, Jimmy would constantly impound the libido within the ego, leaving little to be projected towards a

reality which had already dealt harshly with him. No doubt this inbinding of libido piles up the inner tension which makes his epilepsy mandatory. It may also be responsible for his failure to sustain contacts and an absorption of identifications in reality. Thus it could be that an organic defect causes the strong fixation on the primary narcissism, which in turn would provide the barrier to his mental development.

Although our study has indicated that Jimmy is mainly attached to a higher level of narcissism than Ralph, although he seems capable of a wider range of identifications and relationships with people, and although some success has been won in encouraging an adaptation to reality, the question of therapy of an advanced sort has still to be worked out.

In other words, while we have approached in this boy a higher level of adaptive living and have come upon theoretical possibilities, we still are baffled. In individual cases it may be that the analytical approach we have undertaken here is not worth the time and expense. But are not the findings in our pioneer experiments harbingers of future therapeutic progress, and applicable to many thousands of unfortunates?

SUMMARY OF PROBLEM OF IDIOCY

The primary narcissism present in the idiot is perhaps not in excess of that normally seen in other infants, but that it endures after such children are quite grown up physically makes the fixations at the infantile level the more obvious. We have attempted to show how much and how far we may detach libido from the primary narcissism and place it to the service of the oral function, thus starting these infants on the road towards a real objective cathexis. Even when the primary narcissism is to some degree broken down in establishing an oral identification, it is extremely difficult to gain displacements upon persons and things other than those belonging specifically to the mother pattern. It all becomes a test of our ability to engender a good counter-transference of the narcissistic type. Only then will these little charges, caught up in the maelstrom of a more or less enduring state, find it worth while to be enticed away from their self-engrossment and accept satisfactions to the secondary narcissism. In their short flights towards objectivity they may still find some primary narcissistic gratification by way of autoerotism. But these children may be

gradually induced to take on more and more objective living, and receive ego growth through the projection of libido into reality-testing.

It seems possible that these studies will prove of signal value over the entire field of psychasthenia. Yet while our tentative formulations here appear to be sound, we shall have to look to the higher levels of mental arrest if we are to hope for demonstrable therapeutic results.

PART THREE

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS

I

THE outstanding characteristic in the maximum state of mental arrest would seem to be a general aloofness from any firm contact with reality. In other words, the primary narcissism is preserved as a rigid formation which shields the individual from a need for identifications in the outer world. As we approach the next higher grade of mentality, we should expect to find a greater capacity for forming identifications. Obviously, we shall meet with more complicated patterns and a wider variation in the factors which tend to inhibit development. Yet there are many details which observers have regularly found to be fairly constant. We may briefly summarize these before attempting to study individual cases.

For purposes of classification this type is said to range in I.Q. from 45 or 50 to 60 or 70. The individuals are generally found to be educable, although usually they fail to profit from ordinary systems of education. They are often sent to the ungraded classes of the public schools, or to custodial and training institutions for the feeble-minded. Even with special attention, however, it is unusual for the I.Q. to be increased, for rarely does the retarded youth's mental age advance sufficiently each year to alter the fundamental ratio. As a rule the feeble-minded are capable of performing useful labour towards some degree of self-support, but the majority require careful supervision in such tasks.

Observations indicate certain constitutional defects which are characteristic of the feeble-minded individual. His ability to receive impressions from his surroundings seems definitely limited, for his perception is either incomplete or vague and inaccurate. He is slow, for instance, in observing the colour, size, and weight of objects, as well as in taking in the general facts of their nature. Qualitative and quantitative faults are evident in all the special senses, not necessarily in an organic way, but in the inherent capacity of the ego for apprehending

its outer world. Attention wanders easily and does not foster a steady seeking for contact with the environment. Failure here is seen not alone in the school training, but in play activities as well. Memory is also defective, although where perception and attention have functioned actively this capacity is less crippled. The power to make comparisons and to form sound judgments is regularly found to be weak. Indeed, as we have previously formulated, while perception is perhaps the most fundamental, the ego is deficient to some degree in all the various capacities necessary for intelligence. It is undoubtedly for this reason that many observers speak of the "general intelligence" of the feeble-minded as being the outstanding defect.

Physical anomalies are not as pronounced as in the lower grades of amentia, but an incomplete bodily co-ordination is usually apparent. This is not only seen in the finer movements, but may extend to a general awkwardness of the whole body. The station is disquiet, the walk ungainly and lacking in natural grace. Inco-ordination is especially noticeable in the clever, quick use of the hands. Long after the normal child has acquired the more precise use of his fingers, the feeble-minded youth is still busy with problems of simple dexterity. Nor is this true in but a few of the skilled uses of the hands; it is seen to extend over all the daily occupations, even the simplest ones of dressing and undressing. The tendency seems not towards a finer grasping and mastering of objects in reality, but towards a fixation on mass movements of lumbering force. Possibly the lack of co-ordination may be traced to a defect in the ego's capacity for synthesizing the various elements which go to make up the total individual. Just as it fails to merge the various mental impressions into useful conceptions of the outer world, so the ego may lack the ability to organize its physical components into a smoothly working machine. In addition, the function of gripping and engulfing objects, as first done by way of the mouth, has not been fully displaced to the fingers and hands; hence the general use of these members seems crude and incomplete. It may be that the oral libido has remained fixed upon early stages of pleasurable gratification and has been further elaborated in these, rather than passing its energy on to other organs of ingestion. The sensitive quickness of the fingers, therefore, suffers from this absence of erotic energy. Finally, the general mass movements give one the impression of bulky thrusts as if to sweep aside a

frustrating world rather than to gain an understanding mastery. Seemingly the destructive impulses are not sufficiently diluted with libido to sustain a skilful aggressiveness. Patience and carefulness, which a liberal infusion of libido would give, are lacking in the physical processes.

Speech, too, is seen to be characteristically inapt and roundabout, due no doubt to fundamental weaknesses in the capacity for ideation and thought. The feeble-minded are regularly prone to cumbersome, ineffectual details in the expression of their everyday attitudes—a disorganized scattering which again may be attributable to a defect in the ego's capacity for making a synthesis. Thought and speech, as well as bodily functioning, seem to remain at an early stage of development. Yet their awkwardness is more than that through which the average individual passes: it is a wider elaboration and a more rigid fixation upon levels which the normal child experiences only slightly in comparison. Possibly, from innate defects in the ego's capacities, the feeble-minded individual's development of expression and activity goes through phases entirely different from the average. At least we may say that the observed deviation from normal trends in these functions is typical, and probably inherent in the feeble-minded.

Important as is this consideration of constitutional defects in the retarded individual, the more important problem for therapy deals with the resultant difficulties in his attempts to learn and adapt. Observers regularly report that his range of intelligence is narrow; that his comprehension is superficial; that he learns by experience poorly and slowly, and uses this little knowledge so ineptly that he applies it to little real advantage. In psychoanalytic terms we might summarize this evidence as follows: The feeble-minded individual has given up some of his primary narcissism, and to this extent is ready to discharge energy into contacts with the outer world. Nevertheless, the approach to reality is heavily conditioned by the ego's need for magic assurance; hence the capacity for making identifications is still confined to a narrow field. Such as are made are inclined to a primitive pattern, with the oral libido being displaced only slightly into symbolic or abstract ingestions, such as the hands and other sense-organs would maintain. Identifications are not readily absorbed within the ego (superficial comprehension) and their substance is not consistently reprojected into a sounder adaptation to reality

(failure to apply knowledge). In general the destructive impulses do not attain to a subtle use in mastering the outer world, but, in the absence of a fusion with the libido, they serve as blunter, duller forces for haphazard attacks upon it.

These dynamic elements in mental functioning can best be pictured in reference to an individual case, for our formulation is necessarily one of degree, and does not lend itself readily to general statement. Usually, however, a generalization is made regarding the personality of the feeble-minded. There are those who are classed as "stable," whose manner is quietly attentive, and whose activities show that they are capable of applying themselves steadily. They make slow but consistent progress in school-work, and are finally able to engage in occupations under some degree of direction. Apparently this type of ament functions within a closely circumscribed area of interest, but is reasonably successful under such conditions. He is able to absorb the substance of the limited identifications he does make, and can use for practical purposes the knowledge he gains of a restricted part of reality. This capacity for even a slight object-cathexis is seemingly what makes also for the good-fellowship and genial sociability often seen in certain of the feeble-minded. Moreover, the individual of the stable type evidently attains a comfortable balance between the demands of the ego-ideal and his actual abilities. He is satisfied, within himself, with the level he is capable of attaining. Thus, impounded energy is discharged by a sufficient amount of objectivity; and tension is mainly avoided because of the lowered standards set for the ego. It would seem that under such circumstances a neurosis would not occur.

USES OF PSYCHOANALYSIS IN THE FEEBLEMINDED

Inasmuch as happiness and a fair degree of serviceable adjustment are attained in these conditions, psychoanalysis would appear to be superfluous. Rarely do individuals of this class come for treatment, and none will be found among the cases to be presented later. But, as we hope to show in the individual studies, a psychoanalytic understanding of the dynamic forces within the personality may make more helpful the necessary guidance we give to the feeble-minded. For those of the stable type it may be advisable not to attempt an advance to higher levels of performance; but at least one may encourage

an elaboration and widening of the activities for which the individual is mentally and emotionally most suited. Moreover, usually in every feeble-minded person, after a variable period of progression, there is eventually deterioration. It is a sort of senility which, while premature, is not unlike that which often afflicts the normal individual later in life. They are less easily managed, they fail of consistent interest, and become generally unresponsive to their environment. The cause of this early withdrawal of libido must lie deep within the defective structure of the ego; yet it seems possible that psychoanalysis, by its help in freeing energy for outward discharge, may offer some means of delaying the deterioration or reducing its destructive effect.

The second general class into which the feeble-minded are often divided consists of the "unstable" type. These individuals usually seem voluble, restive, and are characterized by great irritability or anti-social behaviours. They are frequently subject to fears and night terrors; explosive moods of rebellion are not uncommon; and a general tendency to jealousy and obstinacy is regularly noted. At first observation they may appear to be of a higher mentality than the more stable feeble-minded, but closer acquaintance usually makes this doubtful. Possibly they may be said to have established a *wider* range of contact with reality, but one not as deep. Their very undependability renders them of far less real use in their work and in the general community life. Our inference would be that there is more tension within this type of personality; that less energy is discharged and satisfied in the outer world. The super-ego is seemingly too harsh and severe to be accepted by the ego as a friendly guide for conduct. Instead, there is a compulsive demand upon the ego, which may result for a time in strict adherence to social standards, but which leads intermittently to rebellious and extremes of impulsive release. There is unreliability because of the ego's weakness in controlling the inner cravings or in using them for sublimated activities. It first submits to the super-ego and seems to conform to the usual disciplines; but it swings easily to the side of the instincts whenever the tension of undischarged energy rises perceptibly. On the whole, libido is not freely released into object-cathexes, but is impounded for narcissistic protection—only to make necessary an eventual discharge of the energy into symptomatic behaviours. Moreover, it often

seems apparent that the ideal set for the ego is so heavily conditioned by the need for omnipotence that little satisfaction is obtained from real, everyday accomplishment. Narcissistic ambitions so overbalance the ego's actual ability that gratification can come only through fantasy or through other forms of substitution for reality.

AMENTIA AND NEUROSES

It is mainly in this class of feeble-minded that one meets with neurotic or psychotic complications. Frequently it is difficult to determine whether the individual's poor performance is traceable to mental defect or purely to emotional conflicts. Especially at the border-line between feeble-mindedness and so-called normal intelligence, there are those whose development seems to proceed satisfactorily as soon as neurotic difficulties have been resolved. Yet there are others whose arrest appears to be inherently determined, quite apart from so-called "temperamental defects." More regularly, both factors are seen to play a part in the failure to attain a serviceable adjustment to educational and occupational requirements. Theoretically, perhaps, there should be a sharp dividing-line between intellectual and emotional defects. Actually, however, in dealing with the total individual and his energies for functioning in the real world, the two factors are inseparably mingled. Often only the *results* of training and treatment will clarify the confusion as to which were neurotic elements and which are more deeply rooted in the innate mental structure. Yet this means of differentiation is obviously unsatisfactory also.

A psychoanalytic approach must simply proceed with the general aim of understanding and helping the individual to resolve his inner conflicts and to free his energy for more serviceable mental use. In doing so we find that certain elements of fixations in emotional development lead to conduct disorders or to actual neuroses and psychoses. These same fixations, we believe, may go to handicap the dynamic phases of mental functioning. There are instances, of course, of secondary amentia, where an organic disease or one drawing heavily on the available energies directly causes the retarded mental development. Again, there are doubtless many cases where an inherent mental defect, by its crippling of the ego, has a large share in causing a neurosis. In general, however, where both

amentia and neurotic difficulties are present, we hold that there is not necessarily a relationship of cause and result between the two. Our formulation suggests that mental deficiency is attributable to inhibitions in the impulsive energy required for mental grasp, together with such fundamental ego-defects as we have mentioned. Other difficulties in emotional development, or qualitative and quantitative variations of the same fixations, would appear to underlie the neurosis. Therapeutic effort, therefore, must deal with the total personality, but with special reference to the fixations which influence both mental and emotional functioning.

In summarizing the fully-formed neurotic disorders found in the feeble-minded as a class, one must exclude the so-called transference neuroses such as hysteria, obsessional states, and the like. The ament is so typically narcissistic that his symptom-formation rarely includes the trends of object-libido characteristic of the above diseases. It is true that there are general states of trepidation and apprehension attended by extreme bodily restlessness; there is agitated or confused thought, and occasionally false hearing and sight. But such conditions are seldom seen as part of purely hysteria symptoms in the feeble-minded; they are either scattered tendencies or, more often, can be recognized as a phase of some definitely narcissistic conflict. They usually arise when the individual is faced with a feeling of inability to cope with circumstances, or senses that he is being hopelessly handicapped in his efforts to compete with his more able fellows.

The narcissistic neuroses and psychoses are more commonly seen, although they, too, may not appear as clear-cut, clinical entities. Mild delusional disorders, schizoid tendencies, and even actual schizophrenia are fairly common. As a rule the fantastic content of these states is not as rich in elaborations from reality as are the corresponding productions of the ordinary psychotic. There is not the completeness of formulation nor the subtle blending of real ideas with unreal, such as is manifested by schizophrenics, whose perception of the outer world has been less crippled. Manic-depressive disorders are also very frequent among the feeble-minded. The manic phase usually predominates, but is at first more brief and much less elaborated than in the common clinical picture of this psychosis. It recurs more persistently, however, and eventually the periods of excitement become almost constant. The alternate mood

of depression is not dissimilar to that encountered in the otherwise normal person. As for paranoia, it is generally agreed that the feeble-minded lack the degree of intellectual development necessary for the full formation of this disorder. But their type of mental defect does not exclude the formation of embryonic persecutory attitudes, ideas of reference, etc., very similar to those seen in the full-fledged psychosis.

AMENTIA AND EPILEPSY

Of all the narcissistic disorders, perhaps the most frequently associated complication in the feeble-minded is the epileptic state. Here, again, it may be that there is a degree of difference from the disease as seen in those without mental arrest. Many observers suggest that the tendency to sadistic outbursts is more intense in the feeble-minded, that psychic attacks of great violence are more frequent than in the ordinary epileptic. Be that as it may, the cause is still obscure. We might venture the speculation that since the ament does not consistently use his destructive impulses for an aggressive mastery of the outer world, this violent energy must be expended either in sado-masochistic attitudes or in actual disease-symptoms. The heightened degree of his impounded destructiveness may be attributable to the fact that his psychic organization is seemingly poorly equipped to bring about a fusion of life-instincts with the death-instincts. The destructive element remains unsocialized and receives its major discharge in the epileptic seizures, which may be regarded as the almost pure expression of the death-instincts against the ego.

AMENTIA AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The narcissistic neuroses in general and epilepsy in particular seem to be based upon certain failures in emotional development as the individual progresses from infancy to maturity. Since these neurotic complications are rather frequent in amentia, and since several of the cases to be presented are of this nature, we might pause briefly to summarize a few of the elements in emotional growth.

Immediately after birth, as we have previously indicated, the life-instincts are concerned not only with self-preservation, but also with autoerotic gratification—mainly with oral satis-

factions at the breast. The nursing act, with its libidinal significance and, later, its aggressive attempt to ingest the mother (oral sadism, biting, etc.), is seen to provide a fusion of the erotic (life) and destructive (death) impulses. It may be that a great share of the happiness attributed to this period results from the satisfactory discharge of energy from both of these instinctual sources.

When the process of weaning castrates the child from this oral stage, it seems apparent that a partial separation of the two classes of instincts would take place. The energy of the death-instincts, still to some extent merged with erotic impulses, seems to be released in the form of sadistic hate against the castrating mother. The libido (from the erotic instincts) appears mainly to be returned to the ego to continue its narcissistic protection.

At the anal-urinary stage of sexual development, where autoerotic pleasure is gained by retention of the waste products, and also by soiling and wetting, there is another castration in the form of toilet disciplines. Again we may assume that the destructive impulses are reinforced and harshly projected in sadistic attitudes. The child's ambivalence towards the mother seems to divide her into two persons: one, the "good" mother, who answers his needs; the other, the "bad" mother, who denies him what he craves. We may visualize, then, the continued separation of the two classes of instincts: the erotic turned mainly towards the "good" mother; the destructive towards the "bad" mother. Some further development is necessary before the two instinctual trends can be merged again.

The ego is still weak. The primary narcissism, which earlier tended towards a feeling of omnipotent aloofness, has been somewhat loosened. But an almost complete identification with the mother at the nursing stage provided safety, protection, and assurance to the ego. Soon, however, this sheltered condition must be given up; the child must become a separate individual. It is at this point that the energy of the erotic instincts (libido) again centres upon the ego. The child loves and shelters himself as the mother once did. Moreover, whatever libido is directed towards the outer world still has the aim of bringing added love and protection to the ego. It is an elaboration of secondary narcissism, for although it contains some projection towards objects, it is for the purpose of enhancing self-love or self-assurance.

Yet, when the ego begins to need less libido for its own sense of security, more energy is available for the outer world. Whatever libido remains free after the ego-needs have been answered now seems to be projected into more objectivated activities. Love or interest or effort is directed upon objects for their own sake or for their own advancement, less conditioned by the ego's desire for reward.

Probably some of the destructive impulses unite in this process, to give added drive towards a mastery of the child's surroundings. The ego begins slowly to find new ways of understanding and meeting reality. The experiencing of voyages into the outer world (reality-testing) lends added strength and power to the growing ego. The slow process of instinctual renunciation provides a further chance for the ego to experiment and to discover new channels along which the original energies may be discharged.

But before this process of growth has made the ego strong there is still need for outside help, especially in dealing with the instinctual forces. Here, even the "bad" mother may serve to support and protect the child. By identifying himself with her and symbolically ingesting her, he takes within himself added power to control the inner impulses—a wraith-like formation of a super-ego. If the ego cannot sustain the anxiety of an objective projection of libido in reality-testing, the destructive impulses remain largely undiluted with erotic energy. Some of the destructiveness may be discharged in aggressive mastery, but much goes into sadistic attacks on the outer world, particularly against the "bad" mother. Yet, again at this point, if the ego is weak it cannot sustain an independent hostility against the mother and the environment. Whatever destructive energy cannot be released thus objectively would seem to be taken over by the (embryonic) super-ego for its harsh dominance over the ego.

In the usual process of development the early diverse sexual instincts (oral, anal, urinary, etc.) are finally merged together in genitalized sexuality, which includes not only what is manifestly sexual, but also the power for creativeness, aggressiveness, and objectivated living in general. Much of the destructive instinct is merged with this, too, adding force and masterful strength to the objective drive. When the Œdipus has been lived through and successfully repressed, these energies are then capable of a consistent objective discharge. The power

from the death-instincts and the object-cathexis of the libido are finally again fused in the aggressive meeting of reality.

If the ego has been weak, however, or if the development of the instincts has lagged behind and clung to earlier paths of discharge, we may look for some disturbance in the general progress towards emotional adulthood. In particular, if the ego holds fast to earlier forms of protection, if the destructive impulses are turned inward, or if the libido does not arrive at an objectivity, we may expect that the Œdipus cannot be met satisfactorily and full emotional maturity will not be attained.

Fixations and inhibitions in development tend to keep the impulsive energy in channels which are too infantile or too anti-social to be allowed full gratification in reality. The super-ego maintains, perhaps with exaggerated harshness, the repressive and restricting attitudes of society. The ego, therefore, must deny release to the instinctual forces; and their energy, unavailable for sublimated uses, must be impounded. Here, we feel, is where inner tension arises. Occasionally the individual may be aware of it or show it in his actions; but for the most part the tension is in the unconscious and comes to light only when it is released in the formation of symptoms. The narcissistic neuroses, therefore, seem to consist of a withdrawal from reality; and the symptoms would represent a forced discharge of the energy impounded when instinctual energy fails of release in the object-world.

Our theory of the dynamic elements in amentia suggests that fixations may also inhibit or divert the uses to which energy can be put in grasping and absorbing knowledge of reality. We have felt that in general, where both a neurosis and a mental arrest are present, the two conditions run parallel to one another. Intellectual growth may be retarded, seemingly, not necessarily by the nervous disorder itself, but by the same or similar fixations as influence the neurosis.

II

To illustrate the foregoing we should like to consider the analysis of an individual character, to see what factors seem to influence the neurosis; and from these to note those which may have significance in determining the mental arrest.

WINNIE

Winnie is an epileptic girl of eight, small for her years, and of the mental age of four years and six months. Her attacks have only recently made their appearance, and so far have been light and infrequent. Tantrums and moods of vicious rebellion have been characteristic; but perhaps her most outstanding trait may best be described by reference to a definite scene:

A group of people, young and old, are seated about the room enjoying a showing of movies. The older ones can readily follow the development of the story; the children are able to find pleasure in watching the incidental happenings, and each may put together his own story. All are interested in some way—all but one chubby-faced little girl who clings snugly to an older woman's arm. It is Winnie. She is squirming in her seat, softly rubbing herself against her companion's body. "Miss Cha-arge." (The name is drawled wistfully as the little girl prolongs it into two syllables, mouthing the sounds as if lingering on a pleasant taste.) "Miss Cha-arge—Miss Charge——" The woman turns to her, but Winnie hesitates, as if she had not yet thought of anything to say. "Miss Charge—er—er—what are we going to do tomorrow?" One by one her questions are answered. They are not questions which need immediate answering. In fact, Winnie herself does not seem interested in what is said. But a happy smile lights her face and she wriggles closer as this kind, motherly person gives attention. Without it she can only squirm restlessly in the dark. "Miss Charge—Miss Charge——"

Now she goes towards a man sitting nearby. He has always been gentle and kind to her; he smiles at her now as she lays her hand timidly on his knee. "Mr. Murray—er—what are you doing?" As she awkwardly sprawls her body across his legs, the man smiles and lifts her to his lap. "I'm watching the movies, Winnie. Wouldn't you like to watch them, too?" The child snuggles close to the warmth of his shoulder as she looks vaguely at the pictures on the screen.

"What's that man doing, Mr. Murray?"—"He's going for a ride in his car."—"Where is he going?"—"I don't know. We'll have to wait and see."—"What's that boy got in his hand, Mr. Murray?"—"It looks like a shovel."—"What is he going to do with it?"—"I don't know. Maybe he'll

dig some dirt.")—"What does he want the dirt for?"—"Perhaps the picture will tell us later.")—"What are all these people doing?"—"They seem to be trying to get into the house. Let's watch them.")—"What will they do when they get in?"—"Well, let's see what happens.")

Now the movies are over. Winnie races happily back to her first companion. "Miss Charge—did you like the movies, Miss Charge?" Her tone is bright and smiling, as if caressing the words in anticipation of a reward for her cuteness. She grasps at the hand which happens to be near her, presses her face against it, rubbing her head across its surface, swinging and turning close to the other's body. No matter that her friend is talking to someone else; no matter that Winnie is being called to bed. "Miss Charge—Miss Charge—er—um—er—is it cold in my room tonight, Miss Charge?"

When such a scene is repeated over and over again, we may be justified in interpreting what seems to be characteristic. Our picture is of Winnie's clinging dependence on an older person. She was unable to find her own entertainment in the pictures, as the other children were doing. Winnie needed her motherly friend; and her spontaneous interest was seemingly at the level of being cuddled and loved by mother. When one companion failed her in the loneliness of the dark she appears to have sought mother in the person of a kindly, smiling man. He responded to her subtle hint for attention, and took her protectively on his lap. With his support and encouragement (libido-giving), Winnie was able apparently to give a little of her attention to the movies; but she still needed constant motherly assurance.

We note that her questions are mainly concerned with relieving her of the task of figuring things out for herself. Rather than experience the situation and learn from her own investigation, it is characteristic of her that she seeks a ready-made solution. The weak ego demands that all anxiety be removed immediately; it cannot be left uncertain and unprotected. Our impression is of a child at that early period where the all-knowing mother is constantly questioned, and the child clings to this dependent relationship rather than assume the responsibility of a separate testing of reality. Possibly much of the difficulty in her mental functioning comes from this inability to sustain the anxiety of learning. At least we may say that a weakness in the ego requires that she have

constant protection and assurance (narcissistic need), and thus limits the amount of object-libido available for exploring the outer world and growing.

ANALYTIC PLAY SESSIONS

Analysis was attempted in the form of play sessions in which Winnie is free to talk or to draw or to engage in any activity that appeals to her. One of her first interests was to draw pictures of houses. As she draws, she says: "A lady lives in this house—she hits the little boy—because he is naughty—he did something on the floor." ("What did he do?") "I'll tell you after." She laughs and asks the analyst if she (analyst) ever wet her pants when she was a baby. She is interested in what the mother did about it. "She wouldn't spank a baby, would she?" Now she wants to know if the analyst ever wet herself when she was a little girl. As the analyst enlarges on the impression of a delightful secret and minimizes the factor of punishment, Winnie is gleeful. She laughs, seems to be enjoying it all, wants to know all about it; then says that she has to run to the toilet, and wants the analyst to look at her panties. She is told that this can be done after she comes back, but Winnie says the boys outside might see her through the window.

From this material we surmise that Winnie is really still attached to the early instinctual pleasures of soiling and wetting, although she does not allow herself to indulge. Her fantasy of the mother punishing the little boy would seem to represent Winnie's super-ego attitude towards soiling. Yet her interest in the question of wetting would suggest that she has not completely taken over and accepted the parental attitude of repression. Her own impulses seem to seek support in the form of assurances from the analyst that she, too, indulged in wetting. Then it is as if the super-ego might excuse such actions in a baby; Winnie wants further assurance that the analyst did it as a little girl (that is, when she was like Winnie). When the analyst's attitude provides support she is gleeful, as if reliving her own instinctual gratification by identifying herself with the analyst. Yet the super-ego appears to win out, for it sends her to the toilet rather than allowing her to wet herself, and it prohibits exposing herself near boys. Possibly the latter is merely an excuse to get the analyst to come to the toilet with her. We cannot decide whether showing her panties to the

analyst would represent a part of the instinctual gratification (to show that she, too, had wet herself, etc.), or would be an attempt to win approval from the super-ego (by showing that she had *not* wet herself). We infer that both attitudes are playing a part in the child's struggle.

But as the analyses continue, with the drawing of houses and the fantasies about people in them, the punishing, sadistic attitude becomes more and more dominant. A little boy is punished—one boy punishes another boy; Winnie tells of liking to have Jack (here at the institution) punish Ned. Eventually she seems to come to the point of punishing the analyst. She notices the hook on the analyst's door, goes over to fasten it, but seems a little afraid. She wants to know, "Can we get out if I lock it?" Finally she gets up her courage, and says, "Now you can't get out."

Once again we may sense the presence of two attitudes in Winnie. It may be that she wishes to lock the analyst in, so that she may keep her for herself and her own needs. On the other hand, coming as it does in a chain of sadistic fantasies, the incident suggests a punishment of the analyst by imprisonment. Apparently, however, she needs assurance that nothing will happen to her own self. Possibly the following material will serve to clarify our understanding of what is really going on.

The analyst had been in the habit of helping Winnie with her letters to her mother. When it was suggested that this could be done at some other time than in analysis, the child seemed to take it as a prohibition. Soon after, as she sits at the table preparatory to drawing, she points her finger at the analyst and says: "Bang! Now you're dead!" The analyst falls back in her chair, covers her eyes, and says, "Now I'm dead," and for several seconds remains inert. Winnie becomes frightened. "You're not really dead, are you?" (Analyst remains silent.) "Please, Miss R., come back to life. Don't tease me." When the analyst peeks out between her fingers, Winnie seems greatly relieved and says: "You were teasing me! I don't want you to stay dead. Mother doesn't like us to play dead." But the desire to continue the game wins out against mother's prohibition. Once more she shows the same anxiety as to whether or not the analyst is really dead.

Even though this anxiety gradually lessens as she becomes accustomed to the game, Winnie is greatly disturbed whenever the analyst pretends to cry when shot. "I won't do it again,"

she promises fervently; and in spite of assurances that it was only make-believe, she does not wish to play the game for some time. Soon, however, she picks up paper and pencil and begins drawing a picture of a lake, saying, "This will shoot you," and the game goes on, with objects of various kinds doing the shooting. All anxiety as to the analyst's really being dead has now vanished. Winnie orders her to keep her eyes closed. She hides. Analyst is to try to find her.

VARIOUS RÔLES OF THE ANALYST

Our evaluation of such play-acting depends on our recognizing the rôle in which the analyst is cast. In the above instances she would seem to be playing the part of mother, while Winnie acts as her own self (the child). It was observed that whenever the child could follow her own impulses undisturbed, whenever she could be helped with lessons and letter-writing, she was friendly and clinging. The analyst was then, apparently, the "good" mother. But, as we have seen, at the mildest suggestion tending to block her infantile wishes, Winnie appeared antagonistic. She would shoot the "bad" mother (analyst). Probably "killing" was intended in the child's sense of "getting rid of" that part of the mother which is disciplinary or interfering. Similarly, the mixture of feelings which Winnie seemed to show in the incident of locking the door might be explained in this way. She would vent her sadism against the mother (analyst), but there seemingly was also the fear that in so doing Winnie might become helpless. She would like to keep that part of the mother which answers her need for dependence.

It may be that Winnie's anxiety about whether the analyst was really dead or not could be interpreted as the fear of losing the "good" mother. Yet there also seems to be a guilty feeling, as if her sadistic impulse had gone too far and the super-ego were forcing her to say, "I won't do it again." Possibly the fear related not only to what would become of her, all alone in the world (if the mother stays dead), but also to what would happen to her in the form of reprisals for her sadistic violence. Thereafter it is not Winnie who does the killing; it is the objects in the room. In that way she may avoid the super-ego and protect herself from a sense of guilt. She goes on killing indirectly, and later reassumes the responsibility when she can follow a shooting with further play-acting. (She

is thus in control of the aftermath.) Apparently it gives her assurance if the analyst can go on following directions after she has been shot. Winnie can then see that the "good" mother is not lost. She has the analyst search, as if having the mother come to the child—bringing love to her, we might say.

Once these assurances are given, the promise, "I won't do it again," means nothing. It seems to have been used merely in a moment of panic, to protect the child from fear and punishment. Such incidents appear to be sufficiently characteristic of Winnie for us to generalize on them. Apparently the ego does not accept the attitudes of the super-ego (parents, particularly mother) as something really worth-while; it obeys only through fear and dependence. The ego is too weak to stand independently on the side of the impulses (erotic, sadistic, etc.) and go against the super-ego; on the other hand, it cannot allow itself to test reality and become convinced that some of the super-ego's attitudes are serviceable guides for happiness in the outer world. She attempts to keep her mother-attachment, and when this is threatened by attitudes of the environment, sadistic impulses arise. Yet, as we have seen, she cannot discharge this sadism freely, for it entails taking an independent stand and sustaining anxiety. Moreover, she has apparently been unable to find a substitute form of release compatible with the super-ego (parents, outer world). The result seems to be a swinging from one side to the other, now attacking the super-ego (parents), now allying herself with it and harshly enforcing its punishments against the ego (the child in her fantasies).

This swing from one position to another is especially characteristic of her later analyses. Sometimes she seems to be supporting her own impulses against the restrictions of the super-ego (mother, analyst). At another time, having disposed of the severe mother (super-ego), she clings to the "good" mother. Later she is apparently allying herself with the super-ego (mother) and enjoys punishing the naughty child. The analyst serves as the object upon which these various impulses may be expressed. The following session is an example:

Winnie enters the room and at once closes and locks the door. "Now you can't get out—I have locked you in." As the analyst sits down at the table where pencils and paper are laid out (here she is the "bad" mother, for she is indicating

that something is expected of the child), Winnie immediately cries, "Bang! You're dead!" and runs and hides. Every corner and nook in the room is used for a hiding-place, but quite often she announces where she may be found (in order that the analyst, who is now the "good mother," may come to her). Occasionally during the game she orders the analyst to hide, and once in a great while she directs the analyst to shoot her before Winnie hides—but this is very seldom. She shoots the analyst again and again; the analyst falls face downward on the floor. Winnie sits astride her, nestles against her neck in soft, cuddling fashion, as if she loved the prostrate object. Yet now she says: "Bang! You're dead. I've killed you. You'll never come to life again—you're in the cemetery now—you'll stay dead for ever." She watches the analyst intently, puts her fingers on the analyst's lips, closing them tightly together. After a little, as the analyst comes to life and begins to talk, Winnie closes the lips again firmly, saying, "You're dead; you can't talk."

In many instances she seems thus to silence the "bad" mother. At another time, after a killing, she sits astride the analyst and orders, "Open your mouth—now I will take your tonsils out." (Perhaps another symbol of silencing the mother.) She puts her finger in the analyst's mouth, saying, "Now you must throw up—you are awful sick—you must make a noise like Johnny does—you are having a spell—you must stay in bed—you must stay in bed for three days." When the analyst cries and begs to get up, Winnie is delighted and repeats her order, adding, "You have been naughty." The corner of the room must be a bathroom; analyst must sit on the toilet. Now the directions are that the analyst disobey, and then Winnie punishes her. "You're bad—you wet your pants." But now she says, "We mustn't play like this any more."

Our supposition is that death, having tonsils removed, being sick, having attacks, etc., are all means of reducing the power of the stern mother. Later the child herself becomes the mother (super-ego) and punishes the analyst (naughty child). The naughtiness in this instance again has to do with wetting. Yet seemingly the super-ego repression of toilet pleasures is so great in real life, it exerts a prohibition against talking about such things or playing at them.

We may well appreciate that all of her activities in analysis

give her the opportunity to release her sadism, for this is the dominant note in all of the rôles she plays. Only the snuggling attachment to mother is an exception, and we infer that the loss of this relationship accentuates her sadism. The impression is given us that the energy of the death-instincts, as converted into sadism, seeks discharge in any manner possible. If the ego is too weak to sustain an attack against the outer world (parents, super-ego, society), and thus provide release, then the destructive impulses are used to support the super-ego in its punishing attitudes towards the ego. In analysis, where the ego is partially protected (by the analyst and by the fact that it is play-acting), the major part of the sadism would seem to be discharged by the ego against the punishing agents (shooting the "bad" mother-analyst). In real life, however, the sadism appears to be taken over by the super-ego in its harshness against the ego. It may be that her epileptic attacks provide the final full discharge of destructive impulses against the ego.

We well may wonder why Winnie chooses shooting as a favourite means for destroying. Possibly it has the significance of using father's genital-power in combinations of love and hate against the mother. Yet we should be inclined to base it on an earlier stage of development—one more in keeping with the trends she has definitely shown. Shooting, let us say, is an explosive discharge of powerful hate against the outer world. Could it be that, to the child's unconscious, it represents the urinary and anal discharge? The mother, in the rôle of super-ego, has taken from the child the pleasures of retaining, has prohibited the autoerotic gratification of soiling and wetting; the anal and urinary products must be given up. May we picture the child viciously and vindictively discharging the contents of bladder and bowel, as if to say: "There! Take it! I hope I kill you with the power and explosiveness of it all." It seems possible that the anal hate might be expressed in this way, and later renewed in fantasy by means of the symbolic shooting. "Bang! You're dead!" \

CANNIBALISTIC SYMBOLS

But Winnie's sadism is often expressed in another way. Let us visualize another session of the game. "Now I am going to kill you—I am going to eat you." She actually sets her teeth into the analyst's cheeks and forehead—all over the face, not gently, but viciously. She bites an arm or hand, and

the analyst is forced to evade the harshness of it by struggling away from her (trying at the same time to make this resistance seem like part of the game). But now Winnie finds a pin and starts to stick it into the flesh. Again the analyst must pull away. Winnie now uses a hair-pin, still jabbing and wounding with it. Following this she seizes several of the analyst's possessions and pretends to throw them out the window. Next she pounds the analyst's face and body as hard as she can. Struggling and pretending to be terribly hurt, the analyst cannot awaken pity; it only seems to add to her enjoyment. Now the little girl becomes a doctor. "You must be sick with ammonia—you must die—now you have hurt your arm." When the doctor is pleaded with, to care for the injury, Winnie says, "I mustn't hear you." She turns her back, but after a while relents and pretends to put ointment on the wounded arm.

Throughout all such sadistic play Winnie continually maintains a clinging attitude. Lying on top of the analyst, her head cuddled softly against the other's shoulder, one arm around her neck, she uses her other hand to punch and jab the abdomen, chest, face—every part of the analyst's body. There are long moments of silence when she appears to be snuggling contentedly; but if the analyst ventures to speak at such times, there is a prompt silencing either by shooting or by Winnie's closing the analyst's lips.

ORAL SADISM

That part of the playing which contains the biting seems plainly to represent Winnie's oral sadism—a level at which mouth-erotism and the destructive impulses are merged in an aggressive ingestion of the breast. When this is interfered with, the destructive element breaks away from the erotic; her activity against the analyst becomes almost entirely sadistic (jabbing, pounding, pricking, etc.). She would hurt and destroy the mother (analyst), and become superior to her (when Winnie is the doctor). Ambivalence is later shown in the combination of clinging and destructive activities towards the analyst. When the little girl snuggles quietly against the older person's body there is peace and contentment. Only the mother's (analyst's) attempt to talk threatens castration from this blissful state. At such times the sadistic reaction is again brought into play, and mother is silenced. It is particularly noteworthy

in this connection that the child later began every session of analysis by shooting the analyst the moment she entered the room, as if to kill and silence immediately any possible castrating agent (as if the analysis itself were a castration).

Once this is done, Winnie is free to follow her own impulses. Any interference calls for an immediate shooting. After the preliminary killing, she often plays the rôle of mother to the analyst (child)—feeding her, giving her medicine, rocking, and singing to her. It is as if, no matter which rôle she plays (mother or child), she may regain the original identification, once the bigger person is reduced by shooting or by some similar castration. But always there is soon some evidence of sadism, for she regularly shifts her attitude to that of the cruel mother at times when the analyst is playing the part of child.

Let us see how we might reconstruct Winnie's difficulty, assuming that our inferences from the material are correct. First, there is the weak ego which calls for a continuance of the identification with mother and a dependence on her as protection against all forms of anxiety in the outer world. At this level, too, is the desire for oral gratification at the breast, particularly the oral-sadistic phase where the destructive impulses can be combined with erotic pleasures for complete satisfaction. The loss of this stage of gratification leaves the sadistic factor more clearly separated from the erotic, and discharge is found in the hate-reaction against the "bad" mother. Yet the weak ego cannot sustain an independent position of hostility against the mother; part of it must take over even the "bad" mother, for she provides support, and an identification with her will give safety to the ego. In such manner is the embryonic super-ego attitude begun. Still, there is the constant demand of the destructive impulses for discharge; the super-ego must take over this energy and release it against the ego (naughty child) in the form of punishing and prohibitive attitudes.

Our material seems to hint more specifically that naughtiness and punishment are at the anal-urinary stage. It may be that this is the highest level to which Winnie has developed—the level at which the struggle is now going on. If she could sustain her sadistic impulses against mother and the outer world, it might allow the ego to grow in an aggressive experiencing of reality. The destructive impulses might then provide a driving force towards objectivity and development to higher

levels. Instead, we have noted that the urge is regressive, and the sadistic energy seems to serve this purpose. Sadism is used by the ego to destroy the "bad" mother and enable a return to the early levels of identification and oral pleasure. On the other hand, when the super-ego takes over the destructive energy, it tends to block the ego—or even, as seems probable in the attack, to attempt to destroy it.

We might briefly summarize our formulation as follows: (1) The ego is too weak to venture forth from the mother-identification, to experience reality; (2) the sexual instincts remain at the early autoerotic levels; and (3) the destructive instincts are not sufficiently fused with the erotic, with the result that the sadistic drive is regressive rather than progressive. It seems probable that the epileptic attack releases the tension which arises when these three trends fail to conform to outer conditions or cannot find acceptable discharge in reality.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THERAPY

If speculations are of any value, it is for the suggestions which they may offer for more enlightened therapy. In Winnie's case, our tentative understanding leads us to believe that the more she can be encouraged to discharge her sadism on to external objects, the less will she need to use symptoms such as the attack. Moreover, if some mildly protective arrangement can enable the ego to organize more and more of the destructive energy for use against the outer world, then there will be less need for the super-ego to take over the sadistic impulses. Finally, if through these experiences and through further encouragement she can be induced to talk about her feelings rather than enact them, she may be able to find more socially acceptable ways of discharging her sadism. The attempted form of analysis seems to offer something in these directions, with the possibility that her ego may gain strength by experience in this restricted portion of reality. For many months efforts to induce her to talk of her feelings resulted mainly in a prompt shooting. More recently, however, while many forms of sadistic hate have been continued, the shooting has almost entirely vanished. It may be that this phase of her destructiveness has been "lived out," and that this will make possible a more constructive use of the aggressive energy. Some indications that a change may be evolving is suggested

in her occasional remarks, "Let's talk," or even more rarely, "Let's not hurt any more."

Now we are in a better position to discuss what factors in Winnie's make-up might serve to bring about a mental arrest. Apparently the primary narcissism has been loosened so that she has been able to make some degree of identification with people in the outer world. But we have noted that she impulsively clings to that type of identification which is closest to the original "cuddling" one with mother. The scope of her capacity to form identifications has seemingly not widened far beyond the protective and erotic significance of the fundamental relationship. Her weak ego needs the assurance of a constant inflow of libido, and this concern is so dominant that there apparently is little absorption of the substance of the identification. For example, in situations like that at the movies, she drinks in the erotic elements, but learns little from the other person. Moreover, she is evidently unable to voyage far into reality to make identifications with "things," because of her fear to assume anxiety. Such an experience would also necessitate a postponement of the libidinal return until after she had first made a projection towards the "thing." Probably identification with such inanimate objects does not supply her with as great an amount of libido as would come to her through an attachment to a person. For her, the narcissistic triumph apparently must be abundant, and either constant or immediate.

Another factor in her mental impairment would seem to be the disposition she makes of the destructive impulses. Apparently the "bad" mother (super-ego) stands in the way of an aggressive, ingestive experiencing of the outer world; and the weak ego is unable to sustain the oral sadism in grasping reality. It is seemingly an indication of her inability to ingest and absorb identifications, that she has not yet taken within herself (from parental identifications, mainly the "bad" mother) a super-ego which she can accept as a working part of her pattern. It remains partially outside, and alternately she fights against it and has it castigate her. Her hate against the "bad" mother and against the castrating outer world has not been sufficiently merged with erotic elements for her to engulf outer objects to any degree of completeness. As a result she seeks libidinal satisfaction in one direction ("good" mother), but her sadistic drive is in a different direction ("bad" mother and her own ego). Her anal hate involves a great deal of her

destructive force, while the oral sadism has not been lived through sufficiently to allow a wider symbolization of the ingestive process. Finally, the fearfulness and dependence of the ego have prevented an objectivity which might allow an absorption of the identifications she does make.

In the year that Winnie was under treatment, her I.Q. rose from 56 to 60. Assuming the performance tests to be an accurate indication, our inference would be that she was able to advance mentally at a steadier rate than before. As to her progress since the discontinuance of analysis, there is reason to believe that she has continued the improvement in stability and ability to objectivate herself that began to be noticeable after several months of analysis. Her mental age, as determined by a test taken during the period of analysis, was four and a half years. Lessons in school-work given during the analytical period showed a marked improvement in concentration and co-ordination. Much libido had to be supplied by the teacher, but she responded readily to the efforts made. Her handwriting showed an astonishing change. From making one large letter or word that covered an entire page of typewriting paper, the co-ordination improved to permit smaller and smaller characters. She learned simple combinations in addition, subtraction, and multiplication, and also learned to read and spell simple words. Reading had been especially hard for her, and all these accomplishments came with much difficulty. She recently made a visit to us, two and a half years having elapsed since the discontinuance of her analysis. She has grown tall and her expression is alert. She has very nearly lost her dependent attachment to people, although her mother, a teacher before marriage, is continuing her education at home, and is seemingly keeping her too closely confined and away from associations with other children. She is finishing fourth-grade work, and engages in household duties and simple errands. Her attacks are infrequent (once in two or three months), after which she is able to resume what she is doing. Her parents report that she is apt at spelling and is able to read and enjoy a great many books; they are much pleased with her school progress and general improvement. A recent letter from Winnie shows a remarkable improvement that hardly seemed possible in this child. Apparently the lessening of her unconscious sadism and anxiety has resulted in the removal of inhibitions, with an accompanying expansion of interest.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

Results of analysis with this mentally retarded, epileptic child suggest that there are rich possibilities—probably not for altering the fundamental degree of intelligence, but for promoting the fullest potential development through modifying the impulsive resistance and removing the emotional inhibitions. We cannot say that she has been really analyzed, but apparently the experience from analytic play-technique has provided a degree of release from these inhibitions and fixations. The energy thus freed has seemingly become available for an increased power in grasping and understanding parts of reality.

A psychoanalytic conception of her problems offers us the opportunity to suggest further factors which will help her as she approaches higher levels of education and adjustment. The indications are that to some extent she is educable, and that this process of learning can best be advanced under the erotic stimulus of a close attachment to the teacher. She must be given plenty of loving attention, and for this reason it would seem advisable that she be tutored separately rather than as part of a group. To draw out her destructive impulses into attitudes of ingestion, the immediate outer world must be endowed with mother-significance and must answer her special needs for support or encouragement. The teachers, therefore, should be women; and much will depend on their ability to induce her to project into object-relationships the libido she is inclined to keep for autoerotic purposes. The problem of her absorbing and using knowledge will centre largely around the task of directing this erotic energy towards the teacher, and from there displacing it on to what is to be learned. Concreteness will make acquisition easier for her, and possibly at first the play element must be large to stir autoerotic impulses for later use in grasping reality. Little independent investigation and study may be expected of her, although this may be encouraged whenever the libidinal attachment is strong and regressions are unlikely.

As we had surmised while she was still under treatment, Winnie's happiness and most consistent usefulness would seem to be in connection with various domestic activities of a routine character, where the kindly companionship of a motherly person may answer her needs, yet inspire real effort. Possibly her craving to be coddled and petted might eventually impel her

towards caring for young children, in so far as they represent reflections of her own ego and its needs. At present, however, it seems as if her own autoerotic needs are too strong to allow such a displacement even upon objects which are substitutes for herself. The duties of governess and the requirements of trained nursing would undoubtedly demand too much responsibility, but the phases of these occupations which do not call for more than a simple attachment might be open to her. Possibly she could become a governess's assistant or a nurse's helper.

Such estimates of the future are, of course, largely speculative. Yet we feel that one of the most direct services psychoanalysis can offer in the study of amentia is just such an indicating of the individual possibilities. There can be no definite programme, but at least there can be a preliminary judgment as to which general channels of development would seem best to attempt. It is our belief that psychoanalytic understanding of cases like the foregoing can suggest the circumstances most suitable for initial efforts towards progress and adjustment. Later experiences may modify this first estimate; further research may enable us to make the judgment more certain.

