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by C. Gasquoine Hartley.**

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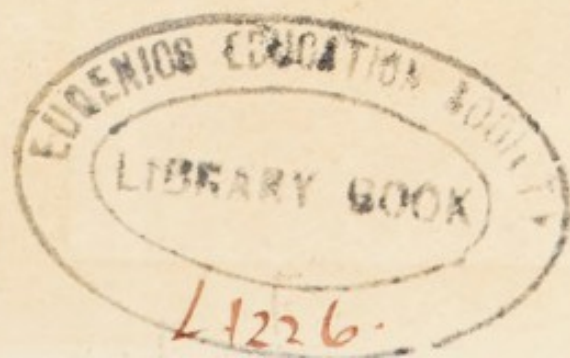




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MOTHER AND SON



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MOTHER AND SON

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF
CHARACTER FORMATION IN CHILDREN

BY

C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY

AUTHOR OF

"THE TRUTH ABOUT WOMAN," "MOTHERHOOD AND
THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SEXES," ETC.

LONDON

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Dedication

TO

THE YOUNG

BY ONE WHO HERSELF IS OLD

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PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BEGINNING

“Most of us carry in our hearts the Jocasta who begs Œdipus for God’s sake not to inquire further, and we give way to her; and that is the reason why Philosophy stands where it does.”—SCHOPENHAUER.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER : Anecdote of a father and mother of ancient Greece—The overwhelming importance of the first years of a child’s life—Failure to recognise this the cause of adult failure and unhappiness—The responsibility this implies—Parental obligations—So much evil that could be prevented is allowed to go on—Servants and parental carelessness—The fundamental character built up at the start of the life-history—My object in writing this book—Its scope and its aim—The family—The start of the child’s love-life—Family relationships not as peaceful and as happy as is believed—The twofold influence of the mother: the one constructive, the other obstructive—Helping the child forward and holding him back—Jealousy of the father and of brothers and sisters—The wide field of the book—Its method—The old misunderstand the young—The child must free itself from the parents—The new psychology is not introspective, irrational, or displeasing.

A NOTEWORTHY story is told of a mother and father of ancient Greece, who brought their young boy of three years old to a renowned teacher and philosopher, with the request that he would instruct and bring up their son.

“We ask you,” they said, “to educate our child so that you may form his character. We desire you

to take full charge and to do the best that you can for the boy."

"Tell me, how old is your son?" was the answer of the sage.

"Just three!"

The old man shook his head.

"It is impossible to do what you ask me," he answered. "I am grieved to disappoint you, but you have brought the boy to me too late."¹

I can think of nothing else that illustrates, so strikingly as this story, the dominant idea that I wish first to bring before you. The immense importance of the beginning. Nothing else matters as much if the child is to be really educated and helped to live. It is the only way to prevent the waste that cannot fail to result from our present blundering—the mistakes that destroy happiness and power.

I cannot emphasise this truth too soon or too strongly.

So few of us recognise yet in any practical way the prominence of the first five nursery years in guiding, and even determining, the child's character; a guidance so inescapable, so permanent, that the whole after adult life is directed, and, in some cases, decided in these years. So much is involved. We have got to realise in a more literal way that the child is, in truth, the father to the man. Do you see the responsibilities that this implies? If we blunder and fail, from the beginning, there is no certain escape for the child. Here is the first scaffolding which will remain, however elaborately we build and rebuild above and around it.

Hence the obligation and seriousness of all that concerns parental action. The child is helpless.

I could give any number of examples of parents who, though certainly solicitous for the well-being of their family, seem to be without a flicker of understanding

¹ For reference to all notes see page 295.

of the watchful care that should be exercised over young children. Children are continuously left in the care of servants. Parents are curiously blind. It seems to be thought that it does not matter. I am astonished always by this parental carelessness as to who comes into familiar contact with little children. A simply enormous amount of propaganda is called for here. I feel almost hopeless sometimes, so difficult is it to make the adult understand that the first nurse, the first influences, the first school, are of importance, are, indeed, of greater importance, and not less, than the later ones that, after all, supply only the unessential decorations. The unalterable structure, the fundamental character is built up at the start of the life history.

So much evil that might be prevented is always going on, because we allow children to be hurt and hindered, misunderstood, frightened and their characters prevented from a right unfolding by the training, or mistraining, of loving but unintelligent parents. For I would have you note that I do not mean only bad parents; they are easier to deal with, much easier than the good parents, who train in ignorance and without sufficient understanding of the exquisitely responsive nature of the little child and its terrible dependence on the adults, who control its life with the arbitrary authority of gods.

It is this need of the child to be understood that impels me to write. I am aware, of course, that on this question there is already a literature, enormous in the aggregate. Yet I offer no apology for my book, so convinced am I of the urgency of the matter; and also, I believe, I can help, at any rate a little, in saving the young from being hurt by the old. For this reason I had to write.

This book is an attempt to support and make plain certain new views as to the formation of character. It sets out first to investigate the family, and estimate

the numerous influences acting on the child in moulding its character in infancy and early childhood and during adolescence; thus forming the affective determinants,² which, as I have just stated, decide the grown-up attitude—the manner and mood with which the child, as an adult, will meet the world.

I start from the belief that it is more important for parents to understand their children even than to love them. Parental love (though so often we refuse to acknowledge it), can be exceedingly selfish, terribly hindering to the child's happiness—his rights over himself and his own life.

We know now much more than we did, though still much less than we ought to know, in connection with this question of the child. A whole new realm of knowledge has been opened up with regard to the instinctive tendencies of the child's mind. No longer are we groping entirely in the dark. We can understand something of the emotions and affections of children and the way in which these can be rightly trained and helped, or wrongly mistreated and obstructed. It will be my task, as the necessary beginning of our inquiry, to investigate these emotions and affections, where first they are expressed in the home relationships—the start of the child's love-life. And to do this we shall have to examine with some care the attitudes and responses of the child to the different members of the family and, in particular, to the mother and the father. We shall find much that will surprise us, much that may annoy and hurt our adult opinions. For these parent-child relations are not so simple as at first sight might appear, nor are they as affectionate, as amicable and happy as traditionally we have imagined them to be.

The central figure of the trinity-group is the mother. She is not, I shall have to show you, as safe in following her affection and her instincts as has always been accepted. She may love her child so overwhelmingly

that never through his life can he escape from her love to find love for himself; she may protect him so entirely that he will never grow up, but will carry with him to the grave the hindering, infantile dependence which she has encouraged.

This view, so hard to accept, of the obstructive tendencies, almost always present in maternal love, I shall have to emphasise. The mother is the supreme parent. She it is who starts the child on his discovery of the world. But also she holds him back, draws him away from childish enterprise and endeavour to the easy comfort and safety of her arms. Her very love acts as a barrier against his progress. Thus the mother's influence presses upon the child, always and at the same time in a twofold and sharply opposite way; acting in the one direction in pushing forward as the child's best and most-loved teacher; but acting also, and no less positively, in the other direction, in pulling and jerking him back—as the greatest hinderer to his self-happiness and development. This is inevitable and escape from the position is exceedingly difficult. Always the mother is there for the child to turn to for comfort in every trouble and after every hurt. She provides the easy way out—the escape from the hardness of effort. So that inevitably the mother-image comes to stand in the child's mind for effortless happiness and unearned peace. The mother is the inviolable security—the only secure thing in the child's world. Wonderful! Unchanging! I would ask you to remember this. It is very important.

Hardly less prominent and even more difficult is the position occupied by the father, who stands outside this mother-child circle. He is admitted and he is admired, but he does not belong to the child in the same way as the mother. Always he is regarded with some jealousy. He dethrones the baby, distracts the mother's attention from her children, and when he enters the nursery, all its values are reversed. This jealousy of

the father is also a question on which I shall have much to say.

It will be necessary also to inquire further into the family relationships between brothers and sisters. Here again are emotional forces of permanent importance. In these brother-sister, sister-brother combinations, the great danger arises of an overpowering sense of inferiority being induced in the mind of the child who is younger, weaker, less attractive or slower than the rest.³ Inferiority is one of the darkest shadows that dogs the footsteps of the small child in the big adult world: it may dominate long periods of the inner life; it may come to rule the whole outer destiny. Inferiority can be the secret source of genius; and it may also be the seed of crime and vice. In the chapter that follows that on brothers and sisters, births and deaths will be considered in relation to their *affects* on the minds of children. These events, really so opposite, from this point of view are much alike. The family is changed. The child is uneasy and anxious, and at the same time curious and excited. A new situation has to be met.

Childish faults will also be examined, fresh methods of treatment will be considered. This subject, too, will teach us new things about the child mind. We shall have to inquire into the early concealed conflicts—those hidden causes, unrecognised by the parents, unknown to the child itself, that really decide its good behaviour or its bad. I hope to succeed in opening to some extent the mind of the child to the parents. Afterwards I shall deal with the rebellion of adolescence, when I shall bring forward certain views of my own on some of the chief problems of this second important period of the child's growth. We shall see that there is now in the emotional life a return to infantile processes and behaviour. Thus, to understand adolescence, we must understand childhood. This brings us to the school and its real work as an intermediary between

the home and the world. The teachers will have to be judged, not as intellectual instructors, but as parent substitutes. I shall recommend new ideals of emotional education, and advocate a much closer co-operation between the home and the school : a change that must be made before there can be any unified and effective scheme of education.

This closes Part I, Part II and Part III, and the main half of my inquiry. Part IV, the second half, will be much shorter, but not less necessary to my purpose, as in it I shall attempt a practical application of some of the truths that have been established. So that we may understand our position better, I propose first to give the life histories of twenty families, to illustrate further the inescapable influence on the adult life of the home and of the parents. In these histories we shall be able to see more vividly the family affections directing the after life and grown-up love experiences. Then I shall pass on to the Adult Life and in two short chapters, one of which is devoted to " The Choice of a Profession and Success in a Profession " and the second to " Marriage and the Relationships of the Sexes," I shall ask you to take further our examination of the emotional life. I shall hope to show you how the same responses, the same moods, the same influences, are controlling the adult fate as were active in the child-life, but under different conditions of expression. In these last chapters I shall try to offer a practical solution of some of the questions involved : in particular, the complicated questions of moral conduct, of success or failure in life, of happiness in marriage and sexual health.

This, then, is the wide field over which we shall have to travel—it is the whole of the life of the child and of the adult.

The difficulties before me are very great. For one thing the subject is so vast and very complicated. Already there is a literature so extensive, and such

variety of opinions, that the work of the student is far from easy. I stand in the position—how shall I express it to you?—of a believer but an amateur. In each section of my inquiry, on every question I investigate, there are any number of other men and women with practical experience and firmer knowledge than I can claim. I have considered, however, that I could summarise some of this knowledge in a comprehensive picture, simple and clear for everyone to understand. I also desire to say many things I have come to know for myself. My great wish is to help the adult to understand the child. This is the underlying purpose of all my work. I shall try to avoid mistakes. I put forward my own opinions and suggestions with great diffidence. It is so easy in these questions, as I realise full well, to interpret the facts by the bias of one's own wishes. At least I shall try to be honest.

Parents have turned a blind side to so much in children that they have not wished to see: this blind side must be taught to observe and to be honest. Before we can understand and help children, or even be able to love them without hurting them, we shall have to give up much of our most cherished faith in ourselves and our adult omnipotent intelligence; we need to learn that right training must depend on a careful following and helping of the child's fundamental tendencies and instincts. We must give up much that we have valued; relinquish our false ideals as to the nature and needs of children; drop all imaginings of ourselves as being different from the child. Certainly we cannot intelligently deal with the young by believing them something which they are not. In all our relations with them in the home and elsewhere, and in each successive stage of their growth, we shall have to bind ourselves to certain aspects of reality. In a sense, no doubt, children belong to us—the adults, but far more deeply they belong to themselves. We shall have to accept that, from the very hour of birth, each child has a

personal emotional life—a life of continuous growth and also of conflict, that always carries with it certain elements of antagonism against the parents, the teachers and all who are old, and these concealed struggles and emotional disruptions must be taken notice of and reckoned with, however much we dislike them.

I shall be compelled to advance certain unpopular doctrines. Some of the things I shall have to say will, I know, astonish, and even anger, parents. I cannot avoid this offence. We must face the difficult problems of the child fully equipped with all possible knowledge that now we can have. Even to love successfully needs an instructed spirit.

To be a parent at all effectively requires the strictest self-discipline and immense sacrifice. And it is necessary to say here emphatically, that this sacrifice must be an intelligent and instructed sacrifice; something very different indeed from what is implied usually by parental unselfishness. The new unselfishness will be a truer self-abnegation: it entails endless and constant holding back from the delights and personal satisfactions of parenthood, a glad giving up of these easy gratifications for the deeper good of the child—a daily denial of self, a continuous renunciation of the old to the young.

It is always difficult for the adult to comprehend the child, just about as difficult as it is for the civilised man to comprehend the savage. The separation between them is too wide. We are always misunderstanding the young. This is, of course, due, in part, to defective knowledge, but stronger and far more harmful than this want of knowledge is a strange kind of grown-up concealment—a kind of pretended moral stilt-walking, so that in most cases there seems to be an almost complete failure of ability in the adult mind to realise the child as he really is, what he likes and dislikes, wants to do and hates doing: his needs,

his emotions. The real nature of his loves and his wishes are hidden from the adult. Thus understanding between the generations, between the old and the young, is the very rarest thing.

My wish is, in so far as it is possible, to bridge this gulf. I want to inquire into the cause of the misunderstanding, to estimate how far the separation is unavoidable and right, and where it can or ought to be removed. For I desire to help parents out of the knowledge I have myself gained through the mistakes of my own self-imposed and halting parenthood. Possibly I have been able to estimate better as this parenthood was self-imposed, taken up voluntarily because I passionately loved children and could have no child of my flesh, only this child of my soul. I have realised how much better I could have done if, at the start of my task, I had had the knowledge that I now have. I have wanted very much to set down my thoughts and all that has become clear to me as a direct result of my own experience, but which I was able to understand only gradually as I came to know more. This book is really a confession of the deepest things for which I have cared. I want to make this effort now that I have come to a time of pause before the end of my work, and now that my attitudes are more plainly defined, and my personal task almost worked through. I have much to say. I have tried to reach a firmer position as also I have tried to bridge, if only with a plank insecure and placed uncertainly from one side to the other, the wide and uncrossed gulf which separates the parents from the child.

There is far too possessive a quality in most parental love, and especially is this a fault of motherhood. The child is not a sheet of paper for parents and nurses and teachers to write on. Such a view is obsolete. The child itself is alive. It greets desire with desire, emotion with emotion, effort with effort. Always the child is a separate individual from the parents, and the

true business of the entire education should have as its aim the gaining of freedom from the parents. This is a biological necessity of life. For by way of this freedom only can the young gain the inner liberty that will give a successful adult career, with control over the affections and the emotional life, and power to develop the personality to its finest possibilities.

There are now some difficult questions that must be considered.

Those who are studying the mind of the child and the family in the ways I have been trying to explain to you, are frequently accused of being unhealthily introspective. Yet it is a fact that this mind-study is the first psychology which arose purely out of objective study. No part of its teaching was ever built up on preconceived ideas. In a sense, its truths may be said to have been discovered by chance, in ordinary medical practice on nervous patients, which led to certain results, arrived at through these efforts to cure minds that were ill.⁴ It was only subsequently found that there were the same emotional and mental processes in the normal mind as had been found in the abnormal, the difference being only one of degree. And it was upon this objective experience that the new knowledge and rules of mind health were based, just in the same way as the ordinary doctors have gained knowledge and made rules for bodily health. Everyone knows this, but everyone forgets it, when they do not want to remember it. Never was there a psychology less based on introspection.

There is, however, so much misunderstanding about these new psychological doctrines, and especially in relation to children and their emotional needs, that I must wait for a moment to remove some prejudices by pointing out some errors.

It is accused, in the first place, of being an attack on reason and a glorification of instinct and the emotions. This is entirely untrue. Mind-study, psycho-analysis,

or analytical psychology, as it is now frequently called, shows the one way in which the instincts and emotions really can be controlled, and not repressed; for repression is not control and has nothing to do with it; it shows how the emotions may be used, brought under the direction of consciousness, and made serviceable to the character. This is of the greatest importance in relation to the child. For by revealing the forces that act against reason we learn, for the first time and in a practical way, how we, the parents, the teachers, the educators, may assist the child so that he may not be deflected from reasonable conduct by forces which neither he nor we, who are training him, hitherto have understood. At last a new, plainer, but still difficult, way has been opened.

Then there is a widespread and very deep prejudice against accepting the action of the unconscious mind, which seems to many people as something at once difficult and unproved, as a fruitless hypothesis disagreeable and remote from practical usefulness. It is, of course, not difficult to see why this prejudice is so persistent. But I would ask you to think. The unconscious mind is nothing new. We all know that many of our actions are done without intention, and even against our will: we know this; and we recognise it more and more as we grow psychologically more candid and learn to be observant of ourselves. Do you not become angry, for instance, when you have made up your mind not to be angry; or are you not lazy in hours in which you have planned to work; been impatient with those to whom you wanted to be agreeable, mean when you wished to be generous? In short, we do the things we desire not to do, and leave undone the things we desire to do. We are divided in ourselves.

Now people like to think that their actions are reasonable. It hurts their self-esteem to acknowledge that there are forces within them that have escaped out

of their command. So they make up all kinds of excuses to explain the foolish things they do. They will not look within themselves because they do not want to do so. That is why the new psychology so often is unpopular. But, again, it is just here that its educational value arises. For this loss of power in the psyche—this failure in spite of our wills to govern some part of ourselves, in the vast majority of cases, might have been prevented when we were young. And now so often it is too late. The process of looking into the dark places of the character is too painful to be faced in the adult years. So we continue our pretence of being able to guide ourselves ever forward towards righteousness by the strength of our wills, and when, as so usually happens, we fail and fall down, backwards and headlong, we comfort our pride by blaming others and wailing over the misfortune of our circumstances.

Thus we find, first, that we do not believe because we do not want to believe. This is the reason why the new teaching is not accepted.

And further, when this analytical psychology is not accused of playing into the hands of ungoverned impulses and emotions, it is accused of being iconoclastic, unspiritual and fatalistic, and of destroying belief in the freedom of the will. This also is untrue. By showing how to remove the early obstacles, which block the way to free actions of the will, it liberates the will and gives, in a quite fresh way, the one real opportunity for effective freedom. You see, it reveals the enemy within a man's own soul. It shows the compelling cause which leads periodically to wrong-doing, which causes him to do this act and to leave that act undone, and in this way it helps the liberated will to fight with some chance of success against the force that he himself would wish to overcome, though he constantly yields to temptation. You cannot conquer an enemy you do not know and cannot see : but when you know and

when you see, the victory can be yours, do you, in truth, desire to have it?

Surely it is hardly necessary to insist on the educational advantage of this self-knowledge, in order to train the child from the start to be truthful to himself about his actions, his emotions and his wishes. Nothing else, in my opinion, is of equal importance to this. It is too much to hope, nor, indeed, am I sure that it would be at all desirable, for every parent and teacher to be an amateur psychologist. The last thing that should be desired is for any untrained person to probe into the child's mind. No quack experimenters must be allowed. But what is wanted is a wide and general acceptance of psycho-analytic principles, and a training, both in the home and in the school, based upon their truths. I must insist upon this: so much nonsense is talked and written on the subject. Belief in psycho-analysis does not mean everyone rushing to be analysed, any more than belief in surgery means everyone rushing to have their legs or arms cut off. We can, and all of us who are not idiots do, practise rules for the health of our bodies, without being trained as doctors, and, in the same way, we have all of us got to learn rules for the health of our minds: after which, we shall surely be able to leave our bodies alone. But this is a different question.

Another objection must briefly be referred to: it is one that is very difficult to overcome. The idea prevails that the subject is "nasty." It degrades, because it traces everything back to sex and suppressed sex, while special animosity is aroused against any kind of acceptance of the real nature of the child's early affections. This is a subject on which I shall have so much to say that I am not going to attempt an answer here. I have always marvelled at the fear of sex, as everyone who is acquainted with my work knows. I believe that often I have been called sex-mad, because never have I failed to acknowledge the power of the

most vital of our instincts. As far back as the year 1912 I wrote: "We have most of us been trained from our childhood into indecent secretiveness. There is as well a deeper reason, and it will be a long time before we can change it. Sex is so powerful in most of us, and occupies really so large a part of our attention, that we are afraid of ourselves, and this reacts in fear of any open acknowledgment of our sex-needs."⁵ And again in "The Truth about Women," "Where sex is ignored there is bound to lurk danger." These views were written before I had even heard of Freud. But what I wish to insist upon now, is the liberation which his wonderful work has brought to love. His researches into the unconscious mind have furnished scientific sanctions and proof to the assertions of the great moralists and religious teachers of the ages. He has shown more certainly than we knew before that the physical manifestations of sex are worthless for happiness and health without the emotional or spiritual sanction. We accept his teaching because we feel its truth deep within us.⁶

It is ludicrous that accusations of degrading love should be connected with his teaching. And yet this unjust thing must be. There can be no life without destruction. And the dark depths of tradition and prejudice in sex are not readily swept clean.

There is, then, no need for the new psychology to arouse the intense hatred of the moral reformer, of the intellectuals and the old-fashioned. If they understood, this is a modern movement of splendid reform which comes really to protect old-fashioned virtues from other advanced destroyers. I mean this quite literally. The sanctity of marriage, the importance of parenthood, and the high place of the home have never before been established with the same irrefutable proofs. Are there not moderns, whose writings on these subjects we all of us know, who attack marriage and the home, who would grant no importance to the

duties of parents, who would take the children away from their mothers to place them in the hands of expert trainers—those who, in their intelligent unintelligence, would seek to cut the bonds at birth that tie the child to the parent and the parent to the child? What does the psychologist discover? That any child, deprived of its parents, creates for itself, out of its own intensified feelings and wishes, dream parents: thus proving the child's need for love and care, such as the parent gives, apart from all expert cold handling.

This we shall learn in the course of our inquiry—the child's need for the mother; the need for the father. The absence of either parent is, for the child, a disaster of the soul.

Yes, parenthood as well as love has been vindicated and glorified: it is more necessary and more permanent than we know. It is eternal.