III

In developing our general hypothesis it has seemed that difficulties centring around the maternal identification play an important rôle in determining the capacity for acquiring knowledge. Certain needs of the ego are here brought into prominence, and their final resolution has much to do with the future types of contact with the outer world. We have frequently seen this in the formation of narcissistic neuroses, where the sexuality remains at a level of infantile clinging and dependence. It seems probable also that the manner in which future identifications are made depends greatly on the needs and the patterns formulated at the nursing and early narcissistic stages. Yet too little is known of the many pathways open to individual variation at this level, and of the kinds of tendencies which block emotional development in general, and mental development in particular.

NED

As we consider the problems of libidinal arrest in the following study, we hope to suggest one form of conflict in connection with the primary identification which seems to affect

both the neurosis and the mental retardation. In many respects we shall be dealing with difficulties similar to Winnie's, but with special emphasis on the failure to resolve this early conflict. It will be seen that what hangs in the balance is not only the question of homoerotic or heteroerotic domination, but also the whole power of acquisitiveness and mental progress in general. Ned is a boy of nineteen, with a mental age of nine years and four months, who has epileptic attacks about once a month. Let us try to visualize him as he goes about his daily life.

A boy sidles tremulously into the room. He looks covertly at the group, through and over thick-lensed glasses. Slowly he steals up on you, as if squirming his way into your friendship. An ingratiating smile plays on his lips as his eyes beg for a return of friendliness. The smile flickers feebly, vanishes, flickers again. He is not sure yet! He comes over closer to you, saying nothing, but looking hopefully expectant. That timid smile again, flickering, shy. His right hand hangs in front of him, as if he would shake hands if he dared. His arm is close to his body; only the hand from the wrist turns outward towards you, just a little—a little more—a little bit further! He smiles with happiness as you take his hand.

But how limp that hand is! It is not to be shaken as a symbol of equal friendliness; it is simply to be taken into yours. His hand is passive, flaccid, damply soggy. Coming closer he remarks coyly: "Um-huh—I like you an awful lot. You're my best friend, next to Jack."

Ned is very fond of Jack, for he is the attendant who cares for him, guides him in his activities, and helps him generally. Left alone with an undertaking he comes back hesitantly to his attendant, reports what he has done, and waits expectantly; he repeats his boast and listens happily to Jack's praise, but seems not to hear his encouragement to continue working. For a moment he clings to his big friend. "I like you the best of anyone here, Big Brother!" Reluctantly he is off to his task again, not without final parting glances and smiles as he sidesteps into the distance. He must return at intervals for those friendly, sustaining contacts. In a surging, joyous tone he expresses his love for Jack, giving him a tremendous squeeze, and occasionally succeeding in kissing him.

With boys older than himself Ned expresses the same feeling more mildly. To glimpse someone going by his room brings out a pleading, "Hello, Captain!" Answered, he races towards

you, pauses shyly, and seems to creep softly up to you. Cringing but smiling, he deftly captures your hand and squeezes it passionately. "Um-huh—hello, Captain!" Frequently as a boy rushes briskly by him Ned cannot catch the passing hand. He is a little discomfited, but lies in wait, ready to catch the next one on the run. A playful poke would draw your notice; a half-smiling blocking of the way would rouse you from pre-occupation and suggest that attention be given, that friendship be assured. A stiff punch in the stomach or a whack on the buttocks is to be taken in the same spirit. "I was only fooling. Can't you take a little joke? Gosh!"

His attendant is in a group, talking, Ned steps up mincingly. "Pardon me. Pardon me, Jack! Pardon me, I just wanted to tell you where I'd be, in case you wanted me. Pardon me—not that I wanted anything, but just so you'd know where I was. You know, just in case you *did* want me, then you'd know. I say, just so you'd be sure—I just thought I'd tell you—in case you might be wondering. I say, not that I wanted anything or wanted you to be with me—I say, not for anything like that—but just so if you happened to be looking for me—you know, in case you *did*." ("Where are you going to be, Ned?") "Pardon me, I just thought I'd tell you—you know, to make *sure*." He repeats and piles on his apologetic assurances endlessly. At last he tells Jack where he intends to be. Seemingly everything is settled. Jack turns back to his previous interest. Ned pauses at the door, takes one last, lingering look. "I just thought I'd tell you, in case you wanted me——"

Later he reports to Jack about raking some leaves for Miss Elder. "I was playing ball with the boys, but I stopped as soon as she asked me to do that for her. I told her, 'Work comes before pleasure; and if there is any work to be done, I'll let the pleasure go.' I always told my mother, even if I was busy doing something else, if there was anything she wanted me to do, I'd always be ready to do it. Business before pleasure! I say, business comes before pleasure—isn't that right? So I said to Miss Elder, 'I'll be right there to do it,' and I went and did it just as she wanted."

These characteristic attitudes lead us to postulate a timidity and general lack of aggressive confidence in meeting the outer world. The boy seems to cling to Jack much as a child to the mother, needing constant assurance and approval. His playful gestures with others suggest a pleading for continued mani-

festations of love and friendliness towards him. The grasping of a hand, the contact with this stronger person, seems to give him what his weakness craves. His general attitudes of niceness and sweetness lend an impression that he is mother's little man, and he apparently reflects her teachings in such platitudes as "Business before pleasure." By thus identifying himself with the mother he gains assurance of being always right; he dares not venture forth alone, to experience life in his own way and form independent views.

Thus we arrive at what seems fundamental in him. Apparently his ego is unable to stand alone in the process of meeting reality; it requires protective support and loving assurances from the outside. It clings to the early level of identification with the mother and seeks to recapture this relationship with mother-substitutes. The need is for a constant inflowing of libido from the outside to supply the ego; yet seemingly the great desire is to attain that completely sheltered existence within the warmth of the mother's love.

We now see Ned working with a group of older boys. He is strong enough for the task, and eager to take part; for Jack is there, and he would do almost anything for him. He sticks at the work persistently, as though torturing himself for an ideal. He strives manfully to do more, to do it faster, to keep at it longer. Frequently he must make little games out of his work and evolve his own ways of doing it, often to the detriment of the general progress. A stone sticks up in the ground, but the job does not call for its removal. Ned, however, digs at it hurriedly, rushing to get in his next blow before help is proffered, anxious to succeed before anyone feels he is failing. Perspiring, panting in frenzied gasps, he is deaf to advice. Wasting his strength, attacking the stone in the hardest, most roundabout way, at last he wins out. He ignores the fact that it was all unnecessary. "There you are—I got it! See? I got it! It thought it was going to get the best of me; thought it could tell *me* it wasn't coming out. But I made it come out. I just told it, 'You've *got* to come out when I want you to, even if you don't want to—you're coming out, whether you like it or not.' And it came at last. I showed it!"

SENSE OF OMNIPOTENCE

Such incidents as these might seem at first glance to be a real objective projection of effort and an independent ex-

periencing of reality. Ned certainly applied himself to the task and stuck at it until he finished it. Yet, what was his goal, what was the object of his interest? Clearly, it was not his purpose to forward the progress of the mutual undertaking. His straining, perspiring effort does not help the others in the general group task; he is not sharing in that. His concern seems to be entirely with the upbuilding of his own sense of omnipotence. His interest is evidently in the end-result rather than in the process of doing. We should say, then, that libido is not discharged objectively into the undertaking, but is used primarily for the increased narcissistic return of the ego. The voyaging into reality, therefore, is predominantly sheltered and restricted by this narcissistic concern. Probably there lies in these efforts the kernel of his attempt to master his environment; but the undertaking is seemingly so weighted down by the need for self-aggrandizement that the ego gains little real power. The experience would seem to add to the protective layer of narcissistic self-esteem rather than to develop actual strength in the ego.

It is interesting to note that he addresses the recalcitrant stone as he would a person. Let us compare his attitude towards it with that of his relations with actual people. Several little boys are playing together. Ned, although he is nineteen, is accepted without question by these children of eleven and twelve. As they play hide-and-seek he seems dull and slow, as if the game were a little too fast for him. A tickled smile plays about his lips as he vaguely follows their directions, but he is not keenly alive to the competition, he shows no initiative in finding places to hide or ways to gain the goal. He stands stiffly by as a small boy suggests new details; smiling, he looks down at the child much as a mastiff quizzically tolerates a little pup. He makes a playful lunge at his companion. All interest in the game now disappears; it becomes a personal matter as the younger boy with resentment pushes Ned aside with the remark: "Come on and play. Don't be such a sap!" Ned growls. His fundamental superiority must be recognized! "Oh, don't *you* be so bossy. You shut up and mind your own business—see?" Fists doubled, he stands close to the object, threatening—almost daring the child to deny his physical omnipotence.

It is not always with younger boys that he wishes his superiority to be recognized. Working with older boys, he

often has moods where he seems to resent criticism from anyone. A quick hurt is followed by a flare of wild fury. A sullen, sulky look comes into his face. He throws down his tools and stamps off, mumbling defiantly about the things he won't stand for. He refuses to answer questions about his attitude; he stands and glowers, with an undertone rumbling of snarling comments. "Always finding fault—the old fool. He's not going to boss me around."

But the real trouble comes when someone makes fun of Jack. Ned seems to feel that he must resent such teasing, regardless of how good-naturedly Jack himself may take it. It does not matter how big the opponent is or how obviously powerful, Ned steps in. "You'd better not say that about my Big Brother," he threatens. He makes a tentative but stinging punch at the other boy. It isn't as if Ned were angrily fighting; he seems more to be warning and chastising the other. Perhaps if the bigger boy apologized and humbly promised never again to lower Jack's importance, Ned would be satisfied. He waits to see the result of his first barrage. Still denied mastery, he pitches in more violently. Suddenly the whole basis of the struggle has changed. It is no longer a question of whether Jack shall be teased or not; it is whether Ned will be obeyed or not. He cannot surrender, even to superior strength. He must hit harder, more furiously. His legs and arms wind about the opponent's body; they both fall heavily to the ground. He pounces violently on his victim to get a savage grip of mastery. The bigger boy strives only to protect himself, to restrain Ned, but the latter pants and strains stubbornly to hurt and to win. His face reddens with anger and exertion. The onlookers cannot pull him off. No sooner is one grip broken than he desperately springs for another—grunting, breathing heavily, brutish as he hangs on fiercely with every bit of strength he has. He is finally pried loose by two or three of the boys. Still snarling and menacing, he must be held carefully. He grudgingly allows himself to be led away, still throwing blustering threats and warnings over his shoulder. "I'll show that damn fool he can't call my Big Brother names!"

Plainly there is shown in such attitudes a need for omnipotence in Ned's relations with his environment. His own narcissistic greatness would seem to be a substitute for the mother's protectiveness. As he leaves the passive rôle of enfoldment within the latter's loving approval and ventures forth

to meet the world, he must carry within himself something similar to the supporting strength of the original identification. The feeding of his own self-love, a continued discovery that his will is dominant, would provide the assurance which the weak ego needs. Moreover, Jack seems to represent the mother in his support and friendly guidance. For anyone to speak disparagingly of him, therefore, diminishes the amount of assurance which Ned may receive from his "Big Brother." It is as if Jack were a part of him, a strong and protective part. Ned would punish and destroy an environment which threatens to castrate him from such a necessary part of himself (mother). Similarly, he fights to maintain and enhance his narcissism.

The fact that he does fight, however, would seem to be a favourable sign in so far as it means an aggressiveness towards the outer world. It would appear to be at a higher level than his more completely identified attitudes of timid niceness and sweet goodness. Yet the fighting may be done under assurance that the bigger boy will not return the attack, that the smaller boy won't dare, or that Jack is nearby anyway to care for Ned in an emergency.

His stubborn persistency in these incidents, the straining effort to indicate his power, to have something to show for his labours, etc., all suggest an anal derivation. The question is, however, whether the activity remains entirely narcissistic or goes on gradually carrying with it more objectivity. If the latter is the case, the destructive impulses and the anal sadism may provide forcefulness for the experiencing of reality; the ego may then grow in real strength. If it is a matter mainly of fortifying the narcissistic protection to the ego, we should infer that the ego would remain stationary or even regress to earlier levels of safety. Probably both elements (narcissism and objectivity) have a part in Ned's attitude. The degree of each would seem to be the deciding factor. A judgment must be based on the results which he attains. If he shows consistent progress in finding new ways of dealing with the environment and getting along independently, we should assume that there is a large share of objectivity in his aggressiveness. If, however, he reverts to dependent attachments, we infer that the ego has fallen back, that the narcissism does not carry with it sufficient object-libido into the undertaking to provide for a progressive growth. We should postulate that the ego still requires a preponderance of incoming libido to shelter its weakness.

Let us follow Ned in his attitudes soon after these periods of assertiveness. He slinks furtively up to his erstwhile enemy, sidestepping slowly and timidly. He seems ready to grope for the other's hand in reassuring contact, but denies himself the gesture. Standing close to his listener, his head hangs low in shame and despondence. "I'm sorry I acted so bad—I ought to be spanked and put to bed." ("That's all right; let's just try hereafter to joke and be friends about it.") "I ought to be given a good talking to—be ashamed——" Ned mumbles words of self-deprecation, occasionally emphasizing a violent affect. "I ought to *know* better." He grumbles at himself spitefully. It takes many assurances of friendliness from the outside to restore the balance once more.

Yet another instance has him sullenly refusing to have anything to do with his recent opponent, or with anyone. He keeps to himself. Some duties have to be performed, but he does them defiantly and alone. Mainly he stays in his room, content to find his own amusement in games and fantasies of his own choosing. His mood seems happy and peaceful as he plays; it is only when someone intrudes that he resumes his grumbling tone: "Oh, I *suppose* so!" Yet these grudges do not last long. The retreat to his room has the effect of a long sleep; eventually he is refreshed and ready for a new start. Another day, and the painful incident has been covered with a hazy cloud, its sting forgotten.

Ned is seen approaching his tutor. As he speaks his voice has that oily sweetness: "I'm going to do that homework—and you see if I don't get a hundred per cent. I'm going to have a surprise for you, and get them all right." He smiles in hopeful anticipation, reaches for the teacher's hand, waits, as if listening. "I say, I'm going to get everything *perfect*—then won't you be pleased?" Ned is playing his familiar rôle of mother's nice little boy.

REGRESSIONS

Due to the lack of subjective data, such incidents are difficult to interpret accurately, but we may hazard a formulation based on our impressions. Seemingly both attitudes following the aggressiveness represent a regression. In the first type of reaction, the destructive energy which had not been discharged against the external object is apparently taken over by the super-ego against the ego (masochism). Ned's attitude towards

himself is like that of a parent scolding a naughty child. The attack of the super-ego would reduce the ego to a state of weakness and helplessness. The exhibition of this state before the former object of violence would seem to represent the ego's plea for added love and assurance from the outside. One gains the impression that the boy has regressed to a level where the mother's tenderness and comforting provide soothing protection against the fear of a threatening environment. Instead of maintaining his original position or aggressively seeking a friendly compromise, he seems to seek shelter by turning back.

In the second type of behaviour following a violent outburst, the destructive impulses seem to remain with the ego in an attitude of hate against the whole environment. Yet there is evidently a retreat away from it all (when he retires to his room). Possibly as he plays and dreams by himself he discharges the remaining violent feelings in fantasy against the outer world. In addition, the solitary playing can certainly be seen to be pleasurable and autoerotic. Our impression is that Ned shuts himself within his own world of self-sufficiency. From this stronghold he glares hate at the outer world; but also, in his snug security, he enjoys the gratification of libidinal cravings. As a speculation we might say that the regression is to the earliest stages of enclosure and enfoldment in the mother's arms, possibly back symbolically to the intra-uterine life. As he returns eventually from the regression he seems to *come up* finally to the level at which the shelter of the mother's approval and praise is the principal (narcissistic) aim of his efforts. For example, his interest in his lessons is almost entirely one of winning the instructor's approval.

One point which we have neglected, however, is that Ned's opponents in the fights are always boys. The possibility suggests itself that there is a homoerotic satisfaction in engaging in these struggles. The incidents where he dominates the smaller boys and seeks to lure them into physical tussling might represent this tendency—an erotic aggression towards those of the same sex. Moreover, when he strives to overpower a male person bigger and stronger than himself he may be symbolically fighting for mastery over the father. In many instances, the opponent is one who has also done something to mother (the boys have "attacked" Jack). These points suggest the Œdipus phase of conquering (killing) the father.

Yet his attitude towards mother-substitutes is not one of objective love, but of possession and narcissistic needfulness. We should judge, then, that the ego is too weak to sustain an objectivated love for the mother, and that it is too fearful to maintain a consistent hostility (leading eventually to compromise) towards the father. In all instances where the latter aggressiveness has been attempted, it has soon been followed, according to our observations, by regressions to earlier levels of security and protection.

It seems probable that Ned's varying moods in connection with the environment as a whole have their foundation in the factors we have already mentioned. When he tackles his work with a businesslike intentness, we feel that his aggressive impulses are being directed towards the mastering of this bigger object. But, periodically and without apparent cause, he has a "slump," during which he amuses himself alone. A deck of cards spread out on his bed keeps him silently engaged; children's games and puzzles hold him in dreamy rapture as, completely lost, he seems carried away by some hidden, special joy in them. Breathing heavily, emitting strange, unfamiliar sounds, he plays languidly for hours, totally oblivious, contented. In similar fashion he reads young boys' stories, with the book held almost surrounding his face, as though to shut out the world of reality around him. Even in washing his hands he seems to drift off into a dreamy state where the soap plays a personal part. As he gazes unseeing into the water, endless adventures of joyful emotion seem to bear him miles away. Mechanically his hands go through the motions of washing; dreamily his mind soars through that world where wishes are law and feelings are drugged with satisfaction.

Here again we seem to have a regression: *away from* that which requires a staunchness in the ego for consistent aggressiveness, and *towards* that which provides narcissistic and autoerotic gratification. Apparently he strives, for a time, to maintain a vaguely masterful, partially objective attitude towards the environment. Even though this is mainly narcissistic, however, the ego seemingly receives too little protection, and the autoerotic instincts too little satisfaction. Eventually libido must be withdrawn to the ego; meanwhile there is seemingly a piling up of unsatisfied libido. Tension mounts. There is need for at least a partial discharge. His regressive periods of fantasy and autoerotism apparently provide

a temporary solution. If this formulation is reasonable, then we may understand that probably the periodic series of epileptic attacks can provide a similar and deeper regressive discharge.

ANALYTIC INFERENCES

Many sessions of analysis have given the same indications as we have observed objectively, but as yet without the substantiation of free associations and insight. The characteristic timidity and attitudes connected with the mother-identification are suggested in the following material:

"I never had many boys my own age to play with; Billy talks awful sometimes, uses bad words; it is worse when girls are around; I can stand it better when they aren't around." (Often in analysis he speaks of his love of sweets, talking enthusiastically of some candy or other delicacy which he has recently enjoyed.) "I like those chocolate cigarettes. Junior smoked a real one, but I won't 'til I'm twenty-one; I promised my mother I wouldn't. You know, my mother makes waffles and pancakes; yum-yum!" (He rubs his stomach, a broad smile on his face.) "Butter and salt; it just melts in your mouth. Oh boy, I never get tired of it!" He dwells long on the sugar-cookies his mother makes and sends to him, as if to retain their sweetness far past the limit of their physical presence. Mother and oral pleasures are seemingly still connected strongly in his emotions, and we gain the impression of a great yearning back to the bliss of infancy and the erotic satisfaction at the mother's breast.

One day a memory comes to him in analysis and eventually results in a clearer understanding of the deeper conflicts within him. He recalls a constant pleasure of his at home when his mother was occupied with guests and he was free to roam about the house doing whatever appealed to him. "I used to go to her bureau and take out her hair-net and put it on my own head. I don't know why; guess because I used to see her do it." Now he remembers his mother saying if he ate bread-crusts his hair would curl. "I never ate any; I don't want to be a girl; I want to be a man." Yet immediately following this statement he speaks of fantasies that come to him when he is in the toilet. "I'd think of someone, a witch, putting on a hair-net and winding up this little knot. I know it sounds foolish, but I used to imagine lots of things. I thought

witches could change boys into girls, and that they could eat you, and I didn't want to get eaten."

Our impression is that his play represented an identification with the mother, and that when he donned the hair-net he was assuming femininity—that is, he *was* the *mother*. He seems consciously to resist any attempt to make him a girl, but his next associations appear to indicate that he would like to have a witch force him to play the feminine rôle. In other words, while he rejects the idea of being a girl, the unconscious desire seems to swing in that direction. If he can have it come about at someone else's demand, then his deeper wish will be granted and he cannot be held responsible. To be eaten by a witch may mean to be taken within the mother, and thus again he may become a girl.

Later, he shyly speaks of hugging himself in the toilet, sitting there a long time and fantasizing. He states that he used to imagine the witch putting him on the back of her head, just where the wad of hair belongs, and sticking in pins to hold him fast. Now he says that is why he hugs himself in the toilet, to hold himself fast, the same as the witch did with the net. He shows no fear as he gives these fantasies; only intense interest and pleasure. Soon he seems to feel sufficiently at ease to suggest that analysis be used for playing the game of witch. This is agreed to, and Ned goes on to direct every part of the procedure, including exact details as to what the analyst shall say and do.

He tells the analyst to put on the hair-net, to pat her hair in back and pretend it is he; and then to stick hair-pins in, and cover with a net. The wad of hair is enlarged by rolling up some paper to put under the hair-net; later a "switch" is used for this purpose. The analyst is to be cross, glare at him; she is to struggle as he seizes her hands. Now he lets go and has the analyst pretend to bind him and put the hair-net on him, fastening it with pins. The analyst is to look cross. She must punish him by again binding him to her head and carrying him off.

SHIFTING IDENTIFICATIONS

We may sense two separate trends in these enactments. In one, Ned seems to be the child held by the mother by being fastened to the back of her head; in the other, he is forced to assume the feminine rôle by wearing the hair-net. In both, it is the witch who is responsible; yet, in spite of the struggling,

we are aware that the game actually indicates his own unconscious desires for identification with the mother. Further sessions may enlighten us as to the various significances of these wishes.

Ned comes into the room, tugging at his trousers over his penis. He masturbates in this fashion frequently during analysis, and often during the early months of analysis asked to be excused to go to the toilet. He directs the analyst to scold him if he stays too long; when she does so, she becomes the witch according to his directions. She puts on the switch and the hair-net. He orders magic powder shaken over him to put him to sleep. He is in the witch's power; she binds the switch on him and puts a dress on him. He struggles, breaks loose, and tells the analyst to go to the clothes-closet. No sooner is she inside than he closes the door and makes her beg to get out. He lets her out, and she alternately cries and scolds; then seizes him and drags him to the bed, enchants him again, and again he struggles against the witch. He has her tell him he will always be a girl, never a man again. Ned says he doesn't want to be a girl, but in an "aside" he tells the analyst to keep the net and dress on him. In the struggle that always follows he is alternately in her power, and then she in his. When he is in power, he says he will eat her. His lips close on her flesh, then his teeth. Next he has her by the throat, choking her. She cries and gasps, but he refuses to loosen his hold. He holds her firmly down so she cannot struggle. As the session comes to an end, the boy reluctantly allows the dress and switch to be taken off, but remarks: "You must tell me to wear these out where the others can see. You must tell me I will always have to wear them."

Several sessions pass, in which the analyst is the witch throughout the game. In general, she forces him to become a girl, while he struggles viciously at times in the rôle of overpowering and eating her. At one point he directs: "You be my mother for awhile. Watch me from the closet or your secret place when I come from the lavatory. Then you are to be a real evil woman. Come out and grab me and put me here, on the bed." He returns and goes to the analyst's bureau for the "things," the symbols of girlhood. The analyst must be angry and scold him for meddling with her possessions. She seizes him; there is a struggle, and Ned gets her in his power. He forces her back across the bed and pretends to kill

her with a dagger which he plunges into her heart. He cuts her heart out and he leers over her as she falls back, dead. Over and over again this scene is enacted. Then the witch gets him in her power and kills him. Now he directs that the analyst be his mother, not the witch; that she talk nicely to him, cry over him and feel bad over it. But even so, she is to be treacherous; not to mean it, really, but to be glad he is in pain. He wants to be called Helen Smith, to be addressed as "my darling daughter," but never is he quite sure of the mother, who frequently becomes the witch. Next he says it would be a great idea to burn the analyst at the stake as a wicked witch. Instead of carrying this out, however, he has the witch get him in her power; he directs that she light a fire and put him in the pot for dinner. His face shows great pleasure at this thought of being put in the kettle. The analyst pretends to eat him, but now he jumps out of the pot and again has her in his power.

The above phases of the game suggest that the witch has a special significance—namely, that of the critical or "bad" mother. She it is who scolds him, corrects him, punishes him. Ned's attitude appears to alternate between one of attacking her, eating her (taking her within himself), and one of being overpowered and eaten by her (being engulfed by her). In the one rôle he is active and aggressive; in the other rôle, passive and weak, a girl. Perhaps we might here venture to formulate an understanding of what seems to be going on.

THE "GOOD" AND THE "BAD" MOTHER

It was the "bad" mother who took away the breast. Ned has now seemingly endowed the penis with breast significance, as witness his vague attempts at masturbation. But the penis is also the symbol of masculinity. Therefore, it is within the rôle of "bad" mother (witch) to take away from him his masculinity. He unconsciously wishes this, for it brings him closer to the mother identification; he becomes like her, is taken within her (eaten), and then is part of the mother. We may assume that this rôle is the deeper regression, a retreat away from the requirements of reality (independence, responsibility, aggressiveness, etc.). The alternate rôle, however, would seem to be along the pathway towards a mastering of reality, in that Ned retains his own personality and directs his destructive impulses outward to an object. This object (the

"bad" mother) is a strong person, and may be incorporated within his ego as a guiding support for his attempts to experience reality. The constant swing from one rôle to the other would appear to indicate the unfinished struggle within him as to which is to be the dominant trend in his make-up.

After several weeks, in the course of which the analytic transference (mainly narcissistic) seemed to grow stronger, Ned one day shyly kisses the analyst and asks her to return it. As her lips lightly brush his cheek, he looks surprised and pleased. Later he comments happily about it, and finally he appears to become bolder. Clinging attitudes regularly make their appearance as he embraces and kisses the analyst. The rôle of the mother (the tender mother) comes into the game more often. He enfolds the analyst tightly, frequently has her whisper into his ear and talk always in an endearing manner. Now he says they will play the game of mother on certain days, that of witch on alternate days. Sometimes he forgets the witch rôle entirely and is content to pretend to be mother's darling daughter. He wears the switch and the dress, and asks if he may also have some stockings. He regrets he cannot have girls' shoes and bloomers, but contents himself with making believe his trousers are bloomers.

He nestles against the analyst, asking her to tell him stories about the pictures on the walls; he himself talks about them in childlike fashion. He asks what makes the wind blow the trees so. This reminds him of cozy, intimate times with his own mother at home. At times he becomes the analyst's baby. He mournfully wishes he were little, like his nephew Sonny. Occasionally he has the analyst pretend that her skirt is himself, yet she holds him tenderly in her arms at the same time.

The obvious point is that here Ned makes a regression to the infantile attachment to the mother and apparently finds more complete identification with her when he becomes her "darling daughter." Clinging attitudes towards the analyst are seemingly part of this. Yet we may sense two kinds of clinging. Being held by the analyst, snuggling close to her and nestling against her suggests the enfoldment in the mother's arms. But there are frequent times when Ned is more active. He hugs and kisses the analyst, squeezing her to him with tremendous force. He loves to show his strength in the vice-like grip of his embrace, and takes great pride in the exhibition of his muscles. Over and over again he squeezes the analyst

close to him, often hurting in the power of his bear-hug. He has remarked at times that he would like to squeeze her, "so there will be nothing left." ("Where will it go?") "Inside of me."

It appears as if this trend has to do with the engulfing of the mother within himself, in contrast to the more passive phase of *being* engulfed by the mother. In the latter situation we may infer that the energy of the death-instincts is discharged against himself, and that his own personality, as related to reality, is completely lost within the mother. In engulfing the mother, however, the destructive impulses are seemingly fused with the erotic (in the act of embracing, as also in the oral sadism of nursing, eating the mother, etc.), and in the fusion of the instincts the energy is discharged on to an object. We note, however, that both the active and the passive phases of destructiveness result in his remaining close to the mother-identification. In both he fails to attain independence.

In one short session of playing the game, where there was the usual alternation between the various rôles, the dominant trend had the analyst making believe the switch was Ned and putting it on the back of her head. He remarked that he still fantasies being carried on the back of mother's head. Next he asked for a story. The analyst told one based on the content of the analytic play. Ned soon began to act the part, and when it came to the point where the switch (himself) is taken off the mother's head, he shivered and pretended he was very afraid. We may regard this as representing the fear at breaking away from mother. We assume that he wishes to stay close to the mother-identification, that he is afraid to leave it and voyage by himself. Yet he must do this before he may hope to strengthen himself in his own personality, as opposed to the feminine rôle of engulfment within the mother-identification.

The following material seems to show the pull of the two trends: "I just love to dig ditches." (He describes his recent hard work.) "My mother says it is better to be outside. She says to be out with the boys—she said girls had to stay in the house more than boys. I used to go for a drink of water—of course that was all right—and sometimes I would sit down in a chair, if someone was ahead of me for a drink."

FEMININITY OR MASCULINITY ?

If we assume that digging ditches and doing heavy physical work are a part of the aggressive trend which might lead to masculinity, we may see that Ned is started in this direction by the mother's encouraging advice. It means a castration from the identification, so apparently the "bad" mother (witch in the game) is the instigator. But in this instance he seems to have taken within himself (engulfed) part of the mother as a guide and ideal for his attempt at meeting reality. If he could go on and absorb more of this within himself, eventually to sustain an independent stand in reality, he would seem to be on the road towards masculinity. We note, however, how naïvely he manages to get back into the house (where the mother is) and under any pretence to regain the close attachment to her.

Repeatedly he boasts of his strength and insists that he does not want to be a girl. It is as though he needed to convince himself and assure himself against the desire to be feminine (like mother). In one session, therefore, the analyst supported the advantages of girls, to give him a chance to defend his masculine tendencies. She tells him: "Girls are pretty; they have curly hair; they wear rouge; they have silk stockings and silk dresses." Hesitantly Ned retorts, "Boys are good-looking, too." Again the analyst points out the advantages of being a girl, and finally asks what boys have to compare with all this. Ned has listened eagerly, almost joyfully, while she was talking. Now he acts as though he had been aroused from a pleasant dream. He pauses, and then answers feebly, "We have pants."

Seemingly there is here again a faint impulse to assume and defend his own (masculine) endowments. Yet the weakness of his manner suggests that he finds little in independent aggressiveness which can compensate for the loss of a passive enfoldment by the mother (identification with her in the feminine rôle). In the analysis he is mainly a girl and clings to the mother (analyst). Only in the fierce tightness of his hugging does he approach an aggressive rôle, but this is overshadowed by the element of clinging dependence which accompanies it.

Eventually it was deemed wise to try to discourage the clinging attitudes in analysis and see if the boy would *talk* about his desires instead. At once he appeared sad and lifeless; his

expression was one of experiencing a great loss, and he seemed unable to give himself to the analytic procedure. A compromise was suggested in the form of playing the game for a part of the session and of talking about the feelings during the rest of the time. Here he showed a complete change, and plunged immediately into caressing and clinging activities. Vaguely, however, he seemed to sense a diminishing of the former satisfaction. More and more, when the game was played, the analyst was the witch; more and more, when they talked, it was about his "crushes" on girls outside of analysis. It is in this latter phase that we may find further enlightenment.

We see Ned approaching one of the boys in the house. After standing close for an awkward moment he timidly reaches out, groping stealthily for the other's hand. Once this is gained he whispers weakly but joyfully: "I had my arm around Flora this afternoon! Right around her shoulders—like this. And all the rest of the crowd was right there, too, to see it. And I guess they knew—you know what!" ("No; what?") Sidling even closer, he trembles: "She's my girl." ("No; is she?") "Oh, you go on now; you know. Don't be that way; you know just as well as I do." Now his voice takes on that earnest quality of sticky niceness. "And I'm going to tell her some day that I like her almost as much as my mother—almost, pretty near, just about the same as I like my mother." Fearful now, he draws back a little, startled at his own boldness. Reassurance comes, however, and finally he slowly wanders away, smiling to himself over his secret thoughts.

At another time Flora has burned her finger slightly. Ned reports his part to one of the boys: "I saw she was pretty scared, and she was just about ready to cry. But I just put my arm around her and told her it would be all right; it might hurt a little, but it would be all right soon. She was more scared than hurt, you know. But just as soon as I put my arm around her she stopped crying, and pretty soon she was smiling. She was more scared than hurt; you know, girls are like that. But she knew she was all right just as soon as I put my arm around her; she knew I was there and ready to help her."

We may note that in this latter scene Ned used a means for comforting similar to what the mother must have used to soothe him. He seems to be taking over within himself the protective and assuring attitudes of the identification. In

so far as he reprojects these in an objectivated attempt to guard and protect the loved object, he would seem to be assuming a masculine rôle. It is difficult to say to what degree his attitude was objective. There is the impression that he is gaining a huge narcissistic satisfaction in being the one who merely had to embrace Flora to make her difficulties instantly vanish. It is seemingly a sense of omnipotence that fits in well with the narcissistic attitudes of possessivism manifested towards "his" girl. Moreover, we recognize in that first scene, too, that Ned's strongest interest is in the satisfaction of his position as lover, rather than in the objectivity of actually loving. These attitudes are characteristic of him.

When Flora's smile came to him less constantly he turned to Sally. Her manner was not completely and steadily encouraging either, so he eventually took notice of Minnie. Here all the attitudes towards the other girls were repeated, and the extravagant picture of Minnie's loveliness was tirelessly dwelt upon and exaggerated. She seemed interested in him, and at once there were fantasies of marriage and a home of their own. He announced that he would get a job and earn \$9,000 or \$27,000 a year, and would take care of Minnie for the rest of her life. In his eyes she was a beautiful, radiant goddess. The supreme ecstasy of life was to hug her tightly to himself and kiss her. He asserts he will do anything for her, and he demonstrates this by spending quantities of money to supply her with candy and cookies and soft drinks. Sometimes, though, he wonders wistfully why Minnie doesn't "treat" him to candy, just once in a great while!

It is only fair to state that Minnie actually likes sweets. To the extent which Ned realizes this and, as a separate person, caters to it, to that extent is his giving apparently objective. We note, however, that he gives to Minnie the things which he has already endowed with pleasure-significance for himself. In other words, it is as though he were giving the sweets to himself, or to one like himself. We may say that his choice of gifts is greatly determined by his own narcissistic and autoerotic needs. Probably the majority of gifts between people contain this factor; seemingly none is completely objective. Yet, with Ned, the dominance of the narcissistic element stamps his relationships as remaining closely similar to the mother-identification.

Surely, however, there is something of an objectivity and an embryonic masculinity in his feeling for Minnie, even though

we may see it highly diluted by autoerotic and narcissistic concerns. The impulse seems to be to support and care for the loved object; to raise her to a pedestal before which he may offer devotion and zeal. Yet the wraith of his masculine rôle remains chiefly in the sphere of fantasy, for while he dreams of earning a very comfortable salary, he is actually unable to sustain for very long the responsibility of his chores about the place. It is as though his ideal (mother) spurred him on to a certain degree of effort, but before long the weakness of his ego must send him back to more protected levels (mother-identification, femininity, clinging, etc.). Of his occasional offers to help Minnie with the dishes Ned has remarked that it seemed as if he were helping his wife. "I told her it made me feel as if I were growing away from my family—I mean, it made me feel grown-up." Our impression is that it is a step away from the mother, but only a guarded, hesitant step, still protected by narcissistic returns, still hinting of that sweet niceness of mother's little man.

When circumstances forced the prohibiting of the autoerotic phases of his relationship with Minnie, Ned still kept his devotion, but his interest in analysis immediately increased. The analyst more often became the witch ("bad" mother), and Ned's activities were mainly sadistic against her. It is noteworthy that when the symbols of girlhood were again put on him, his violent rebellion was particularly marked, and the game consisted of slapping and choking the witch with vengeance. Yet gradually the clinging attitudes returned, frequently the witch forced him to be a girl, and often he enjoyed the rôle of mother's darling daughter. Once more, after these first attempts to destroy the "bad" mother (for denying his wishes) and after a somewhat violent effort to reject his feminine leanings, he seems to have slipped back into the maelstrom of his conflicting tendencies. Who can say which trend will eventually gain the upper hand?

CONCLUSIONS

We can only review the general picture of this boy and summarize our impressions of the factors involved in his struggle. First, the soft, clinging, dependent attitudes remind us that Ned's ego is weak and needs to retain various forms of the mother-identification. Seemingly the strongest cravings are for the autoerotic and narcissistic satisfactions which accompanied the original attachment. The destructive impulses,

which we assume were fused with the erotic during the nursing stage, now seem to some extent to be used for an aggressive attempt to master reality. To a greater extent they seem to serve the narcissistic purpose of maintaining a sense of magic omnipotence. By this means the ego may be bolstered in its weakness. As we have seen, however, reality often frustrates these desires (and needs) for autoerotic and narcissistic gratification. The destructive energy then seems to be directed violently against this world which castrates. His vicious attacks upon those who seem to be interfering with his system impress us as part of an attempt to annihilate the whole of hostile reality. Here again, though, it appears that the ego is too weak; it cannot sustain an independent attitude of aggressive hate. The masochistic aftermath to his violence, the characteristic withdrawal and retreat, the enfoldment in a world of fantasy, and finally the epileptic attack, all strike us as an inward discharge of energy which had begun to flow outward. Both the erotic and destructive impulses seem to find release in the deeper regressions, of which the attacks are seemingly the deepest. It appears as if, failing to gain satisfactory discharge in reality, the need were to find a level at which the instinctual forces could again be fused and released. The weakness of his ego seems to require that this level be one of past satisfactions rather than of new and progressive forms of discharge.

As we understand it, it is from the above foundations that Ned fights his battle between aggressiveness and passive femininity in "the game." The deciding factor would appear to be which form of mother-identification he assumes as the dominant element in moulding his personality. If the destructive impulses are turned inward and he regards himself as engulfed by the mother, annihilated within her, then we infer that the feminine rôle will gain the upper hand. (On one occasion he definitely stated to the analyst: "You killed me and put me inside of you and had me come out a girl.") Under such conditions we might expect to see a continued development of the homoerotic trends already noted. If these do not provide satisfactory discharge of the instincts, our assumption would be that regressions to a more complete engulfment would be necessary.

If, on the other hand, the destructive energy is directed outward and Ned views himself as taking the mother within himself, he will be destroying the "bad" mother by incorporating her into his own personality. Still, he would remain close

to the mother-identification, and we have seen with what hesitancy Ned breaks away. This path, however, would seem to offer more chance for progressive development and a strengthening of the ego. At first there would be the possibility of absorbing the critical mother within his own pattern, to be used as a guide and support (super-ego) in experiencing reality. Further progress might come in a feeling of separateness from the "good" mother, an exploring and testing of the environment on his own account. Another stage of development would have him regard the mother as an object—at first, for the projection of tender feelings; later, for the maturing sexual impulses. With this new objectivity, and with an ego which has meanwhile grown stronger by independent voyaging in reality, Ned might eventually meet the Œdipus situation successfully.

FORECAST OF THE FUTURE

What will decide the path over which Ned's future will run? It may lie in the capability of the instincts to gain discharge towards an outer object, and in the ego's becoming strong enough to sustain such objectivity. We know nothing of the innate reasons why instincts do not find objective discharge—why, for example, the destructive impulses do not merge sufficiently with the erotic to provide an outward release of the death-instincts. Our impression, however, is that the stronger the ego, the more likely it will discover means for discharging the instinctual energy on to objects. With Ned, our hope is that he will use the analysis as a section of reality in which he may experience the working through of his own problems. Perhaps in this way the ego may acquire strength to maintain a degree of independence in wider, less protected spheres.

Meanwhile, what of the factors which go to influence his mental arrest? The tendency to withdraw from the outer world and plunge into an endless fantasy by himself suggests the powerful drag of the primary narcissism upon all of his impulses. Although he may make contacts with the environment and engage in some degree of aggressive struggling with it, we sense the ever-present need for omnipotence by way of retreat. Sooner or later there come the "slumps" and the regressions which carry him away from reality. Frequently he gives the impression that he comes to grips with the external world, not to gain omnipotence by a progressive mastery, but

to capture it by devastation, so that he may slink away with the spoils.

Yet he does make identifications, and to this extent we should judge that libido has been detached from the primary narcissism. As seen in the witch game, however, there is a strong tendency towards a regressive loss of self within the identification, a retreat by being engulfed. In this direction there could be little acquisitive grasp of reality, for the ego is seemingly swamped in a passive return to the Nirvana. Still, the dramatization also seems to indicate an aggressive, ingestive trend which would promise some degree of mental progress. Moreover, we have seen how readily he takes over the mottoes and teachings of older people (mother), which suggests that he has made an active identification to some extent. We well may wonder why this capacity does not imply mental development.

The answer seems to lie in the use to which he puts these identifications. Our impression is that Ned draws out of them the erotic and protective values, but does not absorb the substance into his own pattern. The identified object is not made a part of himself, but remains a separate narcissistic possession, while the libidinal element from the identification is constantly drawn to the ego. Thus mother, teachers, attendant, etc., are all objects to be drawn on, but mainly for the reward which they supply to the secondary narcissism. It is noteworthy that the estimate of his school-work is that he first appears to understand fairly well and can carry out instructions, but that later he fails to show an independent grasp of what he has been told. Apparently, under the immediate stimulus of receiving libido he can take on an identification, but later shows that he has failed to absorb it. Another illustration might be in the fact that he evidently feels the influence of a super-ego ("bad" mother), but has seemingly not made it an accepted part of his own personality. (See "the witch" in the game, etc.)

If he could reproject the libido out on to objects again, it might be possible for him to digest the substance of his identifications and to solidify his acquisition by objective reality testing. To some extent he seems to do this, but, as we have seen, the narcissistic element so far outbalances the objective that the ego seems actually to gain little except a further inbinding of protective libido and magic omnipotence. Even in playing games with smaller boys, any keenness of mutual participation

appears to be lost under the greater significance of erotic possibilities and omnipotence of a bullying sort.

As for the destructive impulses, much of the instinctual force seems to be turned inward. Whatever tendency there is for a sadistic onslaught, leading to a mastery of the outer world, would appear to be inhibited by other considerations. Ned's aggressiveness may go to defend his narcissism or to maintain his omnipotence. It is as if to retain the *status quo* rather than to ingest further. Possibly in this sense his sadism is anal rather than oral, and would thus tend against acquisitiveness.

One further detail deserves comment. The personification of inanimate objects (for example, the stone which he struggled with) might indicate that he has progressed somewhat in widening the sphere of his possible identifications. By the animation of "things" he may be on the road towards getting to understand how they "work," what they are, etc., analogous to the child's first exploration of the mother's body. But apparently there is still a concreteness necessary; he has advanced little in acquiring ideas about "things." They, too, are objects against which he defends himself and his narcissism, rather than vigorously mastering knowledge of them.

In general, it seems strikingly apparent that Ned has many of the impulsive tendencies which would enhance mental grasp. The primary narcissism has been somewhat loosened, so that there is an urge towards identifications with outer objects. There is a personification of inanimate objects which thus may allow "things" to be included in his identifications. A trend of oral sadism is present to provide vigour for ingestion and acquisitiveness. Finally, there is some degree of aggressive objectivity which might serve to discharge the libidinal values and to check the identified substance against actual experiencing. Yet our impression is that the grip of the primary narcissism is still dominant, still resisting a consistent contact with the outer world. The oral-erotic trend, therefore, while urging that he take in all that he can get, is not sufficiently supported by a formation of secondary narcissism. As a result, it is largely magic omnipotence which he seeks rather than actual accomplishment and reward. He dreams of "becoming something," he talks of ambitions and hopeful plans, but rarely does the interest advance beyond this fantasied development. On the whole, objectivity remains overwhelmed by this attachment to early phases of nursing. The oral libido flows more fully

into character-formation at the stage of helpless optimism and demand; it does not go forward fully for ingestion and real grasp of the object-world. In other words, despite many inklings of possible advance, development is heavily weighted down by fixations which emphasize passivity and wishful thinking.

It is for this reason that we feel that, as matters stand, the boy is incapable of further education. He will receive what is taught, but will be inclined to use it for further elaboration of his fantasies; or he will enjoy the libidinal relationship with the teacher, without absorbing the content of the lesson. His greatest possibility of learning would apparently be in the concreteness of tasks which he may come upon in some interesting occupation. Nevertheless, until analysis has resolved some of the uncertainties as to the emotional pathway Ned will follow, it is difficult to judge in just what directions his occupational interest and ability will lie. At present it seems probable that activities predominantly under the supervision of women will provide gratification for his narcissistic needs and will give him the opportunity to develop by "doing things for mother." Further analysis will be with the hope that contacts with reality will be made on a more aggressive and objectivated basis; that some usefulness may be granted the dominant oral and narcissistic trends in his make-up.

IV

While "primary narcissism" has the significance of a feeling of self-sufficiency and magic omnipotence surrounding the ego, the fact must not be overlooked that it probably never is confined to a single period of development. In some degree it is carried forward, beyond the very earliest stages of existence, to exert an influence on all the later phases of growth. Although it suggests a tendency for aloofness, it is to be seen in persons who do have emotional relationships with the outer world, but who are inclined to expect such contacts to fuel the sense of omnipotence which the weak ego needs. The inference is that reality is looked upon as having the function of answering the ego's wishes and supplying satisfactions to the instinctual demands, with a minimum of effort on the part of the individual. In this is seen a continuance of the nursing relationship, but particularly that phase of it which is heavily weighted with primary narcissism. The strong element of aggressive growth is lacking; the ego seems to wait passively for its needs to be

recognized and catered to automatically. But reality, as we know, does not regularly play the part of the "perfect mother" answering the magic gestures. Just as the child directs his sadistic hate against the castrating mother, so the boy may be said to project his destructiveness in anti-social attitudes towards an environment which does not answer his needs. In other words, there is an insufficient fusion between the life-instincts and the death-instincts. Energy of the one (libido) remains close to the ego as a protective barrier; energy of the other is merged into a destructiveness which seems to maintain a bitter feud against the whole outer world.

In the following discussion one may note how a conduct disorder could be built up on the above basis. Sadistic attitudes of attack upon the environment may be one phase of the behaviour problem; the reversal of this into acts of masochistic violence may be seen as an expression of the same energy. Both instances would represent an aloofness from any friendly contact with reality. Under such circumstances it seems probable that identifications would not be readily ingested and absorbed, but would be half-blocked by this reservation: they must require little of the ego, yet they must support its fantasied omnipotence. Parallel with the character difficulty, therefore, one might expect to see an inhibition of mental growth. In our detailed study of Phil as a person we shall attempt to illustrate this conception.

PHIL

Phil was about fourteen when he came for analysis. He was physically strong and healthy, but with a definite mental retardation. His I.Q. had been placed at 65; but he had been regarded as fairly intelligent in many directions and very weak in others. His life at home, at schools, and at camps had been very unhappy. Not only had his mental feebleness handicapped him, but violent bursts of temper and periods of sulking had indicated his inability to fit in and get along satisfactorily with any social group. For short periods there had been some degree of contentment, but soon the characteristic difficulties reappeared and continued to make life miserable for him and for those with whom he came in contact.

In speaking of the situation at home, the boy relates how he followed his mother about the house, continually asking her questions, pestering her with the foolishness and insistence of

his queries. Apparently they were that type of inquiry which demanded much from the hearer's patience, for they left no basis from which to start an explanation; they required a full detailment of how things come about and a kindly correction of illogical, unfounded ideas about the world of reality. It may be imagined that the mother fervently wished that he would just stop to think for a moment and try to figure out the simpler facts for himself. But his constant demand was to be told, to have it all explained, as if challenging his mother to make everything clear to him in spite of himself.

As might be expected, this is his general attitude towards the analysis. The analyst is to be used as one who shall answer questions, tell him of good systems to apply against his difficulties. Phil is to be passive, and, at the most, merely *allow* analysis to do something for him. Under a narcissistic transference he is able to make some degree of contact with the analyst. But when the analysis requires something from him, he turns against it. "It's all bunk, anyway," or "I can't see that analysis has done me any good"—these are his defences against giving himself to the relationship. At one time the analyst reminded him that it would be worth while, instead of merely stating facts historically, to tell more about his feelings. "I know, but sometimes I don't want to." ("Why?") "I don't know; I just don't feel like it, I guess."