You see where the child stands in this relation. The child is the representative of the future. The one that carries on the lighted torch of life. No one can look backwards and walk towards the future. The parents through the children, the older generation through the younger, are carried together onwards and forwards, working the pattern of the future. We may well be appalled at the responsibility placed upon us, the obligations we owe—parents to children, the old to the young, the one generation to the next. The changeless vitality of the past. The idea of the past itself is an error. There is no past. All the generations that have gone, all the generations that yet have to be meet ceaselessly in the child. All the forces find in the child a place of convergence, a battleground, a theatre, wherein is played unceasingly a confused, yet continual drama of conflict and of promise.

The child ought to stand to us for something much larger and greater than just an individual. Once you depreciate the child you depreciate all that stands for

life and the great achievements of life. Your motto becomes "Let us amuse ourselves, for to-morrow the world dies with our death." All that is permanent, all that is creative, owes its life to our love of children. Let there be no mistake of my meaning here. Many of those who are not actually parents are animated with this love; they will, then, have in their work some continuing creative element—something solidly constructive and true. Never can they be satisfied with anything that is merely interesting to themselves and for the moment only—the exciting, the flashy, or the spurious work. No man, even more no woman, can live to themselves alone, without suffering a withering of the powers of the character and of life. The barren soul is sterile.

We come, then, to this final conclusion.

There is one aspect only in which we may rightly be alarmed at the new teaching. It does demand from us a self-honesty which few of us have learnt to practise. It asks for a real conversion first towards ourselves—our judgments, of our actions, our words, our thoughts, our motives, our wishes, and then towards others and our judgments in regard to them. And for this reason an acceptance of the psycho-analytic position makes great demands upon parents. It does insist that ceaselessly they must examine themselves and their motives in relation to their children. Self-analysis ought to be a daily habit of every parent. It will then become clear to us (if we are able to be sufficiently honest to be truthful to ourselves) that many of the regulations and demands we place upon our families are prompted by our own passions and selfish desires, and are quite unconnected with the imagined benefit we suppose them to bring to our children. This claims great honesty as well as an immense sacrifice on the part of parents. It entails, as our children grow up, nothing less than a voluntary severing of the parental ties. It does demand for our children

emotional freedom from us ; does say that their vigorous, bodily health and soul happiness depend on their enjoyment of an inner liberty, and on their power to be themselves at each stage of their development.

It is a harder, less self-indulgent, more self-less parental love that is demanded. You recall the wonderful chapter in Corinthians on love. At the end St. Paul makes the statement, so widely quoted : "When I was a child, I understood as a child, but when I became a man I put away childish things." This placing is surely significant. Parental love has to grow up : to put away its childish notions, and take on at last its adult character—the love that never faileth, that seeketh not its own, but rejoiceth in the truth.

PART II

THE FAMILY

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY ROMANCE

"A child certainly allows himself to be impressed by the grand talk of its parents. But is it really imagined that the child is thereby educated? Actually it is the parents' lives that educate the child."—JUNG.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER : The Family Romance is always a tragedy—Necessity for giving up the ordinary views as to the family—Conflict inevitable—The psychological hostility between the young and the old—The old parasites upon the young—The parents find in the children the renewal of their own lives—The selfish quality in the parents' love—The danger to the child—The young have to rebel—Necessity of emotional separation between young and old—The hardest lesson of parenthood—The old jealous of the young and the young jealous of the old—Children feel weak and dependent—Greater danger of sacrificing the child to the parent than of sacrificing the parent to the child—Antagonism either open or concealed—Safer when open—Parents not prepared to believe in the antagonism—The reason why the parents are mistaken.

I HAVE called this chapter The Family Romance,¹ a borrowed title, which, though certainly apt in its illustrative quality, does not, I think, accurately present the true family situation. That romance is always a tragedy.

Such a statement may well appear strange. Undoubtedly the great majority of my readers will deny its truth. Tragedy, the inescapable fate, ever present behind the love that binds parents and children, the mother to her son, the father to his daughter! Ridiculous, you will cry! If tragedy is absent from

any human relationships, it is absent surely from these family ties. I can hear declamatory protests and positive assertions. There will be much talking about family sanctity, parental sacrifice, and the unselfishness of a mother's love. I know all this. Yet I would ask you to have patience. We must examine the facts a little more closely. For otherwise it is manifest there is no use in going on with our inquiry.

The whole question is really dependent on this. Do you want to find out the facts? Are you an inquirer—a seeker for the truth, one who forges his beliefs out of life, and does not twist and turn them to fit into the pattern of his wishes? If so, you must be willing to let yourself loose from the limits of conventions and convenient pretences, and renounce the accepted theories of the family altogether. You must be open-minded to receive what will pain you, startle you—harrow into the depths of your love.

In the family the sexes and the generations meet in the most intimate relations. Some conflict necessarily occurs.

The old and the young differ, not only in years and experience of life, not only in instincts and needs; but there is as well an unconscious but incessantly acting hostility—a psychological opposition between them. They are at war the one with the other. Following antagonistic aims, the young and the old are driven by clashing desires towards separate goals. The conflict, it is true, is usually hidden or disguised as to its real causes; driven beneath consciousness by reason of its painfulness, where it festers under the outside mask of unselfish guidance or the surrender of children to parents.

But the separation is there, and is more dangerous, I venture to state, by very reason of the denials which refuse to accept its presence.

We must wait to ask the cause of this antagonism between the generations. The answer, roughly stated,

is sufficiently clear. The parents seek for possession of their children; they desire in their young lives to live again their own lives. The old are parasites upon the young. Children provide them with an escape from death; free them from the terrors of annihilation; they open up the way to renewed life; to continued enjoyment; to immortality. Yes, children are the easiest and commonest way of gaining the ego-glorification, which, in one form or another, all of us are seeking.

I do not know if I make my meaning perfectly plain here. The mother finds in her son the renewal of the love that gave passion in her youth; the father sees in the daughter the replica of his wife. In his son he desires to recognise the image of himself: the mother wants to see herself in her daughter. The parents wish the children to succeed where they have failed; they desire to make their path smooth; to guide and to help them.

But always they project themselves, however unconscious they are of doing so, on to their children. And for this reason under their apparent unselfishness is a quality strongly selfish, which almost always remains unrecognised. For the parents seek to find through their children an opportunity of personal fulfilment. Without protest from their adult ethical values, they are able to indulge the Narcissistic love of themselves, which governed their conduct in their youth; an egoism which had to be given up through the urge of the realities of life. They can be selfish and ego-centred through and for their children in a way their consciences would not allow them to be selfish or self-concerned for themselves.

And it follows from this, if we turn now from the parents to consider the children, that for them there is the very gravest danger in this too possessive parental love. We see that great as is the child's need for the affection and care of its parents, quite equally urgent is its need to escape from that affection and care.

Failure in accomplishing this escape can mean nothing from the child's standpoint but failure to live. I cannot write too strongly about this. The old may and, indeed, often do use up for selfish ends the life energy of the young. It is the supreme selfishness. It is the cause of the conflict between the generations.

Nothing can be more necessary for individual happiness and the liberation of character and life than a full acceptance of these disruptive animosities that are active in every home, though such a recognition may, and almost certainly must, bring pain and humiliation to the old.

For otherwise, if the easy plan of hiding the real feelings—refusing belief in these concealed animosities and falsifying the true situation—is adopted, however apparently pleasant such a course seems, we shall force ourselves and our children into painful emotional dishonesties, which must in the end inevitably destroy the reality of love. It would astonish and terrify parents, if they could see the hatred against them that often is concealed in the unconscious mind of the most dutiful child when he has grown up.

The young have to rebel. They have to escape from the parents. Something of this kind must happen—ought to happen. Our children have to go on leaving us behind. Their work is revolutionary; to free themselves from us—the old. There can be no other ending to parental sacrifice. It is the Family Tragedy! The Atonement of Parenthood!

The whole trend of modern thought in this connection, directed as it is by our new knowledge of the family and its relationships, is against whatever accentuates the power of the parents to bind the child. It has come to be realised (or it would be truer to say it is coming to be realised), how futile, how crippling, and even how perverting, may be the after-results of too much family love. How such affection may work for evil and ill-health, and not for happiness and health. We know,

too, when this happens, how difficult freedom is to achieve—how almost nothing can be done to liberate the life that has been bound in the prison of the family. That is why it is so tremendously important for parents to grasp and to accept the true family situation.

There is this great gulf fixed so that the old who strive and would pass from their side of experience to where the young stand waiting—the parents to the children—cannot do this; neither can the young cross backwards to us—the children to the parents. And should they wish, in pity and love, to pass over to the other side—our side, then the inescapable result to them is death. Their life is sacrificed to us.

Again I am uncertain if I make my meaning sufficiently clear. The danger of parent-fixation² is especially great when a too close bond binds the son to the mother, or the daughter to the father. All this will be more fully explained in the later chapters. I must ask you to accept now that troubles of ill health of the body and the mind of the very gravest character are the almost certain result of a too emotional dependence of children upon the parents. We can do nothing safely to abolish these barriers between the generations—the necessary barriers between parents and children, and we ought not to commit the folly of fighting against them.

And it is very necessary to realise, at once, and before we go further with our inquiry, just what is meant by this emotional separation between parents and child. It has nothing to do with actual separation: a geographical parting does not affect it. A man, for example, at the other side of the world may be more bound to his mother emotionally than another son who lives with her in the same house. Also the bond is unconscious, neither the parent nor the child, as a rule, understands its presence. This, of course, is the great difficulty. We all think that our relationship with our own child is different and right. There is no other question about which we deceive ourselves quite so

completely as we do about this one of our relationships to our children. We feel too sharply for it to be at all easy to see clearly.

That is why a study of the family is so overwhelmingly necessary, in order that every parent may learn to accept the truth about these relationships. There are in the family two sets of forces always at work, the one set helping the child, but the other set hindering. So far we have accepted the first—the good set—and refused to recognise the second—the selfish and disruptive set. It is the hardest lesson of parenthood, or of any adults who love children, to realise how easily they can hurt them, indeed, cannot fail from hurting them, until they realise, in a more honest way, the truth about their own concealed desires and the needs of the child. They must face squarely and accept the adult unconscious feelings of jealousy and unwillingness to give up the child's dependence on themselves—they must accept them as crimes that almost all parents tend to commit. It is the primary duty of the parents to loosen the ties of family affection so that the young may gain, without too great pain or disabling conflict, the inner freedom, which must be attained before they can establish their adult character. Do they fail in this duty of sacrifice, what really they are doing is to prevent the vital unfolding of their child's personality. They are supremely, though unconsciously, selfish; they are using for themselves and their own satisfaction the energy and love which their children ought to have to use for their own lives. We shall see this evil of parental selfishness acting very clearly when, in the second half of our inquiry, we come to examine certain Family Histories. The uncontrolled love of the mother, and also of the father, may be a most destructive force. The too jealous parental affections will perpetuate the infancy of the child.

You will see, I think, without my waiting, here, to enlarge upon this question further, how complex these

family affections are, directly we break through the smooth and pleasant surface of our conventions about them, and how hard is the sacrifice asked from the parents, and in particular, from the mother, if the children are to be loved, in such a way as to help their growth and development, and without using them for any personal needs and satisfaction of the parents. It is obvious how easily jealousy and pretences may creep in to destroy this helpful love.

Hardly less perplexing, in this connection of the family affections, is the position of the children, who also are moved by conflicting and difficult emotions. We have seen that the old are jealous and envious of the young—the parents of the children, seeking through them an escape from death and a way to continued enjoyment of life. But the young also are jealous of the old—the children of the parents. And this child-parent jealousy is the most destructive of the many forces acting against the family. There are many various forms and disguises under which jealousy finds the necessary relief of expression, but just now I propose to leave these and to consider the position in its more general aspect.

Children envy the power of the parents; their grown-up size and independence of action. The boy is jealous of the father and his power over the loved mother: he desires to take the father's place. He looks up to him in admiration and also loves him, but at the same time, he dislikes his authority and, in certain circumstances, these hostile feelings may act in the unconscious with the greatest intensity. In a similar way, the girl envies the mother's power over the father and wishes to replace her. These mother-son and father-daughter relationships, with their difficult jealousies, we shall presently have to examine in fuller detail than is possible here in this first and rather cursory glance at the family situation. And there is, as well as these special jealousies, dependent

on the distinctly sexual emotions, a general jealousy and rivalry, conditioned by age and the difference of power and position between the child and the parents. The child is so helpless in the authority of the parents. He lives always with his gods, a position few of us could bear, for the gods know too much about us.

True, this dependence gives security and comfort, but also it arouses rebellion and jealous hatred. That is why children play at being father and mother. They pretend they enjoy the power they wish to exercise, instead of having to obey. Their activities are largely directed by attempts to copy adult behaviour.³ They do these things because they feel little, weak, insignificant. Children suffer a very painful sense of inferiority in all their relations with grown-up people. How strong these feelings may become, and the extent to which they may direct the entire character, either for good or for great harm, will appear later. Much of the child's early creative play and imaginary day-dreams, as every parent will be able to recognise, are directed to compensate for these inferiority feelings. Children's stories are full of giants; the dwarfs are clever and strong: the youngest son always wins the princess. These are really an expression of childish desires. Just as the parents try to identify themselves with their children, to satisfy through them their ego desires, so the children, in the same way and for the same reasons, struggle to identify themselves with the parents, and I would, in passing, ask you to note that here is the real reason why children grow to be like their parents. They imitate whichever parent attracts their envious notice, the mother or the father, or both parents as the case may be. They, too, seek in this vicarious way to attain the comfort of feeling powerful.

I would venture to suggest that this general, un-sexed (it is directed equally against the mother or the father by the boy or the girl) jealousy of children towards their parents, as well as to other commanding grown-

ups, is more powerful in directing the character of children and in obstructing their growth than is sometimes allowed for by the Freudian school of psychologists. I think it may also, in some cases, be responsible for the authority complex connected with the father.

We have come, then, to this position: there are powerful, stubborn, inescapable and unavoidable general destructive tendencies—emotions of jealousy, of hatred, of rivalry—at work, hidden or masked, beneath the outer peaceful exterior of the home and the family relationships. Mother and son, father and daughter, may have their attractions more powerful always than their repulsions. Yet the hostile desires of the old against the young and of the young against the old are as certainly active as are the emotions to which we are accustomed; the emotions we see always in our own families because we look for them: of parental sacrifice and unselfishness, of childish veneration and obedience, of love, of protection, of admiration and tenderness.

The Family Romance, or as I have called it, "The Family Tragedy," is the history of us all:⁴ it gives the record of our loves and hates, our attractions and our dislikes, our achievements and our failures in the first period of our life, when we were more certainly ourselves than at any subsequent time, when our emotions were savage, primitive and uncontrolled.

The direct object we shall now have before us is a more detailed examination of this period of childhood, in particular, in relation to the parents. But first it will be necessary to learn more about the child himself, his nature and his needs. This I shall attempt in the next chapter.

Take these relationships between parents and children as you like, if you do not blinker your eyes and refuse to see, you will find that side by side with the deepest love there is always at work this concealed hostility, caused by the strong desires of the old to keep back

the young and to hold them to themselves as a means of comfort and prolonged satisfaction in life, and the even stronger desires of the young to break away from the old and to live for themselves and for their own pleasure.

It is the ego-war between the generations. The eternal conflict between the past and the future. Sometimes it is the parent who wins. The children are schooled to a great docility. But this can be achieved only by a wholly wrong topsy-turvy of the order of life. The old must be content to die: to loosen their grasping, detaining hands, to see their children go on and leave them behind.

The old suffer because they do not understand. They have failed to accept the orderly process of life. They think it is their son who is undutiful, their daughter who is self-willed and unkind, their family which fails in filial duty. There are, I think, few parents who escape from the sorrow of experiencing these painful feelings of parental failure and unhappiness. It would be easier if parents could understand that their children are but following the law of life. Their rebellion is a sign of health and progress: also the child who rebels is the child who loves too much, not the child who loves too little. It is very necessary to understand this. The rebellion is the sign of the fierce conflict in the child's soul; I say again, for it cannot be said too often: the duty of the parent is not to hold back, but help the rebellious child forward, even to push him away from the home's protection and the easy satisfactions of love. After all, it is really a question of what you want—your own good or the good of your child? It is so terribly easy to deceive ourselves over this question of parental love. If we are truthful, there is far greater danger of the sacrifice of the child to the parent than the other way about, though we talk so much and so noisily about parental sacrifice. The old are selfish; few of them love the young unselfishly.

I repeat, then, so that we may summarise the position; fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, parents and children have a natural antagonism. There is bound to be conflict in every home. Either this conflict is open, as the children grow older and stronger to oppose the parents, and finds expression in more or less violent and unconcealed hostility (a family situation painful, but honest), or the antagonism is hidden. The parental authority is upheld by make-believe, after the period when it ought to be relaxed. I would ask you to note especially that the results, in this case, are more lastingly destructive than any rebellion, though the family relationships may appear on the outside perfectly easy and harmonious. Yet always, in time, when such emotional falsification is accepted, the reality of love is killed. Parents and children come to have no living contact with each other. The outward forms of affection may be maintained, may even be accentuated, so that there appears to be the greatest possible devotion. But the members of such families meet like machines. They are automations using penny-and-twopence-in-the-slot devices for forcing out the tickets of affection. The emotions are falsified. Parents and children act automatically until devotion becomes a habit. Dead; there is no reality in such love. And the children break away far more certainly than is the case in families where honest outward rebellion is not suppressed.

There is very much that parents need to learn. As things are at present, the old, when they care for the young, want to guide them. They want the young to accept their views, follow their opinion, walk in their paths, for the reason we have seen, that they themselves are desirous of going on with the young. They are afraid for the young to go on alone, because this must entail their being left behind. But the young cannot be held back, they need to learn to guide themselves—must go on or die: the death of the soul,

whereby they remain children instead of attaining the adult life. I do not know who suffers more, the parents or the children, in the struggle to find adjustment. Our sympathy ought not to be given to the one side rather than the other. The parents are hurt because the children are so aggressive, so resentful, so antagonistic to parental wishes and advice. But outbreaks of mutinous conduct are often an expression of bewildered disappointment, too intolerable to be borne. The parents, who once were accepted as gods, so frequently fail in understanding. The young are defiant because the old are so dead, so calm, so tyrannical and dull. And the old are rebellious too. But there is more selfishness in their violation of love than in the case of the young, whose rebellion, if we see it in the right perspective, is a struggle of the soul to find its way. The old rebel because they cannot control the young. For them it is a struggle for power, because they have to yield to the new generation all the good things of life.

You will see, now, without my waiting to elaborate further on the general situation, how complex and difficult is the position and how hard is the task of the parents and of the children. There is every material for tragedy in these relationships.

The family conflict, with its five-act dramas, its monologues, its duologues and trilogies, and its mummer players, is the common theme in every depiction of life that approaches reality. These characters of life have been sufficient to supply the subject of fiction and much poetry, and a large part of the earlier myth and legends of the world. The jealous and interfering gods of mythology, as well as the royal figures of the fairy-tales, correspond in a more majestic shape to the cruel parents and tale-bearing grown-ups of the nursery tragedies.

I am prepared for objections. You will many of you be thinking that this picture I have drawn for you of

the family, of jealous parents and jealous children, of conflicts hidden beneath affection, of nursery and schoolroom tragedies, is coloured from my imagination and is without sufficient relation to truth. "Children," you may be saying, "do not feel these devastating rivalries of love and hate; these rebellions are but a passing indication of some childish disturbance. You are projecting on to the young situations created in your own adult mind." And then you turn back to your "angel innocence" belief, which must be true, you are convinced, at any rate in the case of your own children.

But may I tell you this?—You must not come to these problems of the family and of the child with an already fixed conviction that they do not exist,⁵ because this conviction may well be yours, not because the problems are not there, active even in your own homes and in your own nursery, but because you shut your eyes determined not to see them. Those who hesitate to give them a hearing should pay attention first to the motives of their deafness. It will be difficult, perhaps, it will be humiliating. The truth usually hurts one's vanity. It is very hard to make an honest study of oneself without painful disturbance. If, however, parents will undertake this task, perhaps they will find new truths; see these family relationships in fresh aspects of deeper reality.

We see always only that which we are prepared to see. Let me try to make this clearer to you by means of an illustration, taken from another subject in which there is not the same emotional *affect*—one that rouses less feeling and so can be viewed more calmly. You call in an artist to paint the view outside your house. Whatever his school of painting, he will probably show you what you never expected to see. The impressionist painter gives you the earth and the sky joined by a silver mist and the sky spattered with clouds, rosy on one cheek and grey on the other; the earth a cindery

patch. Smith's mill is gone; the clump of trees has shrunk. Is the picture all untrue? Once you look at it steadily, you see that it is true; even if it neglects much that you are accustomed to see and know to be present. The momentary effects of time and weather, familiar to you also, have gained new meaning. Another artist sweeps out a line that unites the fore-ground fields to the distant trees. It is there, was always there, but for yourself, you never saw it. You failed to see because you failed to emphasise this aspect in your mind. The artist brings out the true fine curve of the land and reveals the structure of the trees, by levelling the insignificant slopes and cutting away the too intricate branches.

We see more, not less, when any new aspect of a familiar scene is emphasised. You will for yourselves apprehend the comparison. You know, of course, your own family. You cannot believe the existence of such unfamiliar relationships, such attitudes and hostilities as those of which I have spoken. I suggest, however, that just as the painter can find new aspects in the view that you have seen and yet not seen, because your vision is clouded by familiarity, so, too, in the more familiar and more intimate sphere of your family, the mental vision has become clouded—grown dim with long straining so that there are many aspects you have passed over or never saw in their true relation, looking at them, as you have done, only through the coloured glasses of your desires.

CHAPTER III

THE CHILD AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

(A chapter of necessary explanation on the nature of the child and the action of the unconscious mind.)

"Men are not so simple. I sometimes think that monarchs who say 'we' are the only true psychologists."—I. ZANGWILL, "The Forcing House."

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: Early age at which sex manifests itself—The baby has a life of sensation guided by the pleasure motive—Extended meaning of the word "sexual"—The child more like a savage than an angel—The first love objects—An explanation of the different views of Freud, Jung, Adler and Kempf—The unconscious—How the unconscious desires become known to us—Civilised ideals may press too heavily upon the child and cause a dangerously strong repression—The child's later life dependent on early years—The naughty child is being himself—The child's inherent desire towards gradual improvement—More haste less speed—Judge the child by his own values.

BEFORE we can go on to consider the family relationships in detail, and in connection with the separate members of the family group, I find I must devote a parenthetical chapter to examine and establish what we now know about the nature of the child, especially in regard to its early emotional life and the love given to the parents. I wish also to expand and render more concrete our understanding of the unconscious mind. It is of urgent practical necessity that we should have this knowledge and gain such understanding. Indeed, without it, our inquiry would be quite useless and have to be abandoned.

I shall try to be practical and as clear as is possible in my meaning.

One of the most disturbing features which parents have to recognise, in relation to the young child's emotional experiences, is the very early age at which sex manifests itself. It was formerly believed that the sex-life began at the age of puberty, and that the years before this period were passed in a state of innocence. Nothing could be more untrue. The age which our conventions have chosen to fix for the first urge of sex is altogether artificial. Every child is born with instincts and desires and strong and uncurbed emotions. It has a developing sex-life, the roots of which reach back into its infancy.¹

There is still great error in regard to all questions connected with the sexual history. Here, again, we deny the truth because we have not an active desire to acknowledge it. It is not, however, possible to-day to take cover under the old ostrich-like denials. No longer can we be content to accept the traditions about our nature which satisfied our parents. What we need is less fear, and more openness of understanding to receive and use the new knowledge. We must be unafraid to probe and penetrate all difficulties. We ought to be able to bear anything except shams and lies.

The new-born babe brings with it into the world all kinds of sensations—sensations of pleasure and pain, of touching and seeing and hearing, of comfort and discomfort, which it experiences for the first time, but which later, as it grows older, become connected with feelings of a more complicated character—feelings of love, of power, of failure of power (inferiority), of temper, of hate, of jealousy, all of which furnish the motives of conduct. These feelings at first are expressed by the child in the very frankest way. The baby when it enjoys the satisfaction of realising its infantile bodily needs gurgles with delight. Every mother who tends her child herself knows this. She knows, too, that it is her task to train the babe almost from the

hour of his birth, away from this ego-centric delight in his own body.²

At first the control of the child's conduct by the pleasure-motive³ is absolute. Many of his activities, such, for instance, as his unconcealed interest in nakedness and in his own and his mother's body, or as his very evident concern and delight in his excretory functions, or again as the attraction he finds in suckling and other sensory pleasures, and also the direction of many of his curiosities, are all of a character which should be recognised as being frankly sexual.⁴

It should be noted, however, that the word sexual is, perhaps, somewhat ambiguous, because I want to stretch it to include the very germs that afterwards blossom into the adult sex-life. The baby concerned with its own body and its functions is enjoying the earliest primitive expression of the pleasure-sensation motive; at a later stage the little girl with her doll is maternal, and a boy with a tin sword is showing the crudest manifestations of the male protective instinct. The boy's rebellion against the authority of the father, his nestling in the protective mother's arms, the little girl's preference for the father; the rivalries and jealousies and quarrels for mastery among brothers and sisters—in these nursery scenes you have expressed in their frankest form, and unchecked by the inhibiting influences of social necessities, the fundamental emotions of love, of hate, of fear and of jealousy.

These early feelings in the little child are accompanied by physical manifestations, which find an outlet sometimes in direct ego-interests in such ways as I have indicated, but oftener in veiled forms as wishes and cravings, which often are disturbing and appear to have no connection with their real causes. Sometimes the troubled child gains relief in dreams, and by means of substitute actions. Always these buried wishes will find some expression, and they must therefore be yoked either to some burden of utility or car of vanity.

We are always trying not to admit the child's sexuality. To the uninstructed eyes, early desires and feelings and actions connected with sex are often expressed in an entirely concealed way, so unlike the final form that they pass unrecognised. But those whose eyes have learnt to see and who have knowledge to understand know that the child can hide no secret. When the lips speak not and the secret wish is hidden, the face, in twitching mouth and blinking eyes, the hands, in telling gestures, in scratching and rubbing movements; the shuffling, twisted feet; the nails that are bitten, the toes that are played with and sucked—all these utter the truth, and betrayal escapes out of every nervous movement of hands, and feet and face.

Parents will not see the significance, nor will they acknowledge the presence of diverted sex desires in these very common signs of early emotional disturbance. They will not see because they do not wish to see. We have set up an entirely false conception of the child to which we cling most desperately. We want to see the child an angel.⁵ We cannot easily surrender the picture of childhood as a period of delightful ignorance and happy innocence.

Yet the very reverse is the truth. The child is far nearer to the savage than to the angel. It has brought with it, at its birth into the world, many wishes and feelings of a more primitive time; it is a-moral and a-social. And just in the same way as its body still shows many traces of earlier developments of life, for instance, a rudimentary tail and breathing gills, in the foetal state; its instincts and emotions, in many ways, are also atavistic; these being expressed quite without the inhibition and restraint of which the adult is always conscious. All the emotional responses of the very young child are directed by unchecked self-interest. The child has as yet learnt no limits to the fulfilment of its wishes: its conduct and its emotions—the way

it loves and hates—and desires, are frankly and openly selfish and primitive.

Now, it is exceedingly important to our inquiries to keep constantly in mind this primitive nature of the child. We have to remember, too, that its love-life starts in this first early period. It begins in the home. The first love objects are the parents, and primarily the mother. Everything starts from her. She is the source of nutrition, and as such, the first object towards which the child's hunger-wish is directed; she is also the supplier of warmth and comfort—the personification of shelter and peace and of pleasure. The mother is the starting-point of all those interests of the child which lie outside his own body. All the wishes of the child turn towards the mother.

The emotions felt in relation to the father are different, and jealousy is always present to a greater or lesser extent in every young child. This has been mentioned before. As a rule the hostile feelings increase in intensity as infancy passes into early childhood, if the child is a boy. And this jealousy in some cases causes the love given to the mother to grow to great emotional intensity, which feelings, if coupled with hostility directed towards the father, may work the very greatest evil, especially if the mother is unwise in holding the boy too closely to herself, being over-tender and herself of neurotic temperament. In the case of the little girl there is less danger; the baby devotion to the mother is, as a rule, relieved with the growth of the child, and a large part of the love-fund is transferred to the father. Sometimes this does not happen, especially when there is any circumstance to cause a continuance of the first jealous feelings. Such a situation is easily aroused in the case of a little girl, when, for instance, there is a brother in the nursery older and felt to be more loved than herself. Then a harmful mother-fixation is very liable to happen, inducing a too unreasoning love for the mother, which,

if it persists, and does not find liberation by transference or by other means, may act as an insurmountable hindrance in the adult life in preventing the normal outgoing of love to a member of the opposite sex.

It should be stated here, for the sake of clearness, that there is a wide divergence among the various groups of analytical psychologists as to the nature of the child's early affection towards the parents. The Freudians, as is well known, accept in its full meaning the primitive character of this infantile love. Professor Jung, on the other hand, who is the head of the Swiss School as opposed to the Viennese school of analysts, does not accept at all in the same way this love motive in the child's affections to the parents. He believes that the fixation to the parents is caused by the desire to "remain a child." This wish is expressed in symbols, which he holds are capable of a sexual interpretation. In his view, these symbols are an attempt on the child's part to free the *libido* (love) from the parents. Psychic energy is absorbed by the symbol. Thus, for Jung, the symbol is important, not only for its past significance in the child's history, but for its power in liberating the child's character in the future. It has a teleological—a final—significance.

I must mention also that Adler, in "The Neurotic Constitution," and Edward Kempf, in "Psychopathology" do not accept Freud's sexual basis in the affections of children. Adler traces all neuroses and character *affects* back to the child's feeling of inferiority. He believes that the sexual content in neurotic phenomena originates in an imaginary antithesis "Masculine-feminine" and arises through what he terms the "masculine protest." There is always acting the desire of the child to succeed, to be above, to be male, and against this, the desire to be protected, to be safe, to stay with the mother—to be female. Edward Kempf insists on the importance of the family and the parents as strongly as does Freud, but he does

not accept at all the same views, holding that the child's character is fixed by "affective determinants" dependent on the early childhood influences, and, in particular, on the home and the affectionate relationships of the family.

There is much that is attractive in all these interpretations. The question of their acceptance, however, cannot be settled by their ethical attractiveness and educational usefulness, but must depend on their psychological adequacy and truth. It is important to keep this distinction well and clearly in our thoughts. We have not to consider in all these questions what we would wish to believe, but what the facts as we are able to observe them show us we must believe.

It is significant that the one fact in which there is complete unanimity of opinion is the overwhelming importance to the child of the home relationships, in particular, the relationship to the mother. Good parenthood is of vastly deeper moment than was even realised before.

One of the greatest services rendered by the analytic psychologists has been to show us the complete continuity in the emotional growth. No longer is it possible to divide up the psychical life, any more than the physical life, into compartments. They have shown us, too, that there is no such thing as chance. Nothing in the character can be accidental. What the child is to-day depends entirely on what he thought and wished and did yesterday. That is why there is such splendid educative opportunity in psychoanalysis.

Thus the child's psychic or emotional life is continuous; in its later and grown-up expression it is the result of all that has before occurred. It should, however, be noted that the first experiences are not remembered by the child, because as he becomes older, he grows out of them, and for himself rejects them.

What the child learns—sees for himself and gathers

from the adults who train him—sets up within him a barrier (sometimes named the censor) which will not let the conduct that was permissible for the infantile period come through to consciousness. He forgets them because he does not wish to remember them. But, though they are lost to his consciousness, they are not destroyed. They are buried, but remain active in the unconscious mind. Though we are grown up consciously, we all of us retain unconsciously much that is infantile and would be condemned by ourselves.

This brings us to the second question we have to examine.

The unconscious mind may be described as all that part of our mind which is unknown to ourselves, and which is unable to enter our consciousness except in a disguised form. It can break through and be made manifest only in special psychic states, such as dreams (its most frequent expression), fantasies, manias, trances and similar conditions. It can also take disguised forms and appear in consciousness under the covering of compulsive acts, or by means of unexplained fears and aversions, and by way of many of our common, unconsidered, and apparently meaningless, actions. The unconscious is the storehouse of our memories and the place where our feelings and emotions originate. It contains everything we have ever done, or thought, or felt. It is the stored and detailed history of our past.⁶

You will see the importance of this in connection with the child. For in the unconscious are stored all those primitive modes of conduct, of behaviour, and of feeling, with which the child started this life : his heritage from earlier and less social behaviour, a heritage which afterwards he rejects. In fact the unconscious is formed mainly during the first five or six years of life.

Now these abandoned infantile thoughts, ideas, wishes, repressed in the unconscious, do not change. They retain through the whole of life their first primitive,

ego-centric crude methods of behaviour. And though they cannot enter consciousness undisguised, they are always acting to disturb consciousness. I have just spoken of the barrier (which may perhaps be clearer to you if you think of it as a kind of conscience, but acting without our knowledge); now, the repressed contents are always trying to escape the vigilance of this censor. A special term—resistance—is given to this action of the barrier: the thoughts seem to be blocked. We have all experienced this both in connection with ourselves and with our children. If you ask a child why it did something it can never tell you. If it does tell you its reason is obviously an invention. It is the barrier that is holding back the thought from escape which cannot be accepted in consciousness. We owe much to this barrier. If all our thoughts escaped we should still be savages. But its censorship may be too severe. We find some people when they are grown up much less able to account for their actions than others. They do not know why they did this or did not do that. They dislike very much being questioned as to their motives. Usually they have bad memories. Such people are living mainly in the unconscious. They have never properly grown up. The repressed desires have failed in finding liberation; and though grown up in years these people remain in their emotions infantile and helpless.

It should be noted that the Freudians give to the word "repressed" a strict meaning, and it must not be used except where the repression is an unconscious process. The repressed person does not know he is repressed. You may be conscious of "suppression" but not of "repression." A great expenditure of energy is, however, ceaselessly taking place to maintain the state of repression. And for this reason, the repressed personality is rarely able to have the right amount of energy to use in action. Repression causes a terrible waste of power.

Now, all this brings us very certainly to the conclusion that there is a pressing need for a better understanding of childhood. You must see the overwhelming importance of the right training in these beginning years, and how this must depend on the family relationships and the conditions of the home. These early influences are inescapable and are the determinative factors of the after-experience and character. There is no exemption : each one of us carries our past deep within us. We have to learn to read that past. If we start with an entirely wrong concept of the child, regard him as a sort of empty vessel which we have to fill, think of him as an angel, not knowing good and evil, because we want him to be an angel, when really he has brought with him into life a character that is his own, and his conduct is regulated, until he has learnt better, by motives that are primitive and entirely a-moral ; if we persist in ignoring his instinctive wishes and emotions as unimportant because he is a child, when really they are tremendously important just on account of their childish and unregulated force—if we will continue in maintaining this wholly false idea, then we cannot fail from doing immense injury, not only to the child, but also to the whole of life. The child grows up. And you cannot separate the adult life from the child life.

The responsibility of the parents is very great. If they will not recognise the true nature of the child, what they do is to render much harder the always difficult process of the child's growth upwards to virtue. This growth should be an orderly passing onwards, unhurried and unhindered, from one stage to the next.

If the parents or educators cause their civilised ideals and standards of behaviour to press too heavily and too soon upon the child, a dangerously strong repression in the unconscious takes place. They may build up artificially so high a barrier within, that

there will be the greatest probability in the adult character of the energy needed for life having to be expended in inner negating conflicts. We need more courage and less fear of necessary instincts. The child, in his own good time, will set up its own barriers. For moral growth is as certain and as regulated a process as physical growth when we do not interfere and muddle. And in this matter, I am very certain, the child needs our help less than has been believed. So often we make the way to right doing too hard for the little child.

I wish also to emphasise, for it is a question of very special interest to us all, the impossibility of understanding the adult character except in relation to the child character. We are apt to consider the child interesting only to parents and to educationists. Not at all. This neglect to understand the child affects every one of us intimately and disastrously. Our success or our failure in life, the profession we choose, our character, our good habits and our bad, our later power to love or inability to love, our family affections, our passions and our lusts—none of them can be justly comprehended except in their relation to the first nursery period. There is no exaggeration in this statement. To neglect this knowledge of the child is as impossible and as blinded, if the after-history and the adult character are to tell their true tale, as it would be to start the study of the history of England with the reign of Queen Victoria. The adult history is directly dependent on, and has grown out of, the infantile history.

I want you to be very certain about this.

I affirm, without any shadow of doubt, that on this understanding of the child depends the fate of the future and of us all. And I would venture to give one first and most urgent lesson for the adult in regard to educating the child. It is this: To go slowly. Never to force or to expect virtuous conduct from the child if that particular stage of virtue has not been reached.

There are rules that need to be followed here just as there are rules that govern every other kind of journey. Only we are so curiously blind-eyed in everything connected with the child. That is why I give you these simple illustrations. I want you to see straight and without the prejudice caused by the emotions. On a journey, if you have no knowledge where you are starting from or to what goal you are going, you get nowhere, you just lose the way. Really equally foolish, and equally disastrous in its results, is the ignorant way in which we start our children on the complicated journey of life.

We do not expect the child to read until it has learnt to read, or to calculate and work sums before it understands the use of figures : we do not expect it to walk until it has stumbled and fallen many times, or to use its tiny hands with precision until it has broken many objects. Why, then, should we expect it to be good without learning to be good ? and especially I ask, why should we demand from the uncivilised child a standard of emotional behaviour, much in advance of anything to which we adults have attained ?

For, in truth, the child has no easy path to travel to reach the standard of conduct we expect from him. Few adults realise sufficiently the harm that may so easily be done to the child open to every suggestion and dangerously sensitive to injury, who is always balanced in conflict between the desire to be a dirty little savage, like himself, and a clean well-behaved person, like a grown-up. For what gives the adult so tremendous a hold over the child is his never-ceasing desire to push forward to a stage above that to which he has attained. Always the child is pulled in two directions by an inner urge, forward towards effort and good conduct, and backward towards ease and self-pleasing ; towards what his as yet undisciplined wishes make him want to do.

You see, the child has really a very hard part to

play, and a part which it can lay down only when no grown-ups are by. Possibly this explains why children are such accomplished actors, so clever in their ability to hide their real characters from their parents and the adults who train them. In surroundings usually very opposed to their own wishes and their own primitive wants, while still savages in emotion and in instincts, they have to dress up morally to deceive us, the adults, if they are to satisfy the impelling power-wish which forces them to identify themselves with the grown-ups. There is terrible and continuous strain to reach the standards of the envied powerful ones; children have day after day to do what you, the adult, think they ought to do, and, what is much worse, they have to pretend to like what you say they ought to like. It has filled me often with wonder and admiration to see the really brilliant way in which children play up to the angel rôle forced upon them by the mistaken desires of their parents. Much naughtiness and many unexplained tempers are really a break-down in this part. The right cue is forgotten at the right moment, or the correct entrance is missed. And I feel it very necessary to emphasise to parents and to teachers that the naughty child is not so much being naughty as being himself. He rushes at you with a knife, not because he is in a temper—but rather, the temper is the liberating key which unlocks the door and allows his real desire to kill you (and so be powerful like you, to take your place, be equal with you and above you) to break through the barricade of civilised behaviour that you are building around him. The child's emotions, his loves, his hates and his jealousy are ever active, ever changing, and always primitive.

And it is very salutary for the grown-ups to understand the intense relief and creative strength which the child enjoys through this breaking out of his real self: the joy he gains in finding expression for his own desires. A satisfaction that is greatly marred, it is

true, and even turned quickly to pain, when remembrance comes that he has broken adult rules of behaviour, been a naughty boy and grieved you. But he does not really care, in the way we have imagined, about this hurt to you. What he does care, knows and feels, is a painful increasing of the inferiority feelings, by widening the gulf between the adults and himself. And I am not sure if his repentance is at all good for him. Certainly if his grief only increases his egoism, it is not. The inner conflict is but made stronger and this must produce a strain, which turns the creative power of the character back upon itself.

It is ever thus in life, when we draw back too hastily or too much coerced from any spontaneous expressions of emotion; the energy gathered for the discharge flows back—impotent. I believe that many a creative artist is destroyed in the civilising process of the child being turned into the good boy or girl.

We must be more content to let the child be a child. I would urge on the parents again to be less afraid. Let them trust more to the child's own instincts, believe with firmer faith in his inherent desire towards, and ultimate advance to, good conduct. Too often it is we—the parents, the teachers, the stupid and careless or over-intelligent and too-careful adults—who are to blame when the child loses the way. I am greatly afraid of too much adult interference. We must, I repeat, be more patient, more able to wait, prepared to accept the child as a child, the boy as a boy, the girl as a girl. We must not expect, or even wish for, the child to be at all like ourselves. Should he seem to be so, there is something very wrong indeed. The child is not grown up—we are; or more truly, I should say, *we ought to be*. Very few of us are. We suffer under the pressing burden of our parent's training, just as our children are suffering from our, perhaps, different, but not less destructive, mistakes. And I would ask you to note this: One very certain result of expecting

adult conduct from children is the perpetuating of childish conduct in the adult.

This may seem a paradox, yet it is profoundly true. If we hurry the child too much, expect him too young to do what we wish him to do, impose our standards of right and wrong conduct upon him before he is ready to accept them for himself, or to understand them, we destroy the spontaneous vitality of his being and stunt his ultimate development. If we wish to help and encourage him in his forward journey, we must estimate any lapses from good behaviour as the child himself estimates them. We must judge him by his own values and not by ours. Our chief duty must be to penetrate his mind, to clear up what is troubling him, and help him, by the guidance of our wider experience, with his peculiar difficulties; but without regarding over-much our grown-up ethical standards of what is right and what is wrong. So easily we may hinder the child by over-eagerness in righteousness.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUPREME PARENT

"In our innermost souls we are still children and we remain so throughout life."—FREUD.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The unbreakable bond between mother and child—Birth not the beginning of life—The pre-natal period—The pretext against reality—The desire to return to security—The compulsion to accept reality—An illustration—The question of reality from the position of the baby—Immense difficulties of the new-born child—Adjusting himself to the environment—Learning social conduct—The pleasure-principle and the reality-principle—The influence of the mother—Her tendency to hurry the child on too quickly—The way her love may hinder by over-sheltering—An illustration—Parent-surrogates—Dream-mothers—The mother imago—Tendencies brought by the child from the historic past—His interest in his own body and its functions—Sublimation of these early habits—Psychic conflicts—Their result in the adult life—Narcissism—This ego-love right for the child—Adult infantilism—The responsibility of the mother as the child's supreme parent—The reason of the conflicts between parents and children—The birth of love and hate—The continuity of psychic growth—The connection between childhood and the adult life—An illustration.

THE tie between the mother and the child is the closest bond on earth. It starts before birth. Never at any time can there be an entire escape for the child. For this bond acts as a chain, formed of uncounted and intricately interwoven links. Some of the links, it is true, are broken readily, they fall apart with the wear of the advancing years; apparently they are done for and useless; yet not one of them fails in leaving a weakness in the chain, and the broken fragments lie in the dust-heap of the character. Some links are so strong that they never wear or wear very little thinner;

they are part of the unbreakable chain of destiny that holds the individual to his fate.

It is necessary to consider first the pre-natal period, which starts this indestructible connection. I believe that I can show it to you from a standpoint of thought not usually considered. We are too apt to forget that we lived in our mother's womb. Birth is the second chapter, and not the first, in our life history.

It is, indeed, strange that we should so forget. For at no after-period of life do we enjoy the same supremacy. Moreover, this power is ours by natural right and without the weariness of struggle. We are gods. Never afterwards do we regain the almightiness that is ours at this opening period. The first chapter starts for us all with an untroubled romance in which we are kings and queens of our environment.