A wealth of material might be cited to show the boy's closed system of narcissistic aloofness and his fear of voyaging forth on his own account. We see here the lack of object-libido and the tendency to draw in, from the outside, the elements which shall go to increase his own sense of worth. Any interference with this system is met with resistance or coolness, emotionally. We gain the impression of a child, helpless and desiring to remain so. The mother shall give everything to him; he shall be required to make no effort, not even to think or be responsible for himself. If this impression is accurate, we should interpret it as a continuance of the attitudes of the nursing period. Unconsciously he clings to the emotional values of this practically effortless, pleasurable relationship with the mother. Thus the ego is allowed to remain weak, and the narcissism protects it by creating a sense of omnipotence.

Perhaps this is best illustrated by the fantasies in which Phil indulges. He pictures himself an inventor, working all alone with his own tools and his own workshop, making a new

kind of aeroplane or radio; or he is a mechanic, fixing things; or an aviator. Yet actually he shows little desire to find out about mechanical things. Occasionally he will ask a question, but seldom does he make any experiments for himself. Clearly he is using the day-dreams for self-gratification and is letting it stop there. He seeks power without the giving of objective interest.

In the light of further material his insistent questioning of his mother hints at an additional interpretation. With slightly disguised glee he speaks of her rising impatience, the nervous tension she was under at his ceaseless demands on her. If he was not cross-examining her, he would often be teasing his younger (adopted) sister, bullying her, arguing with her, hiding her things, breaking them, or disputing their ownership. The mother would have to hasten in to make peace. Phil also had a habit of continually sniffing, and added to this a practice of clearing his throat, loudly and raspily, with monotonous regularity. "I know my mother used to say if I didn't stop doing a certain thing she'd blow up. It scared me; I thought of an explosion, like a paper bag. I used to be scared to blow them up; it would make an awful noise." Yet Phil would soon resume his annoying mannerisms, and he has continued them up to the present.

From this chain of associations it may be inferred that at least a part of his intent is sadistic towards the mother. She had been the first and most important one to take away from him the pleasurable situation he wished to hold on to; hers was the first urging towards meeting the reality-principle. The mother had taken in another child, and he was obliged to share her love with his new sister. He would avenge himself on them both. But possibly the picture of the extreme result of his sadism (that the mother would blow up) brought too great a sense of guilt. More probably the fear resulted from a realization that he would lose the "good mother" (on whom he was dependent) as well as the "bad mother" in destroying her as a person.

That the range of these sadistic reactions spread from his immediate family out towards all of his environment seems clear from his later behaviour. "I'm always bullying the kids, bossing them, picking on them." He tells of wordy disputes following deliberate attempts on his part to pick quarrels. He points to his own stubbornness and the resentment against

being bossed. All of these are not passing moods, but, from our observation, are characteristic of him. They seem to reach a degree that would stamp them as anti-social. Certainly his continued throat-clearing, his loud roar in constant talking, and his bitter complaints against the environment can be interpreted as sadistic against reality.

He relates incidents of getting furious when he cannot have his own way. A familiar scene for Phil has him coming into the dining-room. He is hungry and looks eagerly at the food on his plate. But there isn't much to eat; it is soon gone. He mumbles to himself about places that don't give a fellow enough to eat. He bellows a demand for a second helping. The maid is busy. He tries calling again, louder; repeats his request with monotonous regularity. Someone remonstrates. Phil argues and grumbles; scrapes back his chair; stamps out of the room. As he thumps his way along up the stairs towards his room he violently slams every door on the way. He kicks over chairs and bangs books on the floor. In the analysis he comments on such incidents: "I get all wound up in the head, like a watch, and the spring busts, or something. Don't know what I'm doing."

At another time Phil does not feel hungry, yet his plate seems piled with food. Stubbornly he refuses to touch it; sneers and grumbles at people expecting him to eat so much. Frequently he feels the maid should know that he wants a glass of milk, or that when he asks for more food he especially wants spinach, not carrots. A delay in providing him with butter brings up the characteristic reaction. "I want what I want at the time I want it, and no other time." He refuses to eat at all, rushes impulsively to his room amidst a noisy clatter. Here he beats himself with his fists and tears at his clothing. "I have to tear my shirt in order to get at myself." He smashes some of his most highly prized possessions, breaks up his furniture, pulls his bed apart. With a vicious burst he dashes his head against the wall, thumping himself soundly again and again.

From scenes such as these we should draw the conclusion that he is protesting against an environment which is taking away from him the omnipotence that goes with having his needs supplied immediately. The pleasure-principle once decreed that oral cravings be satisfied in the perfect way (the breast). Just as he bitterly opposed mother's denying him,

so he now reacts against similar treatment from all of reality. Yet we notice a difference. The sadistic outburst is short-lived; a violent masochism succeeds it. Someone must be punished for the denial of the instinctive demands. The weak ego cannot sustain an attack on the outer world; the super-ego, then, turns the tide of punishment on to the ego. Phil, therefore, is administering to himself the harsh beating he originally wished to direct against reality.

PATERNAL DISCIPLINE

We are reminded of his relationship with his father. The analysis reveals that when the boy's anti-social attitudes became unbearable his mother appealed to father. The latter dealt with Phil harshly. "He said if I was going to act like an animal he'd have to treat me like an animal." Severe spankings, beatings, whippings were administered, which the boy submitted to without a struggle. They hurt, but he tried not to cry. "Sometimes, though, I couldn't help crying a little. Father tried to talk to me, but that didn't seem to do any good, so the only thing he could do was to beat me, to see if that wouldn't teach me to behave. Sometimes he'd be all tired out from working all day. He could not bother to explain things to me. A licking was the only thing he could do. But even that didn't do me much good."

Yet in spite of the painful punishments Phil liked his father better than the others in the family. "I always could get along fine with my father, but I never could seem to get along with my mother or sister." He would work hard all day long with the father—heavy, tiring labour. He liked it, and stuck at it rather well. The father was strong and could do a tremendous amount of work. With a hint of awe in his tone, Phil tells the analyst: "My father could drink six glasses of hard cider, one right after the other, and not get dizzy. If my mother drank one, she got dizzy. I've taken a few sips myself."

HOMOEROTIC TRENDS

In his attitude towards the father Phil seems to agree to the severe punishment. It is as though he were talking of another person when he says the lickings "didn't do me much good." We infer that he allies himself with the father, justifies him; he and the father are trying to beat down the rebellious

impulses of the Id. In dealing with the mother, his ego can side with the instinctive demands and sadistically attack her. With father, however (who is very powerful), the ego swings to the other side, and attempts to repress the instincts. Phil's ego is so weak that it requires a strong support and harsh pressure from the outside in order to oppose the demands of the Id. This harshness is found in the father's attitude, which the son, therefore, accepts meekly, if not gratefully. He gets along well with the father because he identifies himself with him, and gains a sense of power in the alliance.

Yet, in trying not to cry when punishments come, Phil seems to be struggling to thwart the father. There is a hint of this sadistic motive, as well as the masochistic acceptance of the beating. He has occasionally revealed something of the sort in analysis. "My father thinks he knows everything; that's what my mother says. Father thinks he's right; mother knows he's wrong." (Obviously the boy takes great delight in the mother's repeated sarcasms about the father knowing everything.) "Probably he thinks he's bigger and older, and so right. He tells me to look for something." (Burlesques a pompous manner.) "I can't find it. He says he'll look, but he can't find it. He's wrong. He usually puts it some other place." (Laughs.) "He thinks he's always right; nothing wrong with him, mother says. I think she's right." Yet father is a strong man, stronger than he thinks. Playing with mother, he hurts her, hitting harder than he realizes. "But the reason he breaks axe-handles is that he doesn't know how to use them."

It seems reasonable to interpret such material as a sadistic attempt to reduce the father, take away from him his position of seeming omnipotence. Yet we observe that Phil requires the mother's support; even in analysis he must put the words in her mouth. Moreover, the constant realization that the father actually is a powerful person seems to check the sadistic impulse. We feel that the original attitude towards the father, as towards the mother, was a sadistic one. The fear of the father, however, is harder to overcome; the tide of sadism is blocked, because the ego is too weak to sustain it. The safer course is for a part of the ego to ally itself with the father's harshness, and turn the original sadism back against the self (in this case, that part of the ego which did not form an identification with the father). As we have seen with the incidents

in the dining-room, it is in this way that Phil's masochism comes about.

It is noticeable that thus far there has been little real analysis. The material has given us an opportunity to make a provisional formulation, but there have been scant subjective data in the way of free associations to substantiate a definite interpretation. We must have a better understanding of his attitude in the analysis in order to find a reasonable explanation for this.

We have already seen how the narcissistic shell tends to keep Phil inaccessible. Frequently he starts a session with the words, "Well, anyway——," as if dismissing his deeper thoughts in order to present material which shall be more under his control. He discourses on how to keep physically healthy; he expatiates on rules of diet and toilet routine which it is quite evident have come from his parents. Occasionally he lectures himself for buying sweets and luxuries instead of using his money for clothing and other necessities. Then he follows this, as if for punishment, with: "Candy just makes your teeth decay. I've had some awful toothaches and had to go to the dentist. Gosh, it hurts when he uses that buzzer! I'm scared of that pain."

These brief examples may be interpreted as attitudes of the parents which Phil has taken over in the formation of his super-ego. It will be noted that the result of not obeying the super-ego, just as with the father, is a punishment in some form or other (poor health, pain). What his real desires are rarely comes to light. He has indicated a strong craving for sweets; he has mentioned masturbating frequently; and has referred to experiencing fellatio. But in all of these his attitude in analysis is one of disapproving such things rather than any revelation of the craving that urges towards them. In other words, the analyst is in the position of the father who condemns and punishes such things. Phil takes the same attitude by means of the super-ego, and thus defends more completely against a revelation of his true self.

When he says, "The trouble with me is I want things just so," or "The trouble is, I talk too loud and too much," etc., the associations which follow do not indicate that he really believes it. Just that part of him which has allied itself with the punishing super-ego subscribes to such doctrines. Meanwhile, Phil really seeks for himself a continued maintenance

of his narcissistic system wherein he shall be all-powerful. Wherever reality interferes with these wishes, he brings to bear against it either disguised anti-social attitudes or open rebellion (sadism). But to deal with strong persons in authority (father-surrogates) and still keep his own sense of power he swings over to attitudes of the super-ego. In the first instance, the ego strives to maintain the feelings of omnipotence (narcissism) by forcing reality to submit to the instinctual demands of the Id. In the second, which is much more characteristic of Phil, the sense of power is (unconsciously) kept intact by means of an identification with the super-ego (the father, society, etc.) in its harsh rejection of instinctual tendencies.

Such a formulation would explain why there is little friendly approach to reality (object-libido) on Phil's part. He seems to need all the libido he can get to fortify him in his aloofness from the outer world (primary narcissism). As a result we may state that the instinctual energy does not flow to objects, but stays within his narcissistic pattern, to increase and harden it. Inner tension would thus be further built up instead of being discharged. Possibly his reference to situations where "the spring in my head busts" is representative of the final explosion of tension from within. As a speculation, we might picture his failure to find an objective release as keeping him under a continual state of tension, which is only eventually discharged by the explosive uprisings of anti-social conduct. In regard to the analysis, his fundamental difficulty may be seen as a fear of the analyst, yet a constant need of, and dependence on, such a person. Back of this fear we may formulate the terrific sadism against all of reality for the loss of the Nirvana.

If we accept this as the foundation of the boy's difficulty, it seems clear that the first steps of progress can be made only under the influence of some strong but kindly and understanding person. This is the rôle indicated for the analyst. Possibly the super-ego (analyst) can thus be accepted as a more friendly part of his system, and the ego, under less harsh domination, may gain strength and grow by meeting and experiencing reality. The narcissist, however, may use the kindly support of the analyst merely to increase his own sense of omnipotence, just as this boy used his attachment to the father. Here a new element must be introduced in the way of continued libido-giving, not only to reduce the fear, but to leave him with enough libido to

answer his needs and to project something into the outer world. In this way may come the gradual development of objectivity, which could release tension in socially acceptable ways.

POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION

As for his mental arrest, a possible understanding might be on the grounds that such an evident feud with reality as Phil has would keep him from the projection of libido which mental development requires. In particular, such attitudes as in his questioning of the mother may be taken as indications of a resistance against absorbing identifications. His work in school contains this same barrier against making the substance something of his own. The same questions are asked over and over again; in meeting further elaborations, he must once more be told what he has previously been taught. His manner of numb indifference suggests that he will take no responsibility beyond having the immediate problem solved for him. More fundamentally, we should say the ego is incapable of sustaining the anxiety of independent thinking or of allowing the objective reality-testing which would absorb the knowledge into his own pattern. That there is "no basis from which to start an explanation" suggests this same absence of a fundamental grasp on reality. The influence of the primary narcissism is here felt, protecting the weak ego and blocking any sustained grip on the outer world. Just as Phil "does not feel like" being frank with the analyst, so his narcissistic aloofness may be inferred to prevent a free relationship with "things" and ideas in the outer world.

What is especially outstanding, however, is the split between libidinal impulses and destructive urges, as illustrated in his general manner towards the mother. There is seemingly no fusion of the two energies, by means of which he could ingest and absorb the maternal identification, master it, and proceed independently to a wider range of contacts and experience. Yet with the father Phil appears to have taken a step in this direction, for here he has found one object for libido and for sadistic hate. Some merging of the two impulses has apparently gone into the boy's aggressive approach to farm-work with his father. From the attachment, his energy has been reprojected into the activities themselves. Phil has taken in and absorbed a great deal of knowledge and ability in connection with farming; it is here that he does his best work, and here apparently

that he offers the greatest hope for future progress. Nevertheless, the ego still cannot maintain a sufficient fusion of erotic energy and destructiveness in this relationship, for the fear of the father turns the aggressiveness against the ego, and a full object-cathexis is denied. Thus Phil is unable to absorb the identification which would go to provide him with a serviceable super-ego—one not harshly punitive, but kindly in its guidance.

From these factors we formulate our conception of the boy's mental arrest. Once more the ego's weakness, the rigidity of the primary narcissism (tending against the making of identifications), and the lack of fusion between the two classes of instincts—these are seemingly the vital points. From our point of view, they lie behind the diminished capacity for ingesting and absorbing knowledge, which we postulate as the dynamic phase of mental deficiency.

SUGGESTED THERAPY

The nature of Phil's personality has obviously prevented a full detailment of material to substantiate our conclusions. What has been presented is largely inferential and tentative, but it is at least grounded in the observations and impressions which this boy's short period of treatment allowed. Before leaving us he gave some indications of a lessened fieriness of temper and a degree of possible co-operation with his environment. Parallel with this, his school-work showed some approach to at least a partial understanding of the usual elementary subjects. Because his capacity for making identifications is so limited and has not been displaced far from the mother-relationship, his education would best avoid abstract or intangible subjects. He will apparently gain more and feel happier in attempting to master only that degree of knowledge which can be represented definitely and substantially before him. The major goal, however, should be to train him in some concrete occupational interest. His attachment to the father may here be made use of by displacing it into a relationship with some powerful but kindly man. His admiration for strength, both in manner and in physique, would give a libidinal element to the situation provided he can be supportively encouraged in the face of his fear of fatherly people. That he has been so successful in farming-work under such an arrangement would seem to be due to two factors: First, his identification with mother and his homoerotic relationship with father have

supplied an emotional urge to be in contact with men. Where the destructive impulses have dominated him, he has either been sadistic or has seemingly sought to be attacked and punished; the relationship with men has then been less constructive. But where the libidinal element has been more fully sustained (by kindness on the part of father-representatives), he has been able to discharge energy usefully in hard labour with masculine supervisors. Second, the parallel trend of identification with father has continued the impulse to ingest masculine attributes and use them in a forceful approach to reality. Here again, however, the destructive element has been too little modified away from anti-social forms of release. The future need would seem to be for more libido-giving in the way of friendly understanding towards his difficulties and a not-too-harsh rejection of his narcissistic demands.

REDUCTION OF THE SUPER-EGO

Apparently Phil is suited for any kind of purely physical, non-technical work under these circumstances. What the analysis has done, in addition to understanding the situations most favourable for his happiness and usefulness, is to attempt a reduction of the conduct disorder which accompanies his mental arrest. He has recently returned for further treatment, and our hope is that through a strengthened transference to the analyst he may gain some phase of release from his fears and needs. The assuring support of the analyst may serve to brace the ego against the extreme harshness of the super-ego and allow him to guide his inner life more happily. Moreover, analysis gives him the chance to live through his difficulties with the outer world, at a distance from the actual conflict; and by viewing his experiences objectively he may gain some amount of understanding and stability. Possibly the ego may become strong enough to do without some of its protective shell of narcissistic omnipotence. The attainment of this goal would promise more friendly attitudes toward reality and a greater fusion of libido with the destructive impulses as he approaches the object-world. It is just such a merging of instinctual energies that will enable Phil to sustain a reasonable grasp of the tasks before him; and it is his environment's understanding of these factors which will be most helpful to the boy's future development.

V

Not infrequently one encounters aments whose neurosis is more intimately related in cause and effect than otherwise obtains in the majority of cases. That is, the neurosis seems more obviously to have fundamental origin in the innate weakness of the ego. Is the ego inherently weak, a part of the defective inheritance, as the eugenists contend? May this ego be so lacking in fibre that it necessarily clings to an early oral fixation, with the result that many character traits (stealing, lying, etc.) persist beyond the ordinary child development? Possibly this same weakness entails other continuing character faults arising out of difficulties at higher levels of development. For example, the failure to master the father in the Œdipus situation may result in the boy's incorporating in his daily life a slyness and trickiness in dealing with his fellows. Can a modified psychoanalysis first disclose these sequences and finally aid in overcoming these character traits, supporting the ego towards healthier living reactions?

We may further ask if a similar background does not contribute to the amentia in such cases. Is the weak ego able to displace the primary mother-identification out upon concrete objects, for the absorption and utilization of a wider range of reality in mental development? The failure to do this may well constitute the basis of a mental arrest. Is it any wonder, moreover, that such aments develop an increasing undependability and often live a life of fantasy, the "pseudo-logia phantastica" of the older writers? It seems very plausible that, given a more difficult or stressful life, these individuals may turn to anti-social traits of vagabondage and petty thievery; or, with a little more ego power, produce many cases of the hypophrenic types of schizophrenia. We shall hope to throw some light upon all these problems in the analytic review of the following case.

HARRY

Harry is a boy of fourteen who likes to stand near the grown-ups, hoping to understand something of what they are saying. Motionless, he stares at them, mouth agape, vaguely wondering. What they are doing may eventually concern him; perhaps there will come a chance to gain. Dreamily he seems to listen, as if to catch one word, one magic phrase that will waken him from his abstraction.

A young man turns to him suddenly: "That's so, isn't it, Harry?" The boy seems startled, shyly ridiculous. "Heh-heh. So's your old man!" With a silly giggle he tries to cover up his uneasiness as he falters under the spotlight. Restless movements of his body and feet seem to promise frantically: "I'll move along. I won't hang around any more." Yet he persistently clings for one lingering possibility. As a silence falls upon the group, Harry speaks up, boldly pleading in a quick rush of words: "Do you want anything at the store, Ben?" How well he knows that a dime is the reward for such an errand, and a dime means a lot of candy!

The boy gives a start when someone enters his room. With quick, sly glances he looks searchingly for a reason for the visit. There is guilt in that abashed smile, as if the visitor had interrupted some secret, shameful plan of his. What are they going to do? What are they going to say? In his expression there is all the skittering timidity of a rabbit. Some people have been nice, but most are dangerous; at the slightest false move there must be a quick, instinctive rush away. . . .

Now he is bending over the soft hair of an affectionate dog. Alternately patting and laying his cheek against the warm fur, he murmurs soft, caressing baby-talk. His tone is soothing; his lips are rounded; he may be drooling a little—yet he would have us believe it is the dog that needs assurance! . . .

With more confidence, he is walking beside one who has shown him friendliness. In a jumbled rush his words hurry out towards the older person: "Where does this road go? I'll bet it takes you right into New York. Is that it?"

"No, this just goes to the village."

"Well, if we kept on this road long enough, I'll bet it would take us to New York or even Chicago, wouldn't it, Ben? Maybe we could go all around the world just on this one road. There *are* roads like that, aren't there, Ben? It wouldn't take long if there weren't many cars in the way. You could just go walking along and then before you knew it you'd be all around the world and back again. You'd just walk in and ask for your breakfast, as if you hadn't been away. How long would it take, Ben? Would it take two weeks? Probably two months, more like it. Is that it? Ten million years, I guess! Heh-heh!"

Although he constantly asks questions, he seems to defend his fantasy stoutly, regardless of inconsistencies, heedless of

thought or reasoning. Yet the continued silence of his audience gradually impresses him. He appears to feel that his story must be ridiculous in others' eyes, as if what he has blurted out in all seriousness will be labelled nonsense. Whereupon he seems to hide the guilt of his ignorance under a deluge of complete silliness. "It would take so long you'd be dead before you started. Heh-heh-heh! You'd want to move along, but you couldn't, because you'd be dead. Dead from the neck up, heh-heh-heh! Like a piece of cheese, boloney, heh-heh-heh, banana oil, yea!" His giggle deepens into the fullness of a chuckle, as though lustfully wallowing in some secret delight of his own.

As Harry sits on the lawn, carefully watching those who are standing near the car in the driveway, someone mentions a trip to town.

"Can-I-go-for-the-ride, Miss Charge?" The words come shooting out with a quickness that would prevent any chance of being left behind. He will get in his bid before anyone else is considered! But this time his luck is bad; he is refused.

Glumly he sulks in his chair. "All right, I hope I never ride in a car. I'll go to bed and stay there all day. I won't eat anything for three days. I hope I fall in the lake and never come up." Yet somehow this attitude does not seem a real part of Harry. It is more as if he had copied the idea from some older person and carried it to an extreme of ludicrousness, in his own way and without insight. As with his silliness, he now appears to wallow in this exaggerated extension of a common reaction. . . .

A boisterous argument suddenly ceases when another boy seeks to prove his point by force of arms. Harry backs away, smiling as if to apologize and quickly pass it all off as a joke. But his opponent comes on threateningly.

A tremendous yell comes from Harry's lips. "Stop it! Ouch! Cut it out! No! Stop!" The other boy has done nothing, but the whole surrounding air is cracked with Harry's protests. "Stop hitting me—I'll tell Miss Charge. Ouch! Cut it out!"

No amount of encouragement can induce him to defend himself. Shouting his complaints, threatening to appeal to those in charge, he turns and runs away. For some time now he will be careful not to let that boy come within six feet of him! "Miss Charge, he's picking on me. . . ."

Again we see Harry on the lawn listening to the grown-ups. One of the older boys has been called to task for taking a taxi from town instead of walking. The rest of the group listen sympathetically as the culprit tells of being caught and reprimanded. Immediately Harry blurts out: "Why didn't you leave the taxi a little way down the road? Then they wouldn't have known."

He knows how to handle parents! In spite of his appearance of simple boyishness and naïve timidity, he has something of a hard-boiled wiseness about him. It is the same quality of tricky cleverness that allows him innocently to linger in other people's rooms, glibly deceiving them as to his purpose. Stamps and money strangely disappear, but Harry protests with honest-sounding clearness: "I was just in there emptying the wastebaskets!" He knows how to get around them! He knows how to scheme slyly to put one over on them! Unfortunately, he does not seem to comprehend the use of circumstantial evidence. It is a bit of magic which adults have, to catch a fellow. But he's "on to" many of their ways. They can be fooled! . . .

How shall we understand this mixture of fear and boldness, of silliness and self-pity, these fantastic questions and unreal conceptions which go to make up Harry as a person? He is mentally retarded (I.Q. of 62+), and has thus been obviously handicapped in his attempts to get along in the world. This and his characteristic behaviour may be considered as his real problems. We turn to more subjective data to comprehend what is involved in his general pattern.

In the analytic sessions he showed great fear of indicting himself in any way. He related his difficulties in playing with the boys, admitting that he never could seem to get along well; but he placed the blame entirely on their shoulders. If they teased him, called him "a little pest," and rubbed his face in the snow, it was not because of anything that *he* did. Harry's tone was full of annoyed complaint as he described these incidents to the analyst. He would shoot quick, suspicious glances in the direction of the older man, then curl up in a ball-like position on the couch and remain silent for long periods, during which he sucked constantly on his little finger.

It was only in talking of his lonesomeness that he could be fairly free. His reason for wanting to go home was, at first, that he could play with the boys he knew, that he didn't know the

boys here very well. But soon he added: "To go on errands for my mother. I get paid. She gives me five and ten cents each time. I keep it and put it in my bank. Candy and stuff. And I want to be home, so I can go downtown with my mother, so I can go around carrying the parcels for her, because she pays me when we get back. You bet I like money. Gee, I like a dollar if I can get it. You could get all sorts of things downtown. I like my mother the best of them all." Harry keeps the index finger of his left hand on his mouth most of the time while he is talking. He is restless as he mentions that boys of his age usually play games and are quite a bit away from their mothers. "I don't know how they can stand it, being away from their mothers; they're not interested in going downtown with their mothers, are they?" He smiles, but quickly adds many reasons why mothers *want* boys to be with them. Finally, however, he suggests that he ought to be interested in other things, but cannot, because he wants to be with his mother all the time; "because she likes me and I like her."

MOTHER DEPENDENCE

Again and again he repeats these thoughts of his mother. They arise constantly amid other associations during analysis; they are contained in his frequent questions; and they are often indicated as the content of the long silences which occur during the interviews. "Sometimes a sick thought comes in my head that I'd like to go home, or to have my mother come and get me. Going to school, I wanted to stay home, because I like playing best. But I had to go, and felt very sad and was lonesome, because I wanted to go downtown with my mother. I have always been going downtown with her. I want to be near her. I feel afraid when I'm not with her, afraid someone will come and take me away, because I just have that thought in my mind that someone will take me away from home, from my mother. When I'm with my mother I'm not afraid."

Gradually, in spite of defences and bombastic self-assurances, these fears are revealed in the analytic material. He describes his terror during thunder-storms, when the only comfort is to have mother get in bed with him or stay close to him as assurance. Fear of physical injury kept him from participating freely in games the boys played. He felt none of the active zest in dashing into things with them. Instead, he wished he could be home with mother, playing near her or, best of all,

carrying parcels for her. The fear of what could happen to him alone, what the boys would do to him, what the teacher would say—indeed, all of the fear of experiencing reality—is suggested in the analytic data.

Our inference would be that Harry remains fixated mainly at that level where the dependence on the mother has broadened only so far as the doing of things for her. This much of a projection of libido (carrying her parcels, running errands, etc.) would still seem closely tied to the need for reward from her. He appears characteristically to cling to her and to give only so much as will allow him to draw on her for his own satisfaction. The money which he receives is to be translated immediately into terms of candy. In other words, his libido apparently centres on the early stages of secondary narcissism where the reception of the mother's love and the oral ingestion of whatever she may give (originally the breast) is of major importance. This may reasonably be postulated as the basis for his present-day character-formation, wherein he continues to look to his environment for a full supply of oral and narcissistic gratifications. Especially in his petty stealing may we see the grasping for himself (originally by mouth) what the outer world (mother) has in its possession. It is as if, in wandering from room to room helping himself to the little valuables which attract him, he were unable to distinguish between "mine" and "thine." The whole world is seemingly the mother who belongs to him for the taking. Apparently this is not only an oral characteristic, but one based on a very early stage of oral fixation. In other individuals the oral trend has its definite influence, but mainly in a heightened receptivity for knowledge of the outer world as a separate object. Perhaps this boy has not displaced the object of oral ingestion away from the mother's breast to the abstract ideas (learning) which reality can offer him; instead, he has taken this step only as far as substituting, for the mother's breast, other concrete symbols of love and autoerotic satisfaction (rewards, candy, stamps, money, etc.).

To leave his close oneness with mother would expose the ego, weak and unprotected, to all of the uncertainties and catastrophes which reality seems to threaten. He would prefer to snuggle closer to her and not risk an independent experiencing. Wherever this is demanded of him the impulse is to return quickly to his original safety. An even deeper identification

with the mother is suggested when he occasionally expresses the wish to be a girl, for his next associations contain the thought that mother is really only a big girl. To be like her is to maintain within himself permanently the assurance of her presence. As we have seen in his mothering of the pets about the grounds, he may enact her rôle, and thus recapture over and over again the sense of soothing comfort which he once experienced with her.

Although the weight of emotional interest seems to fix his character-formation and libidinal development mainly at the oral level and in the attachment to the mother, we cannot assume that there have not been other threads of libido-cathexis. The following material is suggestive: "I was afraid of the dark, scared, nightmares, that someone was coming to take me away. I always dreamed a poor lady who had no children would come and steal me away. She would be dressed in old rag clothes. She looked kind of mad. She would be cross to me, slap me, take the handle of a broomstick and beat me. I'd cry. Then she'd go away. Then I'd wake up." Now he recalls: "Mother spanked me for being a bad boy; father never spanked me. I did not like mother when she spanked me." (Frowns.) "She looked mad and cross when she did it."

Without attempting to interpret this characteristic material, may we assume that it refers to the "bad" mother? It hints at the possibility that the mother may not always be entirely what his instinctual needs require; she may be a force which would separate him from his secure dependence on her. Seemingly the weaning from her brings with it a partial desire to recapture support from the father. Further data indicate his liking for his father, his happiness in helping him, hanging around him, and dreaming some day of being big like him. Possibly it was first because the father never spanked him that Harry turned towards him, as a second "good" mother. Yet we may infer that some of the trend is for an identification with the father which shall lead to masculine power and independence. Already a wraithlike superiority may be sensed as, after much analysis of girls, he says: "Oh, I guess it's what they make water out of. Yes, that's what it is, because the girls don't have the same as the boys have. They don't have it in the front; they have nothing at all, only a place for something to grow on. I guess that's what the boys laugh at—they were born that way. They have nothing in front at all."

It makes the girls ashamed because they haven't got anything there. . . ."

Possibly in this there is the faint approach to an awareness of his masculinity. Moreover, interest in the penis as an organ of pleasure is demonstrated in Harry's masturbation and occasional experiences with fellatio. Heavily weighted with oral and autoerotic concerns as they are, these trends nevertheless would suggest some degree of development towards higher levels. More especially, the following ideas give us this impression of a reaching towards something bigger: "How I would like to be a banker. People give me cheques for ten dollars and I would give them money.—I used to help my father in the store, Christmas time.—I would like to make things for Tom—bookcases.—I used to empty the papers when Jack was away.—I would like to be a drugstore clerk—furniture store—radio fixer.—Last night I dreamed I was on the stage doing stunts like what I saw at the Palace. I would like to learn to do stunts. I would like to do that because sometimes you get paid for that. I would like to be a doctor, take people for analysis.—I would like to be a florist. . . ."

In all of these ambitions there may be seen a strong leaning towards the (oral) reception of rewards from the outer world, and possibly an anal-erotic significance to the having of money. Furthermore, the accomplishments and the power which goes with them are obviously still fantastic; they seem to be dreamed as narcissistic satisfactions, without being carried into an objective effort to realize them. Nevertheless, it appears as if the boy has identified himself with various patterns of masculine importance and power. To this extent he apparently has broken from the mother-identification. It brings us to the question of his struggle with the *Œdipus* situation. How far has he attempted to carry through this familiar process? To what degree has he met it?

This phase of Harry's emotional development came up in analysis for the most part after he had changed to a feminine analyst. His fear was still apparent, but he was obviously able to be much freer in his associations. The reporting of dreams became something in the nature of gifts to the analyst, to be offered at nearly every session; or, in the absence of a dream, a detailed fantasy containing similar material was presented. The content, of course, was varied and complicated, but we may cite a few of the most characteristic trends.

"THE BAD MAN"

Much of the time Harry describes his escapades of stealing as being brought about by Satan, or "the bad man," within him. We may logically surmise that this refers to the unconscious instinctual needs within him, which urge him impulsively towards the act. In his associations on the dreams, however, this "bad man" is also equated to father. Father, seemingly, is one who may act as he pleases; his impulses may be gratified freely. Thus there seems to be determined a rivalry with father which stands out in the actual dream material.

"Lots of times I have had dreams that the bad man has killed other boys besides me—did the same as he did to me—knocked the boys cuckoo.—I had another dream that he has moved away three doors from our house. We were glad to get rid of him. He has moved to some shack in the woods. He is locked in. He has holes in his clothes, and when he asked people to mend it he was told to go to the tailor. He did. He remained outside in his underclothes. People called a policeman. He was taken to jail. He never did it again. The bad man has now grown so big. . . .

"Would you like to have me tell you more about the bad man? Well, he was a good man until he got to be bad, then everyone did not like him. They put him in jail. He was going to be hung. He was being put in the electric chair, and he jumped out and pushed others into the chair. I heard last night from my boy friends by mail that the man committed suicide. A policeman came back to look at the bad man, and he started to get up, moved his hands; he was so weak, and the policeman sent a bullet through each hand." (Pause.) ("Are you glad the bad man is now dead?") "No!" (Startled manner, with a frightened look on his face.) "I meant yes. Why, I thought you meant my father. He is not dead; if he was, she would write and tell me: 'Did you know Daddy was sick? He died at 2.30 in the morning.' I would say: 'Eh, he did? How about some flowers?' She would say: 'That is all right; that will be fixed between you and me and maybe Mr. U——' Mother writes: 'Who will pay for flowers?' I would write: 'I will send a cheque.'—I guess they would have a marching funeral for him." (Suddenly, in a surprised tone.) "He is not dead now. I would have to write back a kind of sorrowful letter to my mother. I would feel kind of sorry for my father.

I would like to have a funeral for him" (in a condescending tone); "make all those things for him easy. If my mother did not have enough money, I would send a cheque to her. I would pay for flowers. I would say, 'Get any kind you like for Daddy.'—I would send a telegram to mother: 'How did you like sorrowful letter?'—She would say, 'Very much.' She would write that father was safe in the grave for ever. I think I will write to my mother tonight. . . .

"I would go down home and stay with her. I would have to be father then. I would go down to the office and take his place. I used to think about this, dream it lots of times. I used to dream he was dead and killed. Someone killed him. I suppose if I killed my father I would have to go to the electric chair. I dreamt that someone shot him—got after him with an axe—drop him and he would be dead."

While some phases of such material might be regarded as referring to Harry's struggle to down his own socially unacceptable tendencies, the outstanding concern seems to be to belittle, dethrone, kill the father in order that the son may take his position of power. Some hint is included that he would then assume father's place with mother—although we note that the conflict with father receives the major attention, mother appearing vaguely in the background. Without further comment, we refer to other dream material:

"Dreamt I was in bed with mother and a dog was lying between us, stretched out like a person—seemed to take up a lot of room, so I was on the edge of the bed." (Associations.) "Dog—father used to lie this way in bed, so I was on the edge. Sometimes I fell off of bed, pushed out by father."

At another interview Harry starts in: "I don't touch myself any more. I don't seem to like to do it. I had a dream that the bad man was pounding on my head. It seemed like the bad man was making my hand do it: ZZZZZ." When the analyst comments that this ZZZZ sound is like one Harry had given once in picturing himself punishing father, the boy immediately recalls another dream. The bad man turned into father and cut a large hole in Harry's buttocks to find out what was inside of him. In bitter tones he describes the gory details—a doctor was called to sew him up. Harry announces that he had his tonsils taken out.—There is resistance to giving associations on father's cutting him, taking away something, etc., but he recalls the father taking away his rattles and toys,

breaking them up and smashing them. "It made me awful mad, and I wanted to commit suicide" (which, to Harry, means to kill another person and then kill yourself).

"Last night I dreamt of a bad man. He had an axe and hammer. He gave me the worst knock, almost killed me. Then he threw me into the furnace and heaped coal and wood on me. I did my darnedest to get out. He split my head open like this" (he demonstrates), "and then knocked me on the head. When I woke up I was surprised that I was not furnace."

"Dream of bad man, killed by him." (Associations.) "The man looked like my father." (Here the analyst calls attention to his hand on his penis.) "To see if it was there. It might walk away, be taken away. When father was angry with me, I thought he might throw my penis away—have no use for it—I would cry—I would be like a girl—I would like to hit father, but was afraid of him when he was angry. I felt he might kill me."

At another time Harry thinks of how nice his father was to him, gave him candy and money—but now he is dead (the father died during Harry's treatment), he cannot do these things any longer. He thinks of how nice father was to mother—sorry father is dead, but glad he cannot be nice to mother any more. "Yes, I would like to do things as father did for mother, or some girl.—Would like to be a boy, to do this; but would like to be a girl and have things done for me, too."

One dream is worthy of reporting before summarizing our inferences from this material. "I had a dream of a bear following me, and I had a gun and killed him. I'll draw a picture and show you how it was." (Here the analyst points out that there does not seem to be a gun in the picture.) "That went to pieces after I killed the bear." ("Why?") "I suppose that bear was so big. . . ." In his associations Harry is reminded of father trying to find out if he was doing something he should not; coming up behind him. "I would have liked to shoot him like I did that bear, but I was afraid. I didn't have any gun. . . ."

No doubt we would be justified in interpreting the gun as a symbol of the penis, and the associations as indicating that Harry lacks the power to overcome father. Indeed, in all of the above dream material we may say that the *Œdipus* is being dramatized, but that the tide of victory swings from the son

to the father alternately, as if the struggle still had not been decided. Occasionally the homoerotic component seems to arise in feelings of affection towards the father and in the wish to be a girl. But the stronger trend seems to be to depose father and have mother for himself. Yet in real life, just as in the dreams, this conflict seems not to have been sufficiently worked out. Harry's cringing fear and slyness before persons in authority, his quick manifestation of guilt and defensiveness, his lack of freedom in the face of super-ego teachings—all suggest that unconsciously he has not made his friendly compromise with father. He is thus unable to stand up to a firm position of independence and masculine aggressiveness. Emotionally, as the dreams show, he cannot maintain himself steadily in father's position, for he has not overcome the fear of him.

FAILURE IN ŒDIPUS FORMATION

The failure of Harry's associations to touch more than vaguely upon the phase of objective love for the mother leads us to conclude that this part of the Œdipus has not been met. Previous material has warned us that his sexuality has developed little beyond pre-genital levels of autoerotism and narcissistic dependence. We may note in the struggle with the father that Harry is concerned chiefly with possible omnipotence, the satisfaction of a lordship rather than an objectification. Moreover, the highest development of his sexuality as such seems to be in masturbation, where the struggle still rages between the instinctual urge and the dominating super-ego. Possibly, weighted down by the earlier fixation at the oral level, his libidinal drive is not strong enough to carry him through this stage of development. The weak ego is apparently unable to forsake its earlier protections in order to advance to a more objective projection.

In thus reviewing Harry's analytical material we cannot hope to have dealt with all the various tendencies and complications which go to form his personality. Many interpretations have been one-sided and incomplete, and little has been said of his probable anal fixation as indicated in the significance he places on money and in his obvious wallowing in silliness and lewd talk. Too little has been brought out regarding the harshness of his super-ego in its many restricting attitudes with which he is seemingly at odds. Yet in general our purpose has been to touch upon the dominant trends in his make-up and to

indicate the more decisive fixations—to see what bearing these may have on his mental defect or on his difficulties in adjusting to the outer world.

In the main, under the analytic treatment this boy has gradually shown general improvement, not in his essential I.Q., but in his better social adaptations. He has builded a stronger super-ego, and has shown greater ability to restrain the petty thieving propensities. He has an improved capacity for giving sustained and continuous attention to the small tasks assigned to him. His slyness is less as his timidities have decreased. His fear of others (father-surrogates and brothers) is diminished. More tranquillity and less physical and mental restivity are in evidence at entertainments and lectures. His scholastic attention shows better concentration, and he has in consequence been able to ingest and absorb more book knowledge. His boyish ambitions are less fantastic. He is now able to apply his energies to small jobs and errands that earn him money, which he immediately spends for his oral gratifications that are still inordinate for a normal boy of his age. On the whole, his mental activities have become more sound.

The two main factors influencing his character-formation as such would seem to be: (1) The oral fixation which leads him to draw or take (steal) from the environment the material which can supply his narcissistic and autoerotic needs; and (2) the fear of authority (fathers, from his failure to finish the *Œdipus*) which necessitates a slyness and trickiness in dealing with the outer world. Both may be said fundamentally to arise from a weakness in the ego. Both can be seen as severe detriments to his chances for a happy life, regardless of his mental retardation. The aim of a complete analysis would be to help him to relive, experience, and meet the problems which reality has placed or is placing before him. Seemingly it is just so far as the ego may be thus strengthened that Harry will be able eventually to make progress.

INTERPRETATION OF THE AMENTIA

As for his feeble-mindedness, we may point to three conditions which seem to have a bearing. First, in passing from the oral ingestion of mother (breast, identification) Harry appears to have remained fixed to a great extent upon the taking in of other *concrete* objects. A wide displacement to the ingestion of ideas, abstract conceptions, understanding, etc., seems not

to have taken place. Instead, according to our impressions, the oral grasping is chiefly concerned with candy, physical rewards, and presents. Again, his projections towards reality have been seen to be largely on the basis of "doing things for mother"—that is, for the return to the secondary narcissism rather than for an objective experiencing which may absorb identifications and strengthen the ego's comprehension of reality. Finally, this inability (fear) to voyage into the outer world for a checking of inner concepts has apparently kept him back from fully grasping the nature of the real world. Thus, as we have seen, his spontaneous utterances are crowded with fantastic formulations and unreal notions which even his rapid-fire questioning cannot readily dispel.

POSSIBLE FUTURE OUTCOME

These conditions are similar to what we have postulated in general as being some of the barriers to a complete intellectual development. No doubt, in the end, they, too, are traceable to some inherent weakness in the ego, something, perhaps, which is beyond the influence of analytic technique. Yet, when analysis has done all it can to modify the fixations present, there is still the possibility that a knowledge of what emotional levels are strongest will enable us to make helpful suggestions regarding the future. For Harry, with his fear of authoritative fathers, the best arrangement would probably be to keep him in contact with motherly women, whose supportive love he might work for eagerly. In the absence of a masculine supervisor, he could readily attend to many routine tasks and assume a phase of confidence in "taking care of mother" or "being father"—in the sense that he would do work which the women could not ordinarily do. For example, as errand-boy for a millinery establishment he might engage willingly and well in activities involving a general helpfulness to the proprietress. His mother-dependence and the trends of his unfinished *Œdipus* complex might well find useful expression in some such occupation. Nevertheless, the unsocialized elements in his oral tendencies might lead to further stealing unless he were under careful supervision. In all fairness it would be advisable not to give Harry the responsibility of handling money. Yet under the kindness of those who give importance to his efforts while still sheltering him, he may be able to make a socialized adaptation. With the understanding of those who reward him for

his endeavours by granting a reasonable degree of oral gratification, he may be encouraged to learn and use much that is of practical service.

VI

One of the chief dangers in classifying aments according to the I.Q. test is that, in securing the individual's average rating, one may overlook the various trends and abilities which are capable of advanced development and use in everyday life. Frequently the mental age can tell us little, for some capacities may be at a high level, while others are of such low grade that the average is really poorer than the individual shows in his daily occupations. We need to know more about the specific elements in the ego which make it more susceptible to certain kinds of identifications, less ready to ingest, absorb, and use knowledge in other directions. So long as the intelligence test determines more than an age-standard, so long as it investigates potentialities for progress and occupational success, we feel that the testing is of real service. It may indicate to us along what channels constructive training should be helpful. Possibly a psychoanalytic understanding of the dynamic forces in mental functioning may add to our foresight in prescribing this training. At least, it may tell us under what conditions a reasonable adjustment to reality might be attained.

In particular, where a fear-neurosis complicates the issue, one must be resigned to accept the I.Q. as contributing little towards understanding the ament's real usefulness. Not only are the mental levels irregular in their development, but the neurotic elements in the personality cover the whole situation, and often hide from notice the latent potentialities for better performance. The neurosis itself must either be cleared up or sufficiently understood before an accurate judgment of the individual's serviceability may be made. In other words, our hope would be to free the ament from his emotional difficulties, so that energy could flow more freely into the grasping and adapting to reality which constitutes mental development.

The following case-study, while presenting more or less unaltered mental traits, does show a surprising development within the range of his I. Q. By lessening the toll usually taken by the neurosis, this boy has made excellent progress in school, in his activities at home and in the shop. What the final

outcome will be cannot be postulated, but that he has cleared many obstacles from the path of his development no one can deny.

JACK

There were two factors influencing Jack's being sent for treatment. At the age of fourteen he was found to be incapable of handling the average school requirements. Tests indicated that his mental age was about seven years. In addition, a conduct disorder was suggested in his difficulty to adjust himself to relationships with other children and conform to the usual social adaptations. He himself seemed to recognize that everything was not going well, but was inclined to attribute it to faulty methods of teaching and the reactions of his boy associates. His acceptance of the new environment was apparently on the basis of a welcome change from the unhappiness of school life.

When a staff-member first meets him, Jack is standing by the window in his room, gazing without affect on the scenery outdoors. It is as if he were saying: "I'm supposed to be here. Here I am." There is something suspicious and defensive about his sidelong glances in the visitor's direction. He answers greetings briefly, replies to questions in dull monosyllables. Perhaps he feels he is to be criticized and punished, or put through some ordeal. He seems to be indicating that he is all right, that he is a good boy, that no one has any right to say anything to him. Silently he maintains his aloofness. Now and then he looks covertly in the man's direction out of the side of the thick lenses of his glasses. He seems barricaded in a fortress. These are the narrow slits through which he may occasionally peep at the outer world and wonder whether the approaching figure is a friend or enemy. He gives the impression of one who is perfectly satisfied with himself as he is. If you have any fault to find with him, he can quickly submit proof that he can do no better. "My mother says I should be very careful of my health. My parents don't want me to try to do too much." You must be checked by this authoritative ultimatum; you had better leave him alone and let him remain as he is. . . .

Several days later some of the group are talking about Chicago. Jack seems to edge himself into the conversation. Blissfully he chirps: "Chicago, in the thriving state of Michigan."

"Chicago is in Illinois, Jack."

"It's in *Michigan*, right on the shore of Lake Michigan. I know, because I've seen it on the map."

"It's on the lake, all right, Jack, and it's very close to Michigan, but actually it's in Illinois."

The boy becomes excited. He talks very quickly, as if to rush out his words for final proof. His voice reaches a higher and higher pitch as he tries to convince his stubborn audience: "No, it isn't! It's in Michigan. I've seen it. I've been there, lots of times. It's right in Michigan. Besides, my teacher at school told us it was in Michigan. One of the boys was marked wrong in geography because he said it was in Illinois. It's in Michigan. My father has lots of friends in Chicago. They know where they live. You've never been there. I know it's in Michigan."

"Suppose we look it up in the geography, Jack."

"I don't have to. I've always been taught that Chicago is in Michigan, and that's right. I don't care what they teach you up here; your geographies are all wrong, anyway. The Webb and Webb Geography is the only one that's any good. It's used in every school in my state, and it's right. Your books don't know."

"This is a Webb and Webb; here we are: 'Chicago, Illinois.' See?"

His voice reaches a higher pitch of frantic insistence: "That book is wrong; it's an old one; full of misprints. My father told me those old books are full of wrong things. Our schools have the newest edition, and everything in it is right. Besides, I've been in Chicago. I ought to know, when I've been there. I say it's in Michigan, and it is!"

"I'm afraid not, Jack."

"But I tell you, I *know*!" Tears choke in his throat, in his eyes, in the fretful desperation of his tone. "It's in Michigan, and I don't care how many punk books you show me; I know where Chicago is! You don't know everything about it; you're just dumb, that's all." With frustrated bitterness he gags on his tears, shouts hoarsely: "You're just a dumb-bell, a damn fool, jackass. Don't you know where Chicago is yet?"

He hardens into the shell of his aloofness. Much of his attention must go to the controlling of these half-choked sobs. It seems as if most boys would rush away, under the embarrass-

ment of this frenzied breakdown. But Jack appears to have another method. He is on the scene, but they can't get at him. Covertly he peeks through the narrow slits, with a look of triumph; they can't do anything to him!