Do we then forget to prevent the pain of remembering? Would the contrast be too bitter between our adult ceaseless conflict for command over an indifferent and often hostile environment with our past despotism and effortless power? I do not know. It may be. All our life would seem to be spent in struggles to recapture this undisturbed empire that we enjoyed in the beginning. Never do we succeed in attainment, but never do we quite cease in our persistent pursuit after attainment. Like caged squirrels, running round and round in their cages, we pretend we have found the peace we have forfeited. And what I desire above all else to emphasise is the persistence of the influence, the deeply-stamped picture, started in this first chapter—the pre-natal period of untroubled command without effort—and the control it produces on our fate in all the subsequent chapters.

These are no fanciful statements. They are almost too terribly true.

And perhaps I cannot do better, as confirmation of this fact of the importance of the beginning of life, which it is necessary for me to force home to your

understanding, than to quote from an American book, written by one who is more competent to speak than I can claim to be. I refer to the "Principles of Mental Hygiene," by W. A. White, M.D., the Superintendent of the St. Elizabeth Hospital for the mentally sick at Washington. I know no other writer who presents the situation with the same force and the same clearness.

This is what he says :—

"The baby in the mother's uterus may be said to be omnipotent, that is, it has no ungratified desires, it does not have to eat, or breathe, in fact, do anything. All these functions are performed for it, and it rests quietly and undisturbed in a warm fluid in which it floats without effort.

"All these comforts, so to speak, are given up and the child is thrust into the world in which it will never know again the peace which it has left behind. *The first thing a child does is to cry. Futile protest against the demands of reality.* And the way in which this cry is settled by the nurse is to wrap it up in warm blankets and put it in a dark room, thus reproducing as nearly as possible the intra-uterine condition." ¹

Consider the two sentences which for emphasis I have italicised. *The first thing a child does is to cry.* The second statement especially I would ask you to remember : *Futile protest against reality.*

You ought to do so. For you cannot avoid its significance. This crying against reality furnishes for you, for me, for all of us, one of the strongest motives directing our lives. In one way or another, from the hour of our birth to the hour of the grave, we repeat this first infantile act of protesting. Monotonously and uselessly we cry out for peace; like caged animals seeking an escape, we beat ourselves against the unbreakable bars of our destiny.

Let me try to make this clearer.

Here, at the very beginning, in this earliest act of the unconsenting cry from the babe, new-born, forced

suddenly and will-he-nill-he into an effort-demanding world, you have a situation that is permanent; a first instinctive expression of motives of refusal, of safety-seeking, of shirking, of compromise, of fears that reappear continuously, for one reason or another, in this guise or in that, and, indeed, are so persistently active that they hinder our forward progress through the whole of our lives. Always there is present in every individual, in a stronger or weaker compulsive degree, the impulse to turn back, to be comfortable, to seek shelter in the known security, from the urge and stress of the unknown, the untried. It is—I must press this again—a permanent urge, a kind of innermost hunger, this primary impulse towards the womb of the mother. In many ways uncounted and uncountable, with an inventive ingenuity that almost is unbelievable, we constantly repeat our infantile cries; we wrap ourselves in warm blankets of pretence, as we seek to steal away back to some remembered dark room of peace. And for some this memory acts as a sort of Nemesis, for ever hindering and shadowing their efforts; preventing them going forwards; standing ever as a bar against every kind of action. It is paralysing and dreadful the way it clings to them, seems to be a poison in their blood. It is woven into the very fabric of their minds—this turning away from effort—the desire to go back. It is part of the best of them, too, the return to the mother; it fosters some of the finest qualities that get smudged out by the greatest failures. Yes, that is it; we have to pay for this call back to the security of our mothers; and the payment demanded is the deepest of all human penalties; consciousness of opportunities missed.

Upon this principle of the compulsion to accept reality depends the radical part of the daily fight of each one of us. Our refusing cries ring back and ring back. It is never for long that we keep going forward. According to our dispositions, we scamper or slink away

from the realities of an effort-demanding world whose insistence makes too hard a claim on our attention and our will. We cry out to return to our infantile fantasies—we creep back to our mothers.

Why, I, myself, have been doing this, on this very morning, in the attempt to present the position to you; and as you, my readers, will almost certainly do also in reading what I have written. I hear you asking what all this means, what it can possibly have to do with you and your relationship to your child. Yet it is you who are making the mistake. And in asking these questions of yourself you are proving unconsciously the truth of my statement. For what you are doing really is the old familiar trick of turning away. You will shirk any real application, disagreeable, probably, to your self-love, beat a retreat from real thinking, turn tail and seek some old, comfortable hiding-place. I know this, because, as I have told you, I have just been doing the same thing myself.

I came this morning into my study at my usual working hour, and sat down to my desk to begin this chapter. Everything was ready, everything was right. A pile of clean MS. paper, my favourite pen, ink, blotting paper—every needed thing in its right place. Yet, if we are to judge, as judge we must, by the results, something was very wrong indeed. I achieved nothing. For, rejecting the real effort of concentration, my thoughts wandered about in a useless, but quite effortless, fantasy of ideas. I began by trying this opening, and then that; I wrote a page and tore it up, then another and tore that up too. I waited to think—at least, that is what I pretended to myself, though it was just the effort of thought I was shirking; I began again with no better result. I started to feel miserable as always happens when one fails in one's efforts. However hard one tries to do it, it is difficult quite successfully to trick oneself.

But the dangers of the habit of mental slacking are

very seductive. I took up the morning's *Times*, and read the parliamentary debates which usually stimulate me; they are so ridiculous that any personal achievement seems in contrast less ridiculous. But this morning I gained no help in that way. Afterwards I read a review, then the Bible, always my final refuge. No result. All this time I was pretending to myself. I was just mentally lazy. I believed I was struggling to work while the fact was I was struggling with all my strength *not to work*.

One thinks one is struggling very hard to do something when all one's effort is expended for the exact opposite result of escaping doing it.

That is the great craftiness of this too common form of self-delusion. I got up from my desk, and in disgust left my study, walking through the open window into my garden. Here matters became much worse. For as fast as I ran away from the real situation, I more and more lost the power to stop myself. I seized on any number of excuses to give me the desired pretext for escaping my morning's writing. I thought of seeds that wanted to be sown, flower-beds waiting to be weeded, vegetable plots to be prepared, young seedlings over-ready for transplanting, grass overgrown for mowing. All my garden seemed to gather in a united effort and to cry out with wily and inviting appeals for my attention. And the fact that I detest gardening, dislike it more almost than any other occupation, did give a semblance of reality to the process of deceiving myself.

Very nearly I yielded. I went so far as to fetch my gardening hat and my gardening gloves. I walked to the tool shed. There I stopped. You see, I know myself, and am used to these deceiving tricks in my behaviour. It was not the first time I had wasted my morning in similar absurd attempts to avoid work by pretending to work. I recognised quite clearly the falseness of my solicitude over my garden. I under-

stood that I was shirking—abominably shirking. I was going to attend to my garden, not at all because there was any real urgency for me to do so, that was all mental humbug with which I tried to bolster up my laziness. No, *it was not the job I ought to be doing; the job I had started out to do.* That was why these horticultural claims appeared suddenly so urgent, so attractive. *I was using them as a means of escape.* And for that reason they demanded much less effort, much less concentration, or directed thinking. That was their immense charm on this particular morning.

It was not that I couldn't write; it was that I wouldn't do it. And rather than make the effort necessary, I was turning to an occupation I thoroughly disliked.

For that is the really curious thing about this fantasying: when we relinquish effort and the work we ought to do, we waste the most extraordinarily brilliant contrivances and suffer real hardships in the achievement of our self-deceiving. It is a demoralising process. For if you go on for long periods in make-believe to yourself about yourself, and about everyone and everything else, you become dead to all that is real. A corpse walking in the mask of life! You cannot turn your back on reality like that. Face forward is always the cry.

It may, perhaps, seem to some of my readers that I have wasted an unnecessary amount of space, and have been drawn entirely away from the subject of this chapter, in recounting to you the story of my idling morning. Yet it will have been worth while if it succeeds in picturing and making clear to you this very common process of fantasying. We are apt, I think, to mistake and narrow the use that is made of this word by psychologists. I know that I did this myself. I considered fantasying was connected only with day-dreams, building castles-in-Spain, thinking wonderful things are going to happen, or seeing oneself in wonderful

situations and doing wonderful things. It is, of course, all this, but this is only its most crude and childlike expression. It is something more as well—something much more easy to indulge in, something far more insidiously demoralising. *It is seeing a situation as we want it to be, not as in reality it is.*

Fantasy is childishness, eternal self-deceiving, and moral dishonesty. And what happened in my case is so commonplace, so exactly what happens to every one of us. That is why it is instructive. For in this trivial incident I was repeating once again the old, old mistake, playing the truant from reality, following the easy downhill path of avoidance, on which the first step is taken with our entrance into the world.

Now, to return to consider this question of reality from the position of the baby—a point of view so difficult for the adult, rather stupid, understanding that I can hope at best to picture it for you only in the crudest outline, with many necessary details blurred over or left out, because my imagination has failed in seeing them. And first we have to keep fixed in our minds how tremendously difficult is the task of the child. Consider how short a time he has in which to reach the complicated standards of adult conduct. At rushing speed the long uphill journey has to be accomplished by which mankind has travelled from savagery to the state of civilisation which has been attained. The child has to run where the race has walked. It needs a real effort for us to comprehend all that this implies.

At first the baby finds its main needs satisfied by magic. It asks by means of a cry; it receives food and restful ease in the shade, without payment and without effort. But this magic world, a world in which food flows into the mouth at a call and warmth and rest and comfort come at command, does not last, even for the baby. For side by side with these effortless enjoyments, which hold the unfolding nature back

in the first state of peace, there is as well an always active urge forward, through the child's growing wish to discover the world. The first, or backward urge, is known as the pleasure-principle, that is, the desire to gain immediate happiness and avoid immediate pain; while the second, the urge forward, is the reality-principle of life, that impels us to achievement and effort and ensures progress.

In an almost impossibly short time, the purely sensational existence, during which everything outside of the child himself is ignored, begins to give place to a more social way of life, in which things and persons are first recognised and then considered, though as yet only in their relation to the child's own needs and wishes. Still this is an immense step forward. All the early impulses and instincts, the first habits and desires, the loves and hates, have to be given up or transformed to meet the new demands. Tremendous adjustments have to be achieved by the child in a very short space of time. At any time, and in every hour, the conflict goes on. Never for long, except in sleep, is the child left in peace. I do not know, but perhaps this is why babies sleep so much. It gives them the chance of going back to the pre-natal peace. Certainly it is the same through the whole adult life. We return to childhood in our dreams.² There the pleasure-principle always persists.

Experience begins very soon to show even the youngest child that advantages in new exciting pleasures are gained by his own efforts. He begins to want to learn. He puts out his hands, for instance, to touch the things presented to him; placing them in his mouth, he experiments necessarily with their taste. Lights and sound and colours attract his attention. He begins to classify and to accumulate knowledge. There are hard things and soft things, things nice to taste and nasty, things that give pleasure and things that hurt. To all the countless new experiences, with

which his life is increasingly crowded, the child must pay attention, and must make some kind of adjustment. More and more, as he grows and experiments more widely, the outer world begins to refuse to gratify immediately his increasing demands. It inflicts some pain on him, if he does certain things, and shows approval of other lines of conduct. The child comes to understand that he has to think and make effort in order to gain what he desires. Against the urge backwards towards comfort and the first peace with the mother, he is carried forward by the ever-pressing demands of reality. He learns to wait for the things he desires, with the view of gaining in the future instead of satisfying his immediate wishes with the easiest and nearest means of gratification, the early pleasure-pain principle.

From birth onwards every child is exposed to this conflict of desires and the two opposite urges between two paths. All through life this will be so. It is a lesson never mastered, a conflict never ended, but the mastery is, perhaps, hardest in the beginning period, when all experience is absent and life a limitless opportunity for ego satisfactions.

And yet I do not know. I am tempted to wait to consider further the immense significance of the conflict between pleasure and reality, and the many different expressions it takes in the grown-up life. The question to me opens up suggestions that may well explain many of our unsolved adult problems. Always we are pulled in these two directions, backward and forward. We want to go on. But after every mistake and under any discouragement there is a retrograde turning backwards of our desires to the infantile pleasure life. We stop where the child stopped, are hindered where he was hindered, we go on the paths he started on, achieve in the direction in which he achieved. Our dreams are a bridge with our past. In our vision of the nights and in our fantasies by day

we enjoy imaginary effortless achievements and are compensated for what we have failed to gain by effort in our real life. Everyone is omnipotent in his dreams.³

I shall return to this binding connection between the life of the child and the life of the adult later in the chapter. It is a question of the most urgent importance. For these early impressions and influences of our childhood are gathered about each one of us like a river in spate, fed and made stronger by numerous subsidiary streams, all of which have collected and gathered the elements of our future emotions, moods and acts.

The parents and nurses exercise the most important influence in these conflicts of the child's growth. They are apt to hurry the child too much. I have referred to this before. It is, however, so pressing and so commonly recurring an error that I must wait to try to drive its lesson home. The mother, in particular, makes mistakes. She is too anxious to urge the child on too quickly to good conduct, she is also too anxious to have him dependent on herself. Thus she hurries him forward and holds him back at the same time. This is very confusing to the child. And in this way she often interferes with the useful and lesson-teaching conflicts, which the child, if left unhindered, would meet and fight through for himself. For it must never be forgotten that these conflicts are useful and, indeed, necessary for the child, urging him forward, keeping him emotionally alive. The mother who does too much hinders the orderly process of growth.

Perhaps I can make this clearer by means of a very simple nursery incident, such a one as can hardly fail to happen at an early age with any child. The child throws a ball or other plaything to the ground. The mother picks it up and gives it back. The child throws it again. This may go on for a considerable time, usually until the mother wearies, and either diverts the attention of the child, or leaves it to cry for the ball it cannot get.

Now in each case the mother has acted unwisely. The child suffers a slight hurt. You see, if she continues picking up the ball for the child at the sacrifice of herself, then diverts his attention when her patience fails, what really she is doing is limiting the child's experience of the world and of its own powers. Also she is teaching him a first lesson in selfishness, she allows him to gain pleasure without effort, and to sacrifice others to himself. Still worse is the result if she refuses to pick up the ball and will not help him, and leaves him to cry. For then, inevitably, he experiences hopelessness before a task impossible to accomplish. Nothing so quickly causes retrogression as the sense of hopelessness. It never fails to turn back effort. A wiser plan would be for the mother to tie the ball, or the toy, to a fastened string. The child can throw and get back the ball himself. In this way self-reliance is substituted for dependence.

Always the child experiments. Take another example. He tries to walk, but he falls: he has attempted too much: he encounters a hard object and is hurt; he has gone too far in his discovery of the world. And what I must ask you to notice here is this: The mother is, as a rule (though she does not know it, and certainly would not acknowledge it), only too pleased at her child's failure. For this failure brings him back to herself. In five times out of every six she is too ready to pity, too quick to help him. She comforts with soft words and caresses; that means (and this should never be forgotten) she takes the child back from effort to dependence—back to an earlier state before his ambitious trial for himself. She is clipping his wings of life.

This over-sheltering of the child is the alluring snare ever waiting for mothers. I do not think that even the wisest parent escapes. They draw back their children into the Garden of Eden of their love; nor are they sufficiently brave to stand at the door, with the fiery

sword drawn in their hand to drive them forth to experience and the hard lessons of life. Yet the realisation of the necessity for this courage is of the very greatest importance. So that all mothers may be on guard to check not only the inevitable tendency of the child to turn to them as an excuse for infantile shirking of effort, but also the equally inevitable and even stronger tendency within themselves to encourage this shirking-sheltering of their child. The mother's duty should be the duty of the commander; she should stimulate and send the child forward, away from herself, to face everything and act always on reality: she should never satisfy herself by permitting an easy acceptance by the child of her tenderness and help. It is one of the most terrible truths of parenthood that the sacrificing love of the mother acts most harmfully in destroying the powers of the child.

It should be understood that when I use the word "mother" I mean more than the actual mother. I include whoever looks after the child in his earliest years, whoever may be there as the person from whom he gains the comfort and support of a big, superior, grown-up being. Whoever preserves, protects, feeds and satisfies and educates the child will become like a mother in the mind of the child. The nurse, the grandmother, the aunts, the teachers, if they have any intimate relations with the child, act to him as mother-substitutes or surrogates for the mother, which is the psychological term now in use.⁴ And I would point out, in passing, how necessary it is that these substitutes for the mother should act wisely, and especially that their influence should be the same as that exercised by the mother, as otherwise confusion, always terribly harmful to children, will inevitably occur in the child's mind.

You see, this relationship of the mother is more complicated, and its influence reaches further, than we have believed. The orphaned, or the worse than orphaned,

the unkindly treated child, will make up a dream-mother, formed out of imaginary wishes. No child can do without a mother. Even when in happy circumstances, a wish-mother may be invented to replace the mother. This is done on some occasion by almost all children, especially at times when, for any cause, they feel hurt or neglected, or are jealous because a sister or brother is thought to be more loved. Such compensatory ideal substitute parents, if they are indulged in often and for any length of time, tend to replace the image of the real mother in the child's mind. The disappointed and jealous child will dream of a mother who is, and does, everything that is desired. Often, as the dream-mother is more and more idealised, the real mother is imagined as more and more cruel. This is important. For it is this distorted parent-image which becomes real to the child and governs the adult experience. The same transformation may occur in the case of the father. Always it is what the child thinks, or more truly what he feels, about the parents that is important. The good but interfering and tactless (from the child's point of view) mother may easily be conceived as the "bad mother" by the child, while the really bad and careless mother, if she does not annoy the child, may very well be imagined as the child's ideal mother. This fictitiously pictured mother has been called by Jung the mother imago.⁵

I want to go back to a statement made in the last chapter, as to how the child has brought with it out of the historic past much that belongs to more primitive conditions of life. The child, like the savage, wants to proceed directly to his wishes. And some of the greatest difficulties he has to encounter arise through the necessity of making these uncivilised wishes conform with all the many and complicated rules of our adult behaviour.

Try to realise how meaningless these rules must seem to the child; how frightened he must often be when he

breaks them; how hard the gaining of experience is as to the things that are permitted and the things that must not be done. What the child has to learn is to control his pleasures and wishes so that they do not interfere with the pleasures and wishes of other people.

And as well as this general difficulty of good behaviour, there are bigger conflicts very closely connected with the child's sexual and emotional life. These must now be considered.

Every child is interested in his own body, and all that his body does is of the greatest possible significance and wonder to him. His simple natural needs, both of taking food and getting rid of food, occupy at first the greatest part of his attention and his time. In the baby's life everything that concerns himself is exceedingly important and delightful. The action of the bowels and the bladder, connected as they are with vivid sensations of pleasure and also pain,⁶ are certainly enjoyable acts to the child. "Acts of creation," Dr. Constance Long (the follower in this country of Professor Jung and the translator of his books) has said they seem to the child.⁷

But almost at once the child is checked in these perfectly natural and (for the child) right curiosities and delights. "Not nice" and "dirty" becomes associated in the mind with these pleasures which are so soon forbidden. Of course, the child has to be taught to control and sublimate these primitive cravings and must learn not to void promiscuously. But to achieve this result without permanent harm to the character requires the greatest patience and much more knowledge than the usual mother or nurse possesses. Repression is often disastrous. Conflicts are started which are determinative over the whole after-life—anal eroticism, and its immense significance in character formation, is one of the subjects we are beginning to understand.⁸

Every mother must have experienced the resistance of the young child against the first restriction of their natural habits. I have an instructive and charming example of such a resistance, given in a letter, which I am permitted to quote, through the kindness of a friend. It was written by a young mother as to her own baby's behaviour and without an idea of illustration or proving any doctrines about babies.

This is what the mother says :

" One of my nurse's labour-saving devices is to train my infant to use a chamber at a very early age. She said I was to start this at a few weeks' old, but I have given baby three months' grace. But at last I went out and brought home the smallest chamber I could find and on Sunday the régime started, poor baby screaming with terror, and doubling up and falling into the chamber and being hauled out by an adamantine me and set in position again, while she would look up at me sideways with her little mouth all puckered up and that faithful, doggy look in her eyes, as much as to say, ' This is torture and I just can't believe it's *you*.' But to-day, when I gave her a second lesson, after the usual screams and after at last achieving results, she kicked the chamber skilfully off my lap across the room. So now I hope she thinks we are quits ! I do."

I shall add nothing to this account of a mother's struggle in the education of her child. It speaks for itself. I would, however, ask you to think if such a conflict is not certain to leave its mark on the character. The baby reaches out for satisfaction in every direction and in every direction it is being stopped. Primitive and easy gratifications have to be renounced on every side.

Another serious conflict, as everyone knows, occurs when the child is weaned.⁹ Some babies will sooner almost starve than make the effort to feed in a more troublesome and less erotically satisfying manner.

These conflicts are necessary, but always difficult. And there are so many of them for the baby all crowded into such a short time. Crying as a means of getting what you want, to take another instance, has to be abandoned for complicated talking, while the burdensome task of upright walking must be substituted for the comfortable, biologically-ancestral crawling on the hands and feet. These are but a few examples out of many.

Now it is part of our grown-up emotional blindness to think that there is no result, no permanent psychic mark left from these upward struggles of the little child—"the first great renuncements" as they have been aptly called.¹⁰ Later health troubles, such as constipation and its opposite, loss of control of the bowels, vomiting, resistance against certain foods, many digestive difficulties, breathing troubles, stammering, incapacity with languages, as well as many diseases connected with the movements of the limbs, may all be connected with these early conflicts. We may, and indeed all of us do, in our adult life, suffer from many things, without apparent reason. These troubles might have been prevented. It is no exaggeration of the truth when I tell you that every one of our adult abnormalities, our ill-health of mind and character, had its corresponding trouble in some emotional conflict that disturbed our childhood.

Each struggle of the soul, each psychic event, is a milestone in the history of the child's character. On it is marked the miles and the road by which it has come, and also the place and distance which still have to be travelled. We have failed to realise the continuity of all psychic experience. So we have believed that the child forgets, not understanding what this forgetting means: a thrusting back into the unconscious mind of the event which was too painful in consciousness. With the certain result of permanent harmfulness, because you cannot alter the concealed

thing. You can never get rid of a dirty and rotten thing by covering it up and thrusting it away into a dark and unopened cupboard. From the hiding-place bad smells will escape to cause danger and destroy the sanitation of the house. It is just the same with the child. If you want him to get rid of these primitive desires the only way is through sublimation.¹¹ And the child will have to achieve this for himself. Again I would emphasise, with all the power I have, that the adults need to be less afraid and less officious in righteousness.