When such attitudes are repeated over and over again, we may be justified in attempting some sort of interpretation. Jack seems to have maintained a high degree of primary narcissism which urges him constantly to keep emotionally aloof from the environment. From his self-sufficiency he may eye the outer world with a careful scrutiny. Whatever is not likely to be harmful to his ego can be met and his guard relaxed; but whatever threatens a castration must be hastily barred. In the incident noted, we might infer that something impelled Jack to participate in the conversation. Once he is involved, however, the harmless situation develops into one which attacks the completeness of his ego. Staunchly he must defend it at any cost. Misstatements, false memories and exaggerations are piled up as a bulwark; finally, a counter-attack in the form of denunciations and epithets covers his retreat back into the fortress. If the ego does not venture forth, it cannot be harmed; Jack will be satisfied with his own approval and love; he does not need the outer world.

But is this exactly true? Why does he secretly look towards the people around him? Why is he so much concerned, if he does not need them? Why does he participate at all in the general conversation if his wish is to remain self-sufficient? Let us get a better understanding of his attitudes in the group.

"Hello, Jack! How's everything going?"

"All right. My home town is building the biggest Y.M.C.A. building in the world. It's a marvellous structure—five stories high, and containing all the requisites. . . ."

"That's great, Jack; it ought to be a fine thing."

"Contains all the requisites for every kind of sport—all modern equipment for everything. You can't *imagine* what a beautiful edifice it's going to be—it'll be a marvellous structure. There has never been anything like it before. I know the man who is going to direct it. He's a great lad—a fine type of man for the boys. He's done a lot for the youth of the city. He's a personal friend of mine, and I can go there any time I want, have all the privileges, and not have to pay a cent."

"But I thought everyone had to pay something."

The boy rushes his explanation out with smiling, expectant

confidence: "But the director is a personal friend of mine. He'll see that I get everything I want. He's a personal friend of mine. He's one of the big men of the city—no one can go against what he says."

As the two walk along, Jack steps quickly ahead, half blocking the progress of his friend. With rapid little strides he keeps constantly before his listener's eyes, as a dog would bound before his master's feet, prancing and pleading for friendly attention. "My father has a Buick. It's the best car that's made. You can't get anything better in the higher-priced cars. You just pay for the name, but you can't beat the Buick. They sell a lot in my home town. The sales for one week reached a new high mark of seven hundred and eighty-nine."

"For one week? Surely they don't sell that many in a week, in one small city?" Jack rushes pell-mell to the defence of his self-initiated discussion. "But I saw the records. I know the sales-manager personally. He let me see the reports—seven hundred and eighty-nine—I saw it with my own eyes. That's pretty good for my town, isn't it?" He waits happily for the other to murmur his wonderment and admiration. He is getting along nicely with this new friend!

Apparently, in spite of his intense self-sufficiency, he actually does have need of something from the outer world. We should infer that the primary narcissism does not remain as a complete shell to block emotional relationships with the environment. It is only a partial barrier. In order to draw to itself a stronger sense of greatness, in order to receive a larger share of libido, the ego seems willing to approach contacts with other objects. What stands out in all of these relationships is that pleading note in Jack's manner, that none-too-subtle bid for attention and admiration from the object. The needs of the secondary narcissism thus appear to urge against a full maintenance of aloofness. It may be that this very need for libido from the outside will provide the opening wedge for an analytic approach to his difficulties.

Let us pause to note, however, what inferences might be drawn from the above characteristic episodes. It is evident that the boy has made identifications in the past, both with people and with things. His misinformation, however, leads us to believe that he has used these identifications merely for their libidinal values. The actual substance of what the teacher said, of what father experienced, of what the sales-manager

reported, etc., all has been lost under the higher importance of an inflow of libido from the object. At the time of his repeating the content it is apparent that he is again using the material for another narcissistic conquest. We may note, too, that his ideas and modes of expression are rather unnatural for a boy of fourteen ("structure," "edifice," "he's a great lad," etc.). One is impressed that he has taken over the attitudes of parents (and parental surrogates) as a means of fortifying his narcissism; he speaks as if he were a grown-up, in order to receive the sanction and approval of other grown-ups. While this would seem to indicate that the ego has formed some degree of identification with outer objects, it is clear that Jack has not absorbed the identifications into his own pattern. He has not made these things his own.

NEED OF ANALYSIS

The immediate aim of analysis would be to help the boy to make a satisfactory adjustment to reality, to get along more happily with his parents, his teachers and his friends. This would naturally involve elements of the primary and secondary narcissism, the needs of the ego and the distribution of libido generally. If a consideration of these also sheds light on possible interpretations for his actual mental difficulty, so much the better. But our primary goal must be an understanding of the neurosis of his conduct disorder regardless of whether it be itself a part of his mental weakness or merely a result of it.

During the first few weeks Jack asked continually that his parents be influenced to let him remain, but as soon as they arrived on a visit he decided that he would like to return home with them. When it was arranged that he was to stay, he cried bitterly for some time before he could be soothed. It was difficult for him to approach this subject in analysis, but after numerous rationalizations he began to go a little more deeply into his feelings. "When I am away for a long period of time without seeing father or mother it makes me feel lonesome, because I have never left home for so long a time. I like to help mother and to be near her; I help her when she hasn't any maid. When I feel lonesome I don't like to talk to anybody or have anybody talk to me about it; it sort of gets on my nerves and makes me feel grouchy. It makes me feel nervous and sick; I don't feel right, and when I am like that

I don't feel like being with other boys; I like to be by myself, alone, where I can cry if I want to and talk to myself."

Thus it seems that the mother-attachment is too strong to be readily dispensed with; there is need of the libido which would come from this dependence, for the primary narcissism does not provide a complete self-sufficiency. To some extent Jack appears to retire within his fortress when the mother is lost, but we notice that he soothes himself and talks to himself—perhaps just as the mother would do. Observation tells us that he quickly forms "crushes" on older people, and it is seemingly from them (as formerly from parents) that he draws the friendly assurances which his weak ego demands. We infer, then, that some contact with the outer world is necessary even in the sheltered seclusion of his shell. By inducing the boy to talk of his feelings and needs, the analyst may perhaps gain something of a narcissistic transference.

Yet it was found that Jack soon withdrew from such a relationship. Over and over he maintained the attitude that he was quite all right, was getting along nicely and found no difficulties of any sort. Only when the analyst vouchsafes his interest in the boy's sense of loneliness is there any sign of emotional disturbance. He hesitates, becomes restless, puts his foot on the door-knob near the couch, and bangs the door with his shoe. "Analysis helps me forget my lonesomeness—takes my mind off it. . . ." (His voice shakes with emotion; tears come to his eyes. There are frequent long pauses.) "My energy to do things—something inside me that causes me to do things—a part of me that can't break away from mother—a part of me that hasn't grown up—that's the part I have to get out, have to break down so I can build up a new self—so I can get along better with people—go on and do things. Most of my energy seems to want to be close to my mother, and to be with people who are nice and kind and pleasant, and willing to do things, like mother."

In spite of this seeming insight, however, he was unable to go further in analyzing his difficulties. The analyst, knowing the boy's braggart tendencies in group contacts, asks in a general way why boys are like that sometimes. "Why, they want to attract all the attention and try to be smart. They say this and they say that, and probably some of the things are not true. The boys in school don't like to have anything to do with them. They just like to feel as if they knew it all and act

as if they were everything. The boys that boast like to tell everything that they've done—their fathers have done this and that. Bragging and boasting, it seems to me, is a very bad habit, and it is hard to cure them of it. The other boys are not the least bit interested in what they say, because it is mostly fake, anyhow. . . . I know sometimes I brag, but I have tried to cure myself of it, because I want to get along with the other boys, and don't want to be smart and attract all the attention. . . . Before I was a Scout I used to tell lies; my teachers couldn't tell when I was telling the truth. I used to tell lots of lies—didn't know any better. I don't know what they were about, and can't remember. Mother used to tell me I was telling lies; she would punish me. I can't remember what the lies were about; I don't want to remember them; they're bad. I do not think it is so bad to lie, because you do it when you don't know it. It is just a disease. People don't mean to lie. When I became a Scout I broke myself of it. It is something in your heart that makes you lie, and you cannot get it out of you fast enough. I don't think that the boys in school pay any attention to the boys that get too smart. I know that I don't pay any attention to them. Lying is a very bad habit to get into; you should try and break yourself of it."

PRIMARY NARCISSISM

Again, it is apparent that Jack is talking about his difficulties, but is not exposing his own feelings for analysis. Not only are his experiences cloaked behind the use of the third person and the past tense, but also his attitude towards them is one of parental righteousness in which he hides from himself the true perception of his boasting and lying. Thus the ego is protected from indictment. We might say that there has been a quick identification with the attitudes of parents towards lying, etc., but the formula has been taken over only by the super-ego. The ego itself has not experienced and accepted these standards; they are merely taken as a means for maintaining a libidinal flow from the parents. By refusing to perceive his actual continuance of the practice, the ego protects itself from any castration. His resistance to analysis takes the form of a conscious acceptance of everything, of taking over every possible indictment—but keeping it apart from the actual experiencing of the ego. In other words, the primary narcissism is preserved; rationalized attitudes about behaviour draw fuel

for the secondary narcissism, but the ego absorbs no part of the identification for its further development. The problem of analysis still seems to be to break down in some way the primary narcissism, so that the ego may see itself in its relation to reality.

Starting again from the feelings of loneliness, the attempt was made to get him to fantasy various emotional experiences of childhood (not unlike Ferenczi's directed fantasy method). While this brought a certain degree of affect and occasionally a connection with more recent experiences, there was still an impersonal element which seemed to protect the ego from any real meeting of the problem. It was only when actual experiences were remembered that Jack gave the impression of allowing the ego to feel the indictment, with the possibility that some change might take place. Even then a special technique on the part of the analyst was necessary before the material could be produced. We quote from a typical session:

The analyst recalls a recent incident when Jack resisted suggestions that he take a bath. (He had grumbled and lost his temper, but had finally submitted. The analyst asks directly, "Why was this so?") "Well, I just didn't want to have people tell me what to do—I know what to do, and can do it. When I'm home my mother doesn't know how many baths I take—she doesn't care." (It is evident he is hardening into his shell. The analyst says: "I don't think boys like to take baths, anyway; I used to like to get dirty myself when I was a boy. Did you ever feel that way?" The boy looks up rather shyly, as if suspicious of a possible indictment; then reluctantly goes on.) "Yes, I don't like to be bothered—that's the way it was when I was home; I'd be doing something, and then mother would say she wanted me to do something for her, and I'd say, 'Just a minute,' and then she'd say, 'No, come right now.' Then I'd get mad and sass her back—didn't want to leave what I was doing. Then she got mad at me because I sassed her. Then she'd come and get me and punish me by locking me in my room, and then I'd cry and holler, kick and knock the door down."

("No; you didn't really knock down the door, did you? How could you knock down the door?" Jack becomes alert, his face brightens, a mischievous smile plays over his lips.) "Sure, I kicked it down—kicked the panel right out. The door was thin there and I kicked it right out." ("You don't mean it!") "Sure I did, and I used to break windows, too—

slam doors, break anything I could get my hands on, I was so mad—sure I did—you don't believe me, eh?" ("Yes, I guess you did; but how did you ever do it?") "Why, I was just mad, and I kicked and kicked until I kicked a hole in the door." (The analyst again shows surprise, and wonders why he did that. The boy's arrogant manner disappears and he looks just a little hurt.) "Because I was mad, of course." ("I wonder what your mother did?") "Well" (hesitantly), "she got mad, too; she put me in another room; told me if I didn't keep still she'd make me go to bed and stay all day. I cried some more, hollered and screamed, and finally she came in and began talking, and then I seemed to calm down." (Now his tone is again hurt, as the analyst wonders why boys get mad like that.) "I don't know—they want their own way, I guess—don't know any better." (He is asked whether his mother ever gets cross with him.) "Yes, when I lie she has punished me; so has Daddy, for the same reason."

There is a complete amnesia for any specific episodes. Whenever the analyst presses the point, the boy becomes restless, kicks at the door-knob nearby, rubs his shoes together, pats his forehead, and finally puts both hands under his buttocks. He asks if he can go to the toilet. When the analyst suggests waiting, he says he cannot wait—frowns, looks away. The analyst does not doubt him, but asks him to continue picturing a boy facing his mother after telling a lie.

"Well, the boy comes into the room. The mother asks him where he's been. The boy says he has been visiting a friend's house. The mother looks at him, tells him there is something in his eyes that tells her he is lying. The boy says he isn't. She insists, and demands the truth; tells him he will be punished if he doesn't tell the truth. Then the boy says he has been to the movies. The mother asks why he hadn't told the truth in the first place. The boy is mad now: 'Because I didn't feel like it.' Mother says, 'Just for that, you won't go to the movies for two weeks.' 'Oh, is that so?' The mother says, 'Don't talk to me that way—you go to your room.' The boy says, 'Oh, go *to*, and stay put,' and he walks out of the house. He walks about the yard—feels he hasn't acted nice to his mother—wishes she would forgive him. He wants to tell her he is sorry, but is bashful about it." (Here he repeats his request to go to the toilet, but is requested to finish the fantasy.) "Well" (note the change to the first person), "finally

I go in the house slowly. I tell mother I'm sorry for what I have said. I realize it's low talk—ask her to forgive me. She says, 'All right,' and puts her arm around me. I feel better, and go out feeling I have done the right thing."

On being asked why a boy should get angry at the mother he loves so dearly, Jack is silent, restless. He says presently: "Well, he doesn't know any better. I don't know why he is that way. I know he wants to be near her—don't know why he should be mean to her."

REACTION TO FRUSTRATIONS

We note that these scenes of violence are characteristically opened by some form of interference with the boy's system. It is as if the primary narcissism allowed a certain adaptation to the world, as long as some degree of omnipotence was maintained. But to be forced to renounce a part of his authority, to submit to an outside influence, seems to bring with it a rush of protest and rebellion. Destructive impulses are discharged against the outer world, apparently in an attempt to restore his power and to punish the castrating object. It is worthy of comment that here would be a start, perhaps, towards mastering the environment. If the ego, once out of its protective shell, could charge against the outer world in an aggressive determination to conquer it, there might be the possibility later of a compromise with reality. The destructive impulses might be tamed into attitudes of forceful striving. Instead, the object-cathexis is too weak, and Jack seems to check his rebelliousness in order to regain the clinging attachment to mother. The super-ego wins out and restrains the ego from further experiencing; he slips into an outward acceptance as the best defence against a possible wounding. (Compare with his attitude towards analysis.) When a similar interference with his system takes place again, however, the violent protests are repeatedly brought to the surface. This fact leads us to believe that his seeming acceptance, at the time, was without actual belief on the part of the ego. In other words, he makes a hasty identification with parental attitudes without really absorbing the substance within his own pattern. The super-ego holds such attitudes as "It's a bad habit; you should break yourself of it." The ego, on the other hand, strives to protect itself by falsifying reality, by denying that it allows boasting

and bragging, or that it any longer continues the practices which the super-ego has condemned.

As we have seen, this is the basis of Jack's resistance to analysis (after the primary narcissism has given way enough for him to talk at all). In the material quoted, the analyst was supporting the ego and reducing the super-ego by indicating that he himself had had feelings contrary to what parents expect. Furthermore, by expressing doubt, surprise and wonderment he shelters the boy's ego under the possibility of a narcissistic triumph. The ego may be lured from its protective shell if the libidinal return (secondary narcissism) promises to be satisfying to it. In this way, what starts out merely as an experience of boys in general, eventually is assumed by the ego as having some relation to himself. We note the unconscious shift from "he" to "I" as an indication that his generalization has become more personal. Yet, as soon as the analyst asks questions which may be indicting, the resistance stiffens. Apparently there must be continued libido-giving before the ego can feel assured sufficiently to venture towards real analysis.

Having this in mind when Jack was present at a family conference, the analyst kept pointing out some of the things the boy was doing very well, and he spoke encouragingly of future possibilities. He made no attempt to criticize Jack, and was ready to take his side if the family criticized the boy too sharply. Following this visit, Jack's manner was noticeably more free, and he gave evidence of becoming more strongly attached to the analyst. In the analytic sessions he was more talkative, and before long he offered the following material, without suggestion:

"People say I do everything wrong. I feel I'm different from other boys. I stand around with my hands in my pockets and listen to what older people are talking about. I know that's not right." (His head is downcast.) "If someone asks me a question that I don't want to answer, or if I want to tell something I have in my mind, I pay no attention to what they say; go right on and talk about what I want to say. I have always been inquisitive as long as I can remember. I want to be noticed." (Said with much hesitation and in a very low tone.) "I know I boast, too; I like to think that everything about me and my people is the best. I talk about things that other boys are not interested in at all; lectures, for instance.

Boys don't seem to be interested in lectures the way I am. I'm so restless, too." (His legs have been moving up and down the wall. Frequently he tucks both hands under his buttocks. Now he stops talking, has a hurt expression, and tears begin to come to his eyes. The analyst quietly asks what is wrong.) "I don't know, but I guess it's because something in me wants to be the whole thing all the time. I get awful mad if anyone disputes me. I feel like telling them to shut up and stay put, but that don't do any good. . . ."

Under a strengthened narcissistic transference he was able to recognize some of the tendencies which had made his contacts with people unhappy. It will be noted that as long as the ego is receiving libido in the form of supporting encouragement from the analyst, the boy can partially face his problems. There would seem to be some tendency to leave it at that point, to accept the approval of the analyst, but to carry the investigation no further. Yet the analyst is also on the side of the super-ego in so far as it urges a continued attempt to understand the boy's difficulties better. Thus, under assurances of a friendly reception, the ego seems to come out of its fortress. Jack is induced to tell more about his ways of getting along with people.

"Well, I'm more interested in grown-up things than other boys. I act more like a grown-up. Children don't act that way." (Annoyed tone.) "I like to visit historical places because I like history and geography and want to find out about things." ("I wonder what most boys are interested in?") "Well" (he stammers, hesitates), "they play games." ("How would they act if another boy did not join their games, but talked on more adult subjects?") "Well, they might not like it—would say he was stuck-up—would not want him to play with them; he'd feel hurt—would go off and get new friends—join another bunch. That's what I would do. I had several friends; if I didn't like one, I could go to another." (Long pause.) ("Just why did you go from one group to the other?") (Another wait; he is restless, his arms and legs moving, kicking the door-knob, etc.; now his voice is shaky.) "Well, they didn't like what I was interested in." (Hurt tone, as if on the verge of tears.) "They called me names, made fun of me. I got mad inside—said things to them—told them what I thought of them." ("I wonder why the boys act that way towards you?") "Well, because they're not interested in what I am."

("How long do you remember being like this?") "Oh, not so very long—before that, I remember I never liked to go far from our house—used to like to be near mother, to play in the house, do things for her, set the table and things like that. I was always very noisy, too. I remember mother used to ask me to stop. I used to keep it up after she asked me; thought no one had the right to stop me. It reminds me of how I act now when other people are talking. I butt in and want to talk about something different—I want to be noticed, I guess. Now I want to get better; I don't mean to act that way, and I'm not as bad as I was. I never would listen to anyone who pointed out my mistakes—would think it was none of their business; but I'm not that way like I used to be. . . ."

WEAK EGO

Nevertheless, one gains the impression that herein lies much of the basis for his social difficulties. He clings strongly to the mother-identification, and in breaking away he must quickly find a substitute. Adult (parental) interests provide a means for continuing the identification and for winning added libido from the outside. The ego appears to be too weak to engage in an independent experiencing and testing of reality. The secondary narcissism must be continually fed, to provide support and comfort. Boys of his own age cannot give this; in fact, their attitudes are definitely aloof and castrating. For narcissistic power, therefore, he must hold fast to adults or adult subjects. Yet, as we have noted, the identifications are not absorbed. They are used either to strengthen his self-sufficient omnipotence (primary narcissism) or to increase the inflow of libido from the outer world. The fact that as soon as an object (mother, teachers, etc.) interferes with his system Jack rebels and withdraws leads one to surmise that the primary narcissism (his divine "right," etc.) holds the major portion of libido. Perhaps his chief concern is to maintain his all-embracing magic power; yet apparently something has been detached from this to enable him to make narcissistic attachments in the external world. It is of interest to note what seems to happen as he breaks away from his self-sufficient aloofness.

"My fears come from strange things—little things nobody else notices. Lightning makes me dizzy; it may strike the house; kill me. When in swimming I fear something will get me, a fear all the way from a jellyfish sting to being eaten by

sharks; fear of cows, bulls, dogs; fear of electricity, electric wires—I have heard of so many people being killed that way. Fear of crossing streets—of getting lost.” (Being with the mother is now seen to provide relief for such feelings of panic.) “I like to know everything. I have always been around grown-up people, but I know I have always been butting into other people’s business and minding their business more than my own. Most boys don’t care about other people’s business. I am different from other boys in that respect. My relatives and friends mean a lot to me, and I mean a lot to them. I know most boys don’t act that way—I ought not to care, but I do. I am very inquisitive. It seems to be a part of me, but then there is a part of me that wants to be with younger people too. I guess the boys who don’t mind other people’s business have other things to do—they are not interested in older people like I am. I know I should be interested in things more of my own age. If a car comes here, I have to run to see who is in it, find out what they want before anyone else knows. If a telephone rings and somebody is answering, I like to listen to hear what it is all about. Those things look queer to other people. They must say, ‘I wonder why he does that?’” (The analyst wonders why he should. Jack becomes restless, timidly goes on.) “Well, I suppose it’s because he likes to be with them; he feels more at ease when with big people; feels safe, secure; nothing can harm him. He knows they will not let anything happen to him; feels happy when he’s with them—like being with father and mother when on a trip—like when I told you about the boy always wanting to be with his mother, never wanting her to get out of his sight. It’s just like the boy I told you about who drops everything and runs to meet his mother. He seems to want to ask her a million questions so he’ll know everything she did.”

Such material suggests that as soon as libido is freed from the primary narcissism it must be quickly used for attachments which will protect against castration in the outer world. The mother would appear to be the first object for such an attachment, and adults in general supply a later continuance of the same relationship. So weak is the ego, apparently, that little libido can be spared for objective interests (minding his own business, etc.); it all must go mainly to fuel the primary and secondary narcissism. Perhaps the following can indicate how these relationships are used:

After telling of his desire to be close to the teachers who seemed to be motherly towards him Jack added, "My minister has given me such comfort—he has carried me through many sad moments. When I have been troubled at different times I have gone to him for comfort." (He is asked to give instances.) "Well, when I asked about things in his sermon that I did not understand, he'd explain. I just—well, I can't remember—it's just being with him. He's such an interesting man, and he knows what I am interested in and we work together. I help him wind up moving picture reels, number lantern slides, put the names on the cases. When I'm with him I feel safer than when I'm with anyone else. He'll take good care of me—I won't get lost. I can see that I'm trying to keep with people who will make me feel happy and comfortable—something in me that makes me want to do that. . . ."

Thus Jack's ego is allowed little independent experiencing. It is seemingly impelled towards identifications from which there is libidinal return, but rarely an absorption of the object within his own self. The inference is that the ego does not grow and develop from these identifications, but uses them as a means for maintaining the *status quo*. Rather than aggressive, ingestive relationships, they seem to be ones to protect him from the anxiety of an independent existence. Other material has indicated that he has avoided participating in activities with boys of his own age, for this would require a degree of objectivity which his ego fears to experience. We can understand that his freed libido continually goes into narcissistic identifications, and thus is returned to the ego many times over.

Another disposition of the libido is suggested by the following material:

"When I was little, I was always with my mother—used to follow her about wherever she went, and she always took me out whenever she went to the store. She took me in the go-cart, or for a walk—lots of fun—I was very restless—always on the move, couldn't sit still in one place a minute. My knees kept rubbing together—probably didn't know I was doing it; even if my mother was wheeling me in the go-cart, I'd move too, bobbing up and down, rubbing from side to side. I always seemed to be moving. That's the way I am today. I feel restless inside—I don't know I'm moving while I'm doing it, but after I stop it and get thinking, I feel I've been doing some-

thing I shouldn't do, especially like having my hands in my pockets." ("Were there times when you didn't move, as a little boy?") "Yes, if mother was holding me on her lap, then I didn't seem to have to move at all. I liked to sit there; it was comfortable, and I liked to be with her."

It seems probable that at the present time there is need for this autoerotic substitute for the mother's protective envelopment. Libidinal concern with muscular erotism (restlessness), as well as the "holding on to himself," noted in many analytic sessions, would seem to be part of the protection against anxiety. His interest at such times is observed to be either the penis or rounded portions of his own body (buttocks, etc.), which might readily symbolize the mother's breast. Thus again he may be said to be using the libido for protective purposes at the level of the early narcissistic attachment to the mother.

CASTRATION ANXIETY

In general, Jack's conduct disorder might be understood on the basis of a protest and retreat away from an outer world which threatens to castrate him from his protections. Our tentative formulation would be that some of the primary narcissism has been loosened, but that it still weighed heavily in his relationships with the outer world, demanding a toll of increased omnipotence from each emotional contact. Yet the ego had needed identifications, and there has evidently been some capacity for making them. The difficulty has appeared to come in absorbing these identifications. The tendency is for Jack to keep them as separate parts of himself, from which the weak ego may receive a constant flow of love. The libido goes to fuel the secondary narcissism rather than to be protected objectively in testing reality. When the external world requires an independence or when objective interest is demanded, however, there is resistance against giving up his system. The destructive impulses are directed into anti-social rebellions, followed by a retreat within the primary narcissism.

As we have seen, the aim of analysis has been to win over some of the libido from the primary narcissism to engage in wider emotional contacts with the outer world. Chiefly, however, its function has been to allow the ego to gain strength by recognizing and meeting its difficulties with the environment. When the usual narcissistic defences were penetrated,

Jack's characteristic reaction was one of sadness and lonesomeness, frequently accompanied by crying spells and a retreat into hardness or aloofness. If, with the analyst's support, he could meet such situations squarely, it is evident the ego would grow by the experience. Eventually it might be possible that less libido would be needed for the secondary narcissism; more might be allowed to overflow into objective relationships. Moreover, from experiencing and from reprojection of the libido from his narcissistic attachments, Jack might be able to absorb his identifications. All of this might result in a stronger, more aggressive adaptation to his environment, by means of which the destructive impulses would again be directed to a mastery of the outer world. It might then be hoped that his mental arrest would entail less impounding of libido, that a greater objectivity would result in the ego's finding socially acceptable pathways in which it could make use of the potentialities at its disposal. In other words, it might be possible for Jack to use that degree of mental efficiency of which he is capable to the attainment of a happy adjustment in reality.

OUTCOME

It is of interest to consider what effects the analysis seemed to have on this boy. First, he began to show real interest in weaving and basketry work, where he showed considerable skill. The praise and reward for his work was an important narcissistic factor, but it was felt that a greater degree of objective effort went into his occupation at the same time. Later he took up his regular school-work again, and, although he was unable to handle the mental requirements of his age, he at least was observed to get along more happily in the social group. His interests turned a little more towards those natural for his age, and less to adult interests which might serve to hide a clinging dependence. He found more friends among those of his own age, and it was noted that there was some decrease in his tendency to hang around grown-ups. In general, it seemed as if there were more stability to the ego.

Yet, as Jack said: "I still have a quivering in my voice when certain things come up—it means that there is still a particle of lonesomeness which is a part of the part of me that doesn't want to grow up—still wants to hang on to mother."

I think I have been attached to older people because I haven't had any boy friends. I like older people because they give me more privileges than those of my own age would." In other words, in spite of an increased insight and ability to meet situations, the ego is still weak and still longs for attachments which would provide "privileges" in the way of protection and support.

Since leaving analysis, Jack has returned home to complete his education in a technical school. Here, of course, the training is more concrete than in a public school, but even in abstract subjects he has maintained a passing grade and expects to graduate at the end of the year. He is reported to have a much steadier interest in his work and to show greater capacity for sound progress. Nevertheless, on the basis of what his analysis showed, we should have said that both public school and the technical training contain elements better avoided in his case. In high school, we should judge that too great a demand would be made upon his ability to absorb abstract knowledge, and that, becoming painfully aware of his inferior standing, he would elaborate his narcissistic projections and anti-social conduct. Apparently, however, his teachers were able to support him in kindly fashion and help him to do the best he could. Their careful attention and assurance evidently compensated for the fact that he could not attain the mental level of his companions. With this modified form of adult protection he could better adapt himself socially to those of his own age, and no doubt his analysis helped him in this. Yet it would seem sounder, for consistent progress, if Jack compensated for his inability to handle certain mental requirements, not by receiving more protective love, but by developing to advanced stages in the fields where he could actually hold his own. The secondary narcissism could be brought into a closer adaptation to reality if libidinal rewards came from definite attainments rather than as a sheltering from the wound of an only partial success. In other words, a technical course along lines for which he showed some ability would appear to be a better programme.

But in spite of his real ability to absorb this specialized training, the boy would still have the problem of adjusting to personal relationships in the process of learning. In technical school he is reported to have had several difficulties with the disciplinary attitude of teachers. His characteristic rebellious

bombast arose and threatened to involve him again in the vicious circle of his narcissism. Apparently, however, his analytic experience has been of some service, for the disagreeable situation was not carried as far as formerly. He sought a compromise, and was able to show his willingness to cooperate satisfactorily. Yet these refractory episodes continually arise, and must eventually cripple his ability to sustain an object-cathexis and gain useful results from his training.

It would seem more advisable to give him an education for some special occupation, but to make this training strictly individual and adapted to his special needs. A masculine teacher whose kindness was of a motherly nature might serve to protect the ego sufficiently while encouraging real effort. If the occupational work were something he could do alone, then once he acquired skill he could be happy in a little business of his own. His production would offer libidinal discharge, and would compensate emotionally for his lack of ability in other directions. Socially he could meet his friends with a feeling of equality, and would be less likely to project his difficulties into relationship with them. Moreover, if occasional conduct-problems did arise to wound him, he would always be able to turn to his work and find there the stability or comfort of his real worth.

As we have seen, Jack's tendency is to build up a superlative ego-ideal, and, by acting as if he had attained it, derive great narcissistic gratification. Inevitably, real life must constantly explode this bubble and bring new wounds, necessitating further bitter withdrawals. For this reason, the more his teachers or advisers can gently reduce the scope of his ambitions, the more sound will be his adjustments. By repeatedly pointing to the value of what he can actually accomplish, his friends may give libido to his real ego, and thus do away with much of the necessity for a magic element in his narcissism. It is true that a rather large share of the insight he acquired from analysis still goes to heighten the ego-ideal. His inclination is to use the analytic relationship in a way similar to his past identifications, in that he ingests the libidinal values without fully experiencing and absorbing the content within his own pattern. Yet some change has apparently taken place, to allow the increased objectivity which he has shown. There is the possibility that further emotional develop-

ment may gradually take place as the ego begins to require less protection for its fear. At least, with the new-found ability to modify his narcissism by some object-cathexis and with the help of the special conditions we have outlined there appears to be strong likelihood that this boy can lead a happy, serviceable life.

PART FOUR

SECONDARY AMENTIA

I

As is generally recognized, there are many instances where mental arrest can be attributed to an actual organic injury. Since the condition is then dependent upon some fairly definite lesion or disease, it is called secondary amentia. In the study of Jimmy we have seen that a probable meningitic lesion, sustained soon after birth, has much to do with his state of mental arrest. Yet the clinical picture of Ralph was not entirely dissimilar, although no such lesion could be postulated. His fixation arrest would lead one to suppose that if any organic injury was present it must have been some sort of intra-uterine lesion or infection, or an hereditary defect. Obviously, it will often be difficult to distinguish between primary and secondary amentia, for in practice the dividing-line may not be as clear-cut as many theoretical conceptions would have it.

Authorities (Tredgold) freely admit that in secondary feeble-mindedness the physical and organic pathology frequently may not be prominent or even discoverable. Conversely, there are innumerable instances of traumatic injury or inflammatory processes similar to those found in secondary amentia, but presenting no mental defect nor any abnormality whatsoever. This would lead one to infer that, even in cases where a lesion is evident, there must be some other factor making the amentia mandatory. It is our belief that this directly causative factor lies within the individual make-up, to be explained on the basis of ego-structure and the disposition of instinctual energy. We do not maintain that the amentia would necessarily have occurred without the organic injury; but that, given a certain character-formation, the individual reacts to a traumatic experience by various defensive and protective mechanisms, one of which is the failure to ingest parts of reality.

The distinction between primary and secondary amentia is still valid under this conception, but is possibly not as marked.

Indeed, the problem becomes somewhat analogous to the question of how much the environment contributes to the cause of a neurosis. There are those who, perhaps, would have had no neurosis if the outer world had not been unusually stressful; yet with a stronger ego, a more stable character-formation, these same individuals might have adjusted successfully to the traumatic conditions. Similarly, we might say of mental arrest that the fundamental basis is to be found in the innate capacities and their development; but that some people receive more damaging blows from reality, such as would be the case in certain organic injuries. Where purely the former is involved, we should designate it primary amentia; where a definite, wounding trauma or disease or lesion contributes to the arrest, we may mark it secondary amentia.

EPILEPSY AND AMENTIA

Can epilepsy be regarded as an organic injury or disorganizing disease which would induce mental arrest? One may not say positively. We have already studied Winnie and Ned, whose amentia was complicated by the presence of epileptic attacks; but there we felt that the epilepsy was parallel with the mental arrest, rather than directly contributive. Nevertheless, there are cases where mental development proceeded normally until epileptic seizures began to occur. At the same time, many such persons show mental symptoms of a deteriorative sort which are hard to distinguish from those more precisely non-developmental in character.

It is usually held that in a mentally normal child, afflicted in earliest years with frequent and severe seizures, it is highly probable that some degree of mental enfeeblement will develop. It is even more definitely postulated that mental deterioration will supervene. The evidence here is stronger for the latter outcome than the former. Many cases are on record, however, where no mental defect or deterioration occurred, in spite of complete hemiplegia and persistent epileptic seizures which ended fatally in status epilepticus.

It seems quite possible that there would be cases where the discharge of instinctual energy into symptoms (epilepsy) would so impoverish the general economy that mental capacity would suffer through lack of impulsive drive towards identifications and their absorption. Apparently we come again to

the necessity of studying in detail an individual personality. In the following case we shall be able to picture an instance where the release of energy into a disease-process seems to have preceded the actual mental retardation. We may call attention to the fact that some deterioration is in evidence, as well as certain inhibitions of development. Which of these is the more definite is left as an open question.

ANNA

Anna is a girl of seventeen who has had epileptic attacks of the grand mal type since she was one year old. Following the first convulsion she had no further trouble of this sort for over two years. At this point, however, petit mal seizures, characterized by a slight difficulty in speech and short lapses of consciousness, began to occur. These became progressively more frequent and more severe, until in recent years there has been an average of one or two attacks daily—usually a rather heavy type of petit mal, but frequently a grand mal. As far as observations could determine, in early years she was of average mental capacity, although there was some disinclination to apply herself. She was reported to have been "comfortable" around the house, had no tantrums, but showed a stubborn disposition. She was said to be fond of romping and playing actively, especially with the boys. Gradually, however, she gave the impression of a decline in mental growth, and recent tests have established her mental age as eight years and five months. Before offering what seem to be the psychological factors in her symptomatic and mental difficulties let us try to visualize her objectively as she lives today.

A little girl stands aloof in the room, swinging her arms petulantly at her side as she stares gloomily at her feet. Her "littleness" is not in reference to age nor, particularly, to size; but chiefly is one of manner and posture. She is aware of our presence, but she will not raise her eyes. Her restless movements continue with a sort of rhythmic impatience as if to ask in resignation: How long must this keep up? How long must things be this way? How long do I have to stand it? . . .

"Hello, you damn fool!" The arms quicken their surly swing. The voice is gruffly muffled, with the hint of a whining sadness. Downcast eyes would seem to say, "You must look

at me—you must try to enter into my thoughts and give me what I want.” There does not seem to be strength enough to raise those eyes in pleading. Their discontented dullness must be a dumb signal. Her whole face sags in its refusal to be alive.

“ Hello, you big damn stupid !”

No one can understand. The whole world is a blundering, ignorant mass. With supreme effort, as though throwing every last bit of energy into one final attempt, Anna wails her questions. She pushes out the words in sing-song fashion and as if trying to reveal as many problems as possible before drawing her next breath: “ Why does Anna sleep late ? Why does she miss her eats ? Why can’t she get over to breakfast on time ? And why can’t that dirty Miss Charge let her have her eats anyways even if she is late once in a while and can’t help it ? And why does a little pill stop those big spells ? And why does Anna have to have spells anyway—why don’t they go away and never come home again ? . . .”

She listens to the friendly attempts at explanation. “ But how can that pill do any good ? Why does she miss her eats ? Why——?” Her questions drown the laboured attempt to straighten things out. She is not listening; she does not want to hear of any monotonous chain of facts. That “ why ” of hers is not one of asking and finding out ; it is for pitiful, fretful protest that the world should be so complicated, so disappointing. “ Damn stupids !”

Anna walks along the path towards the cottage. With bowed head and reluctant feet she trudges flatly, as if unwilling to expend the effort, even as she moves steadily on. She reaches the door. There is a scarcely perceptible pause, a vague waiting for some magic force to open the barrier. Perhaps she is sighing, “ I suppose I must,” as she pushes out her hand in a tentative gesture. Within herself she must stir up the strength to open that door. A surly jab seems to be all she can afford. Expectantly she watches, as if for something big to happen. Standing back, she holds her eyes mournfully lowered, wistfully, sadly waiting; listening, hoping. But no; it all must be from her own effort. No one understands ! Big damn stupids !

Is this girl ever happy ? Watch her some evening as she comes into the living-room. There is no evidence of joy in her expression, no smile, no sparkle in her eyes. Yet there is a purposefulness in her manner as she carries her little suitcase

to the corner. A tall courtly old gentleman immediately approaches her, with a kindliness that is almost respectful and deferential. With a smiling bow he asks hesitantly, "Can I get your card-table for you, Anna?"

She does not look at him, but pauses for a moment, looking sadly at the floor. There comes a muffled answer, a mixture of an unhappy sigh and a pitiful question: "Yes?" As he scampers quickly to do her bidding, Anna stands motionless, downcast. He bends stiffly to open the table-legs, puffs a little in his exertion, carefully fixes things just right. In doing so he passes near where Anna is standing. Her back is turned, but she seems to sense his passing. With a quick lunge backward with her hand she catches his arm. Still turned away from him, she squeezes him gratefully. "Dear Stan."

"Shall I bring your bag over for you, Anna?"

The girl is still gazing gloomily at her feet, her face almost buried in her dress. She might be on the verge of tears, but trying bravely to swallow her grief. "Why are you so nice to me?"

He pats her hand, choking with courtly sentiment. "Why Anna, I love to do things for you."

Now it is as if a ceremony had been performed. They both settle down to the table before them. Anna opens the suitcase. It is full of assorted packs of cards. Some are tiny, hardly big enough to see clearly; some are huge, to be used when she plays on the floor. Others vary in sizes and patterns. All are loaded into the case, to be carried with her everywhere she can possibly take them. None is old enough to throw away; none so new but that room can be found for it in the crowded case. One of her rare smiles breaks out unawares, whenever someone gives her a new or unusual pack. The cards are her only friends; they are to be held closely and never relinquished. They are hers for ever.

She pauses a moment, looking proudly at her numerous brood. On which will she bestow her regal choice? The brown ones are worn and a little wrinkled, but they are old favourites, good old friends! They feel warm and delightfully familiar to her hand. Let this be an evening of assured comfort, with a companion of long standing!

Deftly she lays out the cards for solitaire. Stanley sits quietly at her side, comfortable, smoking his pipe. He is her audience, watching in silent sympathy. He smiles at her

when the card she needs happens to turn up. Quickly she makes the required moves. He will applaud her skill. Like the prompter at a play, he speaks only when she needs help.

"Put your seven on the eight."

Then he sinks back magically into his rôle of admiring spectator. She is succeeding! The game will work out! Just as an audience often knows what the finale of a play will be, Stanley knows; yet he watches carefully the complete working out. Faster and faster Anna lays out the cards—it is as if music were rising in a powerful crescendo towards the climax! Card after card is piled up—ten on the nine, Jack on the ten, Queen on the Jack. Faster and faster come the movements, more positive, more relentless, final, until now the last card is played—Success! There is a dramatic pause as they both settle back to survey the result. Stanley is glowing happily, relaxed from his rising tension. Anna sits stiffly erect in her chair, glum, non-committal. Staring straight down at the cards before her, she seems to be waiting, listening.

"I think you did very well, Anna."

In silence the girl makes a gesture of head and body, as if to say "Hmph" deprecatingly. The gallant old man bends forward eagerly: "I should think you'd be very proud of yourself." The beginning of a wry smile plays on Anna's lips, but she hangs her head pitifully. It is as if she had expected more! Anxiously her companion looks at her, hesitant, timid.

"Shall I shuffle them for you again, Anna?"

He stretches his hand out on to the cards. Quickly his little friend clutches him, violently—but now with a softer tenderness. Her smile is sad and wistful. It is as if she felt Stanley did not understand either, but she is willing to forgive him. He is very attentive and nice and thoughtful. He is the best one of all!

There are times when Anna smiles. A new pack of cards, a morning in the sand-pile, or a gift of money would bring it about. It comes as if unexpected, as if Anna felt good inside but hadn't intended to smile. Slowly, haltingly reluctant, it breaks upon her—forcing itself out. Sometimes she just cannot help it; a little laugh bubbles over. If she could only keep all her happiness to herself! But sometimes there is so much of it, she cannot hold it—it leaks out.

Mournfully, but in an awed tone, she says: "Gee, Anna is happy today!" It is as though she were able to pick up some

of the joy she dropped when her happiness overflowed; the rest will be paid back to her in congratulations !

Otherwise she presents herself as an aloof, silent figure in the group. She is on hand, frequently gaining some hidden pleasure of her own, but rarely speaking, rarely taking part. The children play together near the sand-pile. They fantasy and pretend, and act thrilling dramas together. Anna is with them, but sits quietly in the sand-pile, enjoying her own fantasies and finding her happiness alone. In the living-room, with every kind of group amusement going on, Anna has her cards and Stanley ! She has little to say to anyone. Never does she engage in ordinary chatting or conversation merely for its pleasantness. Always there seems to be some definite purpose to her speech: to suck from her surroundings all the happiness it can give, or to hold mightily to what she has.

SADISTIC ATTACKS

Anna strikes out in pure viciousness. There is no apparent provocation. Seemingly one of the little boys wandered too close to her position in the sand. Perhaps, in the playing of his game, his very unawareness of her presence and her "rights" reminded her of the coldness of the whole world. The big damn stupids ! She kicks out violently; she beats at him viciously, monotonously. Mechanically relentless, she slaps and pokes and beats and kicks again. She does not seem to want to overcome this enemy, but merely to belabour him and cast him from her for ever. In sullen silence she seems to view her destruction. That's what they have coming to them !

Confined to her room, she stands on watch at her window, defiant and snarling. To every passer-by she shrieks fiercely: "Damn you ! Go to Hell ! I hate you ! Damned fool ! Damn stupid !" Occasionally her tone carries the vengeful bitterness these words imply. Often it is the shrillness of her voice which would slash out at the environment. Always there is the blasting protest against everyone. She will disturb them and make every possible bit of trouble for them ! Damn them !

But what can she do, all alone ? More and more Anna's tone becomes plaintive and pitiful. Why must she stay here ? She is only a poor, helpless little girl, at the mercy of the big world. She cannot help herself—or anything ! Sadly she murmurs from under downcast head: "Anna didn't mean to

be so bad—she is so selfish. Anna is so stupid and all—please forgive her.”

In spite of forgiveness, she wanders dolefully about. Tears in her eyes, she stumbles pitifully into the office where her money is kept for her. If only she can handle the coins, feel them falling through her fingers like the delightful sand she plays with! If she can just count her hoard over and over again! She sighs deeply, with a forlorn resignation. Well, there *is* some consolation in this world of sorrow and dejection.

“Please may I see my money again some time? Is it bad for Anna to want it and bother you? Anna wants to be nice. Would it be wrong if I just counted my money—once in a while?”

Early analytic sessions offered her the opportunity to fantasy the usual emotional experiences of the child, and she seemed to enjoy picturing the baby's tender relationships with the mother, the nursing, and the anal-urinary pleasures. Here it was noted that no super-ego restriction could be placed on the enjoyment at these levels, for the material was not only fantasied, but also dealt with the child at an age when such pleasures were usual and justifiable. Later, when the analyst no longer directed, but let her talk of anything she wished, her immediate suggestion was “Babies.” The following material was characteristic:

“I think the baby loves to be nursed, don't you? 'Cause it tastes so nice to the baby—the baby gets so hungry now and then—she loves it—so soft and all, on the red spots of the breast. Mother loves to be nice and kind and all to her little baby—holds her in her arms and rocks her—rocks her back and forth in her arms—rocks her to sleep and all. She likes the soft red spots on mother's breast—any kind of soft thing in any way—something soft in her hands, like a little rubber ball or something—or a soft little mitten, or a little handkerchief. . . . Right now the baby is in mother's arms, nursing—care-free—asleep—fond or nursing—mother loves her—and she always feels happy when with mother—cries for its mother—nursing mother again—pinches mother when nursing—mother looks at the baby but has to stand it. Loves that soft feeling on the mother's breast. Every time it cries mother comforts her—baby sucking hard—bites sometimes—mother looks like crying—but baby don't know much—has to go by feelings—sucking, and that nice, warm, soft feeling on mother's

breast—that delicate red place. Mother would just suck there on the breast—mother would suck her.” (Here Anna begins to laugh. She is asked why.) “I just said ‘Mother is sucking there,’ and I meant ‘Baby is sucking there.’”

This slip of the tongue suggests that Anna was unconsciously experiencing an identification between the mother and the child; that in her feelings there is a oneness between the two in the nursing relationship. It suggests that the biting of the mother's breast, a detail which Anna herself created in the fantasies, has for its unconscious aim the ingestion of the mother, so that the two actually would be one. Later, actual memories seem to symbolize this same desire to have the mother for her very own, to possess her as a part of herself which will give her the constant love and gratification she craves.

“The little girl tries to get mother to stay home with her little girl—tells mother how she can explain to the office—wants mother at home—mother tired when she gets back—tries to rest and read a little story to the girl. Now she tells the little girl to let her rest—the little girl is annoyed—why can't she stay at home and take good care of her child? Asks mother out loud for once. Mother explains it. The little girl is pouty—mad—lies down on the bed—cries—covers her head in her pillow. Mother picks her up—pets her, and cheers her up, takes her mind off the trouble and worry.” (“What does this remind you of?”) “If I have children, I want to treat them nice—have some consideration for them—give them parties, movies—take them downtown—sure it's me—that's the way I fret. . . .”

We might assume that this material is historically true, in that Anna had difficulty in adjusting to the loss of the mother as a loving, giving part of herself. Her present-day attitudes suggest that she is still striving to regain such a relationship. From Stanley, her elderly friend, she receives courtly attention, a kindly eagerness to do things for her, and an absolute deference to her every wish as he helps her with the things she enjoys. Frequently her sad, shrill cry of “Good morning, Mr. Morris,” is enough to bring him scampering downstairs from his room, instantly at her service to answer that magic gesture of need transmitted by her tone. She often refers to him as “My dear Stan,” “My Mr. Morris,” etc., as though to indicate the sole ownership of a valuable possession. In him she seems to capture the good and tender mother, as closely as reality can now supply

her. From him and from all of the environment she eagerly anticipates the reception of gifts. Christmas is to be looked forward to, months ahead of time, merely for the ecstatic joy of receiving things, of being showered by an all-giving, all-loving outer world. But every day is to be Christmas, in so far as it means that she wishes to receive the fullness of love and attention. It may be that her wistful, downcast bearing represents the reaction to a reality which fails to answer her cravings. Just as the baby in the fantasy cries and buries her head, so Anna in her daily life seems to dramatize the sad dejection of one who is not receiving as much love as she needs. In this connection we might cite some further remarks of hers regarding those early days.