There is the inner urge within the child that cannot fail, in his own right time, to bring him to give up the habits that distress you. He wants himself to go on. But there is the greatest danger to him in your "speeding-up." He will go too quickly and exhaust his own desire for the efforts of life and the hard endeavour of good conduct.

You will see what I mean. If we hasten the child forward too much, there will be repressions. The uncivilised behaviour or wish that has not been got rid of by experience of its uselessness and voluntarily cast aside will be, as I have just said, thrust down deep into the unconscious mind from where its unrealised power in later years will send up primitive and uncivilised wishes, which will certainly injure the adult character. Conflicts there must be for the child and repressions, too, are inevitable and necessary. The unconscious mind, as I have told you, is mainly formed in the first five or six years of life. It consists of all the primitive instincts, wishes, thoughts, habits, ideas—everything which the child afterwards rejects as unsuitable for his ever-enlarging needs. It is safer to let him do this work of rejection mainly for himself.

It is not through sheer contrariness or nastiness that children develop bad habits, that they pick noses, bite nails, stammer, have fits and other much worse things, or later are too shy or too boisterously self-assertive,

or develop morbid fears.¹² Such symptoms, as well as a whole host of others that cannot be mentioned here, are replacements of infantile interests, which too soon were denied their satisfaction. In particular, harm is caused by a too early checking of the child's delight in messy things, making mud pies, playing with water, using hands instead of knife and fork and other common and messy childish habits. The special habit may, and usually does, disappear, but what we have failed to understand is that the checked and thwarted wish which caused the habit is still potent, and, at any after time in life, may reappear clothed in a fresh dress of concealment.

Again, I would urge that all that can be done with bad habits is to turn them into new directions of rightful energy. The adult can assist the child, by suggesting ways and providing materials for substitute satisfaction. I mean this: you can help to win the child away from his first ego-centric interest in his body and himself and his concentration on his own functions, by showing him other satisfactions which he is able to understand, satisfactions in which he will find a greater delight. As, for instance, the messy child should be given sand to play with and encouraged to make sand pies well; and, then, as he grows older, heaps of plasticine or wax to mould should be provided. Similarly, with the desire to play with water, this is a symbolic action by which the young child, very commonly, frees himself from inner disharmony. I know of one case where a child, until quite an advanced age, always, after a relapse into bad or primitive behaviour, had a curious game of blowing water through long tubes. The result was highly satisfactory and never failed to bring the child back to good and social behaviour. The revealing teaching of Jung¹³ has shown us how significant these symbols are in the child's life, and how splendidly they can act to liberate him from primitive hindrances and help him to gain his ultimate

salvation. We adults should be more humble and more careful not to interfere, when we do not understand.

All a child's life is bound up in the mother. She writes the preface to the Book of Life. All the primitive wishes of the child that are thwarted and arbitrarily repressed must find compensatory satisfaction in some way. It is the supreme duty of the mother to help the child to the right satisfaction, or where this, for any cause, is impossible, to provide the least harmful substitute satisfaction. If the child wants the moon, we cannot give it the moon; but you can prevent its crying for the moon, or, what is much worse, pretending an orange is the moon. You can teach him that he gains more satisfaction from the real orange as it is, by eating it, than by any make-believe that it is something which it is not.

Now, in order to complete my outlined picture of the child in this early period, I must ask you to consider again, in another connection, the child's interest in himself—in his own body and its pleasures and its pains. This Narcissism is so termed after the legend of Narcissus, who, refusing love, fell in love with himself. The turning the libido—vital energy, love, call it what you choose—towards oneself is normal in the quite young child. In most children it persists, in a more or less active way, in later childhood and after the child's affections have been diverted away from himself and transferred to those whom he has learnt to love. During adolescence Narcissism is always pronounced. For then (as we shall see in Chapter IX.) regression occurs and in the emotional life there is a repetition of the childhood period. And what I want you to note is this: Narcissism, this absorbing self-love, is objectionable and dangerous only in the adult life. It is right for the young child and the adolescent boy or girl, but it is quite wrong for the man or woman. In them it is a sign of regression, and shows in the person

of the adult a return in the emotional sphere to the level of the infant. That often this infantilism does persist there is no need for me to tell you. We all know adults who in this respect act like children; men and women who seem quite unable to consider any other person than themselves. But what we have not realised is that the objectionable egomania is the certain result of failure to gain sublimation in childhood. This we did not know. We did not recognise it as being really the reappearance of the infantile ego wishes, which have lived on unchecked and unchanged in the unconscious. This atavism could have been prevented. Here, again, I am able to point out to you the splendid educative opportunities that become possible when we understand the psyche. The blame for the adult failings does not rest with the adult sufferers, rather it should be borne by those who failed them in their helpless years and retarded their growth towards social righteousness, either by neglect or by the even worse fault of ignorant over-training.

Now this brings us back inevitably to the position from which we started this chapter—the responsibility of the mother as the child's supreme parent. Throughout the early years, with their continual conflicts and difficult growth, the mother (or the substitute, who acts for the mother as the child's helper in the mother's place) has the most intimate relationship with the child and the greatest opportunities of influence. Who shall estimate what the mother stands for to the child?

Something of the closeness and complexities of this mother-child relationship I have brought before you. In the chapter that immediately follows this I shall refer again and in fuller explanation to the emotional educative importance of the child's love. Here I wish once more to keep our attention fixed for a moment on the general conflicts concealed beneath the strong and closely binding affection—the unbreakable bonds that fasten mother and child. I need not remind you again

of what I have told you already; the hostile elements that must be reckoned with in the nature of this affection; of the jealousies felt by the parents towards the children, and the other way round, by the children towards the parents; of the selfishness that is cloaked beneath maternal unselfishness; of the hindering nature of the mother's love, or the rebellion that is concealed in the child's obedience. These things you know. But what I wish to show you now is the harmful way in which these fictitious situations, with their emotional falsifications, are imposed upon the children against their will; imposed by long-continued, though, of course, unconscious, parental pressure. And this condition of falsity leads necessarily to further hostility. In my opinion it acts as an element often of great strength in the formation of the serious concealed conflicts, already considered, which separate the young and the old—the parent and the child. And I would suggest again that the significance of this more general conflict has been overlooked by those who, perhaps, see too exclusively the personal emotional elements in these relationships.

There is another point I want to bring before you here.

It is manifest that all these many conflicting feelings, which for the child centre in the mother, must tend to bring to pass the contradictory position that the one who first is most loved is also the one who may be most hated. True, the love is manifest; usually the hatred is hidden; but hostility is not less, but more, active because it is concealed. The mother feeds and comforts the child; but she also thwarts his will and obstructs his desires. She tries to make him be and do what he does not want to be or do. And here, I am certain, we find the beginning, the first seed sown, of that curious connection between love and hate which, in its later manifestations, so often and so bitterly surprises every one of us, when it finds expression in

our own loves, and also in the love we receive from others.

Nor is this manifest result the only trouble. Every emotional conflict affects the whole character. If for any reason, such, for instance, as an unwise and interfering mother who at one hour over-indulges and, at another, arbitrarily restricts the child, the love-hate conflict is made too terrible to endure, the most harmful reactions may occur. The erotic disturbance works in the unconscious; and, in its stead, sends bad habits forth into consciousness. Thus the character is distorted and the life history may be ruined.

I am aware that some of these statements, at a first thought, may appear to you fantastic and untrue. It is exceedingly difficult to render the complicated process of the mind sufficiently clear. Then there is so much that needs to be examined that many useful explanations have to be curtailed or omitted altogether. I would, however, ask you to think each statement out for yourself. I believe then you will find the truth. You will realise that many things which surprise and distress us in our own conduct, and in the conduct of others, are not the result of chance. In the psychic life there is no such thing as chance. Nor are we able to alter or control our actions in the way which moral teachers would have us believe. Often we seem to be compelled against our understanding and our wills. Our desires towards good conduct seem dragged back by some impulse deep within us. And so we come to know that our actions have behind them a long history, whose beginning we have forgotten.

We have all of us struggled through the same difficult upward path of growth. But some of us were more fortunate than were others: we were helped onwards and forwards while they were pushed down and backwards. This should teach us a wider charity.

I can, perhaps, make the position more vivid to you by means of a final simple illustration. In the first

years are laid down the rails whereon the car of the child's life will have to travel. The child is the driver of the car, but the mother is the guard who controls the brakes. The lines permitted for the journey are not so long, so many, or so varied as might easily be thought. The child goes to and fro between his own stations. And these stations are the psychic events in the history of his character. Sometimes for a long distance his car travels smoothly, steadily forward and onwards; often it is stopped; the brakes are used badly, too much and too carelessly; then the car is sent back to an earlier station. Sometimes difficult repairs are required before the journey can be restarted, and even when this is done, the car travels with slower speed, the driver has lost confidence, the guard has less control. There is a poorer hope of the car reaching the journey's end unharmed and at the right hour.

CHAPTER V

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHILD'S FEELING OF INFERIORITY AND THE CONSEQUENCES

"The child selects out of his psychic resources expedients for the raising of his own value."—DR. ALFRED ADLER.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The mistaken view of the nature of the child—The baby like a god—All its wishes satisfied without effort—Speedy disappointment—The small child in the big world—Troubles arising from the position of inferiority—Professor Adler of Vienna—His "inferiority complex"—The Will to Power—An examination of his view of the neurotic constitution—His rejection of the Freudian position—The Masculine Protest—My objection to his views—My debt to Adler—How the adult hurts the child—Much greater care needed not to increase the inferiority complex—How the child turns to dreams and fantasizing—Boastfulness a sign of a feeling of inferiority—The dangerous dream-life.

THE opinion as to the innocent, happy and untroubled nature of the young child has been accepted so widely and without question that it is necessary to emphasise, in a further connection, the exact opposite view, which was brought forward in the last chapter.

From the hour of birth the babe is in conflict.

It has been commonly thought, even if the opinion has not been formulated, that the first period of life has no very certain connection with the years which follow; that the child, as it were, grows out of himself—sloughs the skin of his habits and his feelings, and leaves his babyhood behind him. This view is at the root of most of our mistakes in regard to the child. We project ourselves on to him; our characters on to his character; confuse our desires with his desires, our feelings with his feelings. We think of him really as

being without qualities, without wishes and will, until we have instructed and trained him. We are, in our fantasy, gods to mould his clay. The causes that give rise to such an opinion are not far to seek. The question of the child has been approached from the wrong end; we have looked at the child from above, downwards—from the adult life back to childhood, when it ought to be the other way round, from the first stage of birth onwards to the end.

Let us look at this question a little more from the point of view of the child.

Children, as we have seen, start life feeling like gods; confident in their own perfection. All that they need comes to them without effort. Their wishes, not even spoken in words, are fulfilled. Even the mother, the object of their love, is realised at first only in her capacity as feeder and comforter to them. Their self-esteem is unblunted by experience of failure. But the child is soon deposed from its throne. Stretching out its hands on every side for experience, he meets with opposition and finds in a world of realities that one does not enjoy without effort. Many things refuse enjoyment altogether. The parents, the source of all benefits, have authority. And this authority, to the child, must seem often to be exercised in an arbitrary and unkind way.

As the child grows older, these feelings of disappointment, with his mother, his father, with his brothers and sisters, his nurse, and with his world, are almost certain to increase. And sometimes they become stronger, more vivid, more painful than grown-ups, who have forgotten their own childhood, at all realise. How thoughtlessly, for instance, the child is told by grown-ups that it is only a child. Even the mother, so greatly loved, fails in understanding. She has forgotten the time when she was too small, too little, to do things; too young to be trusted. Then the father, and the other children, his brothers and his

sisters, occupy her attention; they take her love, which the growing-up baby feels belongs to him alone.

Every child suffers from these feelings of inferiority.

He is born into and has to live in an adult world, where everybody and everything is very big. He is so much smaller and weaker than the grown-ups who control his play and his work that, of necessity, he feels uncomfortably helpless against their authority. So many of his pleasures are forbidden, so often his occupations are interrupted. He does not know how to explain himself, most often he does not realise he is unhappy, and this increases his trouble. Really, if you want to understand the exceedingly difficult and painful position of the tiny child, you must think how you yourself would feel if, without your desire and without preparation or any help, you were translated to heaven and had to live there, covering up your ignorance and the mistakes you made, trying to justify and explain your conduct to God and the angels.

The child is at such a hopeless disadvantage. And parents, as I have just said, usually thoughtlessly, but very foolishly, emphasise their children's inferiority. They speak of their weakness, tell them they are too little to do this or that. Then they pet and caress them for the enjoyment of the pleasure they gain themselves from their children's clinging love, instead of training them to be independent, and making them as much as possible able to do without adult protection. Parents never seem to realise the bad effect all this has upon the sensitiveness of the child.

The danger is great and real. For these feelings of smallness and weakness easily may be made so strong that the child suffers an overpowering humiliation. He is unable to face and meet the burdening sense of his inferiority. No feelings hidden in the unconscious can lead to deeper character distortion and psychic disturbance.

I would urge upon parents, and upon all adults who

have any connections with young children, how important, from the start of their training, is the avoidance of this hurt, so frequently inflicted carelessly upon them. Children cannot, even under the most favourable conditions, escape from the painful feelings arising from their want of power. They are always coming up against the many things they cannot do, as well as the many things they are not allowed to do. Never ought the adult to increase this pain. Do not, for instance, allow a child to feel he is, for any reason, lower than others, less loved or less considered. Do not urge him forward by holding up before him the achievements of other children. If he has defects and incapacities that cannot be overlooked, at once couple these disadvantages with some advantage. Such children especially need encouragement and all the help that can be given them.

Do you perhaps think I am exaggerating here; crediting the child with capacities for suffering which he cannot have? I would ask you to watch any two or three children the next opportunity you have as they play together. Then give one child a toy, a pencil, a bit of gay ribbon, or anything children love. What happens? Does not the other child, who has not been given anything, immediately cry out to you and demand the same gift for himself? If you refuse he will fall at once into a passion of violence and misery. Why is this? He does not really want the object he seems to desire. Do you give it him, in a few minutes it will be cast aside. What he cannot bear is being without—someone else being above him; possessed of what he has not got; being more powerful than he is. He seizes on the trivial incident, which so becomes important, because he expresses through it the deeply concealed pain of his inferiority. It is a permanent hurt, and the hidden feelings which cause it are ever watching to find an escape from the unconscious mind into consciousness, and so to gain relief through expression.

For the child does not know he feels inferior. He has thrust the disturbing feelings away from his knowledge because of their painfulness. That is why they are so powerful in their action upon the character; they remain in the unconscious mind uncontrolled and primitive, and unless they are liberated by means of the child's own achievements (sublimation) they may form, through the whole of the life experience, one of those tormenting, fundamental and concealed miseries that eat at the root of peace.

It is on this question of the inferiority complex that Dr. Alfred Adler, of Vienna, has broken away from the Freudian psychologists. In Chapter III. I referred to his work, "The Neurotic Constitution," in connection with the unconscious mind. In Adler's view the inferiority feeling of childhood is the determinative of all action in the adult character of the normal individual, and also is behind the neurosis of the abnormal person. Indeed, he regards the neurosis as an attempt, or desire, of the neurotic man or woman to get free from the inferiority complex.

As a surgeon, he approaches the problem of the neurosis from the organic rather than the functional side, and this gives a special interest to his theories, as it is a view which is supposed to have been neglected. He lays the greatest stress on somatic inferiority.¹ In addition to the general inferiority, which the child must feel through the fact of his being a child, Adler thinks that in every individual there is as well a "personal inferiority," if the term may be permitted, connected with one or other of the organs which for some physical reason is inferior. He believes that the predominant traits of everyone's character are the result of efforts, started in the earliest childhood, to overcome the feelings of inferiority, which arise out of, and were directed by, this physical cause. The predominant desire of the neurotic psyche is the craving for security. A fictitious idea of the personality is set up which forces

the guiding lines of conduct. I mean by this that the neurotic person makes up a picture of himself and of others in their relations to himself—a picture which has very little connection with his real character or the real circumstances, but which is so strong that his character and all his life is built up upon it.

This seems in some connections to be very nearly related to Nietzsche's "Will to power!" and "Will to seem." The neurotic always feels incomplete. His marked sensitiveness, his irritable debility, the suggestibility and egotism of his character, the tendency to anxiety and absent-mindedness, as well as more distinctive traits, such, for instance, as tyranny and malevolence, or the opposite expressions of self-sacrifice and great unselfishness, are all neurotic devices to establish supremacy to compensate for the abnormally strong feelings of inferiority.

Adler finds this Will to Power—the struggle of the psyche to assert its worth—behind everything. Thus he rejects the sexual theory of the Freudians.² He regards the whole action of the unconscious as symbols of the craving for dominance. With him inferiority is the basic foundation of the life-conflict. This unceasing effort of the character to free itself from inferiority he calls "the masculine protest,"³ a term that is often confusing, as well as being somewhat annoying. Everything that leads to achievement—that is high, strong, above—is masculine; while all that is beneath, feeble, below—everything that represents failure and weakness—is feminine! Some of his statements in this relation seem allied to the opinions of Otto Weininger. His theory of inferiority is exceedingly suggestive. I have gained the greatest help from Adler's work, a help which I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging.

Adler has, I think, established that the inferiority complex is an essential part of the unconscious. But his views, in my opinion, can be accepted only as an

addition to, and in no sense as a replacement of, the position held by the other schools of analytic psychologists. I cannot see that the difficulties in all cases are faced by Adler, and some of his explanations seem to me to be strained. In particular, I think, he underestimates the early home relationships and this importance of the child's affection for the parents. To him the Œdipus-complex is the symbol of the desire to dominate—"the masculine protest." Everything is referred back to this one motive. He accepts, of course, that the child's affections are centred in the mother, and that this may lead to emotional disturbance that is behind the neurosis. But this disturbance is regarded, not as arising from the child's affection for the mother, but as being dependent on his egoistic wishes and strivings towards self-assertion (the breaking away from the mother—again the masculine protest). And, following this view, the mother-fixation in the later life "becomes a sign of discontent, a symbol of the character's boundless aspirations, of his obstinacy and his fear of other women."⁴

Certainly Adler's theory is interesting, and many of his views, in particular in connection with the neurotic's strivings in the sexual sphere, and also in every department of life, are full of suggestions; but his position, as a whole, seems to me impossible to accept. The inferiority complex is undoubtedly powerful. It cannot, however, account for everything. I owe much to Adler, for it is through his work I have come to understand better how terribly children suffer under these feelings, how conscious they always are of their weakness and smallness, and, how, owing to this, their sensitiveness is so easily wounded. Indeed the whole question of the adult not hurting the child is dependent on an understanding of the powerful and continuous action of the inferiority complex.

Much greater care is needed than just the avoidance of the careless word or act. Often the parents are help-

less. For the inferiority feelings may be, and often are, started by some cause which, to the parents (or to other ordinary observers' eyes), should not induce such feelings. All avoidance of hurting a child is really exceedingly hard to achieve. Indeed I think it is impossible. For if it is hard, as certainly it is, for one adult to feel and be aware of the concealed hurts suffered by another adult, how much harder must this be in the case of the child; to penetrate the exquisitely sensitive feelings of a young child one must have an imagination made self-less by sympathy. Still all of us could, and ought to be, much more careful than we are.

Every child has gone to bed feeling inferior, dismayed and embittered, by something said or done to him by grown-ups; because of some failure in sympathy of the mother; some unnecessary teasing or too difficult a command of the father; because of something inconsiderate done by a brother or sister. Now the imaginative child (and all children are imaginative) will fabricate some compensatory situation to heal his hurt. Asleep he dreams and awake he fantasies, or makes up stories, to find relief from these uncomfortable inferiority feelings. Hurt and discouraged, he must forget that he is little and weak. So he imagines heroic deeds done by himself, by means of which his true worth (as he feels it himself) is displayed before his world; that is, in front of his mother, his father, his nurse, his sisters and brothers, or whoever has destroyed his pride. He pictures a not ignoble revenge. He idealises himself and what he can do. He does not mean to deceive. But this glorification of his power is necessary if his object is to be gained, and in his dreams there are no cruel, arbitrary, grown-up standards to limit his self-confidence. The situation is, indeed, a sort of auto-faith-healing, practised to bring back comfort and to restore the first feelings of childish omnipotence. The child has to do this to comfort himself. In these make-believe situations he always succeeds where others

fail, because in his real life he has failed where others succeed.

I must impress upon you that the child is not conceited and untruthful, praising himself, as is so commonly thought. If the spurious courage he gains from his make-believe enables him to tell his stories to others, this is perfectly plain to anyone who understands the processes of the child's mind. His emphasis on his own deeds is a sure sign of the failure of his belief in his own power. What the little boaster really is suffering from—and suffering with an intensity and hopelessness very difficult for the adult to realise—is an unbearable feeling of inferiority.

And it is in this way (usually through parental carelessness—I must insist upon this) that the dangerous dream-life begins; that life of pretence and false valuation of oneself and of others which, if continued, covers over, or worse still, utterly disguises the realities of life. I wish that words of mine had the stinging power to pierce their way to the hearts of every parent and every adult who speaks to a child, so that they may more carefully guard against arousing into too active life these devastating feelings of inferiority; especially should the parents watch for the earliest signs of this dream-existence, which is always, let them remember, a substitute set up by the child as a barrier for some trouble, suffered or imagined. Let them search diligently to find this wound, and heal it, so that the child may not be driven away from life.

If this were done more frequently by parents, innumerable tragedies in adult character would be prevented. Never do I hear a grown man or woman boasting of achievements when they have not achieved, complaining of injustice when they have not suffered, seeing each situation as they want it to be, with themselves a hero or an unrecognised martyr, and not as in reality the situation is, with themselves quite an ordinary person, receiving the rewards that their merit

deserves ; I say, never do I see anyone like this (and one sees them very often indeed), but I feel a twisting pain within me, as my imagination takes me back through the years to the time when that self-hypnotised man or woman was a tiny unprotected boy or girl. I know that helpless, then, when they ought to have been helped, they suffered intolerable pain before they succumbed to a situation too hard for their young acceptance. It must have been so when they first turned backwards from life, to gain happiness in dreams. Oh, the waste, the waste ! The pity, and the suffering of these little ones that we fail to protect and help !

CHAPTER VI

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MYTH IN THE LIFE OF THE CHILD ¹

"The myth is a sustained, still remaining fragment from the infantile soul-life of the people, and the dream is the myth of the individual."—"Dreams and Myths," ABRAHAM.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: Poetic compensatory inventions are woven around any wish that remains unsatisfied—Common desires of mankind personified in myths—The younger son in the fairy-tale—Consolations for failure in the real life gained by imaginary success—The poor foster-father and the wicked stepmother—Why they are created—The myths of Œdipus and Electra—The profundity of the Greek mind—The child's emotional reactions to the parents—An examination of the elements of the child's love—Boys' love and girls' love—The significances of the difference—The parent-fixation—Examples of the way in which it hinders life—The blinding of Œdipus and the refusal to see the truth.

IN the preceding chapter we have seen how quickly, under the painful urge of the inferiority feelings, the adaptation to reality, always so difficult for all children, is replaced by dreams and fantasies. A fictitious value of themselves is built up in place of the true value. They imagine that they possess what they lack and are what they are not. The themes of all childish fantasies are connected with some form of domination and display.²

Thus the child compensates his inferiority by a pretence of power. This indulgence in the day-dream is used as a way of escape from reality *for the sake of pleasure*. That is its danger. This has been explained already. Always the turning away from effort; the gaining satisfaction from the infantile pleasure-principle

tends to destroy the capacities of the character. It causes what is known to psychologists as regression—the child goes back to an earlier stage; he imagines and dreams in an archaic way.³

There is a question of considerable interest that arises here. In any number of old stories, heroic legends, folk-lore, and in the fairy-stories of our children, we see the fabric of these inferiority-protesting dreams of children.

The plot turns on the imaginary hero situation. The hero (or, of course, the heroine, though heroes are more frequent) is usually of humble rank, often separated from his parents; therefore, in some stories, the favoured ones are the sons of kings and even of the gods. The hero distinguishes himself by his beauty or his valour, and, if he has been degraded, is awarded his right position.

The ambition fantasy is very frequent. We find it in every variety of form. The one thing that is common is the glorification of the hero by means of some success that is gained. And the same conditions hold good in the sexual fantasy, in which the hero wins and weds the princess. There are also the robber stories where the thief breaks into a house to commit a very dangerous act. Every story shows the same combination of exalted achievements, violent acts, display and homage, in an endless variety of settings.

The origin of these myths is perfectly clear: there is no need to force their interpretation; they are the poetic expressions of the hidden wishes of mankind. The wish lives in the unconscious, where, as we have learnt, it retains for ever unchanged its childish, egoistic character. Man's fancy begins to weave poetic compensatory inventions around any wish which remains unsatisfied. The wish, or idea, for which satisfaction is being sought must, however, have been present for long in the common desires and thought of mankind. Without realising this all these old legends

become unintelligible. But we find a wide range of subjects connected with the same theme, and the same ideas, which forces upon us their acceptance, as affording evidence of far deeper importance than possibly we have ever realised. Fancy, without doubt, wove the details of the stories; occurrences would be chosen or imagined to give special colour to the narrative, but such wealth of poetic invention, with all the repetition and all reproducing what is practically one situation, could have taken definite form only from wishes so impressed on, and preserved in, the unchanging unconscious mind that they must have had a universal existence.

Nor need we really be surprised at this likeness between the dreams of to-day and the old stories. For the writers, poets, recounters and singers of the ancient world expressed what first and most strongly came into their hearts and imaginations. Hence the abiding interest of their stories. They tell us of those things we all of us conceal even from ourselves. I cannot, then, do better than gather some scattered evidence as to the unconscious mind, with its egoistic and primitive life, by referring to some few of these old myths and legends. For as we examine them we shall find, as Professor Jung has told us, that our fantasy is a re-echo of the old folk-beliefs.⁴

We find, then, that in dreams, in fairy-stories and legends, the uncontrolled mind, from which reality is shut out, expresses those wishes and uncivilised desires which, undisguised, dare not face the world. Every child has dreamed them and hidden them, because his real world is filled with grown-up people who would not understand, and who might blame or even laugh at him.

In order very roughly to classify the great mass of these folk-stories, we may say that the largest and most popular group is the story which tells of the gaining of a princess as bride. This theme occurs again

and again with the details only varied in the different renderings.

The despised younger son always achieves and does the great deed. Do you remember the old tales? It is the youngest of the three sons, who is little and weak, overlooked by his father and told by his brothers that he is too young to do the things that they do; it is this youngest son who always wins the princess after his two elder brothers have tested their fate and failed. The clumsy child, the ugly child, the child who is a hunch-back or deformed, is in all cases helped, often by fishes, by birds or by other animals, to do the hard task, after others, more skilful, more beautiful, and not deformed, have failed. Hans, faring forth to seek his bride; the Dummeling in the Golden Goose story; the miller's son, who gained his bride by the wit of his cat, and Aladdin with his magic lamp, are well known examples of this class of story. The Scottish and Irish legends are particularly rich in examples of these hero lovers. Assepattle, the dirty ash-lad, who wins the fair Gemdelovely, is one of the most interesting. This story is the older masculine rendering of the Cinderella story. Ash-lad figures in many of the Norwegian tales. There is a charming and very simple version in the Lapp story of the Silk Weaver and her husband, where we read, "Once upon a time a poor lad wooed a princess and the girl wanted to marry him, but the Emperor was against the match. Nevertheless she took him at last and they were wed together." ⁵

This wish of "winning the princess" must everywhere have been universal. Always you find the imagination used to supply whatever has been desired and not found in reality. The princess forced to be a goose-girl is the dream of a goose-girl who wishes to be a princess. Again, the daughter of the king, the master, the envied father, conveys the kingdom or the inheritance to the hero. The limitation of my space

does not allow me to classify fully the great amount of evidence provided by these stories. One or two instances, however, may be referred to as illustrations. In the old West Country ballad "The Golden Vanity," or "The Lowland's Low," the boy who saves the ship from the pirate galleon is promised as a reward, "silver and gold, with the skipper's pretty daughter who lives upon the shore." Similarly in the well-known folk-song "The Farmer's Boy," the lad who comes weary and lame to the farmer's door, seeking work, eventually marries the farmer's daughter and inherits the farm. I may add one further story which I used in a different connection in the chapter on "Folk Lore" in my book, "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society." The rendering in this story is different, though the wish behind the main incidents is the same, and the details are so charming and so suggestive that it is, I think, worth recounting again, especially as the story is not widely known.

The legend tells of the ancient warrior, Queen Meave of Ireland. She is represented as tall and beautiful, terrible in her battle chariot when she drives full speed into the press of fighting men. Her virtues were those of a warlike barbarian king and she claimed the like large liberty in morals. Her husband was Ailill, the Connaught king, who had won her hand after a terrible battle. The marriage was unusual and interesting, Meave making her own terms, and requiring from her husband guarantees for his conduct. The three essential qualities on which she insisted were that he should be brave and generous and completely devoid of jealousy.⁶

The witness afforded by these stories of the dream life may not be neglected. They link the childhood of the world together. For what interpretation are we to place upon them, unless we regard them as wish-consolations for failure in real achievement? The child feels himself powerless, he cannot get what he wants;

but he wants something so badly that he dreams he is powerful and can get the desired thing. These stories, both those he reads and the many varieties he makes up for himself, afford him just the satisfaction he wants. They are formed by wishing to have, and to do, and to be, what the dreamer, the story-teller, feels he can never have, and do and be in real life. Thus their pretending is a balm of imagination applied to the wound inflicted by reality.

Another point strikingly illustrated by many of these folk-stories is the child's unconscious, hostile attitude towards the parents. Do you not remember how often the foster-parent as the substitute for the real parent figures in the invented situations? Very frequently met with is the wicked stepmother who envies the daughter's beauty and grudges her the love of the father; or the stepfather jealous and coveting the fortune of the son. What a light this casts on the emotions concealed behind the family relationships. The parents, so often found by the child to be imperfect, must be conceived in their imagination to be foster-parents. Real parents cannot be unkind; there must exist somewhere ideal mothers and fathers. So stories are made up of lost parents who are kings and gods, while the fairy-godmother comes to right the wrongs of a Cinderella.

The child-mind is quickly resentful and over-sensitive to depreciation, and at once suspects envy in the correcting attitudes of parents. It is but a step from this to dream that the real father and mother are step-parents. So the child argues and twists the disliked situation to his own pleasure. Or again the parents are dead, and they are replaced by the child by imaginary parents, very wonderful and always kind. The real facts have no power against these make-believes. It does not matter much what the parents are like, it is the image of them—the parent-imago⁷—formed by the child's imaginative wishes, that is

important. The children in orphanages play at being cared for by dream-mothers.

We have all of us read these fairy-tales to our children, never realising what they signified: we have not understood that they pointed unmistakably to those aspects of the family conflict to which we have been blind; that they gave expression to the concealed wishes of our children in reference to ourselves—hostilities which we have excluded so carefully from our adult consciousness.

Take this question of the jealousy of children, both the general jealousy acting between the generations, separating the young and the old, the parents and the children; and also the more specialised personal jealousy felt between the individual parents and their children. In its outward manifestations we have all of us been aware of this. No parents can, I think, have escaped witnessing some expression of childish jealousy. What we have failed to recognise is the deeper significance and permanent importance of this jealousy, which so often has been checked without understanding that its disappearance from consciousness meant really that the hostile feelings had been banished into the unconscious. And because the confusing feelings, in this way, find insufficient opportunity for expression, these step-parent situations, which do afford such opportunity to the child to give utterance to their real wishes, occur over and over again, in every variety of pattern, in folk-tales and legends, which are the crystallised form of our childhood's desires, in our dreams by night and day. That—I must urge this again—is why there is so special a value in these old stories.

In another group of legends, to which a brief reference may be made, a situation is shown in which the heroes have been separated from their parents. Moses and Remus and Romulus may be given as examples. The abandoned child is brought up as a king's son, or in a position equally removed from reality. Some-

times he is parented by an animal. We see the symbol used in the child's mind in the common expedient of the animal substituted for the parent. It is impossible to follow, much as I should like to do so, the many suggestions opened up by the settings of the stories, which always should be noticed. The enormous quantities of animal theriomorphic representations are specially interesting. The bird and the fox, for instance, are frequently used as sexual symbols. And there are other things I should like to bring before your attention, which are significant because of ideas foreign to our conscious thought and civilised age, as, for instance, the belief in magic, the many strange marriage customs which belong to much more primitive forms of marrying⁸ and the quite different rules of good and bad behaviour. But all these things I must pass over. What I hope to have suggested to you even in this bald outline is that these old stories are founded on the dream-life common to all childhood. It is their universal, familiar and domestic character that is so interesting. They are records of the family, of children's wishes and desires, their emotions and affections; their loves and hates and jealousies; and in them the past is linked up with the present. Many of the stories have come down from generation to generation, from a time long before the day when they were collected and written in books. They belong to all countries in slightly different forms. We have regarded them as fables, but there was never a fable that did not arise out of truth; not, of course, the outside truth of facts, but that truth of the unconscious life and thoughts and wishes of mankind which is the truth that really matters, and out of which arise the struggles of us all—the inner conflict of life.

There is a further question I must now bring before you. For in considering these ancient stories, we are brought inevitably to the Greek myths of *Œdipus* and *Electra*, which, as everyone knows, Freud has used to

weave around the imagined situations of his theory of the fundamental emotions. In choosing this form of dramatic presentation Freud's genius was fundamentally right. In no other way could he have given to us so firm and vivid a picture of the emotions hidden within the unspoken depths of the unconscious.

The main incidents of the *Œdipus* and *Electra* tragedies have become, of late, so familiar to us through the many writings of the various schools of analytical psychologists that there is no need for me to repeat them, though, in case there are any of my readers who wish to recall the stories, I give these, briefly told with the essential facts, in the notes to this chapter.⁹ Nor is this the place in which to consider in any detail the Freudian application of the *Œdipus* and *Electra* situations. All that it is necessary for us to understand is the deep and persistent emotional conflict that centres around the parents. I hope that the difficult situation has already been made sufficiently plain. It is very necessary that we should realise how hard is the struggle of the child, and how strong and confusing are the feelings which form the basic foundation of the family romance, which I have said should really be called a tragedy. There is no one of us who is not concerned, for this inner conflict is the conflict of every soul. All this you will understand more clearly when we come to examine the adult life. Just now I wish to consider the child.

In a sense and from the visible situation, we have all of us recognised these facts I am trying to show you, so that to insist, as I am all the time doing, upon the importance of the parents and the relationship of the child to them, seems almost like over-stressing a commonplace which everyone accepts. But what we have not realised before is the wide-reaching emotional results and the almost eternal character of the parental influences. To me one of the greatest claims for the acceptance of psycho-analytic teaching is that it does

give new life and meaning to so many truths that are old. Parenthood has gained a fresh sanctity—an immensely greater responsibility.

It teaches us that the attitude of the child to its parents—in particular, of the boy to the mother and the girl to the father—is the chief guiding force in the child's character. And further, that the attitude persists, and, in the later life, when dissociated from the actual parents—who lose gradually their central position—this attitude decides and becomes the typical set of the character's responses to love, to work, and to all the demands of the adult life.

There is no need to go again over the ground already covered. What I wish to stress now are the psychic elements which manifest themselves in the emotional life of even the youngest children. We have seen how as soon as the child's attention is liberated from the Self, the libido stretches out to the parents: the affections of the child, in general, following the normal sex-lines, the little boy loving best the mother and the little girl the father, after the usual preference shown by the parents themselves. At this early age the parents have a tremendous significance to the child. They occupy the position of omnipotent rulers or gods. And it does not need much imagination to realise that the rapidly developing emotions—all the child's feelings of love, of curiosity, of fear, of hate, of jealousy, of envy, of aspiration, of desire, centre about the parents. The parents are, indeed, the young child's world.

We must consider, too, the character of the parents, and the way in which their love finds its expression, and acts and re-acts upon the child. The common faults of over-tenderness and ceaseless anxiety or the opposite—lack of sympathy and sufficiently understanding love; that is, the emotional states of the parents and their affections, if over or under emphasised; these, pressing continuously upon the child, cannot fail to influence his or her feelings, and in one direction or

the other, must decide and control the expression of all the child's complicated emotional reactions.

It is sufficiently plain that, even in the most favourable circumstances, there is certain to arise some conflict in the mind of every child. Both parents will not be responded to in the same way, and the child's feelings will vary according to different circumstances and different times.

Who has not heard a child say to his parent, "I wish I could kill you!"? Rage utters feelings that leap the barrier and escape from the unconscious desires. Hatred of one or other parent is felt at some time by every child. And because usually this hatred is dependent on jealousy, a state of emotional stress is very likely to arise in the child's feelings. Love and hatred are so closely and so strangely connected. And the child is so helpless, so unable to understand, so held to its primitive past, so splendidly struggling forward on the hard upward path of life. But to love the parents and want to stay with them always! Is this idea so strange? Certainly it is not strange to the child. "I will marry you when I grow up." Probably every boy has said that to his mother. The parent does not heed: it is a childish saying, it means nothing. But it is just here that the parents are wrong. The child knows quite well what he dreams. His unconsidered spontaneous utterances, if only the parents were wise enough to interpret them, are the guiding lines to the deepest wishes which control his life.

Can you not see the confusion and the hidden conflict—the struggle in the soul of the child, which Freud has called the *Œdipus-complex*?

Now, as we are brought back to these old stories, I would ask you to notice how profound are the Greek myths in their apparent simplicity. In every art the Greeks seem to have achieved to the uttermost limit the purpose they desired to convey. The classical

statues of the gods (of whom we may say they are not gods—but graceful men) express the very essence of the nature that delights in the perfection of form. Again, their architecture solves with the utmost elegance every problem of functional need set before it. In tragedy, we find them facing the fundamental psychological tragic situation; just as in philosophy they expounded the ideas and advanced the reasons which appear and reappear later in, more or less, elaborate costumes.

So frequently we seem to forget the unchanging character of the desires that bind the thoughts, the feelings, and wishes of mankind. We of the present day are still held by indissoluble common bonds to those who lived thousands of years before we were born. It is this truth I have been trying to show you in the earlier part of this chapter, where I spoke of the old legends and fairy-stories. They open for us a path of understanding of the ancient mind. We find that mind is the same as our own mind. And the undying interest of the stories rests on the fact that they do express the unchanging wishes of mankind.

We must be quite clear about this question of the wish that is in all cases behind the imagined situations. It is very important to understand this. As I showed you in the fairy-stories, the younger-brother and step-parent situations are all built up of the fabric of the world's dreams. They are imaginary realisations of instinctive childish wishes that were thwarted in reality. In all the stories the circumstances are the same; there is no doubt as to their meaning. The hero begins in the greatest degradation and ends on the highest summit of glory. The real parents are transformed into foster-parents who can be hated and pictured as very ugly. Beautiful dream-parents or fairy-godmothers are wanted to fulfil childish ambition for grandeur and power. The wish is manifest. All the stories are ego-centric and the circumstances are invented to give

the hero whatever he is wishing for; there are no considerations of right and wrong conduct to prevent this as there are, so often, in the real world. The case of *Ædipus* is more difficult, but in all essentials it is the same. This story, too, is the expression of a wish. *Ædipus* felt inferior, so does the child. His inner wound was connected with the parents, so is the child's. *Ædipus* sought the Oracle, the child turns to fantasy and dreams. Afterwards the unknown boy raised himself to the highest position. He acted unconsciously, so does the child. And the tragedy of his story is no greater than the tragedy which may await the child who fails in solving the inner conflict of his soul.

And it is in this way, and because of the extreme painfulness of the conflict, that these difficult and early emotions are forgotten; they are banished into the unconscious. The child contrives a solution in the manner that remains common to most of us in all the difficult situations of life; he pretends there is no problem. We all have done this in our childhood. We refused to acknowledge and never faced the difficult emotions—pushed them away from our consciousness. But the rejected situation remains. If you turn your back upon anything, you do not alter the thing at all: the only difference is that you do not see it is there.

Here a brief digression in further examination of the general deeper character of the child's affections may be made, although this question of the real nature of the child's emotional expression is one on which I have already enlarged. I would ask all those who are incredulous or shocked at the idea of disturbing emotional elements in the love of a little child to reflect in the following way: What is love in adult life? Is it not a desire to be near the person loved, to touch and be noticed, to be treated with affection? Is jealousy not felt if anyone else is so treated; sorrow

experienced in absence from the presence of the chosen loved one? And is not irritability and anger shown under any thwarting of these most deep desires?

Now, I ask you this question : Do not children show all these symptoms of love, show them, indeed, in a marked form, sometimes quite uncontrolled? The emotions are less persistently manifest in consciousness, but always they are more crudely expressed than they are in maturity. This ought to teach us the real and emotional quality of the child's love. Is it not then we, the adults, who have failed in recognising the deep significance of the child's inner life? Have we not believed his love to be what we wanted it to be—an imagined emotion, beautiful, peaceful—quite meaningless! We have believed it to be something entirely removed from what love is and must be—a conflict, in which strong and opposed emotions are bound inextricably together. It could not be that the child could love in that way. The child's first love is the prototype of all future love.

Nor is it any convincing counter-argument against this to say that children can have no such feelings, because they have not yet power of adult expression of love, and that such expression comes into perfection only in adolescence. This argument is as foolish as it would be to say that babies have no legs and cannot use them in any way, because they are born unable to walk. Nothing in nature is sudden and unconnected like that. Infants cannot walk, but their gradually increasing struggles to get on their feet, their kicking the legs, their constant movements, their crawling on all fours, have but one intention—they are preparations for walking. Again, the child's protesting cries, its queer imitative sounds and unformed syllables, are not talking, but they are baby stages of talk. In the same way, the child's clinging to the mother, the love of her body, delight in her caresses, the desire for her presence and jealousy and unhappiness if separated

from her, are also stages marking the way—preparing for later love. It is the first chapter in the Book of Love: the start of the romance.

I cannot leave this subject of the love of the young child without emphasising once more what seems to me the importance of the difference which separates, from the beginning, the love of the girl-baby from that of the boy-baby. I have spoken of this before. The father shares in the child's love-fund, and at a very early age there is a singling out between the parents; the child, in this respect, as has been suggested already, following the lead given by the parents, the father preferring the little girl and the mother loving best her son. The boy thus remains unbrokenly attached to the mother, while the girl is drawn away from the mother by the increasing love felt to the father. There are, of course, in families many variations and exceptions, but this, as everyone recognises, is the usual situation. And what I consider so important and would ask you to notice, is the concentration of the boy's—the male—emotions on the one love-object. In his case the feeling for his mother must be two-fold; he is, by his affections, as far as his capacities permit, attached to his mother: he is occupied with her, jealous of all whom she loves and all who love her, unless he feels certain of her preference for himself. But equally he is conscious of the mother as his protectress; the provider of food and shelter, the comforter for all the troubles, fears, and perplexities of his life. The little girl, on the other hand, while she turns to the father with the stronger affection, regards her mother as the protectress and provider of food. Her feelings are not so simple, so direct, or so concentrated as those of her brother. We know how the first forms of love, experienced towards the parents, influence all the subsequent love experiences. I think, therefore, that this distinction is deep and permanent. I venture to suggest that here

we have the clue to the beginning of that difference in love's expression, which does separate the love of a man from the love of a woman. There is, I think, strong support for this view.¹⁰

Dr. Havelock Ellis refers to this question in his careful study of the sexual life of woman, where he speaks of the more difficult and complicated nature of woman's love.¹¹ Iwan Bloch in "The Sexual Life of our Time," writing on the same subject, emphasises the separation in love's expression between the sexes, and says that woman's love is "of quite a different nature from that of man."¹² I have myself written about this subject in many of my books, and to these I must refer the reader.¹³ But I did not then know the psychological meaning of the separation. I would suggest, too, that the concentration of the boy's love for the mother, and the way in which he receives from her "all the good gifts of life," may also explain why the man always demands from the woman he loves more than she demands from him. But on this question also I have written elsewhere. I must not follow it now.