"I sure did cry—just wanted mother to pet me—would have a pouty face—kick and all—wanted to kick Francis (brother)—sure did hate Francis. I wanted mother to stay with me. I always seemed to be asking mother why she loved Boy more than me. I wanted her to tell me, please to love me more than Francis. I used to think, 'I'm as good as Francis; why can't they be nice to me?' I never smiled, the time I'm telling you about—oh, maybe never once in a hundred times, because they didn't like me. So I tried hitting brother—to get him to do things for me—but he'd tell just the same. I used to think about all this when I'd go to bed, and wonder why they didn't love me."

Behind this wistful sadness we may sense the impulse to strike out violently against those who deny her, particularly against her brother. But the mother's punishment for her actions was to order Anna to do the same to her. From this the little girl drew away in horror. "I didn't want to do that to her." Perhaps the super-ego would upbraid her too severely for striking mother. Perhaps to attack mother would set loose the deep violence of her full destructive impulses; to destroy the "bad" mother might be also to lose the all-giving part of the same person. Thus the energy of the death-instincts, which hitherto had been fused with the libido in an aggressive nursing, now is denied outward discharge. Instead of a sadistic onslaught, tending to master reality, there appears an inert, pitiful masochism: "Gee, I was mad those days, but I was very selfish and wanted that settled. No, I never got it settled. It made me very unhappy, and I'm not going to do it once more 'til I die."

ORAL AND ANAL SADISM

Our inference is that the super-ego has taken over the destructive energy and directs it against the ego in repressive harshness and self-reproach. Sadism is thus turned inward (as masochism), and no longer provides the drive for a vigorous contact with reality. The libido gropes passively for a clinging narcissistic attachment, but no longer is it fused with the death-instincts for an aggressivity. It may be that in this way the downward pull of the death-instincts forces a discharge in the epileptic attack. Possibly it is of significance that these convulsions first came at that period (one year of age) where destructive impulses and libido were no longer united in the one act (ingestion of the mother). It will be important for us to try and reconstruct how the instinctive forces were distributed following the loss of the mother as a complete possession.

Our thoughts first return to the material already quoted. In spite of her evident enjoyment of the fantasies, we may note that Anna preserves a certain economy of expression in describing her pleasure. Phrases like "or something" and "and all" seem to be characteristic, and they save the expenditure of emotional energy necessary for a vivid picture. There is no full release of affect, no bubbling over with rising emotion. It is, rather, as if she were holding tight to whatever happy feelings she contains, and is unwilling to risk letting them go. We might picture her saying, "I am uncertain about receiving the bliss I crave; I won't release (or express) what little I do get." Nowadays, Anna's refusal to smile or to show any strong degree of emotion suggests that, while she draws on the environment for libido, she wishes to keep what she has, and not discharge it. The inference is that this is symbolic of the child's unwillingness to give up the *fæces*. We may find abundant data for this in Anna's analyses.

"I used to like to play in the sand. I liked the feel of it in my hands. I liked it best when it was wet—used to like to make mud-pies, too. Make balls of it and move it from one hand to the other. Gosh, how I liked to make mud-pies—shove my hand way down in the mud and feel it coming through my fingers! Gosh, I can see the black streaks now, coming up through each finger—I mean, between the fingers. When you pressed your hand on the mud-pie, it looked like pieces of

chocolate sticking through." At another time she is fantasizing: "Now the baby's diaper is being changed. . . . Well, the baby sometimes has a pain, but that goes away when the soft stuff comes out. Baby doesn't mind the soft stuff—I like to call it chocolate, although sometimes it may be a different colour; she likes the soft spots on each side—rubs around in it—nice and soft around her—mushy—rubs around on it—likes that soft feeling—probably like mother's hands rubbing on it. And she likes that little brook there when the water comes out—but she likes to have the nice, soft feeling of what is most always in Grace's diaper, as it is so nice and soft—and it looks something like chocolate candy also."

When encouraged to tell more about this her face brightens up, she becomes animated and enthusiastic as she describes actual memories of playing in the mud. When the analyst asks what this reminds her of, Anna becomes restless, uneasy, as if accused of something. Timidly she goes on. "Is it nice for me to be talking about such things? I don't want to say anything that's wrong." She is assured that she may speak freely. "I am glad you told me that. Would it be wrong if I said that playing in the mud and enjoying that nice soft feeling was like the feeling Grace had with stuff that was in her diapers?"

For months Anna enjoyed fantasizing the anal pleasures of the baby, Grace. (It is of obvious significance that this name chosen by Anna is the same as her mother's.) Frequently there would come an uneasy twinge of conscience: "Is it nice to talk about this? Why do people let it go down in the hole if it is nice, then? You don't stand and look at your fu-fu. Neither does my mother." But soon her own interest in excretions comes to the surface, and under assurance from the analyst she plunges with delight into all of her intense feeling. Joyfully she reports on her bowel movements, taking pride in their size and shape, wistfully lingering on the pleasure of studying them; keeping them happily in memory, even if actually she must finally let them go. She often asks what becomes of the "fu-fu" after the toilet is flushed. She would like to keep all of her fæces in her room, for her very own. What sorts of food will produce an abundant stool? How is it all changed from potatoes and bran to the "banana" that comes out in the toilet? These are the dominant interests of our little patient, and she dwells on them over and over again.

By herself she observes and studies the excretions of animals; in analysis she comments gleefully on the colour, size, and shape of their fæces.

NARCISSISTIC AND AUTOEROTIC PLEASURES

There can be little doubt that most of Anna's libido goes into the autoerotic and narcissistic elements of anal pleasure. In addition to this outspoken evidence, she shows the excessive hoarding and retaining so familiar in the typical anal character. Her packs of cards may be old and worn, she may joyfully accept new ones, but they all remain in her possession. One of her most highly valued objects is that suitcase piled full of cards, which she may carry with her about the place, to gaze at, to delve into, to use, or simply to enjoy owning—but never to give up. We have seen, also, the solace she gets when she can open up her box of pennies and small coins, to count them over and feel proud of the growing pile. Like fæces, these are possessions to hold on to and gloat over as they accumulate.

As a possible means for helping her to sublimate the impulses so definitely fixated at the anal level, Anna was given a pig to care for and keep as her very own. She was unable, however, to become interested any further than to watch it eat and to observe its excretions. She showed little pride in ownership, and no desire to make efforts for its comfort. Her pet was allowed to pass out of her possession, without having aroused in her any indications of a trend of objectivated interest. In a similar way she found no satisfaction in clay-modelling and allied activities. For her, the nearest approach to the fantasied joy was in playing idly in the sand and mud. There was to be no purpose—simply a dreamy rapture of pure pleasure within her own self.

While the anal fixation consumes most of her libido, there are other concerns worthy of note which were indicated by the analytic material. Bed-wetting is almost as constant a theme as stools. Often she seems to personify the process of urinating as she remarks: "It wasn't friends with me this morning. It made me miss my eats." At another time it is friendly and comforting: "I wasn't happy last night, so I wet the bed." Again, she may offer: "I had a nice dream, so I didn't wet the bed." Such dreams are usually found to have to do with anal and oral satisfaction, and it is apparent that urinary pleasures are inferior to them in Anna's estimation.

Yet it is interesting to note the following: "Francis didn't have to unbutton his pants—just had to undo them for No. 2, and I had to unbutton mine both times—that thing down there—I wondered why I wasn't the same." ("Do little girls wish they had one?") "Yes!" (very emphatically). "But for some reasons they don't—to have a hard thing like a banana—so heavy, so hard to lift it. But the thing the cow has—like two of those together—the thing with the milk—so round. . . ." When asked if girls have anything comparable to this "thing" of boys, she was puzzled for a moment: "A pencil with lead in it; a pipe—could it possibly be the menstruation?"

Here should be added that Anna's pride and interest in menstruation follows definitely the pattern of her anal gratifications. Her enjoyment centres in the mussy feeling between her legs, the stickiness, and the possibility that she can get someone to adjust the soft napkin for her. (Compare with diaper pleasures.) Thus, while she would like to be a boy and have a penis, she would not want to give up her menstruation. She likes to dress in boys' clothing, but says that she hates boys. "I wondered why I wasn't the same—wanted to be like my mother, and yet I wanted to be like Daddy, too."

This ambivalence would seem to indicate that Anna has not yet satisfactorily settled her penis-envy; that, while she would like to remain identified with the mother and keep the early autoerotic relationship, there are impulses towards an identification with the father. The latter trend, in the direction of homoerotic development, would appear to be halted by the anal satisfactions connected with femininity (menstruation). Yet it may be that all of these divergent tendencies are decided on the basis of possible anal pleasure. The penis, to her, is a banana; and "banana" is a favourite term of hers for fæces. Perhaps to have constant possession of a "banana" as part of her own body would mean to keep permanently the much valued fæces. If we wish to speculate even further, we might note that urinary pleasures have to do with the soft warmth close to her body and the powerful rush of liquid as she discharges the bladder contents. This, too, seems closely connected with anal gratifications. Yet the softness of fæces in contact with her body has been associated with the tenderness of mother's touch ("soft—like mother's hand on it"). And the penis (fæces) brings thoughts of cows' nipples, which reasonably

may be connected with the mother's breast. Thus the whole realm of Anna's libido seems to be contained in the circle of oral, urinary, and anal pleasures—with the main emphasis on the latter, but with the possibility that this only serves as a substitute for the more deeply-needed oral gratification. If she can retain the fæces (penis, nipple) and their softness close to her body (contact with the mother), she may be able thus to recapture the breast and mother's tenderness.

It is interesting to consider the association she recently gave about "the family of," an expression she uses constantly in describing her relations to the environment. "The family of—it means the thing I'm friendly with. Isn't it clear to you?" (Analyst asks her to explain.) "Everything I'm friendly with. There's mother and father and Francis and me, all of the family of Johnson. And Francis has a banana and Daddy has a banana, and mother and I have menstruation—and we all make No. 2, and urine and menstruation is the same, only menstruation is red—and then girls don't have bananas. We all can eat like each other and like good things, like bran, that makes fu-fu. I like big men because they have big bananas—and I like Stan because he helps me with my chair and table and all my cards, and helps me play solitaire—and that's how I like the family of solitaire. But I don't like things that I'm not very friendly with.

"I was out for a ride, to a place I never was before, and it all seemed unfriendly to me, and I began to feel like I wanted to spit" (vomit)—"and when I got home I was friends with the place here and Stan, and I looked at my mother's picture and I was happy again. . . . I like a whole lot of money—and when I'm unhappy I go to it and count it all over in my lap, and then I get happy again."

Obviously, much that is significant in the material repeats what we have already noted in the girl's make-up. We would especially call attention, however, to the fact that her relationship with reality is seemingly measured by her feeling that it has some degree of resemblance to oral, anal and urinary satisfactions. She has apparently remained at an early emotional level, and consequently can maintain no objectivity except in terms of what is "the family of" (in relation to, similar to) the primary functions.

The fact that her character-formation is heavily weighted with elements of retaining and hoarding leads us to believe

that she is attempting mainly to make an adjustment at the anal level. In this way she may continue the original oral values, now placed more definitely under her control. She may satisfy her autoerotic needs, to a great extent, without dependence on the outer world. Thus Anna makes few attachments, even of a narcissistic nature (mainly with Stanley); and certainly avoids any real object-cathexis. This constant inward discharge of libido would appear to have the result of an inbinding of tension. Temporary release may come from the autoerotic satisfactions, but the object is still some part of her own ego (her own erogenous zones, her own possessions, etc.), and therefore the final result would only be a return of libido to herself. This piling up of inner tension may be what makes necessary the forced discharge of instinctual energy through the process of some symptom such as the epileptic attack. It is noteworthy that after a day in which she had received many attentions and gifts she remarked: "I'm so happy; I'm all stirred up. I am almost too happy—I feel as if I am going to have an attack."

Why should she have attacks rather than some other form of symptomatic discharge? We cannot answer this, but possibly our speculations may carry us further if we consider the tendencies in that other class of instincts, the destructive impulses. According to our formulation, when the loss of the breast broke the fusion between erotic and destructive impulses, Anna's sadistic energy was taken over by the super-ego. Her pitiful sigh, "I suppose it's because I am so selfish—everyone has to grow up and be a big lady," suggests that instead of discharging her hate against the outer world, she has turned it inward against a part of her own self. That downcast look of hers, her expressive description of her fear of what people's eyes might do to her, her general appearance of being constantly belittled, all give the impression that she is unconsciously castigating her own ego. Here again the instinctual energy is not released, but remains impounded, perhaps until the epileptic attacks provide a full discharge of the death-instincts by blasting the ego into unconsciousness.

The important factor would seem to be that the erotic instincts cannot draw the energy of the death-instincts outward in a fusion of aggressive discharge. Both tend to turn inward, leaving the latter to approach their primary course of self-destructiveness, a form of release which, no doubt, drains off

with it the libidinal energy. Under such circumstances it might be understandable why Anna eventually showed a weakening of her capacity to acquire knowledge. Since the needs of the ego, in its weakness, and the disposal of instinctual energy make mandatory this symptomatic discharge, there may be little libido available for the formation of symbolic identifications. There may be little destructive energy free for the progress of ingestive processes; and, finally, there can be little objectivity by means of which the acquisitions could be absorbed within her own pattern. In other words, the attacks may draw to themselves the impulsive forces which otherwise might go into the capacity for an understanding grasp of reality.

POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP OF EPILEPSY AND AMENTIA

Yet our discussion of Anna's case has been based on the impression that mental arrest did not take place, to any great degree, until many years after the occurrence of attacks. Assuming this to be true, how shall we explain the fact that the symptomatic discharge did not immediately place a full check against mental development? Let us reconstruct her progress, as if our formulations were definitely established.

At the breaking off of the breast relationships, our inference is that a new disposition must be made of the erotic and destructive impulses which were formerly fused and discharged in the act of nursing. It seems probable that some of Anna's libido went into the formation of new identifications, into the contact with new objects and the grasping of parts of reality. Undoubtedly a great deal of libido went into the anal pleasures as a substitute for the autoerotic gratifications at the oral stage. Probably a part of the energy of the death-instincts was discharged in both of these directions. Yet apparently the ego still needed to impound libido for its protection (the mother's love), and seemingly it was unable to sustain a release of destructiveness into aggressivity. The death-instincts exerted their regressive, inward pull as the attacks began discharging tension when she was one year old. We infer, though, that some instinctive energy was still being released into emotional and mental growth.

The anal satisfactions, however, now began to assume greater and greater significance. The main trend of Anna's attempted adjustment to reality seems to have been on an anal basis; erotic gratification, narcissistic worth, sexual develop-

ment, character-formation, all appear to have been valued from the anal point of view. It may be that oral libido, too, instead of continuing with a symbolic nursing of the outer world (ingestion of knowledge), now was turned more and more into the substituted anal erotism. We may say that instead of being interested in acquiring more, Anna was thereafter more concerned in keeping what she had. As for the destructive impulses, the nature of whatever hate she discharged outwardly from then on seems to have been of an anal character more than an oral. The vicious, snarling slapping out at reality so characteristic of her would suggest an aloof bitterness rather than an aggressive (ingestive) mastering.

Thus it may be that both the epileptic attacks and the anal fixation have used up the instinctual energy which might have gone into mental functioning. Both represent forms of release which require no other object; they are connected firmly with the primary narcissism, and thus may form a barrier to mental development. As Anna grew older, anal interests were heightened, were more widely elaborated, and drew more energy from outer spheres. This fact may explain why mental arrest finally was apparent after the eighth year instead of earlier.

The natural concern of the above theorizing is to see what understanding can be attained as to the possible ways of helping the individual patient. Apparently the fundamental worth of the analytic approach is in allowing Anna to live through and thoroughly experience the unfinished oral and anal pleasures. Experience has shown that she cannot be hurried in this, but must be left to attain her own satisfaction at these levels. Whenever some part of her feels willing to begin seeking other means of libidinal satisfaction, only then can she be expected to change. Our belief is that a non-accepted super-ego has continually cut short the full emotional experiencing of these early, needed gratifications (see Anna's frequent concern as to the niceness and rightness of what she strongly desires). The analyst may now soften the severity of the super-ego and encourage such experiencing. Libido may be given in abundance to whatever lends confidence to Anna in her timid approaches to reality. Free expression of her hate is to be encouraged also, so that in all these ways she may have opportunity to discharge the instinctual energy outward into the external world. It would seem that the degree to which these results

are possible will be the determining factor as to how far her symptoms may be alleviated and to what extent the impulsive forces may be freed for further mental functioning.

Hope for therapeutic progress was suggested in two ways. When the girl was placed under a more intensive and deeper phase of analytic transference, she showed rather marked changes in disposition, attitude and objective interest. She was able to release her feelings in the analysis, and her general conduct contained less stubbornness and bitterness. For a time she manifested some degree of keenness for taking in her environment and getting along in it. Yet circumstances caused her to lose the analyst for whom she had the greatest attachment, and Anna was unable to sustain her progress. The second possibility of advance was offered in attempting to foster a sublimation of anal trends in caring for a pig. As has been noted, however, our hopefulness failed to take into account this patient's rigid fixation upon purely autoerotic pleasures. She was unable to merge a tincture of object-libido into her anal interests; and thus could not find satisfaction for her cravings in any constructive way.

In cases where the epilepsy is of such early origin and the emotional development so stunted, there is apparently a strong probability of rapid deterioration. It is conceivable that analytic therapy and analytic understanding may delay the deteriorative processes, and we feel that this much has been accomplished with Anna. For the future, we should judge that companionship with some woman who can give her a deep, motherly understanding may result in her holding off the tendency towards further withdrawal. Everything that can be done to allow her a freedom of expression and can attract her to satisfactions in the real world will tend to postpone the inevitable. Probably no further educational progress can be made, nor is there hope for a serviceable adjustment to real conditions. Yet analysis may still strive to soften the rigidity of her emotional patterns, still attempting to help Anna to be happy with the gratifications reality *can* grant her.

II

If we are to say that in secondary amentia the individual character-formation is a determining factor, it would be well for us to cite an instance where a different pattern of traits

seemingly influenced a slighter degree of mental arrest following the organic insult. In the following study we shall be dealing with tendencies and conditions very similar to those pictured in Anna, yet with several real differences. The presence of a driving aggressiveness towards the outer world, to fight for what the ego needs, marks a distinction from Anna's pitiful dejection and sad aloofness. Not only is this seen as a difference in degree, but more particularly one of quality; for Anna's sadistic projections were inferred to be mainly anal in character, while the destructive energy which we are now to consider appears dominantly as an oral issue. More especially, it will be seen to contain a greater element of object-cathexis, even though, as with Anna, the eventual result is a turning inward against the ego.

The objection may be made that in this second case the contributing injury is not identical with Anna's. Here there is an established lesion, and the epileptic attacks (while more severe than Anna's) leave a greater free space for contact with reality. No doubt the latter, especially, is of great importance in determining the lessened extent of mental retardation. Nevertheless, we may repeat our belief that, since there are instances where a similar lesion and epilepsy have been followed by no mental defect, the individual psychology is of decisive importance. We offer Edna as a further illustration of this, and suggest that, in addition to physical differences, elements in her total personality may account for a mental development superior to Anna's.

EDNA

Edna is an epileptic girl of twenty-two. Her history shows an illness, diagnosed as diphtheritic with meningeal symptoms, during her first year. Spasmodic attacks occurred for several months, but disappeared until she was eight years old, since when there have been grand mal attacks in recurrent series—usually with intervals of a month or more. Although there is some degree of mental arrest, the retardation is not great, for recent tests have established her mental age as thirteen years. In discussing her difficulties we shall first be interested in portraying objectively some of the characteristic scenes in her life.

Edna has just been introduced to a visitor. She smiles formally, but watches the new-comer intently, as if waiting and

listening for something. The conversation is general and includes everybody. Edna still peers at her new acquaintance. Suddenly she strides between the two who are talking. Smiling hopefully and laying her hand heavily on the other's shoulder, she bursts out in shrill demand: "Do you like flowers? I'd like to talk with you about them some time. But I'd want to be with you *alone*, not with all these people hanging around. I like to just be by ourselves; then we can talk and not be disturbed."

Tactfully, an old friend steps in. "Edna, some other time; you're interrupting the conversation now."

Impatiently the girl frets: "Oh, don't *be* that way! I was only trying to be nice—I just asked her if I could talk to her some time. I wasn't interrupting, because they weren't talking about anything much, anyway—she was just saying something or other about some old place she's been; I don't think anyone was interested; I know I'd much rather talk about flowers than any fool beach or summer resort or whatever it was."

She is coaxed away from the embarrassing situation. She lingers in the group to argue in that high-pitched voice. "But I want to talk to her. Why does there always have to be a crowd of people around whenever I want to have a nice quiet talk with someone?" Reluctantly she turns towards the door. "Well, if I can't talk to this new person, can I have a nice chat with *you*, Miss Charge? You're the one I really want to see most, because I don't know this lady and she may not be the kind of a person I like at all. But I *know* you, and I'm never able to be with you half enough."

"Perhaps some time tomorrow, Edna. I'll let you know."

"But when? Set a time, make a real promise I can count on."

"I can't promise, Edna. Whenever I'm not busy."

"Oh, busy, busy, busy! If there ever was a time when you *weren't* busy, I wouldn't mind—but you're always busy. I never see you. . . ."

"We had two nice full hours this morning; and yesterday it was most of the afternoon."

Hesitantly, the girl agrees: "Yes, but one of those times was with three or four others around and always interrupting. And since this morning I've thought of some more things to tell you. . . ."

"Well, we'll see. You run along now and let us talk here."

Edna grudgingly starts to go. But she leans back once more from the door to address one last parting plea to the stranger. "I hope I'll have a chance to see you some time when we can talk together and they won't be interrupting us this way. How about tomorrow morning? Alone? I've heard you're a nice person to talk to, and I want to have you all I can, all to myself. . . . Well, all right, all right—I'm going. I was just asking when I *could* see her. Now that that's settled, I won't stay any longer. I wasn't going to stay—I just wanted to have the chance . . ."

Solid footsteps thump noisily along the front porch in quick aggressiveness. Into the house they come, pounding with set purposefulness. The door slams. Edna strides into the room, her upper body thrown far forward, yet a determined bulge to her buttocks as she plants her feet violently along.

"I want to see Miss Charge—where is she?"

"Edna, she told you she'd have to be busy and wouldn't be able to see you as she'd planned."

"Well, I've got to see her *now*. This is more important than anything she may be doing. I've stood for enough, and I'm going to see her *right now*!" Her voice reaches a high pitch of shrill insistence. "It's got to be *right now*, do you understand?"

"I'm sorry, but you'll have to wait. . . ."

"I won't, I won't, I won't!" Her tone is shrieking as she shouts her imprecations. "I don't give a damn what she's doing—I'm not going to wait. This whole damn place can go to Hell—I want to see Miss Charge—I've waited long enough—I want what I want when I *want* it."

A little boy murmurs jokingly: "She's off again. There won't be any peace until she gets what she wants."

Violently, her whole excited viciousness turns against him. "You shut up! Shut up! I'm not talking to you and I don't want to. Shut up! Damn you—shut up!"

For the sake of peace, Miss Charge must leave her work in an attempt to quiet Edna. The girl stamps restlessly about, snapping her fingers nervously as her shrill voice storms out her demands. "I want to know why I can't have my afternoon downtown as I was promised. You yourself told me I could have Florence to go with me—AND I WANT TO GO NOW!"

"Excuse me, Edna, but the understanding was that you could go if Florence was able to manage it. You know, her

brother has died and she has a great many troubles of her own to attend to now."

"Oh!" The girl twists her face in disgusted impatience. "Why do people make such a fuss over a dead body? He's dead and gone and they can't do anything about it now. Why can't she come back here and do what she's *supposed* to do? I WANT TO GO DOWNTOWN, and I won't give it up just because some fool person I never saw has died. Why can't his mother come over from Europe and attend to this thing, and let Florence attend to her job? I WANT TO GO DOWNTOWN, and I don't care if every damn person in the world has died. It's my privilege and I WANT TO GO."

Meanwhile, it seems as if the whole world has shuddered and writhed with discomfort from the stormy harshness of this shrieking, rasping voice. Students are shaken from their books, groping for the thought of what they are reading. Off in the distance they hear the blasting fury still raging.

"Something has GOT to be DONE about this!"

Like the silence which follows a crashing thunderstorm, there is a vague emptiness when Edna is missed from the group. Hesitantly they ask, "Where is Edna these days?"

"Oh, she's having a series of attacks. She's in her room."

Softly the door is opened and someone looks in.

A white goddess stands triumphantly on the bed, one hand raised as if bearing a torch. "Fear not, for I am thy Shepherd. . . ."

She sinks quietly on to the bed. It is as if she had been through a terrific struggle, but now it is over. "Thy child shall be born as so desired unto thee—she shall come from a doll by the power of God's angel as it be God's will for the angel to do so."

She is tired but calm, with a restful sort of tranquillity about her. At first she takes no notice of us as she smiles happily to herself. A gentle singing note accompanies her murmuring: "Into the Rabbit's Hole—into Wonderland——!" Now her voice comes sweetly pleasant, as she sees her visitor: "Oh, hello! Won't you come in? I'd be glad to show you all the nice things I've got here."

But she is in a world of her own, far away from reality. Several days are necessary to pass through this excited phase.

Later—and it is as if disillusionment had broken the spell

of happiness—Edna paces fretfully from one end of the room to the other. She snaps her fingers testily; glares at the furnishings; sighs mightily. At the door she pounds heavily. There comes a rasping scream:

"When am I going to get out of this damn place? I WANT TO GO OUT NOW. There's nothing in here. I want to go where I can have what I want. Let me OUT! Give me what I want! . . ."

There are days of stormy demand, an irritating feeling of friction. Nothing is right. But at last she is back in the group again. She has something of a dainty, girlish smile as she chats amiably with the others. The impression is of one who has attained her greatest ambition—vaguely in the background a sense of satisfying success—and now she can be modest, humble, agreeably reserved.

"Yes, Miss Charge, I *would* like to see you some time. It isn't terribly important—not so necessary but what it can wait. But whenever you're not busy and can spare the time, I'll enjoy having a friendly little visit with you."

In one of her sessions of analysis Edna once said: "I wonder what Miss Charge means when she says I'm demanding. At first I thought she meant demanded of her, but I don't think so now." (She exhibits a long list of things she wants; reads many of them.) "Yet no matter how many things I have, I never stop wanting things—and that is something I can't seem to get at. I'd like to get the answer to it, but we never seem to find out why." In her further associations Edna relates it to eating; some people like to eat between meals, are always hungry. She used to be that way herself; some people are always wanting to play chess or checkers; and, finally, there is her own desire to collect stones.

In this connection should be mentioned one of the most sustained concerns in her analysis. While she was away at school, Edna acquired a pink stone which in substance and colouring exactly suited her wishes. In returning home she left this, among other possessions, to be called for later. But by mischance it was never found. Over and over her analytic material consists of a fiery hatred for those in charge at the school. They are deceitful, dishonest, deliberately mean and vicious. She would like to face them and denounce them in all their hypocrisy. She would punish them and *make* them give up this valued object which they are withholding from

her. Many of her bitter outbursts are similar to the following feelings about a former nurse:

"Oh, how I hated her! Just bribing me into doing things—felt she was a cheat. I used to tell everyone all over the town about her, every chance I got—to get her into a scrape—to give her a little of her own stuff. She was so damned deceitful—didn't see why we had to keep that old devil. I would stamp my foot—slam the door, spit, pinch, hit—anything I could—no holding me down. One time she got hold of me—sat over me. When she turned her back I kicked up and down, thumped her and bumped her—from the front I spit, and from the back I kicked. She had promised me some candy if I took my nap, but I didn't believe it—didn't try to help it." (She recounts an incident of breaking the nurse's glasses, to get revenge.) "I wished she was blind, deaf and dumb, that both of her arms were cut off, her head cut off, so she'd die. I wished she'd go to Hell; that she'd go into the fiery furnace, like Daniel, or to the stake, like Joan of Arc."

Similarly, so tremendous was her hate against those who denied her the pink stone, that many attempts were made to find for her a substitute to replace it. Several stones were sent to her, some of a strikingly beautiful pink shade, but none was *the* pink stone. No stone would do, except the original, ideal one. Often Edna would agree that there *could* be stones even pinker and more attractive than her longed-for possession, but it would never seem so to her. The one thing she wanted was *her original stone*—that, and nothing else! Time after time she used the analytic hour to storm and rage against the denial of this most important of her wishes. In this way her attitude was characteristic of her reactions to all forms of frustration in what she desires. In general she describes her feeling at such times as being more than her system can stand; something in her says, "I won't bear it." When the analyst asked what she thought could be done about these things, Edna retorted in high, impatient tones: "Why, give me the things I want, of course." Frequently she is able to imagine another person trying to make the best of things; but always she reverts to the plain belief that she herself cannot be happy without her desires being fully gratified.

The character of these desires seems to be so definitely one of acquisition, of drinking in all she can get from the outer world, that we have little hesitation in labelling it as an oral

craving. She herself has hinted at this when she connected her insatiable want with the feeling of being constantly hungry. It is as if she would eat endlessly to answer a need that will never be satisfied; no matter how many things she gets, she always wants more. It is interesting that once, in fantasizing the mother-child relationship, Edna asked: "Don't babies ever feel they want more than the bottle holds? Don't you think the baby would want to suck on the mother's breast after the milk is gone?" Seemingly Edna, in her constant demands from the environment, is still nursing, ever wanting more and more and more.

Objects such as the pink stone may very well be symbols of the breast. In this instance, there is an idealized image of one original, perfect thing which has been taken away from her. No substitute will do. Other stones are attractive and can give her some happiness, but they never can answer the craving for what she once had and is now denied. It may be that her collecting of stones (and other objects, too) represents an unconscious search for the perfection of the breast. Frequently she has the impulse to break open a stone; and her explanation of this has been, not only that she would then have two, but also that there is a feeling that inside she may find something more beautiful, more nearly perfect. The gathering of all these possessions would appear to be symbolic of ingesting as many breasts as possible—perhaps in the hope that a quantity of partial satisfactions would eventually compensate for the loss of the original breast.

Any interference or blocking of this process of ingestion, any frustration of her desires, brings a rush of sadism against the castrating agent. We have seen how this takes place with nurses and teachers (mother-surrogates). It is often even charged against God, the Heavenly Parent, that He has arranged reality in such a way that it inevitably denies her the full gratification she needs. Storms of violent protest suggest that the destructive impulses, once fused with the erotic in the act of aggressive acquisition, are now little diluted in their aim of annihilating the whole external world. The drive for omnipotence, implied in such attitudes as "I want what I want when I want it," seems now to be carried by the wish to destroy whatever stands in the way.

Yet, after all, in just what way is Edna's attitude unusual? It seems understood (Freud) that in all people there is this

drive towards omnipotence. Once the primary narcissism yields some of its completeness, to allow the ego some degree of contact with the outer world, there would seem to be an ever-present urge to recapture a mastery over all things. The destructive impulses are placed to the service of just such an aggressive attack upon reality. Moreover, the process of ingestion (originally experienced at the breast) is apparently regularly displaced on to the outer world for a continued grasping and acquiring of everything that can answer the inner need for power. It seems natural that in all human beings a frustration of this attempt often results in renewed aggression against the barrier. How is Edna different from these so-called "normal" people?

To say that the difference lies in the degree of her need would not seem entirely satisfactory. Our impression is that the *quality* of her need is of more fundamental importance. Such expressions as "I won't bear it," "Something has got to be done about it," "Give me what I want, of course," etc., imply an expectation that reality will conform magically to her wishes. It is her "right" that she have the things she needs and craves. She is to make no concessions to the actuality of the way matters stand (see her attitude about Florence's absence at the funeral). In other words, it is not by a projection of energy into the outer world that she would win progress towards omnipotence. Rather, omnipotence should remain with her by divine right. The distinguishing factor in her attitude, then, would appear to be the element of magic connected with her need of omnipotence. The ego is not to develop power by finding ways of mastering reality. Instead, it takes little account of reality; it wishes to feel omnipotent merely by being given all that it needs. Thus we may sense the primary narcissism as the dominant element in her demand for magic power. It may be that Edna's ingestive contacts with the outer world have as their deepest aim the carrying away of substance for this upbuilding of the primary narcissism.

THE ORGANIC FACTOR

Her actual organic injury may be an important reason why this is necessary. From the psychological point of view, a wound to the brain might mean a crippling of the ego in its power to meet reality. We would picture the ego as feeling an

insufficiency within itself, a need for an extra amount of libido to be impounded for its protection and support. To heal the psychic wound and to shelter against further castration, a great share of the primary narcissism must be preserved; the ego must not venture far from its magic omnipotence; it must continually draw to itself whatever, from the outside, will bolster it in its precarious position. It cannot develop the power to test reality and bring about an adjustment between the instinctual claims and those of the outer world. It cannot seek omnipotence by projection into the environment. It can only demand that it be fed libido. Under the circumstances, we can understand why Edna's main fixation is at the level of oral ingestion. Seemingly, as she approached later stages of development, there would be a poverty of freed libido available for new uses.

Before we consider these later stages, further comments on the oral fixation will be pertinent. Edna is interested in her own breasts, and wishes them to be full and well-developed. Until very recently she had a doll which she often nursed. Yet, to talk of a child nursing at the breast has always been disgusting to her: "You know we get milk from the cow. Have you seen the calf drinking from its mother? It's sort of animalish—I don't like that idea of it." Similarly she writhes in protest against being kissed. "Feel it's a silly, wet thing. The only people I'd like to have kiss me are you (analyst) and Miss Charge and Mother and Daddy and Nurse. Makes me think of spitting. That's why I take kisses more or less from tolerance. People I have full confidence in, like those I told you about, I feel wouldn't give me those wet kisses. And I don't want anyone to kiss me on the mouth. Charley seems to feel that kissing me on the hand isn't equal to kissing me on the mouth." Edna is happy to receive all the drinks and treats of candy which Charley gives her, but she shudders at the thought of a real kiss.

Seemingly the purely instinctive (animal), erotic phases of oral gratification are endowed with disgust as the super-ego attempts to enforce a repression. The mechanism might be similar to what she once said in another connection: "Once, I had been told not to eat candy, so I said, 'I just hate peppermint candy.' I stamped my foot, and I've never liked it since." Just as parents often use this means of bringing about a renunciation, so the super-ego may have taken over an attitude

of aversion to that which was once pleasurable, but now is denied. Apparently Edna feels some restriction on her oral satisfaction, but it is noteworthy that she indulges freely in those practices which, not manifestly erotic, can avoid the censorship. Thus she may acquire possessions, enjoy sweets, ingest love, etc., but not partake openly of "animal" pleasure. Yet, although the super-ego thus carries some force, she often rages against it: "If I have my heart set on a thing, they can't talk me out of it."

The following material may contain a significant indication: "One time I had a doll that was staring at me in a way I thought was accusing me, and I hit it across the radiator and broke its head. I don't know how many times I said" (in connection with naughtiness which she confessed to her dolls), "'It isn't me that is doing it; it's the 'naughty ma' that did it.' But still that doll had that stare—you know how a person looks just before he is going to accuse you. I don't think there is anything like the eyes. So I cracked this doll's head. Mother said: 'What happened to your doll?' I didn't say anything, but dropped down and cried, I felt so miserable. I didn't want to tell anybody I couldn't love the doll because she had this accusing stare—that I hated her. Every time I picked up the doll she had this accusing stare. Because I didn't want to speak of the devil I called it the 'naughty ma'" (the sinful part of her). "It seemed as if someone were standing with a sword and saying, 'I'll kill you if you tell,' and another saying, 'I'll kill you if you don't.' I say 'kill' because I mean something dreadful. The 'naughty ma' would torment me all the more if I should tell, and Nurse would be happy if I did, and the 'naughty ma' would be happy if I didn't. Nowadays all I get is the feeling of conscience; I stamp my foot and say, 'I'm going to do it, anyway.'"

The inference would be that the "naughty ma" represents the impulsive side of Edna, the part of her that would lead the instinctual cravings to satisfaction. The accusing stare of the doll would be symbolic of the guilt which the super-ego (parents, society) places upon her for the indulgence she attempts. The ego tries to evade responsibility by explaining that the "naughty ma" is to blame; but still there is that accusing stare. Finally, the destructive impulses are directed against this restraining agent (doll, super-ego, parents, outer world), and it is annihilated. But now there comes another super-ego agent (mother)

who stirs a guilty feeling for the destructiveness; the sadism is turned inward to punish the ego and make it miserable (Edna bursts into tears of remorse).

If such an interpretation is acceptable, it suggests the mechanism of her main conflict. We can picture the "killing" torment of unsatisfied instinctual cravings and needs on the one hand, and the "dreadful" threat of guilt on the other. Our impression has been that the former have mainly to do with oral-erotic and narcissistic desires; that the latter is represented by the denials which reality imposes. Yet in spite of "the feeling of conscience," she goes ahead forcefully in an attempt to get her needs answered. ("I'm going to do it, anyway.") As our portrait has indicated, her destructive impulses rage against the outer world in a stormy attempt to annihilate it for standing in the way. She cannot love the environment (the doll) because it frustrates her (the accusing stare, conscience); she can only hate it. Thus the fusion between the aggressive and the erotic instincts is broken. That which is projected is mainly the component of violence. But it is noticeable that these sadistic bursts never go their full length. As with her misery after smashing the doll, the destructiveness would seem eventually to turn inward against her own ego, or at least to be impounded against further outward discharge. As a speculation, we might say that the energy of the death-instincts is then forcibly discharged inward in the form of epileptic attacks. It has been noted how calmly peaceful she becomes after such release as the series of seizures may offer. There seems to be no more violence within her, no more need to explode.

But let us leave this for later consideration and look now for indications of other levels of development. The gathering of possessions, besides its meaning as a process of oral acquisition, may also have an anal significance. The girl has demonstrated that she enjoys the keeping of objects and the gloating over them, in addition to her pleasure in the act of getting. Thus the symbol of a nursing may divide importance with the representation of a hoarding of the unconsciously valued faeces. Moreover, her protest against kissing has often contained a reference to "spitting," and associations have gone further to an emphatic aversion for all forms of "nastiness." The stickiness and uncleanness of the menstrual flow, together with other bodily discharges, have received as strong an affect

of disgust as she manifests in mentioning the toilet functions. All of these would seem to indicate some degree of fixation on the anal and urinary stages, with the super-ego exerting a repressive force (by means of disgust) or forcing a symbolized gratification (hoarding). But the analytic material provides little suggestion that these factors play much of a part in Edna's general make-up. We are left with the impression that her oral concerns are of much greater importance.

We have already indicated some degree of the narcissistic need so apparent in Edna's personality. The following is a characteristic attitude about her visits home: "That is one reason I like to stay only a week or ten days—everybody doing everything they could to give me a good time. If I stayed a month, they might do just as much in the month, but not so much all at once. If I were there all the time, they would get used to me and not think of doing everything I wanted." Apparently little of her libido goes into a mutuality of participation in the visit; the main concern is with the cream of gifts, the satisfaction of her narcissism. Analytic material gives abundant evidence of this lack of an objective love relationship, particularly as regards her parents.

Mother is described as a wonderful person to go shopping with; but otherwise anyone could do the things mother does for her. Most often she wishes to be with father alone, without her mother. Sometimes an actual death-wish against the mother is apparent as she fantasies keeping house for her father after mother has died. Her voice takes on a more tender note as she remarks that Daddy is the one to go to for things deep in her heart. She pictures how they go off for a walk to some quiet spot and talk of Nature and God. Early in childhood she felt somewhat afraid of him, but there was one period when mother was sick and Daddy became both mother and father to her. From then on she has had a strong attachment to him. She feels that he understands her better. Similarly, she expresses a longing to be in the company of ministers, to have them call on her and give her the full benefit of their attention and kindly understanding, alone with her.

Material such as this would suggest the beginnings of an Œdipus relationship. We note, however, that it is highly tinted with narcissistic concerns. Instead of loving father as an object, she appears to care for him chiefly for what he may give her. She evidently directs some libido towards him and

into the companionship with him, but apparently it is the incoming libido which is the main factor. As she has suggested, father is a mother-substitute, perhaps a more powerful and omniscient one; hence one more able to supply her needs abundantly. Ministers would seem to symbolize this same combination of gentleness and all-knowing kindness which goes to make up the fusion of mother and father. The analytic data show no reference to sexual ideas, as such, in connection with father and men in general. Edna has frequently had fantasies of marriage, where her husband is one who will devote himself almost entirely to her, so that she will never be lonely, always be loved. In fact, her general picture of marriage is of a state in which one is to be loved. But physically erotic feelings never play a part; rarely is there mention of love on her part or activity in making her partner happy.

Thus we would say that, in approaching the *Œdipus* level, Edna has little libido free for an objectification. The impounding of libido for autoerotic (mainly oral) and narcissistic satisfactions is seemingly so necessary to the weakened ego that little overflows into an object-cathexis. Moreover, our inference is that not only do the early fixations tend to prevent a genitalization, but also that the super-ego stands in the way of an erotization. Her nearest approach to a girlhood love-relationship has been with Charley. He may buy her sweets, but, as we have seen, she turns away with a shudder from kissing and "that love stuff."

EPILEPTIC DELIRIA CONTENT

In this way, according to our understanding, there is a blocking of the possible objective discharge of libido. Narcissistic and autoerotic satisfactions may offer a temporary release, but they imply in themselves a return of libido to the ego. A constant inbinding of tension would seem to be the result, and it may therefore be that the epileptic attacks (besides releasing the destructive energy) represent the forced discharge of impounded libido into regressive satisfactions. It is noteworthy that after a few attacks of the series, Edna regularly goes into a psychotic period where she seems to dramatize her conflicts at various levels and to hallucinate the gratification of her cravings. The main trend is that of a visit through 'the rabbit-hole' into a fairyland of complete happiness. Like the mechanism of the

attack, this seems symbolic of a death and rebirth. Instead of returning to reality for a new start, however, Edna appears to plunge off into a fantasied wonderland where her own omnipotence is unassailed. Evil spirits, dragons, etc., are banished to the lower regions, conquered. She herself receives the favour of Christ, and God's will turns out to be her wish. Her oral cravings receive complete satisfaction with the constant inflow of precious gifts; her narcissism is given full sense of power and all-mighty support. Sexuality as such, being "animalish," is denied; she is to have a child by divine magic. The level of the *Œdipus*, in the fantasy, is to be desexualized and is to become almost entirely a narcissistically satisfying relationship. Apparently, this wonderland existence is to provide her with all the gratification which reality seems to deny her.

For a time following this regression Edna is observed again in a mood of high excitement. It is as though her approach to reality made her aware of the illusory character of her omnipotence. Her paradise is lost; once more reality has the power to frustrate her. In a period of manic irritability she storms and rages against this world which has cheated her. Quite evidently the attacks have discharged some tension; probably the flight to fairyland has provided some release; but now the final onslaught against a world which still hampers and annoys would seem to drain off the full amount of impounded energy. There comes the calm. The symptoms have done their work. Edna can be humble, friendly, modest, until her needs again pile up, to demand more and more and more.

But we still have the problem of suggesting a basis for her mental arrest in relation to our tentative understanding of Edna's personality. Before discussing this, however, let us review briefly the factors which seem to be involved. First, we have postulated that the organic injury has had the effect of a psychic wound, necessitating an extraordinary degree of libido-inbinding as a healing support to the weakened ego. The magic omnipotence of the primary narcissism has given way little to the demands of reality, but has been defended bitterly through the energy of the destructive impulses tending to annihilate the castrating outer world. The chief aim of her emotional contacts with external objects has been to draw out of them fuel for the continued omnipotence which the ego has needed. Thus the oral level has seemed to be the main point of fixation. The failure to attain a sufficient objectivity, together with the

continued impounding of tension into the lesion, has appeared to make symptomatic discharge necessary.

FIXATION AT ORAL LEVEL

Yet the very fact that Edna's libido and destructive impulses are mainly released at an oral level would seem to enhance her mental capacity. Indeed, it is probable that this does explain why her arrest is not as extensive as might be expected. Moreover, we must recognize that while the oral fixation is doubtless the dominant trend, there are some shreds of objectivity stretching up (through the wraith of an *Œdipus* situation) to higher levels of contact with the outer world. Thus the ingestion and absorption of identifications can seemingly be carried through to some extent; at least to a greater degree than Anna is capable of. What does seem to retard her, however, is the fact that her acquisitions from the outer world are apparently often withdrawn to the upbuilding of the primary narcissism. Our inference would be that her identifications in the outer world are then not absorbed within the ego for its increased understanding of reality. Instead, they are used as bulwarks for an omnipotence apart from reality. There does not seem to be a steady reprojection of libido into testing and checking the acquired knowledge; to a great extent it is kept within herself. Finally, the symptoms serve to drain off instinctual forces which might be reapplied to the grasping and fusing of new acquisitions into the ego.

Doubtless the organic injury, by requiring an impounding of libido, not only tends to make the epilepsy mandatory but also in itself takes a toll of energy from that which might be projected into identifications. The lesion thus does become of fundamental importance, parallel with the character make-up. It is well known, however, and supported by the best clinical and surgical evidence, that operative influence upon the residual scar formation of the cerebral cortex in epileptics has notoriously poor results. While usually the operation itself does little damage, the degree of interference with meningeal and cortical tissues may induce further scar formation, producing increased paralysis and epileptic attacks. In view of this discouraging outcome, what may be undertaken in situations such as Edna's? Does it not seem logical to make an attempt to reduce the penalty which the lesion imposes on the total personality? Our present study is an effort to suggest that a psychoanalytic

approach contains possibilities of strengthening the ego and bringing about a better balancing of instinctual forces, to the end that less protective libido will be impounded; more can be discharged into a reasonably satisfactory grasping and meeting of reality.*

After more than a year of analysis Edna began a period of freedom from attacks, which extended over two years. During a part of this time she remained in the same friendly environment which had accompanied her change. Apparently with the aid of medication (luminal, 1 gr.; bromide, 15 gr.) and special surroundings of helpful understanding, she had become able to gain a sufficient discharge of energy into the outer world, so that excessive tension was avoided and convulsive regression was not then necessary. Her religious interests and her enthusiasm for nature-study seemingly gave her an opportunity for some object-cathexis, as well as satisfying autoerotic and protective needs. It could be observed, however, that although the ego was gaining some stability in its new power, it remained needful and dependent, indicating an inability as yet to support a wider, more mature emotional development. Edna was still a stormy individual, finding difficulties in reality, but the impression was that a fair adjustment might eventually be secured. Unfortunately, at this point she was taken home and placed in a private school for nearly a year. Descriptions of her difficulties there lead us to believe that the attempt to meet too high a level of social adaptation, too strenuous a programme of education (for her), reinvoked the mechanism of inbinding tension, leading to regressions and, finally, renewed attacks. While it may be that the lesion itself became more actively crippling at this time, the evidence seems to point more definitely to the conception that her present deeper regressions are the result of a further wounding to the ego from the unhappy setback.

SUGGESTED THERAPY

Nevertheless, one must recognize that the organic injury is destined to increase its handicapping effect and ultimately advance a process of deterioration. Further analysis is with the hope that emotional fixations may be brought more in

* We shall undertake at another time and place to note the effects of such an analytic treatment on the maximum of cerebral injury in epileptics, that of one who has had a complete and enduring left cerebral hemiplegia since birth.

accord with reality, and that, through some degree of object-cathexis, the deterioration can be longer resisted. The evidences of a stronger oral sadism, as indicated in Edna's case-material, may explain why she is capable of a more sustained grasp on reality than Anna is. She is furiously impelled to seek and demand satisfactions from the environment—a striving which seems partially to support the process of ingesting knowledge. Along trends which will gratify her narcissism it appears possible that Edna is educable. Moreover, since the anal phases of her make-up have developed to a more socialized stage (disgust, reaction-formations against dirtiness, etc.), this energy is also more available for constructive use than was true of Anna. It may give a persistence and dogged determination to her efforts to win love. Furthermore, it may merge satisfactorily with oral desires, to give her an interest in getting and keeping (hoarding) objects for her pleasure. Thus, for instance, the acquiring of furnishings and possessions which she may keep near her would gratify these combined impulses. The vague development of a narcissistically tinged Œdipus trend suggests that this collecting be one of establishing a little home of her own. By doing so she may use the impulses which urge her to be like mother, but she will not be required to project object-libido towards men (father-substitutes). Instead, her objectivity may be fused with the narcissism in making her surroundings more attractive.

We should suggest that Edna be given this chance to furnish and decorate a cottage which she may feel is her actual possession. As much as possible, she should assume financial responsibility for the articles she desires. Otherwise she may be unable to accept the idea of a limit which reality necessarily would impose. With the friendly support of a motherly companion, she might be encouraged to weave, and thus either produce new furnishings or earn the money with which to acquire them. Possibly she could eventually do sewing or repairing for father—achieving in this a way of favouring him while also gaining, narcissistically and orally, by receiving the funds for her decorating interests. In these efforts to make her home more attractive Edna should be allowed full freedom to follow her own inclinations and to make her own choices, dependent only upon such supportive assurance as she may need in meeting the restrictions of actual circumstances. Under some such arrangement as we have pictured, her emotional

difficulties might come into a minimum conflict with reality and could be cared for without the loss of standing which psychotic episodes would entail in a group. Her mental capacity could be maintained and used in a continued effort to learn about the art of housekeeping. These circumstances, we feel, would tend further to delay deterioration and to insure happiness in the degree of mental serviceability of which she is capable.

PART FIVE

THE BORDERLINE OF FEEBLEMINDEDNESS

I

IN amentia of the milder type, the ego is apparently capable of a greater degree of contact with the outer world, and the instinctual energy is granted a more definite discharge. Individuals of this class of borderline feeble-minded appear to remain less secluded in the infantile patterns, usually making no return to grossly childish levels, but manifesting their fixations in more symbolized form. Often, however, they give the impression of a scattered aimlessness in life. Their projections seem to contain a large element of momentary (auto-erotic and narcissistic) satisfaction, rather than a degree of unified purpose in constructive, social living. The aggressive impulses frequently tend towards casual destructiveness, while a great part of the libido goes into a phase of exhibitionism in daily life. They are marked as careless, heedless, not dependable. From this class one may pass easily into the many so-called psychopathic personalities, whose mental arrest is often shown in specialized aspects of amentia, bordering upon the fanatic and, occasionally, the pseudo-genius type.

Many in the borderline group, however, may show few extremes of behaviour. Beyond being regarded as "hare-brained," fickle, and unpersevering persons, they may maintain themselves fairly well in a not-too-stressful environment. Only when we delve deeper into the personality may we discover portents of a general difficulty in meeting reality. It is then that we see definite trends indicating a failure to grasp certain phases of the real world, and in most cases we come upon a fear neurosis, further inhibiting the possibilities of adjustment. The following study may be taken as an illustration.

ARTHUR

Arthur is a boy whose difficulties have not formed into a definite clinical entity, but who simply has had trouble keeping up with his class in school. He is sixteen years old, and his

mental age was found to be eleven years and four months. He has apparently felt somewhat hurt by his failures, but has indicated that he wishes new teachers, new surroundings, and an abundance of help from the outside to remedy the situation. His coming for analysis was not by his own choice, but through the influence of others, and upon their arrangements. As yet little free material has been forthcoming, but from our picture of him and from the factual analytic data we may attempt to formulate a provisional understanding.

As he comes walking along the road there is an impression of scattered restlessness in his movements, as though while his main purpose is expressed by his legs moving forward, other parts of his body were calling for activity of their own in other directions. The twisting of his trunk, the craning of his neck, the fumbling, juggling motions of his hands, all seem to be consciously controlled, while some unspoken need is demanding that these parts be kept moving. Even his legs are not to be restrained in an orderly smoothness of step. Occasionally he must skip, sidestep, dance a little clog, or kick sideways at a projecting stone. From still another domain there seems to come a demand that his mouth voice a jazz-like rhythm, 'Da-da-te-da-boom,' to keep other areas busy, other minorities satisfied in his physical kingdom. His whole appearance is one of dangling jerkiness; yet Arthur is not particularly thin and tall. The impression is of a lack of co-ordination; yet he is not exactly awkward. It is merely as though the needs of various parts of him were not fully knit together in an organized whole.

Now he sees across the field a group he wishes to join. With long strides he breaks into a run—legs stretching, arms pumping, his whole body synchronized into a rhythmic fleetness. Now there is no question of separate movements, unorganized needs; the whole machinery appears to function towards one definite aim. He sprints with a reckless speed that suggests the terror of a startled deer. Every part of him is motivated by a single thought to move on, faster and faster and faster, never to relinquish the fearful joy of rushing past the wind, of straining every muscle to race ahead of the fantasied hands which seem outstretched behind him. For once his whole being strives in unity, all in motion, all active, all in an ecstasy of thrilling liveliness. Here, we feel, is Arthur's forte; every bit of him can be happy in it; every gesture can be accepted as a socialized joy—but he cannot always be running!

Sitting at the dinner-table, as others talk Arthur tilts back his chair and taps his feet idly on the floor. Now he picks up his fork and digs the prongs deeply into the table-cover. He begins to concentrate on this as something interesting and worth while; absorbed in it, he seems to leave only a little of his attention free for what is going on around him. Suddenly he looks up, startled at the silence of others watching him. He blushes, stirs restlessly in his chair: "What's the matter?" But he drops his fork, and seems to straighten up. As general conversation resumes he again focuses his attention before him. Slowly and thoughtfully he tears small strips from the paper napkin near him.

The need for physical movement seems thus mildly directed into a destructiveness. We are prepared, then, for the more obvious manifestation of this as we watch Arthur waiting in the road for a bus. Opposite him is a soda-stand, closed for the winter. Restlessly the boy stirs in uncertainty, apparently lost without some obvious means for activity. He takes up a nearby stone and idly tosses it against the frail shutter of the store. Enthusiasm mounts as he selects another weapon and succeeds in crashing it through the wall of the building. Now he gathers handfuls of stones and with rhythmic swing hurls them smashingly through the torn structure. At each throw he seems to pause and listen for the resounding "boom"—perhaps to note also the growing pattern of gaping holes he makes in his target. Then, relentlessly, he bears on, as if never to stop until his victim is completely annihilated.

Another characteristic of Arthur's is shown when someone speaks to him. He is within hearing distance, the words come clearly, but a blank hesitancy appears in his face: "Huh? Are you speaking to me?" How well he knows he is being spoken to, but he will make the other repeat, make him try harder, if he is to penetrate into his shell and win his attention. Often, as others talk to him, his gaze wanders away. Vaguely he toys with objects near him, explores unthinkingly for new things to pick up and use in his restlessness. As he idly juggles and tosses a convenient pebble he hardly seems to be listening. In exasperation the speaker scolds: "Arthur, will you please pay attention to what I'm saying?" Quickly he looks up and protests, righteously, "I heard what you said." Yet his subsequent acts make one sure that he has not really caught the significance of the words. Perhaps he is giving as much

attention as he can spare. After all, there are many other needs which preoccupy him. What has the outer world to offer him that can satisfy those inner requirements?

There are many times when people have told him things and he has found eventually that he was "taken in"—left in embarrassment, believing something obviously impossible. What can he do to avoid that helpless feeling of having seemed a child in his gullibility? He assumes a wise air of cynical sophistication. "Aw, go on! Don't kid me, big boy!" With set phrases of scepticism he will place barriers against every statement, to make sure. Now, even if they deceive him, he can say he hadn't believed them in the first place! And by using all the breezy utterances of present-day slang, he can try valiantly to appear big. That ought to give him ample protection, but surely it must leave him little with which to pay attention to what people are really saying!

This much is noticeable in his daily contacts. He seems rarely to engage in a quiet interchange of sociability. Either he speaks with airy lightness to show a worldly lack of ignorance, or, listening, he is caught in a gaping wonderment: "No kidding! Gee, that must be great!" He smiles with a sort of dreamy awe, as if he had already embarked on the fantasy which such information inspires. Drifting, he would take from reality whatever it supplies, and retire with it to his own storehouse of delightful romance.

Now we see him in another familiar scene. While the others talk, Arthur is again busy with that inner restlessness. He has a way of pressing his cheek inward so that he may bite on it. Having accomplished this he sits there, chewing carefully—peacefully ruminating as though only vaguely aware of what is going on around him. Indeed, he seems unaware of what he himself is doing—except that somehow the chaos of varied needs is slightly soothed. It apparently is not so necessary that he keep his feet tapping on the floor; nor does he have to concentrate so completely on tearing the napkin or digging into the table-cover. Yet occasionally he appears to combine one or two of these activities with the process of sucking on his cheek. It is then that he seems farthest removed from any grasp of what is being said near him.

Other objects may also serve for this mouth-pleasure. The handle of a spoon may be slipped casually against the inner surface of his cheek, to linger there for his lips to press and his

tongue to explore. Occasionally a finger is enough—but most of all, the gum which he can hold indefinitely in there is the best. Now he rests it quietly and reassuringly in his mouth; now he chews actively and vigorously, not stopping even for words which must be spoken. Often there is candy, which, although it may not last as long, certainly has the sweet taste that gives so much satisfaction. Always there must be something—or he seems more than ever to stir and twist with the assorted needs of scattered parts of his body.

One final impression deserves mention. It has to do with the boy's freedom with money. In many directions he shows a lack of considered responsibility and planning. (For instance, he goes to the movies without thought that his school lessons need attention, without reckoning that other plans are coming to interfere with them, too.) But about money there seems to be an added degree of nonchalance. He spends for gum, for candy, for movies and pleasure in general, but always with a seeming indifference that he is quickly using up all of his allowance. Were it not for some degree of supervision it is apparent that the necessities would never be attended to—or at least that father would receive countless appeals for additional money that is really needed. To the boy, however, all this is a minor matter; there will always be plenty!

ORAL CHARACTER

It is not that the boy is a parasite. He just does not comprehend the process of earning, planning, and using money. Somewhere within him there seems to be a magic assumption that there will always be an abundance of the things which give satisfaction. He will never have to go without; money is easy to get; someone can always help him; there is enough for him now, and there'll be enough later.

In these last few pictures there would seem to be indications of an oral fixation emphasized in Arthur's character-formation. The more erotic phases of this are, of course, to be seen in the actual mouth-pleasure which seems to extend a soothing assurance to the whole organism. He is apparently comforted and put at ease, much as the nursing child would be. But more particularly it is in the development of his general attitude towards the outer world that this oral element appears. All of reality seems to be regarded as containing the fullness of the

mother's breast, to be counted on always to provide him with what he needs.

Other analytic material describes a process which Arthur regularly went through whenever he left home. He would have a feeling of reluctance and sadness, because it seemed as if his bed, the chairs in his room, and all the inanimate objects around him would be terribly lonesome when he went away. But in new surroundings (camp for the summer, etc.) he soon formed new attachments for the objects there and endowed these things with the same concern about him. To leave them, then, meant the same loss and the same impression that they would miss him terribly.

In these animistic tendencies it seems probable that Arthur is giving representation to his continued need for the protective mother. We may be justified in assuming that it is not these objects which long for him, but he who is attached to them in the shelter they seem to give him. As we know, the regarding of "things" as persons is not to be looked upon as unusual. Indeed, it appears to be a part of the development by which the child begins to understand and feel a comprehension of the outer world; he apparently gets to know inanimate objects much as he came to learn and explore the mother's body; it would seem to be the step by which he widens his grasp on the environment. Nevertheless, the analytic material suggests that he has been inclined to remain fixed on the protective values of such a step rather than in a full use of it as a means for ingesting new strength and new capacities for the ego. It may be that this has had an influence on his difficulty in acquiring knowledge and getting along at school.

Early memories of his relationship with the boy group contain a feeling that he was not wanted. Arthur's brother seemed to get along with the others, but he took sides against Arthur in shutting him out of their activities. Yet the latter felt afraid to stay alone; he needed and wanted the companionship and safety of being in the group. He would tag along, hoping to be accepted, but rarely succeeding in taking a full part. As he grew older, however, he picked out a young companion who was very much like himself. The two were able to engage in mutual interests, and they both felt safer in each other's company. By such an arrangement he was able to be happy; but we may see in it the continuance of a sheltered existence which would seem to tend against the full attainment of independence.

Our impression from Arthur's associations is that, in breaking away from the actual mother, he did not assume a position on his own feet, but turned at once to the father. A strong antagonism against the critical mother is apparent in his fear and resentment of her harsh, restraining attitude of discipline. There followed a clinging attachment to the father, who was kind and gentle, who never punished and rarely scolded. In fact, father seemed to play the rôle of "good" mother to him, while the sternness of the real mother would appear to give her the significance, unconsciously, of a castrating father. At least in the evidence the boy presents she is one who is likely to call on a stern father to punish him; for when she discovered his masturbatory practices she threatened that a policeman would catch him and cut off his penis. He thereafter lived in great fear of such a castration, and for several years the masturbation was repressed entirely.

FEAR OF REALITY

Something of this same fear appears to be carried over to still other relationships. He describes a fear of girls and a fear of being refused. "It's just the same as going to ask mother if I could go to the movies—I'm afraid something will be said that would make me feel silly. It reminds me of an uneasy feeling I have when I'm not in on everything. I always wish I'm in on everything. I never like to be left out, and haven't the nerve to ask to be let in. At camp, I wished to be the principal character. I feel the same at home when my sisters talk of the good times they have. I can't stand being cut off."

The castration is thus seemingly feared symbolically as well as physically. Arthur dreads the necessity of asking for permission, since it contains the possibility of a loss, a reducing of the already weak ego. Additional data afford us the opportunity to see this fear extended to all of reality. He describes walking at night along a dark road, alone, and ever on the watch for some terrifying attack from the blackness near him. Everything seems unfriendly, threatening. His only solace is in a constant whistling and singing to keep his fears away, together with a full carrying out of the autoerotic movements which we have previously noted.

With such a fear of the world around him, and with his timid antagonism against the critical mother, it seems inevitable

that Arthur would seek for kind father-surrogates in the environment. This he appears to have accomplished in his companionship with older men of a gentle type. He has formed an interest in some of their recreations, is taken into their group, given a special sort of consideration, and receives many little gifts from them by way of friendly, paternalistic expressions of the attachment they feel for him. The boy on his part feels a strong liking for these bigger men and a great eagerness to be with them. Could we say that in this relationship with them is represented the wraith of a homoerotic trend, such as seemed probable in his earlier attachment for one particular boy-friend? Such a tendency seems probable in view of the faintness of Arthur's interest in girls. He appears to have directed his libido towards the father rather than risk the independence of a more masculine aggressiveness, as though he would wish to be loved by father rather than to become identified with him for power in a love-life with feminine objects.

As we review the analytic notes further we find reference to many fantasies and dreams having a common content much as follows: He pictures himself dead; he is put in a coffin and buried in a grave. But now he comes to life; feels the awful danger of his position—he must get out! In a rushing panic he strains and struggles to free himself. At this point the fantasy breaks off, and in dreams of this character he wakes up before he is suffocated. Closely connected with this are associations which indicate a strong curiosity about underground passages. He often feels attracted to them and would like to explore them, find out all about them, where they lead to, etc. At another time he describes his longing to go up in an airplane and float peacefully over the city. But alternating with this is a violent fantasy in which he has a bombing plane dropping bombs on a city and destroying it. He reports that such day-dreams usually occur in the classroom whenever he finds the school-work irksome and over-demanding.

By way of interpretation of this we can offer only what seems to be a plausible speculation. The picture of himself dead and buried would appear to be the manifestation of a regression urged by the death-instincts. But these impulses are not allowed to go the whole way, for at a certain point the demands of the life-instincts are expressed in a feeling of anxiety which serves to block a complete loss of self. Thus

Arthur struggles to free himself, to preserve the ego, in spite of the first tendency towards self-destruction. As for the desires to enter underground passages, or those of floating in the air, we may regard them as a part of the same mechanism. Seemingly they represent regression to the mother's womb (caves, tunnels, etc.) and a recapturing of the peacefulness which is associated with the life-before-birth. The self-destructiveness is therefore not complete, but is apparently fused with enough of the erotic instincts so that the final urge is not towards death, but back to an early (blissful, vegetative) stage of life.

With the death-instincts further diluted, the destructive element is evidently given a new direction—outward against reality. Thus Arthur, in fantasy, would annihilate a whole section of the outer world (city). Often in daily life he has sudden thoughts of accidents to big people, to teachers, analysts, and parents; and these seem to be a similar expression of his destructiveness, particularly when the fantasies occur at the time of some extra demand upon him.

As we follow this violent tendency still further, it becomes apparent that it is not fused with the libido to make for an added aggressiveness towards reality. Instead, there must seemingly be a repression of it, by which Arthur's sadistic impulses are transformed into a tense fear of everything in the outer world. This would certainly seem to give added explanation for the fears we have already noted in his behaviour. Moreover, the failure of the destructive energy to remain directed towards objects in real life may help to account for the boy's lack of vigorous grasp on reality. The sadistic energy which is postulated as a part of the fusion with oral-erotism in the original nursing is perhaps not fully carried over for an ingestion of objects and ideas in the total environment. Here may be, then, an additional basis for Arthur's mental backwardness.

Although early levels seem to be represented in the conflicts so far presented, there have been indications of a later stage of emotional development. The historical data of the analysis show that masturbation began at the age of eleven, when the boys told Arthur that he would not be a man until he could do it and make "the white stuff" come. He thereupon made the attempt, and when he succeeded, felt tremendously big in announcing his accomplishment to the group. But soon he

began to hear that this practice was harmful, that it would make his breath short, and that he wouldn't grow. A gymnasium instructor spoke strongly on this point, and warned the boys constantly against masturbating. Arthur quickly stopped it, under this pressure of fear, and it is at this time that he turned more particularly again to the craving to have things in his mouth. Gum and candy came to have a special meaning, as a result of which he seldom could do without them, but must always strive to get the satisfaction they afford him.

It would seem as though Arthur's step upward to the level of masturbation (and later possibilities of a complete genitalization) was blocked by his intense fear of punishment from the super-ego. Just as the severe, critical mother threatened him for that earlier "touching himself," so now reality seems to have a punishing castration in store for him if he follows the urging of his natural impulses. He cowers before this possibility, and seems to regress more fully to the oral level of development. His interest again centres on the more physical aspects of mouth-pleasure, and once more we would say that the energy for ingestion does not extend freely to a "taking in" of ideas and conceptions of the outer world. In particular, Arthur always did poorly in the school-work where it required a mastering of something symbolic and abstract. Apparently, as is strikingly in common with his fellow-feeble-minded, Arthur's capacity for identifications has not widened much beyond the physical and concrete. Thus he shows interest and ability in school-work of this sort, work with his hands, fixing machinery, etc., much as his interest centres on the physical ingestion of definite substances such as gum and candy. A displacement has evidently taken place, but not as far away from the original concrete identification with the mother as would be implied in making abstract objects "a part of himself."

There is one further element in Arthur's experience with masturbation, however, which deserves comment. We note that the wish was present "to be a man," and we might infer that here was some part of a drive towards masculine independence and power. Undoubtedly the impulse was weak, for it quickly submitted to the regression to oral interests, but it appears as if some such tendency was making itself felt. Similarly, in everyday life the boy shows a timidity and shyness whenever a projection into reality is necessary. Yet, while

the weak ego constantly seeks to be protected, the flights which he takes are often in the nature of fantasies of masculine importance. He pictures himself as a powerful man, directing a huge engine, or as in a position of bigness in connection with a large boat or airplane. Here again would appear to be the suggestion of a wish to do more than remain in a position of soft security, even though the wish remains entirely in fantasy and with a strong narcissistic element. We might say that the desire is to attain higher levels of emotional development, but that the actual power is not present to carry this through in reality. Possibly, again, it is the oral fixation which weighs him down, leaving little free libido for objective purposes.

TREND OF SEXUAL LIBIDO

Nevertheless, Arthur still frequently shows a curiosity about genitalized sexuality. He wishes to investigate the feminine body and find out how intercourse is performed. Yet he dares not ask, for he will be scolded; or, if he questions the boys, he will be ridiculed for his ignorance. The following is the analyst's report of a dream Arthur had: "He is with a number of men who are putting on diving suits—Arthur puts one on and goes down under water. There is some evidence of air-hunger, but he overcomes this and is interested in men using a torch to cut a piece out of a ship. When the piece is cut out, he goes into the ship with the men. He heads towards where the torpedo-room is, visits it alone, and learns how to operate the torpedo tube, places a torpedo in it and shoots it off. At the explosion he runs on deck in a panic, only to see the big ship he came from blown up."

The only associations given on this dream have to do with the fear of being buried alive, the choking sensation, etc., similar to what has already been noted. There can be little doubt, however, that the torpedo and the tube are symbols of the penis and vagina, with Arthur striving eagerly to learn more about their relationship. The orgasm (explosion) is seemingly endowed with an abundance of destructiveness, as if the sadistic element in the act of intercourse were highly emphasized in Arthur's conception of it. That this was really directed towards the mother-ship suggests that the sexual relationship was with the mother; in other words, that a phase of the *Œdipus* situation was being acted out. The dream serves to make more probable the inference that, in real life, Arthur's

great interest in all kinds of guns, from a toy pistol to the largest cannon, represents the attempt to attain a vicarious masculine power. That this potency is gained from weapons of destruction would seem to indicate that the erotic element has not reached a stage of objectivity, wherein it could be fused with the aggressiveness for a complete genitalized sexuality. Thus, as we have seen, Arthur's attitude toward objects is more often one of destructiveness than of masterful, constructive management.

Outstanding in his difficulty, however, is the fear of the outer world, and naturally this applies to the analyst and analysis. Once when asked to give free associations, Arthur pictured a crow in a tree watching him. He tries to shoot the crow, but the crow is always a few moves ahead of him and flies away. Since this material came at a time when there was great resistance against analysis, it seems probable that the crow represents the analyst (stern parent) and that the boy's sadism turns against him as one who is trying to break into his thoughts. Further data indicate that the boy feels it necessary to watch the analyst, so as not to be caught off guard. He never wanted anyone to know of his thoughts, for they contained the very fantasies which provided his defence and protection against a threatening reality. Seemingly, the fear of the super-ego keeps Arthur from a free experiencing in analysis.

Yet the material already given may allow us to make a tentative formulation of his problem. As in the case of Harry, sexuality remains for the most part at a pre-genital level of oral and autoerotic satisfactions; and the ego in its weakness cannot sustain a steady experiencing of reality, but cringes before the fear of the outer world and the super-ego. With Arthur, however, destructive energy is not as completely repressed, but is given some form of outward discharge. There would seem to be a possibility that, if some libido were released from the oral fixation, it could be fused for an aggressive objectivity. The hope would appear to lie in helping the ego (already stronger than in Harry's case) to gain sufficient strength for sustaining such a projection. As a barrier to this would be the fears and the narcissistic and autoerotic protections which the ego at present needs.

Arthur's mental backwardness might be regarded as closely connected with a weakness in the ego, too, and with the oral fixation. The faculty for ingesting from the outer world seems

not only to remain applied to physical, concrete substances, but also is more definitely used as a protective mechanism against reality. Its field has not widened to include the taking in of identifications with abstract ideas, nor is the capacity used for a building of the ego to meet reality better. Finally, there would seem to be an insufficient fusion of death instincts with the erotic to provide a masterful absorption of identifications and progress to further experiencing. His destructiveness is left, largely undiluted, to go towards objects, while the libido is turned mainly inward by way of autoerotic, protective activities or in oral-erotism. The question of progress in this field, too, then, appears to revolve around how much the ego can gain power so that it can use the libido for other than purely protective purposes. Perhaps there never can be a full absorption of abstract ideas nor a complete fusion between destructive and erotic impulses, but possibly sufficient advance has been made in this direction so that Arthur may find a field of constructive effort where he will be intelligent and happy.

POSSIBLE THERAPY

The indications are that he should limit his educational efforts to subjects which are concrete and directly practical. It is partly because of adherence to this principle that Arthur has been successful in a trade-school since leaving analysis. For the future, our picture of his personality suggests that his trade be one where constant and rhythmic physical activity is an important part. His auto-erotic impulses would supply abundant energy for such an occupation and the process of working would contain great libidinal satisfaction. It is true that the fear of the outer world may limit the ego's effectiveness in dealing with it, but under the narcissistic assurance of an actual ability in certain directions there may come a greater sense of friendly confidence. If, in what little supervision he needs, the directing is kindly and co-operative, Arthur may have a better chance to establish a reasonable self-discipline. In particular, his destructive impulses might find a degree of socialization in occupations containing some element of "taking things apart"; or, when merged with more constructive forces, this energy might well lead to an interest in "putting things together again"—fixing and repairing that which has been destroyed. By some such acceptable discharge of violent impulses into the object-world much of the harshness may be

taken from the super-ego, allowing Arthur a more peaceful inner life and a greater readiness to adapt to reality. He would seem to have the potentialities for a successful adjustment, provided the path is made somewhat easier by an understanding of his individual make-up.

II

As one deals more extensively with the highest grades of amentia, the degree of mental defect becomes more difficult of detection. This is not only on account of the close approach to normal performances, but also because of the problem of distinguishing neurotic elements from those purely of intelligence as such. What seems, from observation, to be an inherent weakness in the ego involving intellectual failings may actually prove to be no more than a neurotic or psychotic tendency. Only too frequently, however, the difficulty is presented in reverse order. The neurosis may be so marked that it hides from view the deeper aspects of ego-weakness. Only by detecting in the individual an innate inability to grasp reality or to make real headway in becoming an independent, self-regulative person may one sense the fundamental deficiency. Nowhere is this problem more patent than in the analysis of schizoid persons. The latter often manifest that degree of splitting of the personality which leads one to see at first only a schizophrenia, later to find that this clinical picture is builded upon a real and basic mental defect. We feel it is this situation that makes possible the instances of "Heilung mit Defekt" which Kraepelin designated in reference to persons whose psychotic tendencies were cleared up, but who continued to show an inability to absorb greater strength in mastering reality. To demonstrate this point we will discuss Walter, the subject of our final study. Space does not permit our stating many of the secondary formations and factual complications, but we may hope to picture rather fully the main trends of this personality.

WALTER

A great big boy of thirty comes lumbering into the room. There is a genial air even in his awkward bulkiness. He is not fat, but he is large, and a very human quality of inefficiency stands out all over him. His smile seems to say: "Sure, I make mistakes. I do things wrong; but, after all, it doesn't

matter very much, does it?" He wants to be friendly and laugh about it with you. He is ready to chat and to be easy to get along with.

As he ploughs along, looking agreeably towards the group, he has forgotten to close the outer door. Someone shouts to him jovially: "What's the matter? Don't they have doors in your house?"

"Oh——!" As he turns on his heel, Walter's answer starts to be impatient. But with a good-natured chuckle he retraces his steps. Doors are such a nuisance, and people are so peculiar about demanding them closed! "Didn't I close the door? I thought I closed it when I came in. Hah, hah, hah! I really thought I had closed it. Ahah—ahah-hah!" His laugh breaks out all over him in a rumbling uneasiness. He feels awkward; he looks embarrassed; but that chuckle keeps coming as his one saving grace.

The big fellow strides weightily towards the door, gives it a casual push and turns instantly away, only to have to return to it again as it fails to catch. "Ahah—hah-hah!" Several times he repeats his absent-minded gesture, but the door does not close. A friend, with a yen for teasing, offers in mock-seriousness: "I can see we'll have to teach you how to close a door. Now if you'll pay careful attention, I'll show you. First, place one hand on the knob, like this——"

Perhaps Walter will be angry, or he may smile quietly; or possibly he will playfully push his tormentor aside. Actually he does none of these, but seems to grope feebly for a response. Fretfully he starts: "Oh——!" but his impatience is overcome. "Hah—hah—hah!" He tries weakly to protest: "I know how to close a door—hah—hah—hah——!" He can do nothing. He has no clever answer to give; he has no quick defence. Helplessly he must chuckle and blush and protest with a good nature that only urges his torturer to further attacks.

After all, the big boy is accustomed to this treatment. Rarely does he play bridge but that, from his abstraction, he asks blankly: "Whose lead is it? Is it my play?" He seems now to sense the sarcasm in their looks. "Hah—hah—hah! I just didn't notice. Hah—hah—hah—hah!"

No matter what the circumstance, Walter is always the butt of his companions' gibes. Thoughtless, absentminded, irresponsible, he blunders into petty mistakes which leave him open for endless teasing. Yet his good-natured laugh strives

constantly to get the whole world to smile with him, to be indulgent. Ridicule him, yes; but see how humorous it all is, and don't really dislike him for his wanderings. Don't expect him to be capable. Don't ask him to think hard. Just laugh with him over it all, and let it go! It wasn't very important, was it? Of course he was heedless, but, "Ahah—hah—hah—hah!"

He is universally popular. People who count on him occasionally become impatient, but they soon forgive him with a smile. In his agreeable manner he mixes in readily. Moreover, there is a great boyish sincerity in his willingness to help. Tell him carefully what to do, watch over him while he does it, and Walter can be of great service in any physical task. With smiling awkwardness he helps wipe the dishes; he is ready, on occasion, to supervise the small boys in their baths; willingly he takes the children to the movies. If the farm-work requires a strong labourer, Walter will pitch in. We could hardly call him a handy man, but he is a convenient man to ask. That hearty chuckle can scarcely be associated with a refusal.

Yet there are further impressions to be noted. See him as he goes about his tasks. Frequently there is a hint of reluctance in his feet as he trudges along, even though his words have been agreeable. Often, in the midst of carrying out a duty, there comes a series of prodigious yawns, an inclination to sprawl and stretch out tremendously in a chair. A gigantic sleepiness seems to come over him as a veil to soften the glare. Rarely does he initiate an enterprise; seldom does the zest for activity come from within himself. We well may wonder, in spite of his huge good nature, how much he really cares to give himself to the effort which the outer world requires.

SCHIZOPHRENIA AND AMENTIA

That same impression remained with us when we first met Walter four years ago. He had not only found difficulty in maintaining himself in everyday life, but had also had one or two flights of a schizophrenic nature. During the first few days in his new environment he was very friendly and genial in getting acquainted. With his mother in the same room, he slept comfortably the first night in a strange bed. With her he met the new group on terms of pleasant sincerity and a readiness to mix in. There could be no question but that he

was going to be well liked. He, in turn, seemed to be at ease in his new surroundings. Yet it was to be wondered how actively he would participate when left alone. When good-natured passivity was no longer enough, how much would he really want to enter into things?

This question was answered several days later, after his mother had left. The following scene was reported by an attendant:

"Walter seems under great tension. He asks in a very emotional tone: 'What is the world made of? Where is Mary? I'm a prophet, you know. I help undeveloped people in this world. We make them know the spirit life and then they come back—but I must have Mary, the beautiful blonde. . . . What is it all about? What's it all about?' (He breaks into sobs.) 'Where is my Mary? Why don't she come? Why don't, why don't, why don't Mary come? Oh, my Mary, where is she, the Mary I've been looking for? Where is she?'

"He looks at me and asks: 'Who are you? Will you come into the spirit life? Will you help bring others? What is it? Where am I? What am I doing here? Will you help me to find Mary and Rome and the spirit life again? Oh, my Mary!' (He throws up his hands in supplication.) 'Oh, my Mary! Why can't I have my Mary, my Mary?' (He looks out of the window and sees the aerial wire for a radio.) 'Is that a spirit wire?' (He is told it is an aerial.) 'Oh, that is Ariel, the spirit-God—What was I doing out there in the field a few hours ago in the flesh?' (He is reminded of his hoeing in the garden.) 'Oh, they do very funny things in the flesh. How long will I be in the spirit life? It's so hard to remain in the flesh. It is so hard to overcome the flesh for the spirit life. I can't do it!'

"He is crying softly to himself. When asked what he would do if Mary came, he replies: 'I would sit down with her and she would say: "Come, come, let us start this great work together." I would—would—would kiss her, and she would not mind—I could marry her and we would be happy, happy together.' (Shaken with sobs.) 'My, my, my Mary—oh—oh! Do you know my spirit name? It is Robert Smith—we do not have wood—all is ethereal. When a person takes on the spirit life we perform an operation—we cut down the middle of their backs, and take their spirits from them. We know no pain, unhappiness, displeasure. We have a meeting and

decide who shall take on the flesh and go into the world and try to convert mortals to the spirit life. We have everything perfect—no street cars—no noise—no hate. My work—I wonder, can I accomplish my work? Wonder—my Mary, oh my beautiful, my lovely Mary! Oh, but this flesh—it hems me in—I can't live in this flesh. Oh, my head—it aches—my Mary—why doesn't Mary come right now?' (Great impatience.) 'My Mary—my freedom, my freedom! When can I get back into the spirit?—then I will be free.' (More sobbing.) 'Oh, my Mary! Oh, what's the world—what's the world made of?' He becomes calm, seems sleepy, and presently falls asleep."

In his analytic interviews Walter gave the outward impression of a ready willingness to conform to the procedure. Yet he constantly required help and encouragement from the analyst in starting his association (narcissistic transference). Once directed to talk of his early boyhood, school life, home life, etc., he seemed to plunge into a deeply emotional reliving of the experience. He would come to the point where a school-mate teased him and made him feel ridiculously helpless before the others. He turns and twists on the couch as he pictures it, groans in pain, wrings his hands. Crying in a low tone, he murmurs: "Mary, Mary, my Mary—where are you? What is the world made of?" Similarly, when he tells of a frustrated love-affair, as he re-experiences the agony of the loss he tends to swing into his psychotic state. The relating of an attempt at intercourse which failed (premature ejaculation) brings the same affect and the same tendency to flight. Wherever in the analysis the pain at meeting these situations resulted in such a break from reality, the analyst would gently bring him back to the subject and encourage further facing of the problem. Walter would at once return to the point and resume his associations. In fact, as the weeks went by, he gradually dropped off this form of flight and at no time since has he returned to it, either in analysis or outside.

It seems apparent here that when the weak ego is called upon to face a painful part of reality, there is an impulse to retreat into a fantasy world. Evidently the analyst's friendly support has enabled Walter to meet some of the castrations, to sustain some of the anxiety without a flight into the major symptom. We must recognize, however, that at this point the ego is still weak and would undoubtedly continue to need its

withdrawals if left to face reality alone. It is as though Walter were operating on a temporary loan (libido from the analyst) in order that he may stand up to the requirements of analysis.

After describing an early clinging attachment to the mother, Walter goes on: "I guess I was very much her favourite. She told me in later years. I was a hard child to keep away from the breast. At night I'd hold my mouth up against it. She'd try to get away, but I'd wake up and go right at it again." Now, at the suggestion of the analyst he goes into a fantasy of his subjective feelings during that period. It is quite apparent that he is fully experiencing the deep satisfaction with the mother as a part of himself. Moaning and twisting his whole body as if in pain, he ends with: "Why should she try to get away? That's for me, belongs to me; no reason for it being taken away. It's mine, mine, all for me, and no one can take it away."

When finally asked what he thinks of this material, Walter says: "I have been wondering why I went into that fantasy so intensely. There is no reason for me to feel it so acutely. It seems intimately connected with the way I feel about many things—that emotional fear of losing something. It seems that I was fearful of something all the time, that I might lose something—always a fear of being deprived of something I desire very strongly. The emotional fear that I'm being pressed from all sides, being deprived of my freedom. That's very clear now. My freedom is being taken away from me—my freedom to engage in the loving relationship with mother. But why does it take this form, and why after so long a time? When I think of Mary it's the same feeling. I want to draw her towards me, and have her draw me towards her, like the desire when nursing—but it's a spiritual mother, and I only think of mother (the real mother) as Mrs. Rice. How did I ever get thinking and wishing for Mary? She's spiritual, everything that's perfection. I see—like I thought mother was when I was nursing."

If we infer that Mary is the perfect (nursing) mother of which the ego still has need, we may understand that reality has imposed the demand that this relationship be given up. The real mother came to be a part of this castrating outer world: "I think she used to nag—the same way she does now. She would tell me to do a number of things I didn't want to do—always the feeling of antagonism against pressure, that's

my earliest memory. I had a feeling of resentment against her all the time, that same feeling I have now, that she was taking my life and using it as she wished it—everything she wished must be done at once."

Similarly his feelings towards his father changed: "In the first place, I recall he was very indulgent with me—he let me have my own way with everything. That was up to the time he suddenly changed his attitude. I was seventeen—he didn't let me do exactly as I wanted to do. He stopped my credit, my using his name and membership at clubs, cut me off from using his name at all unless I asked him. In fact, he became the ruler, autocrat, using the rod. He said he wanted me to stand on my own feet, that it would be better for me in the long run, that I'd be glad he did it. He wasn't doing the right thing. It changed my attitude towards him. I changed from a loving friend into a sergeant and private—not so much love, nothing spontaneous. I was not interested in anything but social pleasure, and as he wouldn't give me money I thought he was tying me down to that environment. I believe I was partly right. Being alone like I was only made me worse. I think perhaps his idea was right, but he was too strict. I felt depressed all the time."

Our impression from material of this sort is that Walter felt as though he were being forced into an independent approach to reality, whereas his own leanings were in the direction of a continued protected softness. Both mother and father seem to have exerted this pressure on him, to give up the former dependent and irresponsible relationship. Finally, we see all reality included as something which constantly demands of him: "What difference does it make? Everything is gone, has left—why go about hither and thither, this place or that place, when it doesn't make any difference? Why put forth the effort to do a lot of old things that don't matter? It's just moving the whole thing in a circle. You're going around in a circle anyway, so what's the difference? Why live for tomorrow when tomorrow is like today? I'm just viewing my life in symbols, that no matter what you do, there's nothing new—that the effort to do a lot of things is not worth the pleasure you get out of doing them. I never wanted to get up in the morning—would often lie there half an hour or an hour or longer. I was called, and it was such a tedious process to dress myself, to put on underclothes, stockings, put on two instead of one—

start and lace your shoes—put on your pants and pull them over your shoes. Oh, the monotony of going to school, morning after morning! Other people have a freer attitude. Other people get paid for what they do. I don't get paid. Everything needs attention. Don't you see? If I go out on the road and it rains, I have to take a raincoat so I won't get wet. If I go to bed I have to take my clothes off and put them away, and that takes time away from myself; and in the morning I have to dress, and that's the process that I have to go through in life. I have never been able to do things for myself, never want to be bothered."

Thus there would seem to be a strong pull away from any independent experiencing and progress towards self-reliance. The weak ego wishes to meet an aspect of reality which is pleasurable, such as the nursing relationship with the mother or the clinging to the father's support. But as soon as the outer world requires him to take care of himself in the slightest way, Walter's tendency is to feel imposed upon. The giving up of his physical comfort and protection means losing something which is not paid for in reality. Apparently the reward to the secondary narcissism is not sufficient; he would prefer to remain passively happy at the earlier level. Yet as we review the details of Walter's life, it seems that his is not an aloofness with no need of the outer world, but more an expectancy that reality will change to answer his needs. In other words, it appears that the first rigid formation of the primary narcissism has been loosened, but that the ego still wishes to draw from the mother and the outer world the libido which will make it magically omnipotent. When this is denied or delayed, when he is forced to break from the protection of an identification, then there comes the impulse to regain it (Mary) in a world of unreality.

Naturally, there were many things which Walter could not do the way other boys did. The analytic material indicates that he was slow to grasp the details of a game, could not keep his mind on what was going on, and naïvely assumed that the others would not trick him. His reactions to the teasing which was his usual lot are characteristically shown in the associations on the following dream: "I was throwing big rocks at Ben" (his attendant), "hitting him in the face. Blood flowing down. I was laughing. Then people came and tarred and feathered him, and I had the privilege of ripping the cold tar off. I

could see the flesh come off. Then someone cut his head off."

After dealing with an instance where Ben was impatient with him, Walter tells of being directed, regulated, and teased at camps and schools. "If I could only get rid of that individual, get rid of him—if he was only not around to hinder me. And that reminds me that every environment I've been in, I have had someone take up the teasing—and that person would always become a giant of dislike and a creature of hate. A big boy at school—you know, there is a fellow who can say, 'Now, old man, you can do better,' and there is a fellow who says, 'Why in Hell can't you get in there and do better?' I can't do anything for the latter—it stirs me up inside and I want to go against him. It reminds me of my father's gruff, raspy voice as he tried to get me out in the morning—school teachers telling me I must learn something, and then drumming it into my head as they stand above me with a ruler over my head, ready to beat down as soon as I made a mistake. My father telling me that I must not do this or that, as though I didn't have any freedom of my own to do as I wanted to. That particular tone of voice and its emphasis, that squeezing sort of a power that squeezes you—squeezes the chance out of you to do what you want to do. Father's raspy voice, his authority—I have always been that way, rebelling against his raspy, demanding voice. My impulse was not to do it, just because he said it had to be done at a certain time."

Unfortunately, however, it was only in dreams that Walter's rebelliousness took an aggressive form. Rules and regulations were too demanding of his attention; the result was that everywhere he went he was burdened with punishments for not conforming. At military school he was constantly "walking the Bull Ring." At home he steadily suffered under a feeling of interference and control from his parents. In his resentment his chief impulse was not to strive to triumph over the environment, but to get away from the uncomfortable situation. Many times his school was changed; later, his jobs went through similar alterations. Occasionally Walter would settle down to a resolution to study in the same profession his father followed, but after a few days the discipline required more of him than he was willing to give. There came a change, another hope, another loss of zeal. Invariably the longing was to return to the soothing assurances of a mother-substitute. In the analytic

material, all of Walter's girl friends were seen to have this significance, and reality seemed constantly to be tearing him from them. "She seemed to be so dainty, so sympathetic, and she was someone who made my life much more interesting—made things so much easier for me. I had a new outlook and vigour and new strength given to me by her. And somehow or other I felt as if, if she was taken away, then all of the interest and all of the little pleasures and happinesses of my existence would be gone." (He is sobbing). "Take away a ray of sunshine" (swallowing deeply)—"it's all dark again. Just a little bit of the monotony of life was relieved—just a little bit of the pressure was let down." (Sighs heavily.) "And if all that goes, then what will I have, what will I have left?" (Crying.) "A woman is so necessary to my very life. When I first started away from home to school I was seventeen. I had that feeling of being taken away from something that I couldn't find any other place—I must have missed my mother."

Our impression is that the *Œdipus* relationship was for the most part coloured by fixations at a pre-genital level. Instead of a masculine aggressiveness towards his mother (and substitutes), his manner is one of clinging need and dependence. His is not an objective love, but an identification which shall increase the narcissistic protection which his weak ego must have. In all women he will find mothers who will give him assurance, gentleness, softness, and support. Father seems to represent that force in reality which constantly pushes him away from the protected ease and expects something of him. The son's impulse is to get rid of the father, but the latter has behind him all of the aspects of reality. The only solution the son can meet is the one of flight to the fantasied world of Mary.

Yet we must postulate some degree of striving on Walter's part to meet reality. After all, he did go to school, he did attempt to handle the jobs which he held later; and in connection with his father's urging him towards independence, he did feel that the idea was right. It seems probable that some part of the discipline of the outer world was taken within the super-ego; some part of an identification with the father was established, to build a mechanism within himself which would constantly demand a renunciation of the earlier, softer dependence. Yet, in his own words, "It was too harsh." The super-ego apparently pressed upon the ego too severe a task.

Over and over again Walter made good resolutions, promised himself that he would settle down to serious responsibility, but inevitably the weak ego crumbled. If only reality were not so hard to meet !

HOMOEROTIC TRENDS

" In the presence of superiors I always felt timid, not sure of myself. With the school principal, the words would kind of choke me, as if I didn't want to be around him. I was afraid of him. He had a stern look. Another teacher. I felt so small in front of him, afraid I'd say something wrong. Then I'd get mixed up. Lots of times he'd frown at me. When I was older, doing sales work, if I went into a man's office I'd tremble and perspire. Would feel things would go wrong. Couldn't say what I wanted to. A fear I wouldn't make the right impression—as though someone were chasing someone with a great big club; and if this person didn't get away he'd be crashed down, clubbed to pieces. Huge proportions of this great, big, tall man, who has such monstrous hands and legs. My sister severely criticizing me—school teachers—principals—boys—my father reprehending me. 'That's not the thing to do, and you should be ashamed of yourself.' I can't ever do anything right. If I start to do anything, it's wrong—wrong in the eyes of the world."

Thus the weak ego finds itself unable to cope with the fathers in reality. One tendency, as we have seen, is to get away from it all. A second tendency is suggested in Walter's further relationships with men. The analytic material contains several references such as: "We slept together. I cared for him, was fond of him. He appealed to me physically—seemed attractive to me, soft and tender and so small; his skin was so smooth. When I was about twenty, at school, a man invited me to stay over night with him—only one bed, so we slept in the same bed. I felt fond of him, as though I cared for no one else in the world but him—this man was big and heavy set—he didn't appeal to me as much as the smaller man. His lips were so thick and heavy that I didn't care so much for them. Well, I began to kiss him before he invited me to spend the evening with him. Well, one day I was visiting him, and he put his arm around me and kissed me. I was embarrassed at first. I wondered what he was doing and why he was doing it, and it scared me a little bit, and then I realized I loved him and I

figured it out it was the only means of expressing my affection for him."

It would seem, then, that homoerotic friendships served as a substitute for the usual completion of the Oedipus conflict. He either sought in men a tender softness, such as he had found in the perfect mother; or, keeping his identification with mother, he played her passive role, with big men (father-substitutes) as the loved object. We might say that he thus discovered a way, in reality, of preserving his early clinging attachment to the mother and of avoiding the necessity for an independent, aggressive acceptance of masculine responsibility. Similarly, he engaged in fellatio, performing both the active and the passive rôle with men. Living through an early experience, he pictures the act as follows: "The idea of getting a quarter seemed fine—I could buy lots of candy—he pulled out his penis and I remember it was very big, and for that reason it seemed difficult to suck. It felt warm and tender, as though I had to be careful that I didn't bite into it. I had the feeling I would like to bite into it, and had to keep my teeth away. I didn't like the hair around the bottom—I'd touch the head of the penis with my tongue and that seemed queer to my tongue because it had a sort of sour taste, and also it wasn't as smooth as the rest of it—the feeling of it against my lips was pleasurable—the warm skin against the inside of my mouth was very nice; I had the desire to bite into it, because it seemed so soft and tender. The whole job had seemed more or less like a hard one; I mean the fact that the penis was so large and also the sucking so difficult—but I was always glad to get the money and I always bought candy suckers with it."

The data seem to point to the strong oral fixation and the recapturing of the pleasures of nursing. It will be noted that wherever the penis differs from the nipple (hair at the base, large size, sour taste, etc.), gratification is less. In whatever respect it conforms with the original breast (its softness, tenderness, warmth, impulse to bite into it), the satisfaction is heightened. Seemingly, if the sexual instincts could continue to find release at this level, Walter would not need to retreat from reality. But additional material gives unmistakable evidence that there was a strong super-ego condemnation of this perversion. He had been severely criticized by his parents, felt an uneasy disgust, and kept up a continued struggle against submitting to the impulse.

" I was afraid of some punishment from God. Now this dean—I had already told him about it. I was in bed with him, and he said he was going to cure me of it. He got me all stirred up by putting my arms around him and letting me kiss him and letting me feel of his chest and all around his body. I'd struggle and try my best to grab his penis and to hold it, but he always drew my hand back. I got worn out trying it, and went to sleep. The next night he gave me sleeping powders and whispered in my ear, ' You are going to be a good boy—start in school—not get drunk any more—have good companions.' I said, ' Don't you want me to have a good time ?' He said, ' Yes, but you are going to have better companions. That will do you some good.' Then I remember I began to laugh and began to say, ' Have you seen Mary ? I'm looking for a girl named Mary. I'm Robert Smith, and I'm a spirit, and I have been sent by the immortals to help these undeveloped people around here.' He stopped talking to me and later on I went to sleep."

This would appear to be another instance where flight occurred when reality failed to answer the inner cravings. The sexual instincts, seeking gratification at an oral, autoerotic level, are blocked. The ego, striving to remain close to the mother-identification, is forced to meet a renunciation which it cannot sustain. Apparently the outer world (and the super-ego) imposes too high a standard; the regression into the spirit world (infantile magic) seemingly provides the compromise which attempts to evade the super-ego and to allow a continuance of the perfect relationship with the mother.