Passing again to the *Œdipus* legend, we find that the Freudian psychologists regard the mother-complex as the *nuclear* or root complex, because its influence is so powerful and so permanent. It must, as we shall see later, be accepted as the determinative factor in all the after life experiences.

It should be noted further that the prophecy in the case of *Œdipus* was fulfilled by acts committed without his knowledge. There the hiding fantasy chooses, as do the other symbols, a form which is universal, and which still has a true meaning. The same thing holds good for all of us. It is, as I have stated again and again, in the unconscious that the inner conflict of the soul finds expression. The struggle of the child is exceedingly painful. How are his opposing and plainly irreconcilable feelings to be

reconciled? That is the child's problem. He has to fight both for inner and outer liberty. Can we wonder that so often he fails in finding a solution? Then he does not free himself from the parents, remains bound for his life with the chains of his childish emotions.

It is not to be forgotten that within the unconscious the emotions retain unchanged their primitive and infantile character. And we know, too, that the libido, prevented from a natural expression, always reverts to an earlier regressive form. The child not freed from the parents, his first emotional responses to them for ever binding his soul, is driven on by hidden wishes to find the parents again; his emotions, chained to the infantile expression of love, of jealousy and of hate, never attain adult liberty; the stern necessities of reality cannot be faced; the love-mate cannot be found; or, if found, the adult response of love cannot be given: the soul wanders still in exile, seeking always a return to the childhood situations and to rest in the womb of the mother.

Let me try to make the position clearer. The turning back to the mother has a symbolical meaning. It affects the attitude of the individual in his response to all the affairs of life. If, for instance, he turns away from responsibility, fails in facing a difficult task, he is really running back to the mother. If he shelters under authority, asks for decisions to be made for him instead of making them for himself, he is claiming in his adult life the mother's protection, which sheltered him as a child. In no direction is the fixation to the mother revealed more clearly than in the love relationships. This matter will be explained in the second part of our inquiry which treats of the adult life. I will say here only that the happiness and unhappiness of the adult love-history is conditioned and entirely dependent on the success with which the child frees himself from the parent-conflicts of his childhood.

You can test the truth of these statements for your-

self. Go back to your own childhood. Consider for a moment what the family situation meant to you. Leave off thinking of your adult conscious attitude. I mean, try to remember just how these things affected you then. Were you over-fond of one parent? What exactly can you recall of your home relationships? From this it should be an easy step to recognise how far these experiences have persisted, and in what directions they have affected the adult experience.

Ask yourself these questions: Do you dislike authority, find it difficult to accept the opinion of others? What is this but an echo of the early rebellion against the father? And there is also the negative reaction to the same situation in over-valuation of authority, and a difficulty to believe in yourself or follow any opinion of your own. Here is the turning back to the comforts of the mother. What are your relations to your children? Do you seek to possess them? Do you find pleasure in exercising authority? Desire them always to obey and follow you? Again, I must refer you back to your own childhood and ask you if this too insistent assertion of authority is not the result of a thwarted power-wish—an echo from the unsolved rebellion of your youth. What do you seek to find in your friends? What is the character of the relation you have with your wife or your husband—with all those whom you love? Do you want them to comfort you, bear with you, pet you, make you feel great and wonderful, even when your knowledge of yourself, in the hours when you are honest, causes you to know quite differently about your own worth? Why is this? ¹⁴

I tell you that here are the prints taken again and again from the negative of your first emotional expressions; you are repeating over and over the perpetual story of the parent-child situations.

Do you still deny this? But may I remind you, so did *Œdipus*. This brings me to the final incident in

the story—the blindness of the hero. Œdipus tears out his eyes. His mother-wife, his children-brothers, are awful evidences of his crime, he cannot bear to see them. *He wishes not to see them.* Modern medicine knows that hysterical blindness may be due to a hidden wish not to see. The unconscious forces within can regulate the flow of the blood and the strength of the nerves until the sight fails. The old legend dramatises the incident and makes it easier to tell. Just as it slurred over the main fact that the son kills the father and marries the mother, by making Œdipus commit the crime unknowing what he did, though the impulse towards such action was present in the soul; so, too, the teller draws a firmer outline around the final scene than it would have had in the real world of complex light and shade and half-tones. It says Œdipus put out his own eyes, thus presenting to us the impulse common to us all to blind our souls.

CHAPTER VII

THE OTHER PARENT

"The life of a creature is the memory of a creature; we are all the same stuff to start with, but we remember different things."—
SAMUEL BUTLER.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The position of the father in the family—He is separated from the mother with the children grouped around her—Yet he is the final authority in the home—Difficulty of his position—Changes in the normal order of the family are psychologically harmful—The rebellion of the son against the father—The history of pre-human parenthood shows variation in the position of the father in the family—Historical survey of the past history of the family—The primal group or horde—The jealous patriarch—Rebellion of the sons—The communal clan—The father buys back his ownership of his wife and children—Illustrations from primitive tribes—The three stages of the family—Lessons to be learnt from this past history—Rebellion against the father in myth and legend—The visible manifestations of rebellion and the unconscious desire to rebel—The weakness of the father's position in the family to-day—The father-daughter relationship—The children's view of the father—Escape from conflicting desires found in two ways—Turning from reality and accepting reality—The transference of jealousy—The nature of transference—Its bearing on belief in God—The need for the authority of the father—The attitude towards the father and the social and religious rebel.

WE are now in a better position to examine the relations of the father to the child.

Less closely bound to the family and its deeply centred maternal interests, the father occupies a position a little apart from that of the other members—the mother with the children grouped around her. The father is solitary, sometimes almost an intruder. And yet as man, the free and splendid adventurer and provider, he is the head of the family, the one upon

whom the mother and children are dependent for protection and for sustenance; the one who stands to them as the final authority, who must be obeyed or, if not obeyed, humoured, so that he thinks he is obeyed.¹

I am speaking of the general family situation. There are, of course, many variations, as, for instance, when, for some cause, either in the individual family or (as has become common under the influence of feminist ideals) in society in general, the mother has usurped the authority of the father, and exercises his command in addition to her own special protective functions. This variation in the duties of the parents necessarily modifies their relations to the children. Psychologically the change is always harmful. The child needs both its parents, and neither can fulfil the duties of the other. This is one of the great mistakes that have been forced upon us by our failures in realising the true biological position.

I do not, however, wish here to elaborate this question further. I have so often written elsewhere on the harmful results of modern ideals. What I desire to emphasise now is the difficulty of the father's position. It is inevitably a position which has in it the elements of conflict.

As we must now recognise, this father-child conflict is the result of hidden psychic feelings. It is not dependent on the will of either the father or the son, nor is it under their control. Mere outward family affection, obedience and harmony have no direct weapons against the urge of that plane or phase of the mind, which is the abode of racial and instinctive things. At times all families, even those of the greatest apparent peace, are disturbed, and the family affections disorganised by situations of hostility. The most common of these is the rebellion of the son or sons against the authority of the father. Almost always the hostile situation arises without an apparent cause. The break or leak in the family affections seems to

happen apart from the desires either of the father or the son, apart from any circumstance that could give a satisfactory outward explanation.

This need not surprise us. For the conflict between father and child is part of our inheritance from the ancient history of the race.

Too often this is forgotten. I am convinced that the only way to understand our present family relations is to examine those relations in the past as they may be studied in their beginnings in the customs and habits of uncivilised races in all parts of the world. I myself have always been greatly attracted by the curious practices of primitive peoples, for I was born among them. In other books I have given my views on the development of the primitive family.² There are some facts that must be re-stated here. It is the only way if we are to understand our own problems.

The close connections which link the present with the past cannot easily be neglected. The child repeats in his conflicts the life-struggles of the race. And, as Freud has told us, in the psychic experiences of the so-called savage we can recognise the well-preserved stages of our growth. His taboos and totem signs are marks of his upward strivings. Then the child and the savage persist in the adult man or woman. We all of us ought to know this. Our infantile wishes and primitive instincts can at any period be revived. Do not all of us, on occasions of difficulty and under disappointment, revert to the feelings and behaviour of the child and the savage? We are less self-contained and more bound than we know. No period stands alone, and the present in every age is merely the sorting ground on which the past and the future meet. They meet in the child.

I would ask you then to notice first that the history of human parenthood from its earliest known appearance shows an orderly progress. There are fewer differences in parental conduct than exist among

pre-human parents, where in the family associations of birds, animals, reptiles, fishes and insects, every variety of domestic experiments may be found. Among these humbler families, it would almost seem as if Nature were trying to find out which would make the better parent—the male or the female, so frequently do we see the rôle of the mother and the father reversed, in respect to which parent feeds and brings up the young. There are in the human family fewer trial forms, less sharp differences in the conduct and position of the parents. The family shows less flexibility. Parental behaviour settles down, as it were, to an average character, with average limitations and an average expression. This I regard as important. It shows how the primitive human relationships of mother and child and father and child were biologically established from the start of the human family. In its main outlines the family relationships have changed very little.³

Primeval man lived in small family groups, composed of an adult male and his wife, or, if he were powerful, several wives, whom he jealously guarded from the advances of all other males. In such a group the father is the chief or patriarch as long as he lives and the family is held together by their common subjection to him. His interest in the family is purely ego-centric and sexual, and his work is confined to driving off rivals; the sons are sent out from the home as soon as they reach an age to be dangerous as sexual competitors with their father, while the daughters, as soon as they grow up, are added to his wives.⁴

It was doubtless thus, in a family organisation similar to that of the great monkeys, that man first lived. Here was the most primitive form of the jealous tyranny of the father.

In these primitive groups the idea of the family is still feeble so that the association is readily disrupted. But though originally without explicit consciousness

of kin-relationships, the members would be held together by *a feeling of kin* (the beginning of the family affections). Such feelings would become conscious first between the mothers and their children, and in this way mother-kin must have been realised at a very early period. The father's relationship, on the other hand, would not be forced into conscious recognition. He would be a member apart from this natural mother-kinship.

Such were the probable conditions in the primordial human family. The important thing to note is that there were present, from the very beginning, the strongest reasons for jealous hostility between the father and the sons. The male leader—the father—will not endure the rivalry of the young males—the sons. As soon as they grow up a contest takes place and the strongest and oldest male by killing or driving out the others maintains his position as the father-head of the family. It is clear that the relationship of this father to the other group members, and in particular to the sons, was not one of kinship, but of power. In the lowest nomad bands of savages of the deserts and forests we still find these rough paternal groups, who know no social bonds, but are ruled alone by brute strength and jealous ownership.⁵

This was the first stage of the family.

From those solitary families, grouped around the tyrant-father-ruler, developed a second stage out of which order and organisation sprang. In this second stage the family-group expanded into the communal maternal clan. With the fierce struggle for existence, the solitary group with one adult male became impossible; association was the only way to prevent extermination. The despot father had to learn to tolerate the presence of his rivals, the other male members of the group.⁶

It is impossible for me here to follow step by step the means whereby this change was brought about.

I would, however, assert my strong belief that it was the mothers of the family groups, acting in the interests of their sons and daughters, who tamed the jealous desires and domesticated the father. The adult sons, instead of being driven from the home shelter, were permitted to remain as group members and to bring in young wives, captured from other families. At a later stage the daughters received their husbands, young males from other groups, who came at first as temporary lovers visiting their brides by night, but afterwards remained with them as permanent guests in the home of the mother (beena-marriage). Under these new conditions the sexual rights of the members of the group were rigidly restricted. Incest had to be prevented. This was the primal law.⁷ An intricate system of taboos was established, which, as time advanced, was greatly strengthened by the use of sacred totem marks, and became of inexorable strictness.

Unfortunately I have not space to write even briefly on this important and deeply interesting subject. A right understanding of the whole question of sexual taboos, with the totem names and superstitions with which they are connected, is very necessary to an understanding of the family. The religious beliefs that came to be connected with these totem names helped further to make them binding. There is the closest connection, as Freud has shown in "Totem and Taboo,"⁸ between these first laws of family avoidances, with their remarkable reservations and complicated restrictions, and our own moral prohibitions and sanctions. The rigid character and the strictness with which the taboos are obeyed form a certain witness that they were set up as a barrier against the deepest desires of man.

This was the second stage of the family.

In the communal clan the mother was the important parent in the family. But as soon as the struggle for

existence lessened, the need for association was less imperative. The individual family broke away from the clan. Under the clan domination the woman and her children belonged to the clan; the husband and father lived with the wife, a kind of privileged guest, working for the wife's relatives (*beena-marriage*). But as society advanced, and when personal property began to be acquired we find the husband and father buying off his wife and children from their clan-group.⁹

This reassertion of fatherhood is so instructive that I must wait to give some few examples, chosen out of a great number I have collected.

The *ambelanak* marriage of Sumatra is the maternal form of marriage in which the husband lives with the wife's family group, but there is another marriage, known as *djurdur*, by which a man buys his wife and the children as his absolute property. There is a complicated system of payment on which the husband's right to take his wife to his home and to keep the children depends.¹⁰ In the Watubela Islands, between New Guinea and the Celebes, a man may either pay for his wife before marriage or he may, without paying, live as her husband in her parent's house working for her. In the former case, the children belong to him, in the latter, to the mother's family, but he may buy them subsequently at a price.¹¹ Again, among the Banyai of the Zambesi, if the husband gives nothing, the children of the marriage belong to the wife's family, but if he gives so many cattle to his wife's parents the children are his. Similar cases may be found among many primitive people.¹² An interesting case occurs in some Californian tribes, where the husband has to live with the wife and work until he has paid the full price for her and her child. So curious and instructive are these customs that the children of a wife not paid for are regarded as bastards and held in contempt.¹³

Among the Bassa Komo of Nigeria marriage is usually effected by an exchange of sisters or other

female relatives. The men may marry as many wives as they have women to give to other men. In this tribe the women look after the children, but the boys, when four years old, go to live and work with the father.¹⁴ The husbands of the Bambala tribe (inhabiting the Congo States between the rivers Inzia and Kwilu) have to abstain from visiting their wives for a year after the birth of a child, but they are allowed to return to her on payment to her father of two goats.¹⁵ Among the Bassanya, on the south-west of Lake Moeru the children of the wife belong to the mother's kin, but the children of slaves are the property of the father.¹⁶

The right of the father to his children was established only by contract. Even where the wife has been given up by her kindred and allowed to live with her husband, we find that the children may be claimed by her family. Thus among the Makolo the price paid on marriage might merely cover the right to have the wife, and in this case the children belonged to the wife's family. The children, however, might be bought by a further payment. While an even more instructive example of the property value of children is furnished by one custom, found among many tribes, by which the father has to make a present to the wife's relatives when the child dies; this is called "buying the child."¹⁷ Such practice prevails among the Maori people of New Zealand when a child dies, or even meets with an accident; the mother's relatives, headed by the brothers, turn out in force against the father. He must defend himself until wounded. Blood once drawn, the conflict ceases; but the attacking party plunders his house and appropriates the husband's property and finally sits down to a feast provided by him.¹⁸ This instance is exceedingly instructive. Certainly it ought to help us to understand fatherhood.

There are many interesting cases of transition ownership in which the children belong sometimes to the

mother and sometimes to the father. Again I can give one or two examples only. In the island of Mangia the parents at the birth of the child arrange between themselves whether it shall be dedicated to the father's god or the mother's. The dedication takes place forthwith and finally determines to which parent the child belongs.¹⁹ In Samoa religion decides the question of ownership; a fact which I would ask you to note as in a later part of this chapter I shall refer to the father-child situation in its connection with religion. At the birth of a child in Samoa the totem of each parent is prayed to in turn (usually, though not always, starting with that of the father), and whichever totem happens to be invoked at the moment of birth is the child's totem for life and decides whether he (or she) belongs to the clan of the mother or the father.²⁰ Equally curious was the custom of the Liburni, where the children were all brought up together until they were five years old. They were then collected and examined in order to trace their likeness to the men and were assigned to their fathers accordingly. Whoever received a boy from his mother in this way regarded him as his son.²¹ Similarly with the ancient Arabs, where one woman was the wife of several men, the custom was either for the woman to decide to which of them the child was to belong, or the child was assigned by an expert to one of the joint husbands to be regarded as his own.²² In Madagascar (the land in which I was born), when a woman is divorced any children she afterwards bears belong to her husband.²³ Campbell tells us of children born out of wedlock in the Limboo tribe that the father may obtain possession of the boys by purchase and by naming them, but the girls belong to the mother.²⁴

We have reached the third stage of the family, the patriarchal stage, which still endures. The facts we have examined throw a strong light on the father's position in the family and the bond between him and

the children. It was a purchase bond and had nothing to do with actual fatherhood. I could bring forward much more evidence in proof of this fact—that property, not kinship, was the basis of the father's power—did the limits of my space allow it. Such cases are common in all parts of the world. Fatherhood, established in the first stage of the family on jealous authority and the driving away of the sons, now arises again as the dominant force in the family (through the purchase of the sons). The father has bought back his position as patriarch ruler.²⁵

Here, then, in baldest outline, we see the conditions which first started the conflict between the father and the son. It is part of our inheritance from the past history of the race. The struggle is very old. It takes us back far beyond the beginnings of history. We find its traces in less distant ages when legend was recording the conflicts of the soul—the opposed powers of love and hate that bind the family together.

I have been obliged, in the previous chapter, to simplify my interpretation of the old legends and to make it appear that they concerned the family as we know it to-day. More probably the older versions, which must have preceded the stories as we know them, concerned the group or horde as we have seen it, gathered around a father-chief. We have marked the age-old rivalry and jealousies between the father and the sons.

All those who have investigated the past history of the family, though they differ on many facts, give importance to this enmity between the male members of the group or horde.²⁶ We have found that at last the horde broke up because the sons banded themselves together, probably, and as I believe, with the help of the women—the mothers and the wives, to subdue the father, many-wived, jealous and tyrannical. By a familiar process, this rebellion against arbitrary tyranny and wrongly used oppressive power led afterwards to a great extension of the rule of law and of morality.

Rebellion against the father had its place in religion. In Greek mythology this is clear. The Greeks seem to have been puzzled by the impiety of the gods in injuring their divine fathers. "For do not men regard Zeus as the best and most righteous of the Gods?—and yet they admit he bound his father (Cronos) because he wickedly devoured his sons, and that he too had punished his own father Uranus for a similar reason in a nameless manner. And yet when I proceed against my father, they are angry with me," said a Sophist, in Plato's "Euthyphro."

Everywhere we find the same theme used. The Jealous God of the Hebrews could be appeased for the sins of men only by the sacrifice of his Son. Abraham has to offer up Isaac. Jethro has to give his daughter for his vow. Do you not see the meaning that is hidden here? How the propitiation of the father and the sacrifice of the son is the symbolic representation of the family situation; repeated in one form or another and with many variations but always fundamentally the same; the motive arising from the conflict ever present between each father and his sons.

To some of you it may seem that we have gone unnecessarily far back into the past history of the family. It is useless, you will say, to try to explain the conditions of human parenthood by references to savages. But may I tell you that it is you who are wrong? You see, one cannot unravel the tangled skein of life when one has lost the starting thread.

And it is not the present parent-child situations, however important they may seem to us individually, that are the decisive influences in our lives and the lives of our children. The fact that matters is that behind the outside position there is concealed this inner conflict, which does go back to savages and their primitive feelings and wishes; yes, goes back and back to the start of the primordial struggle, before the

family barriers had been raised to the time when the tyrant father did take his daughters for his wives and did drive out his sons from the comfort and shelter of the mother, so that in his greed he might keep all women for his own pleasure.

The upward struggle of the father has been shown to you.

We have seen how he learnt to tolerate the presence of his sons, how he relinquished his daughters to younger suitors. It is evident that sexual peace could be maintained in the group only by the strictest observance of rules to enforce the marital rights of the older and the younger members. Hence the elaborate and rigid taboos. These were the primal laws to regulate unruly conduct. Under these rules a new cause of family jealousy would arise, for the young men would now be stronger than the fathers. Banded together they could defy, or even depose and kill, the patriarch tyrant. This was the first rebellion of youth against age. But the paternal authority restricted under the communal organisation reasserted itself as the family emerged again from the clan.

We have watched the father buying back his right of ownership over his children and his wife. It seems to me of great importance to grasp firmly the fact that this power of the father was dependent first on sexual and afterwards on property ownership. The father from the very first was in a position of difficulty, a member apart, solitary, jealous, cut off except by payments from the mother and her children.

There is another aspect of this question that I must briefly touch upon. This conflict between the father and the sons must be understood psychologically throughout. I mean in the sense that there is an imagined wish-situation created from within outwards, which must not be confused with the outer objective rebellion. The visible manifestation—the rebellion we see and know, is to be understood only as a new

edition—a disguised symbolic expression of the age-old inner conflict.

Let me put it like this: The editors who really direct the policy of human conduct are hidden in inaccessible inner chambers of our being. Those who receive messages and definite instructions are only subordinates and agents, who work on the process of preparing our conduct and opinion for publication, which editing consists in making them appear reasonable and connecting them with outside events. Our motives, as we ourselves know them, are elaborations of our instincts and fundamental wishes, but so edited that we do not recognise the material on which they are based. To find this material, we have to go back to the master force which first issued instructions as to the main lines of policy and procedure.

I have introduced this illustration to show you that the feelings of both the father and the son are by no means simple. The fact of the great age of the conflict itself indicates that the emotions connected with the situation must be confused and difficult. The son wishes to love the father, the father desires the companionship and love of the son, but there are as well in the unconscious disturbing racial memories; the unchanged activity of primitive wishes and jealousies; the persistence of ancient hostilities and centuries of past conflicts. Fathers and sons are for ever at war in the deepest regions of the mind. Always there is behind the present occasion the urge from the past—the generations after generations of fathers and sons who have fought out the same conflict. No individual father in this aspect of the struggle can stand alone. No parent is able to achieve a purely personal solution of the child-parent problem. The father's feelings towards his father, his success or his failure in the contest which he fought, will condition, again, the terms of the new conflict with his son, and decide largely, without his will and even against his

knowledge, his feelings and the feelings of his son. It is like a game, where the rules are laid down and the same movements are repeated, time after time, by every player; but in some cases the player is skilful and wins, while other players bungle and the game is lost.