In the analysis Walter gave much material regarding masturbation, the main feature of which was a complete absorption with his own pleasure without even the fantasy of a feminine object. Early relationships with girls consisted exclusively of autoerotic acts, with a definite inclination again towards oral pleasure. Contact, by mouth, with the female genitals was a frequent practice, commented on as follows: " I didn't like it very much, but it seemed the only way with the girls I could have any fun at all. I remember I did like it—I enjoyed it, but there was something about it—I didn't like that awfully sour taste—it tasted awfully sour and it was hard to get my tongue in there, and the slit seemed unnatural. One thing, I didn't have that awful hard thing in my mouth like I did with the boys, but aside from that it was funny and unnatural."

We might infer that "naturalness" would consist of having a more nipple-like object in the mouth. Neither boys nor girls quite fulfilled the ideal conditions upon which Walter's sexuality depended. Presumably, from masturbation also he gained autoerotic and narcissistic gratification similar to that attained at the breast; yet in this, as in the more definitely oral practices, there was something lacking or alien to the original complete relationship with the mother. It may be that, just because these activities provided only partial satisfaction, a retreat to the world of Mary was necessary for a full realization of the inner cravings. At least it seems probable that the fixation at the oral level made it difficult for Walter to approach adult sexuality. He once said: "I realize that the penis to me has the same relationship as the mother's nipple, and that on account of this I have never been able to get to the point of accepting adult sexuality. Relations with men were much freer, less demanding on me. I didn't have to give anything with the man, but with the woman I felt something would happen to myself—my penis. When I was about ten I heard from a boy about intercourse, and I thought, 'Isn't that terrible?' I thought it was disgusting, my father on top of my mother; the nasty part was putting the thing in the slit; it was the slit that was disgusting. A penis wouldn't be so bad. I thought it would do something to my penis, to put it in that slimy thing; suppose it got in there and couldn't get out? It would change it, it would hurt it—it might get caught, pinch it. It was queer and disgusting and out of the ordinary, and why should I put my penis in a hole that way? I was breaking down a whole idealistic conception of sexuality, that it wasn't right to have intercourse until married—doing something that only a married person had a right to do."

CASTRATION FEAR IN SEXUAL ACT

Actual attempts at intercourse were accompanied by a tremendous fear and sense of guilt, which the analytic material suggests was due to Walter's inability to meet the *Œdipus*. (He was doing what only father, "a married person," had the right to do.) A timid step towards a more mature attitude is hinted at in: "She was so little—I could get both arms around her and fold her against me. I felt masculine on account of her size." But for the most part Walter was afraid of the experience. The vagina is seemingly an opening which may

trap, pinch and destroy the penis. Further speculations suggest that the sadistic biting of the breast may have been displaced to the possibility of the vagina biting off the penis. He was unable to engage in a complete coitus, for a premature ejaculation kept the act purely autoerotic. His conclusions regarding his erotic development were expressed as follows: "I depend on my mouth for pleasure instead of a projected sex union. There was fear connected with the natural, normal relations." It might be added that Walter's disgust and the idea of dirtiness connected with sexual intercourse perhaps contains an anal significance. At least we may say that his sexuality has not matured to a complete genitalization, but remains at the earlier, autoerotic stages, principally the oral level. At the same time the ego remains too weak to allow an assumption of the aggressive, objectivated masculine rôle.

Indeed, the following data seem to express the desire to hold to a pre-genital level and not rise up to meet the anxiety of the Œdipus and adult sexuality: "I almost wished I was dead, and yet I cannot help it. I have fought it off all I can. I've often wished I didn't have any penis, that I could be without any sex cravings at all, because they got the best of me. I wear myself out by the craving, and I can't satisfy the craving, and yet I want to, and it's all so mysterious, and I feel I'll go crazy if it keeps going. I thought it better if I didn't have any sex organs—then I wouldn't have all this worry—wouldn't be eaten up by the feel of it. Then I know I have to have it—that's the way life is made up."

It would appear that it is exactly because reality does consist of these demands for projection that Walter must flee from it. His wish is to cling to narcissistic and autoerotic relationships. To meet objective sexuality, to sublimate the libido into phases of responsible, independent living means to break from the early fixations. Evidently he has not been able to live through the infantile castrations and to emerge in readiness to assume an emotional adulthood. When reality expects this of him, he must turn to Mary and his psychotic regression to the mother-identification.

The fullness with which our patient re-experienced his early difficulties and their present-day representations seemed to promise an insight which would eventually enable him to make a sounder adjustment to reality. Over and over again he struggled through episodes and associations which carried a

tremendously vivid affect. In general he gave evidence of accepting the interpretations; frequently he was able to offer formulations of his own in accord with the material. Yet, after nearly three years of analysis, observation indicated that he was still incapable of standing alone in the world of reality. It is true that his major symptom (schizophrenic reactions) disappeared and that he was able to live apart from any constant protective support. But in attempting to go out into the world alone (while still having analysis) he met with failure not entirely to be ascribed to external conditions. In the analysis he indicated that the same problems of dependence and inability to "make the grade" were blocking him. Repeatedly his associations brought him to the picture of himself standing panic-stricken in his own yard, not daring to venture forth in an exploration of the world beyond it. In actual life he maintained himself without the former regressions, but seemed to make no advance in mastering the outer world and establishing for himself a definite position in it. Why had he not absorbed from the analysis a new power for aggressively meeting reality?

The natural inference was that some inherent weakness in the ego was still not only inhibiting his capacity for gaining the most from analysis, but also was checking his ability to acquire an experiential understanding of the real world. Actual tests established his mental age as twelve years. Here, then, was a defect in addition to those implied by the psychotic tendencies. It is left for us to attempt a formulation which will suggest the possible relationships between this mental arrest and Walter's personality as a whole (including his schizophrenic reactions).

Our first attention goes to his capacity for making identifications. We have seen that Walter certainly has need for such relationships in reality, and that one of the main strivings of his emotional life has been to attain such a state (Mary, the mother-identification). Not only in fantasy, however, but also in actual life he has succeeded in making identifications. The analytic material leaves no doubt but that the majority of his love-attachments were based on a narcissistic need for making the object a part of himself. It is not here, then, that we should search for a determining factor in his mental retardation, but possibly in the *quality* of his identifications and the uses to which they are put we may find some explanation of his difficulty.

Associations once included the following: "I always had the feeling of lonesomeness, of being out of any kind of contact with life at all, unless I had some one person that I could interest myself in and think about when I was away and build up in my own mind apart from the world. That would include this person with me, to revolve about it. But why shouldn't I have a world of my own when you can't make the whole world your friends? You can't put the same interest into the whole world as you could with one person. If you did you'd be scattered."

The inference is that this material refers, not to an objective love, but to a type of clinging attachment to some one person. We could say that it represents Walter's need for something close to the original, maternal identification. In particular, however, it would seem to indicate that there is a resistance against displacing the identification to a wider range of objects in the outer world. The one important concern is to have the mother, to have a whole world with her, but not to risk his security by taking on other identifications. Apparently his libido is so wrapped in this more primitive form of attachment that he has little to give to a more symbolized relationship. In other words, his capacity for making identifications does not appear to extend freely to "things," ideas, processes, etc., which are connected with a thorough grasping of reality.

He lives through a scene where his mother attempted to teach him to use a spoon. His characteristic reaction to the process of learning is expressed in this subjective feeling at the time: "Take the spoon in your hand, put it in your mouth. The spoon drops—she picks it up—oh, so many times. And finally I do it all alone, and I know she is approving and I know it's all right, but now I won't have to have anyone to pick it up, no one to get approval from." (Crying.) "My way will be my way, hers will be hers, and I won't have another part of myself to say 'Good'—all alone by myself, all alone."

This would suggest that Walter does not wish to acquire new abilities, because each accomplishment means that much of a separation from the dependence on the mother. He is seemingly willing to make some effort in order to win the mother's approval and love; he will give, in order that he may receive an abundant return to the secondary narcissism. But our impression is that he wishes to keep his projection at this level. He takes the mother within himself as an applauding, assuring part. To absorb this identification into his own

pattern, however, would mean the loss of a constant libidinal reward. He would have to detach the thing to be learned from its narcissistic libidinal significance. Once the substance was acquired, he would have sacrificed the autoerotic pleasure and the maternal enfoldment which preceded its absorption. The weak ego evidently cannot meet this castration. Over and over again Walter tells of going to a teacher, indicating his helplessness, receiving her loving attention, but continually failing to grasp what she is teaching. Frequently there are scenes where the little boy runs to his mother with some childish difficulty, but he cannot remember how the mother straightened it out; only the fact that she soothed him, that she was close to him and reassured him, remains as the important factor. Characteristically he stands with open mouth, drinking in the libido, receiving the love which the ego needs, but unable to acquire the knowledge which would give him a stronger grasp on reality.

Touching on this failure to make progress, Walter's thoughts ran as follows: "I wonder if there is any significance in the fact that I was continually breaking up toys? I was always trying to see what was inside. I never could keep anything that was given to me. I always had to tear it open, was always breaking everything I had, couldn't keep anything. I'd try not to take them apart carefully, but actually tear them apart. For some reason I wanted them destroyed, didn't want them to exist; wanted to know what they were made of, but would never put them together again—tear them apart and leave them that way. I had no love for any of my toys, nothing but an old shoe-box and a little waggon that I had when on the farm. I called it a whoa-back, as I heard the farmers say that to their horses. I always had the desire to destroy everything I could get hold of."

It seems apparent, from associations of this sort, that something prevents the destructive impulses from completing their fusion with the libido. The two are merged to some extent, but we may sense the predominance of the tendency to destroy. The resultant urge is to tear things apart, but there seemingly is not enough love, in the fusion, to carry the activity on to an investigation of the object, a reassembling of its parts, and an understanding of its nature. The activity stops at the point where annihilation is the chief aim. Perhaps further data will suggest why this is so.

"I want all these things taken away. I'm in the dining-room. It's a good-sized room. Table is all set for dinner—all this silverware and plates, they do not belong here—so I pull them away. They don't belong here. Why do they have to be here, all these things? They're hindering me—they are always in my way. I can't take care of them. They are always around and make such a multitude of things. I see them and they form a mirage in my mind, so that I can't see anything else. If I get them out of the way I won't have to see them all—so I take hold of this table-cloth, and I'll pretend I don't know I'm doing it, and bang! It goes. I feel as though something was out of the way. These things encompass my life and shut it in, and don't give it the freedom it should have. Yes, yes. The table is in my way. I may bump into it. I can't see why people should eat with knives and forks and dishes, anyway. It's all artificial. Why not have it out of the way? I never knew where I was going. Yes, I'm alone. I'm walking. But don't you see what I mean—that pressure that bears down on me? I want to be free, free, free. I want to be free, and I never have been free yet. I can break up things. I can tear things to pieces in order to get that freedom I must have, and never have had. The very bigness of the things in the world keeps me down. I have to think of those things which need attention, and therefore I can't let my mind go free. I'm hampered by these damnable things about me. Everything needs attention."

REALITY A HINDRANCE TO SELF-PLEASURES

We have seen previously that, to Walter, being free means having no obstacles to block his engrossment with the perfect attachment to the mother. Other objects in the outer world seem to demand attention, to draw on him constantly for libido. But his libido is impounded within the primary identification and the protectiveness of his narcissistic formation. What is projected, then, is mainly made up of destructive impulses directed against an outer world which threatens to ask something of him. Apparently not enough libido is free to be fused with the energy of the death-instincts; not enough love can be directed towards reality to be combined with the destructiveness into an aggressive mastery or an understanding adjustment. We might say that the impulse to annihilate, insufficiently

tamed, remains as a force to sweep away outer objects rather than to understand them.

Yet our impression of Walter at the present time is that he is not particularly destructive. What has happened to the impulse to destroy the outer world? One possibility is that it is contained within the urge to withdraw from reality. Perhaps in plunging into a world of fantasy he carries out the equivalent of a sweeping away of all objects in the actual world. He thus hallucinates the destruction of obstacles which stand in the way of his regaining the infantile, magic perfection of the mother-identification. Seemingly the energy of the death-instincts does not go for progress in conquering the real world, but becomes the driving force towards regression. It appears to be denied outward discharge, and is turned inward to reduce the ego to earlier, dependent levels of development.

A somewhat similar speculation suggests that Walter's destructiveness has been taken over by the super-ego in the cause of repression. The whole outer world and the super-ego may be assumed to have enforced a restraint on the instincts, including the sadistic impulses. The fear which the ego experiences in attempting to meet reality (for example, Walter's panic in approaching his superiors, bosses, etc.) might be interpreted as reflecting his repressed sadism. In other words, his war against the outer world is seemingly converted into a fear of it. The severe super-ego (superiors in reality) appears to threaten the ego with the same violence which the latter had at its disposal against the outer world.

This formulation would seem to be in accord with the abundant data Walter has given regarding his anxiety at approaching new experiences in reality. For example, in first attending a boys' camp his feelings were: "I don't know what is coming—what is before me. What am I getting into?" His fear kept him mainly aloof and self-engrossed. He could not give attention to the other boys' usual attempts to get acquainted; he was unable to keep his mind on what was being done. Rising before him as a gigantic threat was the awareness that in this new experience he was alone and without assurance as to the outcome. As in kindergarten, in school, and in later-day work, he could not project into the doing, "couldn't get into the spirit of it," because of the fear of what would happen to him. This inability to objectivate would obviously inhibit his experiencing and would limit the use to

which he could put his understanding of reality. More fundamentally, however, we could say that it would retard his understanding *per se*. According to our original formulation, there is necessarily a projection into reality before the substance of an identification is completely absorbed. The knowledge of reality which Walter had grasped (from identifications with people and experiences) would not be digested into his own pattern, since it was denied the objectivated reality-testing which is regarded as completing the process of learning.

Reviewing the factors which seem to have to do with Walter's mental retardation, our impression is that he has developed some degree of capacity in every step of the process of acquiring knowledge—that it is mainly a quantitative element which determines the extent of his backwardness. He is seen to tend more readily towards identifications which lie close to the primitive, maternal type rather than towards those with inanimate objects, conceptions, processes, etc. Yet, unlike Jimmy and Ralph, for instance, he does form identifications, and within a certain range they do help him to grasp and understand reality. It appears that what interferes with this process is the stronger drive towards drinking in the libido connected with identifications. Only a small part of the substance (knowledge) is ingested. Of that which is taken in, the tendency seems to be to keep a large share as a separate part of himself which shall continue to supply satisfaction to the secondary narcissism. Only a slight degree of objective reprojection of what he has ingested contributes to his absorbing identifications; to a great extent they do not become fused within his own pattern, and he therefore constantly finds occasions where "I think I believe it, but I can't act upon it." Finally, we have judged that a further handicap to his acquiring knowledge has been the lack of a fusion between the destructive impulses and the erotic.

If we were to search for a fundamental cause behind all of these factors, we should be led to postulate an innate weakness in the ego. From the very start, apparently, the need is to gain from the outer world an abundance of libido in the form of narcissistic and autoerotic attachments. Contacts with reality, then, appear to be conditioned by the requirement that they serve to support and protect the ego. The capacity for acquiring and absorbing knowledge would be inhibited to the extent that the ego is incapable of ingesting and absorbing

identifications other than purely protective ones. Here, then, is seemingly where an inherent defect in the ego places a limitation on development.

On the other hand, if we attempted to trace Walter's psychotic tendencies back to a basic cause, our speculations again would lead us to a fundamental weakness in the ego. The need to cling to the early narcissistic dependence leaves him unable to pass through the later stages of emotional growth and to meet the *Œdipus* successfully. Yet the outer world and its representative within his own personality, the super-ego, constantly demand that he meet adult levels of adjustment. The conflict between these demands and the needs of the ego would appear to give rise to the painful situation which the psychotic flight attempts to resolve. Thus, in this direction, something innate in the ego again plays a part; for, if it were not weak, it could renounce the early narcissistic and autoerotic levels, could support the instincts in their development to maturity, and could bring about an adjustment of the impulsive claims other than by retreat from reality.

It may be that Walter's real disease can be regarded as consisting of the weak ego's need for libido and protection. Both the psychosis and the mental arrest, then, could be looked upon as symptoms: the one as an attempt at a definite gratification of the need; the other as the negative of this, the refusal to take on parts of reality which fail to answer the need. The question naturally arises, Why does he have both? Why is not the psychosis sufficient?

According to our theory, if Walter were of average mentality it would imply an ability to meet reality and absorb parts of it within his own pattern of understanding. If this were the case, and if at the same time he had his psychosis, we should have to say that he can accept reality even while he withdraws from it. Obviously this begs the question, although it seems possible that an individual might have a psychosis and only a slight degree of mental arrest. Yet, strictly speaking, we wonder if every psychosis (and neurosis, too), by its failure to meet some phase of reality, does not imply some amount of mental retardation. It may be that the degree of amentia in Walter's case is such that our tests are able to discover it, whereas in other psychotics it would not be demonstrable from the tests we have at the present time.

We can offer a better answer to the question, Why does

Walter have a psychosis in addition to his mental arrest? From our investigation of the latter we concluded that it consists of an inability to ingest and absorb the symbolized identifications which reality offers. Seemingly there is need of identifications, but at a primitive level and without absorption. We have seen that Walter tried to fit this pattern into reality, mainly by a continuance of dependent relationships and homo-erotic tendencies; but society and the super-ego blocked this possible solution and demanded renunciation. The schizophrenic reactions, then, came as a result of this conflict. In other words, the ego, such as it was and with such capacity for identifications as it had, could not meet the demands of reality and attain to the ideal which the super-ego set for it. We might say that Walter could have had his mental defect without the psychosis if the super-ego were satisfied with the level he attained. Actually his only way of reconciling the super-ego with the continuance of his infantile, magic dependence was through the compromise of the flight into fantasy (the spirit world).

The first results of the analytic situation were apparently to provide him with a new, constantly supportive identification (with the analyst which gave him strength to meet some part of reality). The super-ego, as represented by the analyst, became one of investigation rather than of severity. We might say that the ego was allowed to relive its difficult experiences and pass through more slowly the castrations which had previously been so troublesome. The removal of the schizophrenic reactions could be taken as an indication that some of the need for dependence and autoerotic enfoldment had been stripped away, so that a complete flight from reality was no longer necessary. Possibly the desire is now gratified by more casual fantasies and milder forms of retreat. For example, Walter now does not plunge into fantasies such as "Where is Mary?" Yet there is still something vaguely aloof from reality in his characteristic questions: "Where's the hoe?" "Whose lead is it?" "Did I put that there?" etc. We infer that the latter type of confusion represents a less complete regression: he remains closer to reality and is more in touch with an actual activity in it. Observation, too, would suggest that Walter is now capable of a steadier degree of objectivated effort and a wider range of independent maintenance. Apparently all these factors mean a stronger attachment to reality.

With this we might expect some change in his mental capacity. As yet, however, as we have seen, the insight gained from analysis has not been completely absorbed. In a sense the changes noted may be said to be tentative, still dependent on the kindly support of the analyst. Whether Walter's mental defect will eventually block the final absorption of this insight, or whether the ego's new strength will give him greater capacity for digesting the analytic self-understanding; whether or not his present greater stability will finally mean a wider grasp and absorption of identifications, leading to increased mental power—these still remain open questions.

POSSIBLE ULTIMATE OUTCOME

Even if there is no further progress in his development, however, we feel that under certain special circumstances Walter could be reasonably successful. He can make a degree of identification, and may thus begin the process of learning in many different fields; but the principal difficulty will be with the absorbing and using of what he takes in. Formulation of his tendencies has shown that identifications should be closely connected with projections of effort which will give him additional narcissistic satisfaction. That is, what he attempts to learn should be quickly capable of use in occupations which will give him the approval of some loved object. He will not be capable of absorbing a thorough groundwork of general knowledge, nor of digesting a cultural education; for these are too far removed from immediate application to tasks which he wishes to perform for libidinal reward. Advancement may be better made by allowing Walter to attempt work for which he has an interest; then encouraging him to recognize what special knowledge or training is necessary for this; and, finally, giving him the opportunity to learn and use what he feels is required for his own advantage.

Here, however, one meets with the handicap of an exaggerated ego-ideal. In order to preserve the ego's magic sense of worth, as supplied by love from the perfect mother, the ideal held before the ego is tremendously heightened. His narcissistic needs are so great that happiness would seem possible only through accomplishing great ambitions; yet his capacities are so limited that such attainment can only come through fantasy. Meanwhile, super-ego punishments for failure and

a masochistic withdrawal would appear to be the results reality imposes. Thus what might ordinarily serve as an urging towards real effort may, in Walter's case, exert a retarding influence and throw him further into a world of unreality. The interests he chooses for a life-occupation may be so far above his actual abilities that he cannot gain success in them, cannot therefore absorb more knowledge about them, and, finally, can resort only to regressions.

It is of utmost importance, then, that this ego-ideal be reduced to a level compatible with Walter's powers. At the present time analysis is proceeding in the hope that with kindly support he may recognize his limitations and come to a reasonable acceptance of milder forms of ambition. His greatest value is undoubtedly in occupations requiring not original thinking or initiative, but steady, routine attention to tasks of a physical or concrete nature. Here his genial friendliness and readiness to form narcissistic attachments may be made use of in co-operating with some gently guiding person. We suggest that his future companions may help him tremendously by giving libido to such forms of work. In other words, if he can feel that the so-called humbler activities are worth while, if he can recognize that they really have great importance in the general scheme of things, he will go far towards real service and a happiness in the everyday process of doing his best.

PART SIX
SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE AMENT

I

IN its widest significance the practical problem of amentia is one of understanding how the individual can manage to get along in the world. The crippling of his intellectual capacities, together with emotional arrests which block the use of energy for mental functioning, leaves the ament severely handicapped in the task of everyday living. We have tried to see at what points his burden could be lightened or in what directions he could best proceed in order to make full use of his potentialities. To some extent, many retarded individuals can be helped towards a constructive and happy mode of life. Although limited in range, they can often function mentally in a way which produces value to society and satisfaction to themselves. The goal of any serviceable approach to amentia must obviously be to advance this reasonable adjustment.

PROBLEM PSYCHOANALYTICALLY CONSIDERED

Yet there can be no useful application of mental ability unless the individual's attitudes toward the outer world are to some degree in accord with accepted social standards. Many mental defectives are co-operative, docile, obedient, and morally reliable. There are many others, however, who are troublesome and rebellious, who incline towards delinquency, or whose anti-social tendencies are manifest in activities amounting to crime. Educators and society in general are confronted with the task of dealing with such individuals, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that our understanding of them be as broad and deep as possible. Since psychoanalytic formulations are specially adapted to such comprehensive investigations of behaviour, we shall wish to see what new light they can throw upon this particular phase of the ament's tendencies.

Clearly the question of misconduct involves an added difficulty which complicates the problem of mental arrest as such.

Where does this further defect lie? In what way is it connected with the fundamental defects of amentia? What factors make it possible for one ament to conform to the usual moral codes while another may show strongly resistive behaviour? The answer to these questions must take us into a study of the manner in which conduct is ordinarily regulated, and from there into a recognition of the points at which special difficulty may arise for the ament.

In general, misconduct is defined as the active violation of, or failure to conform to, certain standards of behaviour which are established in the individual's environment. By law or by custom, society sets up specific rules or codes the fundamental purpose of which is to restrict the free gratification of the instincts. That is, the individual is denied certain sexual objects and certain sexual practices; he is forbidden to acquire what he desires, except in specified ways; he is expected to restrain his hates within stated limits of activity; and in general he must submit to a circumscribing of the complete freedom of his impulsive tendencies. In addition, certain procedures are understood as the general paths through which he shall lead his life.

RÔLE PLAYED BY THE EGO

According to psychoanalytic conceptions, it is the ego which has the task of guiding and controlling the instinctual energies. The responsibility for repressing or gratifying the impulsive urges rests definitely with this central government within the personality. As we have seen, however, its task becomes less difficult in proportion as the instincts themselves develop aims which are more susceptible to adaptation for socialized and sublimated use. Moreover, the formation of a super-ego aids the process of control by establishing an inner agency which signals to the ego that certain acts are wrong and insists that certain instinctual urges should not be gratified. Thus the regulation of conduct, although primarily a function of the ego, actually has reference to all three divisions of the personality: the ego, the super-ego, and the instincts. Behaviour would depend upon the degree and quality of development within each of these three; upon the harmonious balance of their inter-relationship; and upon their smooth co-ordination in the problems of everyday living.

We have already outlined the main stages through which the libidinal impulses develop. The general trend is away from

purely narcissistic and auto-erotic strivings, towards more objective desires; away from pleasures centred mainly in the various erogenous zones, towards forms of gratification which discharge libido on to objects in the outer world. Progress is marked by a reduction in the tendency for self-aggrandisement or self-interest and a corresponding increase in the urge to give libido towards persons or interests which are not exclusively bound to the ego. Yet a large share of the earlier tendencies remain. Narcissistic and auto-erotic desires are not fully renounced, even in adulthood; but their urgency and forcefulness are somewhat modified as emotional development proceeds.

The significance of this trend for our present discussion is that erotic impulses which contain an urge to love, to help, or to advance an external object are more adaptable to the requirements of the outer world. Not only is their energy more constructive, but their aims are more readily sublimated in conformity with social standards. Moreover, their presence tends to dilute the purely auto-erotic and self-seeking tendencies, so that these impulses, too, become more socialized. Finally, the trend of object-libido provides a softening influence in its fusions with the cruder destructive instincts; and the blending of the two allows an aggressiveness which is more likely to be socially acceptable.

Nevertheless, even with these modifications in the primitive impulses there remain many which are unaltered and others unadapted to the usual restrictions. Indeed, while development from infancy has fostered some changes, we must recognize that the instincts, if left to themselves, would still blindly press for gratification regardless of society's rules. For example, a merging of oral-erotic strivings with those of violent destructiveness may dilute the annihilative instincts; but the combination still urges an acquisitiveness which may take an entirely anti-social form. Again, the mature erotic impulses may turn towards objects forbidden by law or custom; and the object-libido may always tend to flow in channels which place the individual's desires above the welfare of the community.

In short, while instinctual development is important for the problem of socialized behaviour, there is still need for a fundamental guiding agency to repress the unacceptable trends and to lead the others to satisfaction in conformance with external regulations. Thus from the start the ego is required as an organizing force, to perceive not only the stimuli from within,

but also the various restrictions which may be imposed from without. Its function is to bring these two into harmony, but the ego passes through a gradual evolution before it develops full power to handle this task.

In earliest life the ego is practically helpless before the demands of the instincts. It seems to be swept along by the impulsive urges, and possesses little capacity for control. Then, as we have seen, when it does assume a degree of guidance, the infantile ego aligns itself almost exclusively on the side of the instincts. The pleasure-principle is the main standard of conduct; only with experience does the ego learn that immediate satisfaction of the impulses may often bring danger or disadvantage to it. The postponement of gratification when outer conditions make it advisable is the later guiding principle of the ego. It becomes capable of controlling the instincts and modifying or delaying their satisfying release in accordance with the situation confronting the environment.

One of the most important facts which the ego has to face in the real world is that parents or others in authority often disapprove of certain acts. If the individual does not conform to their standards of conduct, he risks a reduction in the supportive love which means so much to him as a child; or a loss of the friendly approval and respect from others, which is of value in adult life. Furthermore, he is in danger of reprisals and punishments from the outer world if his behaviour does not accord with their regulations. Out of fear, the ego must inhibit the free gratification of impulses—not because of any moral sentiment regarding the acts themselves, but because of the obvious disadvantage to the self in going contrary to powerful, external commands. On this basis the earliest stage of conduct-control is inaugurated.

In order to carry out even this dependent and irresponsible form of government the ego must obviously possess certain fundamental capacities. There must be the power of perception, for it is necessary to become aware of the reactions taken by those in authority. The individual must be able to "take in" the fact that certain punishments or losses to him follow certain kinds of actions on his part. Later he must have the ability to perceive the laws or customs of society, together with the penalties which accompany disobedience.

OTHER FACTORS IN EGO ORGANIZATION

Memory, ideation, reason, and judgment would be other capacities required in the ego. Moreover, there must be foresight or the ability to form a mental picture of certain deeds before they are actually put into action. To his perception of external conditions, his recollection of the facts, and his thoughts regarding them, the individual must add judgment in order to estimate the probable consequences of his behaviour. He must weigh the chances of advantage or disadvantage to himself in committing a given act; and he must come to some decision. Finally, if the formulation shows restraint to be wiser, the ego must have the strength to repress or the power to control the inner impulses in accord with this decision.

Nevertheless, many people who are defective in some of these capacities of the ego are able to regulate their conduct satisfactorily. Others, who seem to possess these powers adequately, are found to be incapable of conforming to the accepted standards. The problem of regulating conduct is therefore not completely covered by considering merely the ego and the instincts. A third important factor appears as we review the nature and development of the super-ego.

PART PLAYED BY THE SUPER-EGO

Experience serves to impress upon the child's mind certain attitudes and formulations of behaviour which the parents hold. He needs their love and, in order to get along happily, he needs their strong support against the blind rush of impulses within him. By strictness and severe disciplines they increase the ego's fear of punishment; by encouragements and expressions of approval they heighten the value of restraint. In both ways the parental authority exerts pressure upon the ego; and the ego, in turn, is prodded into denying some of the instinctual urges. Yet this form of control is still dependent upon help and supervision from external sources.

Later the child incorporates these parental attitudes within himself, and a separate part of his own personality attains the power to denounce unacceptable impulses. Eventually he loses the definite sense that "Father says this is wrong" or "Mother thinks I shouldn't do this"; and he is usually not aware of any specific formulation to be consulted. Instead,

the parental standards are absorbed and remain as a latent part of the total individual. Upon the impulse to carry out certain acts he feels uneasy; in regard to other activities he feels assured. There comes to be a general, unreasoned sense of the rightness or wrongness of specific procedures. Like the parents, of which this inner agency is an image, the super-ego can arouse feelings of shame and loss of self-esteem at the doing of "wrong." It can impose disciplines and punishments upon the ego by its signals of denunciation; and whenever the usual codes of behaviour have been disregarded, it may torture the ego with a painful sense of guilt.

In this respect the super-ego corresponds to the popular conception of "conscience." More specifically it is a replica of the parents, established as a permanent supervising agency within the individual. But its nature is not dependent entirely upon the real attitudes of the actual mother and father. Some part of its pattern is undoubtedly inherited out of all the prohibitions and restraints established through racial history. These deeper codes and tendencies are seemingly present at birth as a sort of embryonic nucleus. They are organized in the more complete super-ego which is formed out of later experiences with parents. Finally, there are additions to the super-ego and modifications in some of its attitudes, from the individual's contacts with teachers, with employers, and with social groups in general. These people again represent parental authority to some extent, and their standards are similarly incorporated within the personality. Thus, although early influences are undoubtedly the strongest, some degree of alteration in the super-ego is constantly possible; and its dictates come to be extended to include new laws or customs supported by current opinion.

Although the organization of a super-ego leads to an inner evaluation of the acts themselves rather than a mere weighing of chances to avoid punishment, there is still an incomplete structure for regulating conduct. The super-ego raises a sense of obligation to do right and avoid wrong; but there is no guarantee that the ego will submit to this discipline. Just as the child rebels against the parents, so the ego may rise up against the super-ego. There may be the uneasy conscience, the sense of shame and guilt which the super-ego incites; but in actual activities the ego's tendency may be recklessly to carry out the impulsive desires. There may be a prolonged

period of self-denial and excessively inhibited behaviour, followed by an equally extreme swing in the opposite direction.

Of course, a great part of this situation depends upon the quality and amount of development within the super-ego and ego, such as we have already discussed. Yet a very important further consideration is the degree of co-ordination and co-operation between these two divisions of the personality. The super-ego, in its final evolution, comes to be not excessively severe and rigid, but serviceably flexible. It is eventually characterized less by harsh, categorical restraints than by friendly guidance which allows the ego a wider range of experiencing. On the other hand, the ego itself becomes more capable of testing the real value of various super-ego dictates in actual life; and it attains an understanding of their advantages for the individual's consistent happiness. A balance and a compromise are achieved. The super-ego loses some of its arbitrary strictness, but it gains by establishing a smoother internal discipline. The ego assumes a greater burden of responsibility in organizing and directing the impulsive urges; but it profits by a degree of freedom. In the end, the super-ego is not too dictatorial and demanding upon the ego; nor is the ego refractory in exerting its strength for the control and modification of instinctual drives. The two function together towards internal peace and socialized satisfaction in the outer world.

REDUCING THE POWER OF THE SUPER-EGO

This whole step is what we mean by the ego's "accepting a super-ego of its own." Parental attitudes are not only incorporated into the personality, but they are modified or adapted to new conditions, and the final formation is absorbed as a more friendly part of the total self. There necessarily follows a more reliable, consistent inner government—one that is not only more reasonably happy, but also more capable of conforming to society's regulations.

An important characteristic of this mature self-government is that, in addition to a negative, prohibiting agency, it contains a positive impelling force towards certain standards of conduct. From contacts with parents and other libidinally valuable objects, the child builds an ideal of what he wishes to be; from his inner (narcissistic) need he longs to recapture a

sense of perfection by achieving this ideal. Much of this tends to increase the repression he places upon the impulses; but it does so more by urging, "You *should* do this" or "You *ought* to be a person of this sort," etc., rather than by commanding what the individual shall *not* do. In other words, although the ego-ideal serves as a practical repressive force, it may also more readily encourage sublimations. The establishment of an ideal does not necessarily mean this, but it sets up goals which may encourage the ego to find a way out of repression by releasing the impulses into constructive channels.

FUNCTION OF THE EGO-IDEAL

Relationships with people who seem to be receiving the desired libidinal rewards in reality (popularity, success, etc.), and who are not too far removed from the ideal image, tend to modify and strengthen this ego-ideal. If it develops a goal which is not too distant from the real abilities of the ego, it attains more and more of a positive influence in the regulation of behaviour. In the end it seems to be merged with the mature, more friendly super-ego in co-ordination with the ego; and the final result is an inner self-discipline which serves the needs of the impulses while at the same time according satisfactorily with the standards of the community.

One cannot repeat too emphatically that no single unit in this process of self-regulation is to be regarded as the decisive factor for the problem of socialized behaviour.

Nevertheless, certain arrests may be noted in the growth of this capacity, and certain defects may be cited to explain the problems of misconduct. Undoubtedly none of the three main elements (the ego, the super-ego, and the instincts) is ever entirely at fault; none can be declared completely absent or without influence. But it is possible to state that some one trend is the *dominant* basis of difficulty in a given case, or that some one factor is *largely* the cause of an observed failure in the task of self-regulation. We should like to consider this in connection with the ament.

II

Very often the tendency is to explain whatever misconduct the ament shows on the basis of his having formed no super-ego. It is our belief, however, that a deeper understanding

will reveal that this is rarely the case. Even where there is obviously a weakness or incompleteness in the super-ego structure, the number of mental defectives whose anti-social acts are due mainly to this lack is comparatively small. In far more instances the *quality* of the super-ego is more important, and its degree of co-ordination with other parts of the personality is the decisive point.

" MORAL DEFECTIVES "

Nevertheless, a separate class of aments is usually differentiated under the label of " moral defectives "; and their characteristic problems deserve some special mention before proceeding to the larger group. They are described as showing little or no backwardness in the general field of ordinary understanding and ability; frequently the intelligence tests indicate they are equal or superior to the normal. Yet a definite defect is found in the mental structure for estimating moral values. These individuals take to all forms of crime indiscriminately, although thievery, fraud and swindling are most frequent. They usually make foolish mistakes in their activities, and are readily apprehended, but to all outward appearance they are affectless regarding the seriousness of their misdeeds. Usually they are aware that their acts are against the law, that they risk punishment from society; but there is no real feeling as to the rightness or wrongness of the act itself. Often they have seemed merely to weigh the possibilities of avoiding detection, and have proceeded purely on that basis. Many of their activities bring little actual gain to themselves, but these individuals persist, seemingly unable to see any reason why the law should take any steps against them. In general they are not capable of learning from experience that misconduct is disadvantageous to themselves, for they repeat over and over again the various acts which have caused them trouble or punishment.

MORAL DEFECTIVE *VERSUS* THE ACTUAL CRIMINAL

The moral defective differs from the hardened criminal in that the latter chooses activities which are more practically advantageous to himself and in committing the crime is more skilful at avoiding detection. Moreover, the habitual criminal is more inclined to specialize in certain types of crime, whereas

the moral defective may tend to attempt any form of anti-social activity. The distinction is not very sharp, for in both groups there is obviously a deficiency in moral sense and in the ability to adapt to the outer world. Yet in the "moral imbecile" this defect appears to be grosser and more definitely based upon a mental inadequacy.

Undoubtedly there are unadjusted emotional needs which impel such individuals into the crimes they commit. Moreover, some innate defect in the ego must account for the failure to learn by experience, as well as for the lack of judgment in carrying out the act. Nevertheless, what stands out most prominently is the defective super-ego. There is a weakness or an incompleteness in the mind's agency for self-criticism. Conduct is not estimated and evaluated upon an inner standard of social requirements, but is left to be regulated by other factors, mainly those of external supervision.

PSYCHOMETRIC TESTS IN "MORAL IMBECILES"

It is difficult to decide in just what way this super-ego weakness is based upon a mental defect. According to the tests now available, such individuals would not be regarded as mentally deficient. Yet the customary practice is to include them as a class of aments. If a mental lack is actually to be postulated, it must be of a kind which the usual tests cannot indicate—perhaps a deficiency in the special field of moral wisdom, rather than in the general sphere of ordinary comprehension and intelligence.

Such a possibility accords well with what we have already formulated concerning the capacity for taking in and absorbing identifications. This capacity might be highly satisfactory for ingesting and using knowledge in one field, but quite inadequate in another. Similarly, it may be true that the moral defective represents an instance where general facts or abilities are taken in, but there is a defect in the capacity for forming identifications with disciplinary or parental objects to establish a super-ego. The inability to absorb an acceptable standard of conduct as a part of the total personality would be comparable to the more obvious inability to acquire factual data as seen in the general class of aments.

Moral defectives, as an exclusive type, are reported to be few in number, although the estimate cannot be precise because

of the unavoidable confusion and complication with other groups. They merge, on the one hand, with intellectually normal individuals who are habitual criminals; and, on the other, with aments whose definite mental defect is combined with problems of misconduct, delinquency, or crime. Little is gained by considering them separately, except as illustration of the possibility that the lack of capacity for absorbing moral codes may be a separate kind of mental defect than that which the ordinary intelligence tests reveal.

Yet there are instances where the inability to ingest and use identifications extends both to the field of general comprehension or performance and to the capacity for establishing a super-ego. This is found to be the case with some aments whose obvious mental arrest is combined with behaviour difficulties. Besides an intellectual deficiency, the individual shows a comparative lack of inner censorship, and his conduct follows much the same pattern as that seen in the moral defective.

DEFECTIVE SUPER-EGO DEVELOPMENT

It may be that early influences, from the parents and from the general environment, have not been strong enough to encourage a complete super-ego development. Or, the surroundings may have been such that identifications were made with anti-social and criminal patterns of guidance. Thus, the super-ego either exerts very little influence over the ego or that influence is positively along socially unacceptable channels of activity. Undoubtedly such cases exist, and they have been recognized by many observers. Our point, however, is that the instances where this is dominantly the issue are comparatively rare. More often the incomplete super-ego evolution is at least complicated with, if not largely due to, factors within the individual himself. His innate capacity and his developmental conflicts, while affected by the environment, are seen to have within themselves the tendency to an arrested super-ego formation.

Indeed, it might be said of all aments that the fundamental inability to take in and absorb identifications would be reflected in the incompleteness of the super-ego. The parental standards and attitudes would not be readily introjected and made a part of the total personality. One might expect, then, that all mental defectives would be likely to show an inadequacy in the

super-ego. Actually this is not always true, for many aments are able to surmount the difficulty and succeed in organizing an acceptable self-government. But the chances are less than usual, since the capacity for ingesting and absorbing outer objects is less than the average.

RIGIDITY AND HARSHNESS OF THE SUPER-EGO

A characteristic form of difficulty lies not in the weakness, but in the rigidity and over-severity of the super-ego. Where the ament makes some degree of identification, his tendency is to take over the outer object as an additional agency upon which to depend literally and dogmatically. The external dictates are not freely tested and modified by his own experiences, but remain as categorical restraints. Through the ego's need for strong support from the outer world, this super-ego formation is inclined to become excessively powerful in dominating the ament's activities. By it he may apparently succeed in keeping most of the asocial impulses under control; but he often has not absorbed these parental attitudes into his own system. The super-ego is maintained as a separate, harsh dictator within the personality—to be obeyed through fear rather than through co-operation. In other words, the ego has not accepted a super-ego of its own.

FAILURE TO ABSORB SUPER-EGO INTO THE TOTAL PERSONALITY

Careful observation and understanding will indicate that this is the case far more frequently than is generally recognized. The retarded individual may seem quite co-operative and docile for long periods of time. Only a certain uneasiness, perhaps, or a tense restlessness gives a vague hint of inner conflicts. Superficially his behaviour is all that could be desired. But suddenly and unaccountably he breaks out impulsively into various forms of rebellion and anti-social activities. Often these misdeeds are so lacking in logical purpose or in possibilities for personal gain that they seem absurd; they are the so-called "senseless" crimes which are characteristic of many of the feeble-minded. One may recognize that they are in the nature of explosive outbursts of instinctual striving—urges which have found no acceptable outlet because of the rigid sternness of

the repressions that an unfriendly super-ego has constantly demanded. The ego, restricted and harassed by the super-ego, at first is pushed into blind repressions; but eventually it is swept along overwhelmingly by the accumulated force of the impulsive needs. These urges themselves are usually incompletely socialized, but they gain in driving power because of the stern censorship which prevents their being released from time to time in milder forms of satisfaction. They become uncontrollable; misconduct results, and the super-ego can only follow with more punishments or restraints upon the super-ego—which in turn lead to further rebellious outbursts later.

CONFLICT BETWEEN SUPER-EGO AND THE INSTINCTS

Frequently this relentless conflict between the super-ego and the instincts, with the ego caught between, does not allow even apparent periods of calm. The inner turmoil continues steadily; the individual seems insincere and unreliable. He cannot co-operate and adapt himself freely, but swings quickly from one extreme to the other. His behaviour is so inconsistent, his misdeeds are so crude and unconsidered, that one is often tempted to infer there is no super-ego to act as censor. Yet a deeper understanding reveals an oppressive sense of guilt or a painful feeling of inner blocking and a restless urge to destroy this internal barrier. These, together with the very inconsistency and impulsiveness of such person's actions, indicate that a strong repressive demand has temporarily checked the discharge of energy—only to be violently overpowered in the end. In short, the major difficulty here is not from the absence or the weakness of the super-ego, but from its harshness and strictness in dominating the ego.

AMENTS USUALLY NOT ANTI-SOCIAL

Despite the potentiality for such disturbances in the regulation of conduct, the fact remains that a majority of the mentally retarded are docile, obedient, and socially adaptable. Often, although intellectually deficient, they seem to have been capable of taking in and establishing a completely satisfactory super-ego. Apparently this would be the case with many of the so-called "stable type." They seem to experience no great inner tension or turmoil, yet they are capable of managing

their lives strictly in accord with social standards. Many of them can be left without external supervision, and are able to guide their conduct acceptably. We should say that they have not only achieved a more socialized development in their impulsive trends and a more adaptable ego, but also a serviceable super-ego which can be accepted by and co-ordinated with the ego.

Frequently, however, it must be recognized that the so-called "good behaviour," while practically serviceable, is determined by other factors other than the super-ego. Conversely, when misconduct takes place, there are other elements to be considered in addition to those of inner moral standards. As we have outlined earlier, the ego itself and the impulsive trends with which it has to deal are important both for satisfactory behaviour and for the opposite. The ego's power to keep the impulses under control is often the decisive factor. Ideally this would be done by guiding the instinctual energy into channels of release which are acceptable to the outer world; in other words, by sublimation and socialization. What is not thus discharged serviceably into everyday activities must be repressed by the ego, either at the call of the super-ego or because of external restrictions.

DEFECTS OF THE EGO PERCEPTIVE SYSTEM

Occasionally it is evident that the ego's inability to grasp fully the substance of laws or customs is a cause for behaviour difficulties. The ament's defect involves the whole perceptive system, and his misconduct might arise from a lack of understanding of social requirements. Except in the lowest grades, however, it is usually found that the individual is aware of what others consider to be wrong. More generally, his mental retardation has the effect of limiting the ego's power of control. Through his defect the ament is rather poorly equipped for perceiving external possibilities and for directing the impulses into consistent object-cathexes. The ego's lack of inherent capacity involves a restriction in the fields of interest which are open to the individual. Often the ament must rely less on sublimations than upon strict repression of the impulsive urges. The ego, in its weak and crippled condition, needs a strong disciplinary agent to help check the instinctual drive; and frequently this aid must come mainly from external sources.

As we have seen, fear of punishment and the need for approval may be major influences toward good behaviour. The ament may be supervised and kept within a satisfactory discipline by external authorities. As long as the supervisor is present or his immediate influence is felt, the individual may conform to the prescribed standards. Here, too, if the censorship is excessively rigid or harsh, there is danger of outbursts similar to those where the super-ego itself is over-severe. Moreover, the weakness of the ego may cause it to side with the impulses whenever punishment does not immediately threaten; or there may be tendencies to avoid difficulty by deception. Slyness, craftiness, and lying are characteristic of many of the feeble-minded under these conditions.

DISCIPLINES IN AMENTIA

In addition, however, control is often attained by a system of routine and regimentation for the ament's activities. Not only is the external censorship re-enforced by a group spirit of regular conformity, but also the repetition of required kinds of behaviour seems to lead to a habit-formation within the ego. To the extent that these routines in themselves provide release for the instinctual energy or offer some form of pleasurable satisfaction, they may be accepted and maintained by the ego without need for constant supervision. The individual may use them in unquestioning belief that they constitute the only way of doing things; they become part of his automatic response to situations in the outer world. Yet, practical as it may be in institutions, this phase of control still leaves the ego inflexible and without power to meet altered conditions. The feeble-minded may thus show a certain degree of socialization under special circumstances, but where a slight change occurs in the environment this quality is often of no avail. The individual may fail to apply it broadly; or, as frequently happens, the habitual discipline may be cast aside when impulsive needs are aroused more strongly and external conditions offer more possibility for gratifying them.

EGO'S INADEQUACY FOR REPRESSIVE SOCIALIZATION

In other words, the ament's ego may have an inadequate power for repression and socialization, even when fear and dependence exert pressure from external sources. Handicapped

in its perceptive system, the ego is not fully equipped to gain and grow through experience; the very important step from the Pleasure-principle to the Reality-principle is particularly difficult. The "pleasure-ego" tends to remain dominant and there is an insufficient development of the capacity to postpone immediate discharge of instinctual energy. Where the super-ego is also unserviceable, the tendency is to break through any form of external discipline and give outlet to the asocial impulses.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, much still depends on the degree and quality of the impulsive tendencies themselves. The fact that a majority of the feeble-minded behave acceptably cannot be due solely to an adequate super-ego nor even to the supportive influence on the ego by external supervision. Some part of their tractability and response to discipline must be based upon the nature of their emotional needs. Conversely, with those who do not conform well, some share of the difficulty must be traced to the kinds of instinctual trends which remain dominant. In many the misconduct is simply one of conflict and rebellion against authority or any form of restriction suggested from without. In some, frequently estimated as 10 per cent. of all aments, the unacceptable behaviour amounts to actual criminal offence.

Apparently the narcissistic need for love and approval, which is so characteristic of the ament, frequently serves to keep him docile and submissive to the usual standards or obedient to those individuals upon whom he depends. Nevertheless, there may be a quality in the narcissism (particularly the magic self-aggrandizement of the *primary* narcissism) which tends to reject a compromise with the outer world. Thus, in some aments the tendency is against co-operation and against any interference with selfish interests. The original conflict with parents on this basis is frequently carried over in attitudes toward all in authority. The destructive impulses, failing to be diluted by object-libido, remain as a hostile energy to be directed in sadistic rebellion against those who supervise or discipline the individual. To the extent that these narcissistic and aggressive trends are dominant, the ament may be impelled into fractious tantrums or surly disobedience.

KINDS OF ANTI-SOCIAL ACTS IN AMENTS

Among the actual offences which are committed by aments, the three most numerous are theft, sexual misconduct, and vagrancy. The dynamic urge which lies behind stealing is undoubtedly the so-called "acquisitive instinct," an impulsive force which psychoanalysis has indicated is made up fundamentally of the oral libido and the aggressive instincts. When this is not regulated by the ego, at the insistence of the super-ego, or when socially acceptable channels for its release are not found, the urge may be to acquire and possess objects which will satisfy impulsive or selfish desires regardless of the usual restrictions. Often it may be the ego or the super-ego which is at fault, but frequently the forcefulness of the blind instinctual urge is too great to be easily checked. In the ament, so much of the libido is fixated at oral levels of development and its use for intellectual acquisitiveness is so restricted, that the perversion of these energies into asocial channels would readily lead to trends of thievery.

SEXUAL OFFENCES

Characteristic of the sexual offences is the fact that they are committed against children, for the most part, rather than adults. They consist, therefore, largely of autoerotic and homoerotic perversions. The instinctual urges which impel towards such acts are based upon the ament's fixation at infantile levels of libido development. In quality and in quantity his erotic impulses tend to be excessively concentrated upon aims which are not readily socializable; and it is frequently this very nature of the urges themselves which makes regulation and adjustment difficult.

VAGRANCY

As for vagrancy, probably many emotional trends play a contributive part. Most influential of all may be the narcissistic desire to be free from all restrictions or requirements, to maintain no responsibility, and to give as little as possible towards the outer world in the care-free acceptance of sustenance or comfort wherever it is available. Undoubtedly the impulses from the passive, oral-sucking stage also play a rôle in this tendency. Psychoanalytic investigations lead us to understand that the ament is characteristically prone to arrest at these levels of

narcissism and oral erotism. In many instances the impulsive emphasis may be so great that neither inner restraint nor external supervision can keep the tendencies under control.

CRIMINAL ACTS

Crimes of violence are reported to be less numerous among aments than the three offences cited above, yet the wanton destruction of property is not uncommon and there are instances of physical assaults or, to a less extent, murder. Here one may recognize that the failure to develop a mature trend of object-libido has left the destructive impulses largely undiluted. They are not consistently discharged into acceptable activities; hence their energy supplies an excessive urge to injure, to deface, and to annihilate the outer world.

Of course all of these impulses are present in everyone to some degree. Usually, however, they are diluted and modified into trends more possible of acceptable release; the cruder strivings become less urgent and less pressing. With this development in the impulsive needs, with an adequate super-ego to signal prohibitions, and with a mature ego to repress or regulate the discharge of instincts, the normal individual manages to conform to social standards. The important point is that an arrested development in any of these factors, in all of them, or in their balanced inter-relationship, may lie behind problems of misconduct such as are seen in some aments.

THERAPEUTIC PROBLEM

Obviously no specific suggestions for therapy or training can be outlined without reference to the individual situation. In general, however, we believe that all approaches to the problem should be made with the above factors in mind. An understanding of the impulsive trends and the inner conflicts connected with them should be the basis of any efforts to help the ament. Frequently an appreciation of the deeper urges and difficulties with which the individual is struggling can aid the teacher to be more truly co-operative and influential. Guidance or direction can be sounder when there is insight into the fundamental, dynamic conflicts. Best of all, with many of the less severely handicapped aments a modified form of psychoanalytic therapy often gives the delinquent individual a chance to work through and resolve many of his own emotional difficulties.

Wherever this actual treatment is impossible, psychoanalytic knowledge may indicate some of the general aims in regulating the ament's behaviour. Much can be done towards relieving the stress of impulsive urges by providing the individual with abundant avenues for substitute-gratification. Activities where physically erotic pleasure may be gained (through muscular movements, rhythm, sports, etc.) should be helpful; and work or play interests which involve destructive efforts will tend to reduce the amount of repression required over these trends.

Where regimentation and routine are a part of the means by which conduct is regulated, the more these habit-activities can contain in themselves a form of emotional release, the easier will be the ego's task of control. Yet everything possible should be done to strengthen the ego in its power of managing and directing the personality. Those in authority can give encouragement and support to the ego whenever it attempts sincerely to face and handle some problem, no matter how mistakenly. They may allow the individual as wide a range as possible for experiencing and "trying himself out," to give the ego all possible opportunity to grow and organize itself.

If constant supervision is necessary, or if conduct is mainly dependent on fear of external authority, the indications are that this authority should be made kindly as well as strong. Its strength must be sufficient to support the ego against the blind uprush of impulses. Yet its kindness must be such as to give acceptance and co-operation by the ego. Not only will this result in better practical success for the moment, but also, as we have seen, it encourages the ego in the direction of self-discipline by giving it at least a share in the responsibility for inner government.

With external censorship as well as with the internal formation of the super-ego, the goal must be to foster a balance between the demands for restraint and the ego's ability to carry that burden. The more the two can be co-ordinated and mutually adjusted, the less likelihood of inner turmoil and outbursts. More frequently than otherwise, the ament's super-ego is over-severe and harsh, both because of earlier influences from the parents and because of the weak ego's very need for powerful supervision. The understanding teacher may offset much of this rigidity by more co-operative attitudes of understanding. In proportion as the ament forms identifications with those who are friendly in their guidance, the severity of

the super-ego will be diluted and the ego given more chance to grope towards an acceptable inner discipline of its own. Finally, if the external influence brought to bear on the ament can contain encouragements toward a positive ideal which is within the reasonable power of the ego to attain, a great advance can be made in the direction of harmonious self-regulation. The merging of this ego-ideal with the negative restraints of the super-ego might be termed the ultimate goal in a stable inner government for the ament.

Clearly these suggestions are schematic and general rather than detailed for direct practical use. Yet we feel that their broad outlines serve as a pattern upon which to evolve the more definite steps in guiding the ament's behaviour. Some understanding of the complicated factors which influence misconduct is provided as one reviews the trends in the impulses, the emotional conflicts, the ego's degree of development, and the super-ego's quality or strength—all of which contribute something to the resultant behaviour. The ament, as we have seen, has special tendencies and weaknesses which may incline him towards difficulties in this field. Our recognition of these elements and the general purposes in dealing with them can further the double aim of helping the ament towards happiness while protecting society against his weakness.

We have set forth some tentative formulations afforded by the depth psychology of Freud to make more patent the intrapsychic defects that subtend behaviour problems in the ament. We hope it will encourage others to carry on research in this field and to make possible more exact diagnoses and more favourable therapy and prognosis than have heretofore obtained.

PART SEVEN

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE OUTLOOK IN THE TREATMENT OF AMENTIA

I

IT may be surprising to many that very little advance in our ability to ameliorate the various states of mental arrest has come about since Seguin's monumental work in 1846. Following the introduction of his system, there was an immediate progress towards the intensive training of all persons suffering from mental arrest. During the past several decades variations and enlargements of his main theory and its practice have been made; but behind it all there seems to have developed the false hope that by this means one might eventually restore normal intelligence. Seguin himself never lost sight of the fact that the main goal was simply the full development of the individual child within the limits of his state of mental arrest. Yet those who had unconsciously been led to expect more turned away from his system with an extreme of disillusionment when the results were less than miraculous. The reaction was again to a more or less complete reliance on custodial care and industrialization of the feeble-minded in special institutions or colonies.

There have been those, more fancifully inclined, who have held out to parents the hope that these difficult children "will grow out of it." As a consequence, they have planned an uncertain, waiting course which could lead only to ultimate disappointment and embitterment. Obviously in this attitude there is an unwillingness to face things as they are, and it can result merely in a failure to do for the defective all that can be done. On the other hand, parents and relatives who through pride will not allow themselves to face the truth, have sought confirmation of the wish that their defective offspring be restored to normality. They have frequently fallen prey to all sorts of quackery or to designing persons who may urge upon them the magic panacea of "cure."

Between the two extremes of doing nothing for the mentally retarded and of hoping for a cure there would seem to lie an extensive field for research and conscientious endeavour. Can we understand more of the nature of mental arrest? While still granting that the ultimate cause is probably an inherent defect, is it possible in amentia to see dynamic elements which are more closely connected with the phases of everyday functioning and adjustment? It has been the main purpose of this book to point to the energies which may serve in the process of intellectual grasping and to note the conditions which seem to block or curtail this function. Can our research and tentative formulations suggest anything helpful for therapy?

First, we might remark that the hope that followed ductless gland therapy, which was of such signal value to certain types of secondary amentia, has not been sustained in primary cases where no such deficiency of gland function can be found. In both classes various drug medications are also found to be useless. In secondary cases known to have been due to hereditary and even early syphilitic involvement, specific treatment is again of little avail. Surgical efforts may also be said to have failed for general application. Indeed, all forms of medicinal therapy may be dismissed with the comment that its use and results do not measurably alter the degree of mental arrest; nor is it different in application than that found effective in all normal children.

We come, then, to the training treatment as such, and here we find the Seguin system forming the basis or providing the essential aim in all education of those suffering from mental arrest. In his own words, it "consists in the adaptation of the principles of physiology through physiological means and instruments to the development of the dynamic, perceptive reflections and spontaneous functions of youth." By this system and those similar to it, each function and faculty of the mind is given graded, developmental training by means of detailed drill and careful mental or physical calisthenics. Not only are the sensory mechanisms educated, but also exercises are given to aid in controlling the body, to develop the manual grasp, and to advance the general co-ordination. Moreover, the faculty of attention, of association of impressions, of perception of form and colour, etc., are trained and put to use in drills. Mental ability depends so fundamentally upon proper sensation as well as upon the special senses and their adequate

functioning, one sees at once how necessary it is to use all means possible to place these functions at their highest potential service. We need not detail here, however, the carefully elaborated "intellectualization of the senses," which is a large part of this system, for more precise descriptions are at hand in any library upon the subject. Our attention must centre on what additional understanding a psychoanalytic point of view can give to the useful phases of such a system, and what hints it may give us as to the possible dangers in the training.

CONCRETE *VERSUS* ABSTRACT TRAINING

It can be seen that Seguin's system and its various modifications contain a high degree of concreteness in the detailed drills and training for the feebleminded. Our own formulations indicate that this is necessary, inasmuch as the ament is restricted in the range of his ingestion and absorption of knowledge. He has progressed little in the step away from physical or tangible identifications, such as in the grasping and "knowing" of mother, towards more abstract relationships, such as include the ingesting of ideas and general conceptions. Since his capacity for absorbing identifications remains at the earlier stages of development, his education can be of more permanent value if it is concrete. It seems obvious from the study of Jimmy that if the idiot is to give his attention to any new supply of knowledge, there must be a physical formulation of it, such as with the blocks, or with the rhythmic contact of clapping hands with the teacher. At a higher level we find Ned able to grasp the fundamentals of storekeeping and making change, because in play sessions he has been instructed with actual commodities and real money. Yet we may recognize that concreteness as such is not to be the sole aim. It may represent the field in which the retarded individual will make the surest advance, but it may also serve as a means towards eventually grasping more abstract understandings of reality. For example, Arthur's interest and ability to ingest knowledge about mechanical things has seemed to help him in learning more general ideas. Possibly a concrete recognition that machinery must be supplied with energy leads to a conception of worldly values—namely, that someone must do the work of providing in order that spending may continue. More generally, at least, although the mentally defective may be largely confined to

instruction of a concrete nature, some effort may be made to arouse from this an understanding of abstract principles. Yet we should agree that it is only from the basis of concrete illustrations and experiences that the ament can make progress.

VARIETY OF APPEAL

Just as the feeble-minded require concreteness in their training, so they are found to need variety in the objects placed before them. From our theoretical formulation we can understand why this is found to be true in general practice. Since the forming of an identification requires the projection of libido towards the object, the more diverse and variegated these are, the more likely they are to capture the child's interest. We say that he learns the same thing in many different ways; or, in other words, he makes a series of separate identifications, all tending towards the same knowledge, each strengthening the worth of the other. With the mentally retarded we might observe that an unusual attractiveness from the object is necessary to lure the libido away from the primary narcissism; and that a greatly extended *number* of partial identifications must substitute for their lack of ability to attain a deep grasp and full absorption of any one identification.

REPETITION

But this does not mean that the same process should not be repeated again and again. Indeed, the constant repetition of situations and ideas is a fundamental requirement in teaching backward children. The amount of libido detached from the primary narcissism is so slight and uncertain that each identification must be frequently renewed in order that its substance may be firmly impressed on to the ego. Otherwise it seems probable that the retarded individual would find little occasion to project towards an ingestion of the objects to be understood. The libido would be withdrawn within the primary narcissism before it became firmly attached to the identification. Apparently the need, then, is to keep the ego in continual contact with the same identification. Progress must be slow, and the ground must be covered many times over before real advance can be claimed.

This fact is amply demonstrated in the case of Ned. He is

frequently able to do problems in arithmetic at the time they are explained and demonstrated to him. For weeks he may do fairly well on that particular problem. But let there be a space of several days when that kind of example is not mentioned, and when he returns to it he is often hopelessly at sea. We know that Ned's primary narcissism has been loosened to some extent, but that much of his libido goes into relationships which are to answer the ego's need for protection. He cannot maintain a consistent objectivity nor does he make a wide range of new identifications; hence there is difficulty in absorbing the identifications he does make. As long as the arithmetic is present as something he must ingest in order to answer a need of the ego (for the teacher's approval), it is kept as an identified object. But once the immediate need is allowed to lag, the identification is seemingly lost. What is required, apparently, is the opportunity to repeat this same identification constantly for months; and it is found that, in such instances, Ned makes a more nearly complete absorption of the subject-matter.

AMENTS UNDER ANALYSIS

Doubtless similar experiences are to be found in every case of amentia. It may be interesting, however, to add what is especially observed in retarded individuals under analysis. Whereas the average person lives through the experiences and associations connected with his emotional tendencies, to come eventually to an insight into his own character make-up, the feeble-minded are seen to repeat the same material over and over again, unable for great lengths of time to absorb a real self-understanding. Obviously the proof of a true insight, whether completely conscious or not, is when the given tendency ceases to be a conflict. Jack, for instance, gave frequent manifestations of "lip service" to the interpretation of his behaviour, but continued to become involved in the same difficulties on numerous occasions. It seems apparent that a longer period of re-experiencing is required before an identification with the insight may be fully ingested and absorbed as an indistinguishable part of the ego. The same was true of Winnie, who continued her shooting of the analyst (mother) for months on end before something eventually happened in the unconscious which made this practice no longer desirable. We might infer that at last an identification with some part

of the outer world was absorbed within her ego, so that this much of her destructiveness tended to become more socialized. In general, however, we should say that if it is at all possible to analyze the feeble-minded, they certainly need much more time than the average in which to carry out such a process of absorption.

ORAL SADISM AND ITS USES

In addition to concreteness, variety, and repetition, our understanding leads us to suggest a further element in the training of mentally retarded individuals. According to our formulation, the ingestion of identifications implies a projection of destructive impulses into an oral mastering of objects in the outer world. Practically all of our cases have indicated some perversion of this aggressive force. Either it has failed to become sufficiently fused with erotic impulses, and has thus kept much of its pure destructiveness, or it has been taken over by the super-ego in a harshness leading to varied forms of masochism and timidity. It seems important, therefore, that an opportunity be given for the child to relive the early stages of the destructive impulses by means of activities in a controlled environment, if not in an actual period of psychoanalysis. Many of the modern schools for training carry this out when they place at the child's disposal innumerable objects which may be destroyed at will and without censure. Our point of view would lend commendation to this procedure, especially when it is accompanied by a not-too-hasty encouragement of growing sympathy on the part of the child towards the object attacked.

The teacher's attitude, we feel, should long be one of passive support or emotional understanding for whatever trends of destructiveness are expressed. Only slowly and in careful harmony with the pupil's vague tendencies should such feelings as "pity" and "compassion" be aroused. By thus allowing a greater freedom for the violent impulses one may help to avoid a fear-inspired repression of them, and may foster a developing fusion between love and aggressiveness such as is needed in the grasping of knowledge. Where this is not ordinarily successful, the longer and slower process of individual analysis would seem to be our only sound method of releasing energy from the deeper fixations and making it available for use in mental functioning. This has been our aim

with such cases as Winnie, Ned, and Phil in particular, for their disposal of the destructive instincts has constituted a major problem in their adjustments to reality.

What is of equal importance, but is less generally carried out in educational systems, is that the feeble-minded be granted opportunity to live through the incomplete oral stages of development. Possibly this is more difficult to encourage in the school environment, but at least we can strive to refrain from a too-active censorship and repression of it. According to our understanding, the mentally retarded are constitutionally needful of a longer dallying with the autoerotic phases of the oral stage than is the average individual. Much harm can be done by an over-hasty restraint upon such activities as thumb-sucking, placing objects in the mouth, etc. The experience of many investigators (including Anna Freud) is that the quick stamping out of such crude oral characteristics merely results in driving them into deeper grooves, blocking the development of the child in later stages. We should add that this seems true not only for the purely physical manifestations of the oral stage, but also for the symbol formations which we associate with the oral character make-up. Attitudes of acquisitiveness and receptivity from the outer world, if too narrowly inhibited, may easily fail to develop to levels of intellectual nursing and ingestion. In being severely cramped they may harden into the fixed characteristics of the social parasite ("the world owes me a living," etc.), if not leading to an actual neurosis.

We have seen how closely Arthur approaches this dilemma. Were he to be severely restricted in the manifestations of his oral tendencies, it is our opinion that his mental progress would be even more acutely blocked. Given the chance to express and live through these early trends, however, we feel that he has loosened the fixations already present, and has made possible some advance in his capacity for ingesting knowledge from the outer world. Similar references could be made to other cases we have described (notably Walter, Edna, and Harry). We would draw the general conclusion that whatever form the therapy or training takes, it should allow the feeble-minded person ample opportunity to finish off early oral stages before it expects him to maintain higher levels of emotional and mental activity.

MEANS FOR STRENGTHENING THE EGO

Fundamentally, the aim of all treatment for amentia is to contribute something to the strengthening of the ego. No matter how this is brought about, there must necessarily result a diminished need for a rigid primary narcissism and a greater capacity for objectification and the absorbing of identifications. It may be recognized, however, that the ego stands in the position of a central government whose power depends upon the efficient co-ordination of all of its parts. Basically it is a bodily ego, and we conceive of it as coming into existence as a unifying and directing agent for all the scattered demands of the various organic spheres. From this point of view, then, we can understand the value of training the co-ordinated and purposeful use of different parts of the body, such as practised by Seguin and his followers. In fact, the whole programme of an "intellectualization of the senses" would seem to owe its beneficial results to the increased capacity it thus gives the ego for getting along in reality.

From the psychoanalytic point of view the ego can also be built up by encouraging a freedom of expression and emotional experiencing on the part of the individual. Under actual analysis, as with Harry, there may come an unrestrained bubbling out of all the innermost conceptions and impulses. In the usual school environment for the feeble-minded there should be a similar lack of restriction on the child's own thoughts and formulations. He may thus not only be spared the silencing which will later make for timidity and dependence, but will also have the opportunity to test his attitudes in reality and discover for himself their relative worth. In short, the more the ego can be left free to try out its own impulses and make its own restrictions (in accordance with reality and the standards of society), the stronger will it be for all phases of contact and understanding grasp of the outer world.

Yet it is often objected that a complete freedom of expression may lead to all forms of asocial acts, which would only serve in the end to deepen the child's difficulties with society. In actual analysis, as Melanie Klein has found, the facing of reality and the gaining of sound insight necessarily would mean the establishing of a self-discipline which would attain, in more co-operative fashion, the same results that society attempts to impose. But in cases where this is impossible or, as in a

training school, where analysis cannot be attempted, what is to be the result of granting freedom to the child's impulses? Here it seems as though some active part must be taken by the teacher to secure recognition of the usual social standards of conduct. Our suggestion would be, however, that such disciplinary attitudes be taken, not in a spirit of punishment, but of friendly guidance and assistance to the child.

As most of our cases show, the mentally retarded are either severely handicapped by a domineering super-ego or are impelled into various forms of conduct disorder because of the conflict between the ego's weakness and the disciplines harshly imposed upon it. If the outer object which urges the restraint (teacher) can attract the individual's libido rather than his fear (repressed sadism), it can be seen that there will be more likelihood of an identification with the guiding principle and an absorption within the ego itself.

It was to just such a conclusion that the study of Phil's difficulties led us. His weak ego seemed to alternate between over-destructive nagging attitudes (sadism) towards the mother, and cringing attitudes (masochism) towards the father and his own super-ego. We feel that if he could come under the influence of some strong but kindly person (analyst, teacher, etc.), he might make an identification which would eventually add real strength to his ego. But here, as with Winnie also, the emphasis must be placed on the kindness more than the strength; for without it we believe discipline would merely accentuate the harshness of the super-ego and increase the timid aloofness from reality.

In general teaching it has long been known that the giving of libido is an essential factor. Perhaps it has not been formulated as such, but has been recognized in practice under such terms as "making the subject attractive," "arousing the pupil's interest," "establishing friendly relations between teacher and student," etc. In training the mentally retarded, this attitude on the part of the teacher is agreed to be even more tremendously important; but the reasons for it may be briefly stated here.

FIXATIONS UPON PRIMARY NARCISSISM

As all of our cases have shown, the feeble-minded as a class are more definitely fixated on the primary narcissism than the average individual. Even where some libido has been detached

from this omnipotent aloofness we have seen an apparent reluctance in taking on new identifications. The reward to the secondary narcissism must be immediate and abundant, so that the step forward may have an appeal and an assurance of protection for the ego. In the case of Jimmy, for example, we are sure that he would be unwilling to learn how to dress himself if there were no autoerotic, playful experiences combined with the process, or if there were no constant flow of loving encouragement from his teacher. In all cases it is apparent that the instructor must to some extent substitute for the mother, who inspired the first attachment by answering the narcissistic and autoerotic needs of the child. The teacher may now "stand in the shadow" of this original identification by pouring libido upon the infantile ego. Only in this way can the child be led to accept the variations from the mother-ideal which are necessarily present in the new object. Each teacher, then, must represent something similar to the previous identification, while at the same time presenting differences.

SLOW PROCESS OF LEARNING

Whereas the normal child is capable of accepting fairly wide variations from the original pattern, the retarded individual must necessarily progress to new identifications in small steps. Not only is this true of identifications with persons, but equally so in identifications with "things." What is to be ingested must vary only slightly from what has already been taken in; there must be slow advance and constant review. But, above all, love must be given by the teacher and won from the child in order to overcome the primary narcissism and induce a projection towards identifications in a wider field.

But at this point there comes the hardest problem of all, one which is often not fully appreciated and understood. Once the libidinal relationship with the teacher is secured, the pupil very frequently becomes closely attached. It would seem as though little could bar the way to progress; yet it is found that only slight advance is made. Even where the child does perform the tasks required of him, it is often clear that he has not made his knowledge an inherent part of himself that he may use outside the classroom. Just as Jimmy does his "tricks" for attention, just as Ned does his arithmetic to win the teacher's approval, or Jack takes on adult attitudes for

self-aggrandizement, so in general the retarded individual may make his identifications mainly for the reward of love. He frequently drinks in the libidinal values, but fails to absorb the substance of what is being taught.

Here it is, then, that the teacher must go a step further. It is not enough to win the child's affection, so that libido passes freely from teacher to pupil and back to teacher again. The child's projection of libido must be displaced from the person of the teacher and directed towards the work at hand. The thing to be done or the idea to be grasped becomes of the nature of a fetish, in so far as it substitutes for the loved teacher. Going beyond a mere performing for reward, the activity becomes something which in itself attracts libido and gives a narcissistic (and autoerotic) return. Thus, as with Phil's efforts in the garden (first inspired by his father), the acquiring of new capacities and accomplishments offers its own reward. Similarly, Jack's learning how to weave may be cited as an instance where the libidinal attachment (identification) was displaced from the teacher to the "thing" to be acquired. But one further step is finally required: to separate the ingested substance ("the knowing how to do," etc.) from the excessive erotic element attached to it. The objective discharge of libido into the using of this knowledge in constructive activity must be developed. In this way the subject-matter, the accomplishment, etc., are fused into the ego as part of its capacity for dealing with reality. The identification has been absorbed; the material may at last be said to have been "learned."

It can be readily seen that inducing the pupil to project objectively into the work at hand (without over-abundant narcissistic and autoerotic return) will offer the utmost difficulty. So much depends on the ego's being strong enough to do without its former libidinal safeguards, that the problem seems to be almost exclusively something to be worked out within the individual, rather than anything that can be given by the teacher. Probably the most that can be done under ordinary circumstances is, as we have mentioned before, to place no barriers in the way. The opportunity for a reasonably free experiencing of reality, under no severe restrictions of fear, may help many children to build up a sense of friendly confidence towards the outer world. The ego may attain a feeling of ability to cope with the environment, and thus may require less narcissistic protection. If, as is often the case with the

mental defective, such ordinary measures are not enough, it would seem as though a period of individual analysis might offer some chance of relieving the ego of its deep fixations.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AS AN AID TO TRAINING

Psychoanalysis as a therapy would not claim to remove the fundamental causes of amentia. It would attempt, rather, to reduce the amount and depth of fixation so that the excessiveness of retardation may be avoided, even though the innate defect is not curable. It would hope to enable the patient to use such levels of development as he can attain for a socialized functioning in reality. Indeed, many critics may argue that our approach deals mainly with neurotic elements rather than with the amentia itself. We must grant a degree of fairness to the criticism and confess our inability to refute it. Yet we hold that the main consideration is the releasing of energy for projection into a grasping of reality and a satisfying adaptation to it. There may be cases where neurotic trends are not established, but the general distribution of libido is such as to restrict the dynamic forces available for intellectual use. There will be many other instances, of course, where an actual neurosis or a conduct-disorder must be relieved first before mental development can proceed to its full potentialities.

ANXIETY OR FEAR-NEUROSIS

Obviously, in the case of Jack a fear-neurosis inhibited the extent of his progress; and with Phil, a conduct-disorder certainly contributed to his backwardness. In cases of secondary amentia, too (Anna and Edna, for example), it seems clear that analysis might reduce the crippling effect of the disease or, by freeing energy from an over-compensating protectiveness, delay the inevitable deterioration. Even where it is difficult to designate any definite relationship between the neurosis and the amentia (*cf.* Winnie and Ned), the possibility of any mental advance seems to depend greatly on how much the inhibiting neurotic factors can be stripped of their libido. In short, a degree of straightening out the psychic difficulties of the individual may at least serve to place more energy at the disposal of educative processes. Conversely, unless the inner conflicts of the individual are understood and taken into account, there seemingly can be little true progress in mental training.

Apparently it is at this point that many of the usual methods of handling the feeble-minded meet with failure. The attempt is made to enforce with the child a moral and intellectual discipline which he is often incapable of meeting at the time. Since it is pressed upon him from the outside, and without understanding of his deeper needs and patterns, it can only result in a more rigid inbinding of the fixations already established. A psychoanalytic approach, on the other hand, would attempt to foster within the individual a self-discipline such as he is ready to build and is willing to incorporate. Even in instances where this is impossible and where control is necessarily exacted from the outside, a real understanding of the child's make-up can insure a more enlightened guidance on the part of the teacher. Yet that this is not regularly followed out in usual practice is shown by the fact that in treating cases of amentia the first step must very often consist of undoing the work of previous educators. Otherwise the element of fear (often hidden from superficial view, yet deeply ingrained as a result of excessive disciplinary measures of the ordinary programme) must inhibit the child's acceptance of reality. We need only cite Phil and Arthur as examples. With the former, an enforcement of external control had merely deepened his sado-masochistic hostility towards the outer world. Similarly, Arthur's reaction to the disciplines of parents and teachers had been one of fear and inadequacy. In both instances a further barrier had been raised against the possibility of grasping and absorbing parts of reality.

FAULT OF REPRESSIVE DISCIPLINE

Even in the benevolent system of Seguin and those who have followed him there would seem to be an element of compulsion. Although with the best of intentions and a most constructive purpose, the instructor appears to force upon the individual a programme of development which the latter may often be unwilling freely to accept. It is our impression that here it is not out of love for the teacher nor from inner needs that the child takes on the new abilities; it is because the outer world offers him no choice. Seemingly, the danger under such circumstances is twofold: the pupil may be pushed into a series of identifications which allow him mechanically to act out the performances required, but in which the substance is

not absorbed into the ego; secondly, since the ego has not taken the initiative, it may be that a pattern of compulsive activity and timid dependence will later arise out of this training. In other words, progress may be attained at the *expense* of the ego rather than to its constant development; the toll may be a neurosis in later life.

TEACHERS OF AMENTS

Finally, we must recognize that the feeble-minded are very often handicapped by elements within the teacher's own personality. The work of training aments is so demanding that it necessarily requires a tremendous projection of libido into their care. Yet no one may deny that those who are entrusted with this process gain an enormous libidinal advantage from their work, to a degree which perhaps no other work among children affords. This is to be expected, for are we not here dealing with a condition which in more or less fixed form represents a continuance of infancy? How may we honestly evade the fact that it silently appeals to our enduring desire to play a benevolent, super-parental rôle towards children who may never grow up? Very frequently it happens that the teacher's own libidinal needs unconsciously exert a cramping effect upon the full, independent growth of these "permanent children." Much as a mother's emotional needs often tend to "spoil" a child, so the teacher's love-life may be too completely carried on within the teaching process. Hidden by rationalizations, "a wise protective care" may imperceptibly degenerate into something which fosters a constant, dependent clinging on the part of the pupil. That which the teacher has need of may thus be satisfied; but that which would allow the child to develop has been sacrificed.

The failure of the teacher to be aware of her own emotional tendencies is all too patent in many of the usual training systems. (Of course, this is not confined to women teachers alone.) Not only is the attitude towards the mentally retarded frequently too protective, too soft; but also there is very often an indulgence in the opposite extreme. Disciplinary methods become too harsh and cold, too "hard"—possibly because the teacher's own super-ego has remained over-severe. Through identification she then restrains the child with the same stern repressiveness which she directs against her own ego. In other words, her

own conflicts are unconsciously projected into the relationship with the pupil.

In many instances the teacher is seen to impose her own standard of values upon the child. Her pattern may be serviceable and sound for her; yet, for another, it may be a distinct disadvantage. Moreover, if the instructor's emotional conflicts are mainly unsolved, there is danger that in the mutual identification with the child the latter may take over neurotic attitudes towards life. So-called normal children can more successfully battle against these unhealthier trends in the teacher's social and moral training; but the defective is less capable of keeping his own balance. A similar situation is seen in the usual analytic relationship, when the analyst's neurosis may exert an inhibiting effect upon the patient; for here, too, is a personal attachment which carries emotional values for both participants.

The problem is met in the analytic situation by requiring that the analyst himself shall have first submitted to a personal analysis. This, from our point of view, would be the ideal to be sought for in all teachers, especially those responsible for the training of aunts. Obviously, it is of prime importance that the teacher not only understand the child, but that she should also understand herself. Yet we must recognize that circumstances at present make it possible for but few teachers to be analyzed. At least we may suggest, however, that those selected for the care of the mentally retarded be ones who by nature are endowed with a fairly normal libidinal life. Since this, too, is probably an impossible condition, perhaps all that can be hoped for at this time is a conscious striving towards the attitudes recognized as ideal. The teacher may lend encouragement to objectivity and real, independent growth on the part of her little charge. She may strive to be impartial and impersonal, in the sense that her own problems shall not too completely envelop the child. Yet she must be aware that this tendency of hers will always be present, since it is this very trend of emotion that impels her towards the task in the first place. Finally, although she becomes in all respects a kind and sympathetic parent, she must be able to adjust to the inevitable weaning. Possibly the mentally retarded are fated always to retain some degree of their infantile patterns. The teacher may keep open the way towards progress, however, if she becomes an understanding guide rather than a permanent parent to permanent children.

II

In one sense our application of the depth psychology of Freud has merely stated what was already known in another way. We have tried to give new support to this knowledge, however, by placing it on a more dynamic basis. Moreover, many of the mistakes in present-day training methods have often been vaguely sensed by teachers themselves; we have simply attempted to offer a reasonable explanation from the psychology of human beings. But, most of all, our research has aimed at evolving a tentative theory for amentia which, while encompassing the observations of the past, may open the way for more enlightened investigation in the future. It is for this reason that we have not hesitated to speculate freely where final, definite evidence is not available. It can be our purpose to keep the subject open, to remain receptive to new ideas and free to test them in our actual experience. Only in this manner may we avoid the unscientific rigidity of a closed mind; only from such a point of view may we hope to resume the progress in understanding amentia which Seguin so definitely advanced in his day.

A theory for the energy required in mental functioning seems necessary if the future is to see a deeper understanding of the ament's everyday problems. It is our belief that the development of inter-related trends of libidinal and destructive impulses, together with the ego's capacity to use them, supplies such a dynamic formulation. Briefly, our conception has been that the reduction of primary narcissism allows the libido to flow more freely into the formation of secondary narcissism, a trend which fosters an initial effort towards the outer world for the sake of reward. Further, a fusion between oral-erotic and destructive impulses gives this relationship a quality of ingesting the object, of forming an identification with it, and of merging certain aspects of it within the ego. The individual thus gains a libidinal return and brings to himself, both from persons and "things," an added way of knowing and coping with reality. Finally, we have held that the reprojection of libido into objective uses serves to separate the acquired knowledge from its erotic component, and leads to an absorption of the substance into increased ego-power. This capacity for engulfing and digesting identifications is regarded as the foundation for mentally grasping the outer world, and its development is seen to depend

greatly on the important trends in instinctual as well as ego development.

Postulating this and knowing the main trends of emotional growth, psychoanalysis may offer its help in several ways. Directly, it may be used as a form of individual therapy for the purpose of restoring flexibility and progress in emotional trends. It may thus release energy for a broader use in mental functioning. More generally, psychoanalytic principles may be applied towards a better understanding of the ament's difficulties and a more effective or purposeful training treatment. We have called attention to the reasons why such qualities as concreteness, variety, and repetition are found necessary in educating retarded individuals. We have stressed the importance of unconscious and libidinal trends in the psychological relationship between teacher and pupil. In doing so, we feel that a start has been made in the direction of wiser care for the feeble-minded. Future research may arrive at a wider elaboration of the formulations and suggestions outlined in this book.

A third field of advance is made plausible from the possibility of understanding better the total personality of the ament. For practical purposes it would be valuable if one could judge which channels of occupation and what environmental conditions will be best suited to the abilities and needs of a given ament. In the past these estimates have been based largely on the intuitive judgment of experienced workers or have been evolved through the slow, uncertain process of trial and error. In each of the cases we have here studied an attempt has been made to foresee what future circumstances will be most favourable for the individual's general progress and serviceability. As much as possible these prognostic formulations have been based on psychoanalytic knowledge gained from treatment and observation of the given patient. Obviously our present effort has been crude and not far removed from a dependence on "trying and seeing." Yet we wonder if something more cannot be done in this direction to make psychiatric advice more definite, more exactly a science than an art.

NEWER AIM OF PSYCHOMETRIC TESTS

Psychometric tests can be of great service in determining the paths along which a feeble-minded person has his greatest natural ability. If the testing aims to discover not merely

age-rating, but the definite fields in which the individual is capable, there will be the possibility of restoring the ament to a useful position in society. Perhaps he can never establish himself on an equal plane with his normal fellows, but under favourable circumstances he may be able to attain some degree of real worth and constructive service. What is needed, apparently, is a formulation of the capacities necessary for specific kinds of occupations. The performance tests may then attempt to reveal the direction of the individual's greatest efficiency. In other words, psychometric testing might hope to determine the trends of ego-capacity and the kinds of identifications for which a person has the surest inclination.

For this we might gain further insight by understanding in new ways the individual's hereditary endowment. It will be noted that in the cases we have given no mention was made of the family history. In every instance the factor of family-stock was found to be negative, and no data were on hand to suggest what inherent possibilities for development lay open to the patient. As long as the records of inheritance mention only outspoken diseases or clearly formed mental disorders, we feel that their usefulness in understanding the ament is very limited. If one could know, however, that certain ego-patterns or trends were manifested in the family, that specific kinds of identifications in the outer world were more easily formed than others, the data would clearly be important for guiding the individual's training. It may be that the future will see a deeper knowledge of the definite capacities which the ego inherits, and these facts may supplement the psychometric data in amplifying our understanding of how best to help the ament.

When modified psychometric tests and more purposeful studies of inheritance are supported by an application of our knowledge of the dynamic phases in mental functioning, one may eventually be able to judge accurately the most advantageous field for advance in a given case. It may be possible psychoanalytically to prescribe the occupational interests and circumstances for which the individual's instinctual trends and traits of personality are most ready. That is, the vagueness with which we now give our estimates may be supplanted by a greater certainty and a more directly helpful guidance. The libidinal and other impulsive trends may at some time be better known in their relationship to performance in certain occupa-

tions. Psychoanalysis has already formulated the fixations which lead to phases of personality such as "the oral character," "the anal type," etc. May it not further serve to prepare or disqualify an individual for certain aspects of practical performance? Moreover, there may come also a clearer perception of the ways in which the environment may respond to the ament's libidinal needs, and thus insure him a greater degree of happiness in adapting to social conditions. By thus encompassing the whole range of the individual's endowment and development, our knowledge may in the future make possible a higher level of aid to the feeble-minded.

The present study cannot hope to have established new truths nor to have determined new methods of approach. That will remain for further experience to evolve and test. Our goal has been to suggest interpretations of the observed facts in amentia, and to submit possibilities for future advance in helping the ament. If in doing this we have stimulated a deeper consideration of the retarded individual's plight; if we have focussed attention on the need for further knowledge of the ego-structure and its dynamic components; and if we have also aroused thought concerning all phases of normal or abnormal education and functioning—then we have more than served our purpose.

SOME QUESTIONS STILL UNSOLVED

Our research still leaves us with many questions. Often, for instance, one is tempted to say that all people have fixations; that the feeble-minded merely have them to a greater degree; or that everyone has defective capacities, but the ament is handicapped to a wider and deeper extent. Undoubtedly this quantitative factor is of the utmost importance, but is it the only differentiation between normal mentality and feeble-mindedness? Is there not a qualitative element as well? Again, when we indicate an "oral fixation," what is it which decides that this shall in one case contribute to mental arrest, in another to a psychosis, and in a third simply to the establishment of an "oral personality"? Obviously other factors enter to play a determinative part, but is there something also in the *nature* of the fixation itself? Similarly, while the average individual makes wider and deeper identifications than the retarded person, is there also a difference in kind? Is this

qualitative difference in identifications to be attributed to certain needs and tendencies of the ego?

We are loth to end our consideration of mental arrest at this point, but following the wisdom of Freud: "We know already that, owing to the interdependence of the complicated problems of the mind, we are forced to break off every investigation at some point until such time as the results of another attempt elsewhere can come to its aid."

GLOSSARY

THE scope of this book extends in many directions aside from its use by those already familiar with psychoanalytic terms and principles; the psychologist, the pedagogue, the layman, in increasing numbers, are beginning to recognize the practicality of the application of Freud's depth psychology over the whole field of mental arrest. In order, therefore, to increase the usefulness of the present work, the following glossary is given to render the text more readily understood by the general reader:

- ABSORPTION: The incorporating within the individual of identifications with objects sufficiently to make them a real part of the personality.
- AMBIVALENCE: An emotional condition in which both love and hate are felt for the same individual.
- AMENT: A person whose intellectual capacity is below that of the normal individual.
- AMENTIA: Mental arrest, or feeble-mindedness. A mental state in which the intellect is below that of the normal individual's. Primary amentia refers to a feeble-minded condition present at birth. Secondary amentia refers to feeble-mindedness acquired either as the result of injury or disease.
- ANAL: Pertaining to the anus. Used both in a physical and emotional or libidinal sense.
- ANAL-LIBIDO: Emotional or libidinal energy investing the anal zone.
- AUTOEROTISM: Pleasurable sensations experienced within one's own body.
- CASTRATION: The original meaning of this term was removal of the male genitals. Its acquired psychoanalytic meaning is extended to include emotional deprivation of any kind.
- CATHEXIS: The investment with libidinal or emotional energy of a given bodily area or zone.
- CORTICAL: Pertaining to the brain cortex.
- COUNTER-TRANSFERENCE: The emotional rapport felt or expressed by the analyst for the patient as a result of the analytic situation.
- DEATH INSTINCTS: Destructive instincts that are essentially aimed against the self.
- DESEXUALIZE: To deflect the aim of instinctive impulses from the original sexual objects to others, as in sublimation.
- EGO: The organized part of the Id which has been modified by external environment, and whose primary function is perception and testing of reality.
- EGO-IDEAL: The unconscious standard for personality and conduct created from the earliest identifications of the individual with his objects.

EROTISM: Pleasurable sensation of sexual or libidinal character felt in certain especially susceptible zones of the body, such as the oral, anal, and genital areas.

FELLATIO: A form of sexual perversion characterized by the sucking of the male genital.

FETISH: Some article of personal belonging, such as a glove or shoe, which, because of unconscious association with the owner or wearer, arouses erotic impulses in an individual.

FIXATION: The arrest of some portion of the libidinal development at a pre-genital stage, such as the oral, anal, or urinary, to which, under conditions of sufficient stress, the individual may later regress in a neurosis or psychosis.

FŒTAL: Pertaining to the foetus, or unborn human organism.

GENITALIZATION: The maturing of sexual impulses physically and emotionally to a degree that permits a normal functioning of sexual processes.

GENITALS: The sexual organs of male or female.

HETEROEROTIC: Heterosexual. Pertaining to the flow of libidinal energy in the direction of the opposite sex.

HOMOEROTIC: Homosexual. Pertaining to libidinal or sexual attraction felt for a person of the same sex. A normal phase of homoerotism is seen in feelings of friendship. It becomes pathological when it tends to replace heterosexuality.

HYPOPHRENIA: Amentia.

ID: The reservoir of unorganized, unconscious impulses and tendencies of the personality.

IDENTIFICATION: A state of emotional rapport with another person in which one tends to absorb ideas and standards of conduct from that individual.

IMBIND: To bind or hold emotional energy within the organism.

IMPOUND: To collect and retain emotional energy within the organism.

INGEST: To incorporate within the body physically or emotionally, as in the physical act of eating or the emotional receiving of love.

INTROJECTION: The mental process of incorporating attitudes or attributes of another person or object through the process of identification.

LIBIDINAL: Pertaining to the libido or dynamic energy flowing from the instincts.

LIBIDO: The dynamic energy flowing from the sexual instinct, which comprises all forms of expression of love or interest for objects, including the self. The life-instincts. The dynamic urges within the organism, whose major purpose is to perpetuate and enjoy life.

MANIC-DEPRESSIVE: Pertaining to a psychosis characterized either by alternating periods of excitement with over-activity and depression with psychomotor retardation, or a mixture of both states.

MASOCHISM: A turning in upon the self of sadistic or destructive tendencies. In extreme forms it is a sexual perversion accompanied by excitement, with the wish to be hurt and subdued, and is a phase of feminine passivity. Masochism is taken from the works of Leopold von Sacher Masoch, Austrian historian, mid-nineteenth century.

MASTURBATION: A form of sexual indulgence in which an individual's own genitals are sexually stimulated by the hand or by some other self-produced means. Its intent is to produce autoerotic pleasure.

MENINGEAL: Pertaining to the meninges, or membrane enveloping the brain and spinal cord.

- NARCISSISM:** The direction of sexual libido or emotion toward one's self as object. Self-love. Primary narcissism refers to the earliest libidinal state of the human being, during which other objects receive little or none of the love-energy of the individual. It is characterized by a feeling of omnipotence and emotional aloofness from outer environment. Secondary narcissism refers to a later emotional state in which a portion of the libido is projected toward outer objects in order to win a return of love for the self. Secondary narcissism thus contains an element of objectivity.
- NEUROSIS:** A pathological mental state in which the individual emotionally withdraws from certain phases of reality and regresses to pre-genital phases of libidinal satisfaction, which can be enjoyed in distorted form in symptoms.
- ŒDIPUS COMPLEX:** The early emotional or libidinal relationship between a child and its parents, which usually occurs in the first year of life following oral frustrations experienced in the weaning from the breast. In the positive Œdipus complex the feelings of love for the parent of the opposite sex and hate for the parent of the same sex predominate. Such feelings may or may not be conscious. In the inverted Œdipus complex, feelings of love for the parent of the same sex and of hate for the parent of the opposite sex predominate.
- ORAL:** Pertaining to the mouth cavity and connecting zone. Used in both physical and emotional senses of the attributes of this zone.
- ORAL-EROTISM:** Libidinal gratification derived from sensations experienced in the oral or mouth zone. This term also refers to derivative character traits.
- ORAL-LIBIDO:** That portion of dynamic or sexual energy which invests the oral or mouth zone.
- PARANOIA:** A psychosis with a homosexual basis, characterized by a definite system of delusions, particularly of persecution, hallucinations, ideas of omnipotence and grandeur.
- PENIS-ENVY:** Envy felt consciously or unconsciously by girls for the male genital or its attributes in personality, such as strength, power, aggressiveness, etc.
- PHANTASY:** The enjoyment in imagination of situations which tend to gratify the individual's wishes for instinctive and ego satisfactions.
- PLEASURE-PRINCIPLE:** The tendency to regulate activity, both consciously and unconsciously, on the basis of seeking pleasure and avoiding pain. Characteristic of early phases of development both in the individual and the race.
- PRE-GENITAL:** Pertaining to the earliest phases of libidinal development, as in the oral, anal, urethral, and autoerotic stages.
- PRE-ŒDIPAL:** Pertaining to the pre-genital phase of libidinal development prior to the dominance of the Œdipus conflict, which is accompanied by a rise of genital impulses.
- PROJECTION:** (1) The repressing of an inner libidinal impulse, such as a homosexual desire, which finds expression after distortion as an outer perception. Thus, an individual's hate for another is perceived as hate by this person for the individual. The mechanism of projection in this sense characterizes paranoid states. (2) The direction of libidinal energy toward an object.

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PSYCHASTHENIA: (1) A mental state characterized by feelings of doubt, inadequacy, anxiety, unreality, etc. (2) Amentia, or feeble-mindedness.

PSYCHIC: Pertaining to the psyche, or mental systems of the human organism.

PSYCHOMETRIC: Pertaining to tests which are designed to measure the mental capacities of the individual as compared with the estimated normal standards of intellectual ability.

PSYCHOPATHIC: Pertaining to constitutional mental disorders in the personality.

PSYCHOSIS: A mental state in which the libido of the individual is withdrawn from objects in reality, and in which he is enabled to enjoy in fantasy repressed desires and strivings incompatible with reality. Mental disease. Insanity.

REGRESSION: A return to earlier levels of libidinal or ego development because of the failure of the individual to function satisfactorily at the level formerly reached.

REPROJECTION: The redirecting of libidinal energies toward objects.

SADISM: A form of libidinal expression characterized by hate for, and the wish to hurt or destroy the object. This term was coined from the name of Marquis de Sade (1740-1814), who drew attention to this form of libido expression. It is regrettable that the word has come to be used for simple cruelty, when it should be reserved for the deliberate infliction of pain associated with sexual pleasure. By common consent psychoanalysts use "sadism" and "masochism" in their libidinal connotations, and we have so employed them in this book.

SCHIZOID: Pertaining to schizophrenia. Referring to the introspective type of personality which is more concerned with fantasy than reality.

SCHIZOPHRENIA: A psychosis usually appearing early in life, characterized by a withdrawal of interest from objects in reality and a replacement of reality by a fantasy world calculated to gratify unconscious strivings. Also known as dementia præcox.

SUBLIMATION: The deflecting of sexual libido to channels and aims other than the original objects of the instincts, in the interest of social satisfactions.

SUPER-EGO: That part of the personality derived from early identifications with parents and parent-substitutes whose function it is to form the ideals and to direct the conduct of the individual.

SURROGATE: An individual who represents, to the unconscious, a definite emotional rôle, such as a mother-substitute, father-substitute, or parent-substitute. In dreams such substitutes or surrogates play an important part.

TRANSFERENCE: The displacement of emotional feeling from one object to another through the unconscious process of identification. This mechanism is one of the main factors in the analytical situation.

URINARY: Urethral. Pertaining to that stage of emotional development in which erotic interest and enjoyment is felt in the urinary process.

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