It should be clearer now why these family conflicts so often are not outwardly manifest. Many parents insist that they never encounter them. It may be the combatants have been successful, and the circumstances fortunate, so that the conflict is won and no noticeable mark left. But this should never be taken for granted. The editing of the situation may easily have been so severe that there was no opportunity for outward expression.

We find then that conflict there must be, and to-day the conditions have not, after all, so greatly changed. Nature seems always to condemn the man in his capacity as father. Still the child is bound to the mother: these two cannot be separated; and still the father is outside the bond, an intruder. Often he is jealous of the child and often he has cause. The mother type of woman frequently ceases, after motherhood, to be the loving mate, the wife. There is little time for love-making in a nursery home. The husband becomes a superfluity, his demands tend to be delegated to holidays that are planned but do not often occur. As the child grows up and becomes a boy, more and more he absorbs the attention and the love of the mother; he usurps the place of the father. Is not this the ancient situation, though the setting has been changed? Much time has passed since the conflict started, but still these emotions are very old and very strong. Pity and the gentler feelings of civilisation enable the father now to accept the son as a member of the family and as a companion instead of a rival. But echoes remain of the old instincts of jealous rivalry.

The position of the father is never easy. Still he

can so easily be pushed out of the circle of the family—the natural family of the mother and the children. Some women, when once the child is born, regard their husbands solely as the person for providing the money necessary for the maintenance of the house. In any other capacity she has ceased to desire him; frankly he is in the way. The father has still to purchase his position in the family and his rights as father. Quite recently a man, much devoted to his children, said to me rather bitterly, “All I seem wanted for is to pay for everything. The children always speak of themselves and their mother as ‘*We*.’ They never include me. They say, ‘*We* are going to do this,’ then they ask me, ‘What are *you* going to do?’” The father has still to preserve and maintain his rights and duties within the home. If women have had to fight for the vote and the open door to the professions, the father may have to fight now for the love of his children and the key to the nursery.

It has seemed worth while to place before you these very simple comparisons. The applications will be sufficiently plain without my waiting to point them out. No father can quite escape these echoes from the past. They are part of the heavy and painful inheritance of fatherhood.

So far I have said nothing of the father-daughter relationship. The daughter loves the father (the Electra situation) in the same way as the son loves the mother (the Oedipus situation). This was explained in the last chapter when the Greek myths were examined. The psychological conflict and the emotional disturbance are the same in both situations. There is, however, the difference to which I have referred; the daughter is drawn emotionally in two opposite directions, one set of feelings binding her to the father, the other holding her to the mother, while the entire urge behind the son chains his affections to the mother. I need not elaborate this further.

There are, however, two observations I should like to make. I believe that the bond between the father and the daughter works more disastrously even if it is not as strong, because, for the reason just stated, the emotions are more confused in the daughter's love of the father than in the son's love of the mother. This opinion, I am fully aware, is contrary to most authorities. The Electra-complex, as far as I have been able to discover, seems always to be slurred over and not considered apart from the Œdipus-complex. I think this is a mistake. If I am right in regard to the general view of the racial aspect of the conflict, then there is a difference in the position of the daughter and the son. The tribal father did have his daughters for his wives, but the sons were driven away from the tribal mothers. I shall not say more about this. The other question is closely connected with it. In the cases of a manifest Electra-complex that I have met with there has been a pronounced tendency to intellectualise the relationship. I mean that the bond between the daughter and the father is explained by both on the grounds of intellectual sympathy and work done together. I know quite a number of such cases. I relate one in detail in the Family Histories. I would suggest that this attempt to rationalise the bond may be a symbolic sublimation made necessary by the strength of the racial memories. In each of the cases known to me, the daughter has either remained single, even after the father's death, or, when a marriage has been made, the husband has either taken the place of the father as an intellectual companion rather than a husband or he has been a man of much weaker type, who has been treated as a child and mothered rather than loved. I bring forward these suggestions in the hope that someone with more knowledge than I can claim will take them up and investigate them. There seems to me much ignorance, and the very greatest mistakes are always made about this question of

woman's love. I think it is because usually it is men who write upon these questions.

We must now return to a position we left some time back and consider the affections of the young child in relation to the father. For the inheritance of complicated and difficult emotions does not belong to the father alone. These primitive wishes and feelings are even stronger in the case of the son, and the son is younger, less experienced in conflict, less capable of combating the jealous and hostile feelings against the father that are so inextricably interwoven with other feelings of admiration, of love and of reverence.

To the child in the ordinary home the father is the final authority. He is looked up to as the mysterious power behind the mother, as the one to whom she gives obedience and homage as well as love. If there are older brothers and sisters almost grown up and magnificent, they too bow before the authority of the father. To the child he is immeasurably above all the other members of the family. Almighty as a god ! Marvellous ! Immensely admired ! The father for the son is the model, who must be followed and imitated, unquestionably accepted. He is envied, too, as the holder of the position of the grown-up man to which the son himself aspires and looks forward. This is one side of the position : The father, the strongest, most splendid, most admired and most envied figure in the child's world. Wonderful father, whom everyone serves, everyone obeys, and everyone fears ! Even in the outside situation there is every opportunity for jealous envy to be felt towards the father.

Every boy looks forward to the day when he can escape the rule of the father, and himself usurp his power. Just as every girl looks forward to the day when she can take the place of her mother, and be allowed to dress, and rule, and decide things for herself.

There are, of course, exceptions, but where the boy or girl does not thus look forward, but desires to remain with the parents and to give up the adult rights of personal freedom, there is something very wrong indeed. This is a question that will be considered in connection with the adolescent rebellion.

There are, however, different and hostile emotions that the son feels to the father. The opposite side of the position; adverse feelings of the deepest jealousy and hatred. For the son sees in the father also the ancient tyrant. He is still the violent and unwanted intruder in the charmed circle of the child's first love. The father takes the mother away from the son just as the son takes the mother away from the father.

Always these two are rivals. The father's presence is for the son an interference and often a catastrophe.

This is why the child sometimes wants to kill the father. He dreams this wish, when the barrier between his unconscious and his conscious mind will not allow him to express it. A boy of nine—to give one example out of many I have collected—had a dream which he told his parents. His mother was in a shop and a man came up on a bicycle, dressed as an officer. The boy rushed to the bicycle, stopped it, flung the man off, and killed him. In telling the dream to his father the boy said, "I prevented him getting to mother." This dream is so clear that I need not interpret it, beyond saying that the boy's father was an officer. It will cause no surprise to anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of the emotional troubles of children to know that this boy developed serious nervous symptoms.

From the earliest years two sets of emotion towards the father are at war in the mind of the child. The father brings gifts, he opens up new ways of interest, and may be said to represent to the young boy adventure and romance, but the father is also the

rival for the mother's attention. Veneration and jealousy, admiration and anger, love and hatred are in conflict in the mind of the son. Indeed it needs but little imagination to understand how sharp and how painful are the feelings aroused by these confused and irreconcilable (ambivalent is the psychological term) sets of emotion towards the father, who, at the same time, has to be admired and disliked, venerated and despised, obeyed and overcome, worshipped and reviled. And it should be noted that the conflict is increased the more the father is loved and admired. The unkind or bad father can be hated without remorse. In this way the hostile feelings find relief. But most fathers are kind and loving, their pity and tenderness triumph over their enmity and jealous feelings, so the son finds no opportunity for this easy hatred. That is why the conflict remains in the unconscious. It is too painful and confusing to be faced. So the child allows it to remain in the hidden part of the psyche. For the son wants so badly to be good—to follow the commandment of God and obey and honour his father. In this way, the pretence is maintained that there is no conflict; no legacy from the past disturbing hostility; no emotions of complicated affection and hate between father and child.

There is another question it will be convenient to consider here.

The child has to find some way of liberation from these opposing emotions of love and hatred. There are two main ways of escape from the difficult position; first, by day and night dreams and fantasising, used by the child as a means of disguising the too painful complex. This way has been considered already. It is harmful because it takes the child *away from reality*. The second way is by means of a process known as transference, which is used by the child as a means of escaping *from the complex into reality*.²⁷ You will see how exactly opposite are these two

courses :—the one leads the child away from life, the other brings him back to life.

Let me try to make this clearer. By transference (the word really explains itself), the burdening complex of the child's soul is transferred or given over to someone to whom the hostile envy and the hatred may be expressed without the inner reproach. You will understand, of course, that this transference is unconscious.

Perhaps I can make this more vivid to you by an illustration. It will show you how a young boy gained liberation from a strong Œdipus-complex by a transference he managed entirely for himself. He was an only son, though he had a sister. He was much attached to his father, which complicated the position. He was also too closely attached to his mother, who not at all understanding the position, unwisely encouraged his affections. In this way, the conflict between love and hate was aroused in an acute form and very serious nervous symptoms arose. The boy became ill, he also fell into grave moral faults as substitute relief for the concealed jealousy. The true origin of the trouble was discovered at about ten years of age, when the boy developed a passionate hatred against God. He was overheard one day swearing on a Japanese sword, that had been given to him by an uncle, to devote his life to killing God. As he had not been brought up in a strict home, had not been overburdened with religious teaching and had never been taken to church against his will, this vehement God-hatred was noticed as being unusual. The analyst-specialist, who was consulted about the boy's nervous troubles, was told of the incident. He at once found in this God-hatred a projection of the boyish hatred to the father. The parents learnt that this was a sign of health, an effort the psyche was making to rid itself of unbearable trouble.

I want to emphasise as strongly as I am able the

advantage to the child of transferring the hostile feelings for the parents. It is the surest and the easiest way of his gaining emotional liberation.

In many directions and in all kinds of ways we meet these transferences which free the soul. Sometimes they happen in what appears to be the most trivial and casual manner. Take one instance: a boy whom I know, who was very jealous of his stepfather, recovered after a young school-friend stayed at his home. The friend was of an affectionate nature and had recently lost his own mother. He soon found his way to the lap of the boy's mother. The boy was furious with jealousy. He expressed his feelings quite openly and with so much unkindness that the friend had to be sent home; but when he had gone the boy was happier and more friendly with his stepfather. The hostile feelings had found some relief by being transferred on to someone to whom it was permitted for him to be nasty and unkind when he felt nasty and unkind.

There is really nothing remarkable about the transference of emotion. It is a perfectly natural process and one, moreover, which saves many children from nervous troubles, and solves, at any rate partially, many of these family hostilities. Everyone knows that if you are angry with anyone, and dare not show your feelings, you are very likely to be angry without cause as soon as you are with someone with whom you are on easy terms so that you can be angry. The process is exactly the same with the child, and both the excess of veneration and jealousy, both the love and hatred, can be transferred.

The religious feelings to God are transferences of the child's feelings to the parents. This I shall speak of again in a later chapter. It is common to find the son—usually the eldest or the youngest where the family is large—of a dominant mother, entering the Church.²⁸ In the religious life the individual finds

relief from the troubling complex of the soul. Daughters bound to their fathers can attain liberation more easily than sons bound to their mothers, because the transference from loving the earthly father to loving the Heavenly Father is for them so direct and easy. (See History 10 (one daughter), Chapter XIII.) Here is the main reason why religion means more to women than usually it does to men. While again it is certainly not without significance that the Jews, who of all people are most closely bound to their parents and the traditions of the home, also gave to the world the ideal of God the Father.

In religion, in the same way as in myth and legend and in fairy-story, we find an example of the working of the unconscious mind, trying to purge itself free from perilous inner conflict. The love of and submission to a mother, which conflicts with the growing desire to turn towards other women and to assert independence, can be lessened by being transferred to an imaginary parent, such as the Father in Heaven.

I do not know if I have made this transference of emotions perfectly clear to you. When the child feels annoyed with itself for having failed in some task, it blames someone else, a brother or a playmate. Blame of others is less painful than censure of ourselves. Primitive man transferred his terrors to demons and hedged his conduct with his taboos and totem names. The gods arise endowed with the surplus of the reverence and fear given to the great Chief of the primal horde.

The too disturbing emotions towards the earthly parent, of which we dare not be conscious, cease to trouble us when transferred to a Father in Heaven. We personify our own feelings and imagine a Father of all men, because we feel a love and devotion not fully to be absorbed by our own father. The child has more love than the father can absorb without injury to the child's soul. The child needs more love

and help than the father can give to ease the conflict locked in the psyche. Hence there develops the tribal god, the Chief of Chiefs, the Father of all fathers. The real father's love is limited as his power is limited.

Here the psychological history of religious development has to be condensed into a few paragraphs. If my explanation of the original emotional impulse that creates the idea of God has been accepted, it will be agreed that the simplest as well as the most philosophical gods have developed from the same psychological cause. They provide man with the opportunity of expending his feelings of love and devotion imprisoned in the unconscious. The rude stocks and stones, the most elaborate shrines and statues set up to the invisible Sovereign of the Soul satisfy the same need. Religion, indeed, affords the one perfect liberation to the psyche that is bound. It fulfils the inner demands, for it requires an acknowledgment of sin; it offers the promise of salvation and gives the comfort of love. In a new and profounder meaning it does provide an escape from death and offers perfect peace to the spirit.

Thus religion, which begins by giving aid to the most intimate needs arising out of the conflicts within the narrow and intense world of the parent-child situation, becomes in the great religions a chief means of extending the interests to a wider world by a faith that offers attractions to the eternal child in man. It opens the doors of the world and reveals the wide problems of humanity.

One final word in case I have given you a mistaken impression through emphasising the difficulties of the father-son relationship. I, therefore, must not end this chapter without impressing upon you that there is the greatest need for the authority of the father. If, from any defect in the character of the father or misfortune in his position, such, for instance, as a failure on the part of the mother to uphold his authority,

veneration is replaced entirely by fear and dislike, admiration by jealousy or contempt, the son is very likely to suffer a serious character disfigurement. Too great a dependence on the self is set up, fostering an intolerance of opposition that is almost certainly dangerous. There may be a refusal to accept any limitation or to obey any order. Atheists and social rebels, disbelievers in Heaven and opposers of all regulated and established life, are *really in revolt against their fathers*. They are gaining in their adult rebellions the freedom they failed to find in childhood. Their views derive the intense fervour of their character from the long-repressed father hatred. Narrow personal feelings, so much oftener than we know or would acknowledge, inspire wide social attitudes and responses. Rebellion, curbed in relation to a father, may be let loose against the power of the rich and the monopolist, the unproductive and the parasitical. Personal dissatisfaction that has failed in finding a personal relief attaches itself to social disharmonies, where it finds a social satisfaction. It is in such ways as this, and in these ways only, that the ugly things in our characters—the things that have hurt us too much, so that, suffering, we have banished them from consciousness—can escape, and, being liberated from their prison, be made beautiful and serviceable to life. The father-rebel is the reformer of the world

CHAPTER VIII

BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND CHILDISH MISCONDUCT

"It is better for the child to do wrong deliberately than for it to be impelled by unconscious motives."—DR. CONSTANCE LONG.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The struggle within the child—The newly born child and his brothers and sisters—Difficulties of adjustments—The child a quick-change artist—Jealousy of older children—The building of character—The hidden causes of children's misconduct—Situations of love and hate—The inner conflict—Inferiority—The little child in the big world—Illustration—Revolution in educational outlook—The over-good and over-conscientious parent—Fantasying—The dangerous dream-life—Moral death—Adult infantilism—Parents should have faith in the child's power to liberate and help himself—The hindrance of too much interference—Jealousy in children—Its importance—The effects of unintentional favouritism—Substitute expressions of jealousy—Fear of the dark and other illustrations—The inner resistance—Transference again considered—Illustrations—Ragging the schoolmaster—Bullying and teasing—Jealousy the underlying cause in most cases of childish wrong-doing—Bad habits and their connection with jealousy—Destructiveness a form of gaining power—Self-assertion may have good and bad results—Genius—The opportunity of the parent—The pleasures of naughtiness—The older boy and girl—Lying and stealing—The connection between lying and fantasying—Stealing the result of the inner conflict—The problem of the only child—Summary and conclusions.

WE have now examined the main groups within the family—and have discovered the hostility that is revealed on closely observing the attitudes and responses of the chief personages. That hostility rests on unconscious antagonisms, due to fundamental emotions, not known to those who are guided by them. I hope it has been made clear that signs of envy and jealousy, of rebellion and disobedience, and other manifestations of family irritation, can be but symptoms of deeper evil and trouble. They are like bubbles that

rise from the depths. There is a wound in the inner being that sets free, from time to time, the poisonous gas that escapes to the surface.

It is exceedingly important for the parents to realise that the child has a life apart from them and the outward responses given to them. Let it be understood that it is this inner life which fundamentally controls the child's actions. Unless the real primitive character of the child is understood and accepted the child's conflict is made much harder. Frequently the struggle becomes too severe between the child's own wishes and his desire to please and stand well with those he loves. A struggle which is thus made too hard may bind the child to his primitive unconscious wishes, and prevent his liberation and growth to adult freedom.

In this chapter and the next I wish to extend our inquiry to the less important members of the family group—the brothers and the sisters; I shall consider also certain forms of childish misconduct and inquire very briefly into the psychological problems created by the rapid alteration of the family by births and deaths. I propose to deal with these subjects mainly in reference to their visible manifestations and without further explanations as to the inner situation. That subject I shall take as being established and accepted.

The newly born child who enters a family of brothers and sisters, all older, bigger and stronger than himself, is in a special and difficult position. At first, of course, the babe knows nothing of these difficulties which have to be met. We have examined already this starting period, when the child thinks that the world belongs to him and revolves around him. But the child's response to the outside environment begins to teach him, at a very early age, under normal healthy conditions, the limits of his importance. He learns that there are other people in his world—brothers and sisters—who interfere with him and cannot be ignored. At about two or three years of age, or even younger, some kind

of real and practical adjustment to the other members of the family has to be made. I mean an adjustment formulated by the child himself, not the outside rules imposed on him by the adults. What is important for us to note is his own understanding of the position—what he feels himself in regard to the other members of the nursery and schoolroom.

It needs a considerable effort of imagination to appreciate the extreme difficulties of the situation. The new child is not a visitor at a party. He, or she, is rather a fresh member of a community, a new boy or girl in the school, a new employee in the firm, a fresher at the college, an unproved convert to the Church; observed and observing, shy and helpless and fiercely criticised, having to make and find a proper place. These are all imperfect metaphors. The new brother or sister has to enter a society already established. In that connection the metaphors do explain the situation with more or less accuracy. But the family is a society, compact, small, and closely and emotionally bound together, in which there are always difficult feelings and great inequalities. It is a firm with seniors and juniors; partners, subordinates, and messenger girls and boys. There are father and mother, the elder children with their special rights and privileges and the younger children, divided into the schoolroom group and the nursery group. The great difference in age separates the new child almost wholly from the older brothers and sisters, who are all but grown up and have nearly the same authority as the parents. The age separation is very much the same with the schoolroom group. Twelve years old is a very advanced age to the three-year-old. What I would ask you specially to note is this: The little child's connection with all these splendid and admired older people is one which emphasises, often very painfully, the new child's feelings of inferiority, through being little and weak. There are so many orders, often contradictory, from these

grown-up brothers and sisters. Everyone's authority is over the child. And often everyone seems a little resentful of his (or her) presence. As a baby the child was adored and protected, but as he gets a little older he finds himself ignored and sometimes teased. Especially is this so in the schoolroom group, whose members are exceedingly important to themselves, exceedingly occupied with their own affairs. Often the new child feels in the way.

But it is in the nursery group that the greatest troubles have to be overcome. For it is here that the new child chiefly has to live. He has to adapt himself to the other members of the group. There is much to learn, many hard rules that have to be followed. There is nurse and mother, as well as, perhaps, two, or possibly three, brothers or sisters who, though vastly older than the baby, are not yet freed from the nursery. Usually these younger sisters and brothers are very arrogant. They enjoy making the new-comer feel an intruder. There is competition for place and favour, there are quarrels for mastery, and many painful acceptances have to be learnt. And there is jealousy. These emotions of jealousy are so important in connection with the young child that we shall have, later in this chapter, to consider them further. I need not, I think, remind you again that significance does not depend on visible expression, but arises from connection with the inner conflict, whose concealed emotions are ever seeking an escape from the prison of the unconscious. But just now I wish to consider the position of the child in the home circle.

What the new child is, will be, and has to make himself, he has to discover, and he can do this only slowly and painfully, and chiefly unconsciously, in his daily lessons of adaptation. (In using "he," I, of course, include "she," the girl baby.) And it is hardly necessary for me to point out how very easy, and, indeed, how certain it is for something to go wrong and some passion of

anger to hurt too deeply, some sting of jealousy to pierce too sharply. While equally harmful, and much more difficult to deal with, may be the absence of any opportunity for expressing these emotions. Some situation of love or hate, too strongly felt, or not able to be felt sufficiently strongly, may so easily set up or increase the hidden conflict, so that the concealed complex cannot be sublimated by the child.

In order that we may appreciate better some of the real practical difficulties of the position, I must recall to your thought what has been said already in regard to the sufferings of the child through feeling very small in a big world. The child is really, as H. G. Wells says in one of his books,¹ where he is speaking of his own childhood, a creature "relatively infinitesimal, needing and struggling." That does exactly describe the position. Have you ever thought about this position of the child; I mean, grasped the situation as it appears to the child himself? We talk a good deal about understanding children and sympathising with them, but I sometimes doubt our adult ability to do this. The young child is bound to feel inferior, and often in the wrong, just because he is small, and unable with his child impulses, natural and primitive and ancient, to live according to grown-up standards, that have been disciplined and drilled by social needs. So the child struggles always between what you want and what he wants himself; he tries, in this way and in that, to gain a position—a justification for himself. He has to build up his conception of this world, and, as it were, find his way about, in so short a time. And what remain among the most important of his gathered impressions are his feelings of uncertainty, and this leads inevitably to the ever-pressing desire to establish his own powerfulness.

And I think these confused feelings are much stronger and more painfully active when a comparison is made with children just a little older than the child himself,

than they can be with adults or with children much older, where the age difference makes the separation so great that envy is less likely to be aroused. The three-year-old child cannot compete with the brother who goes away to school, or with the sister who seems almost as old and powerful as the mother or nurse. But the five-year-old child does all the things which the three-year-old wants to do and just can't manage. He lifts the chair that is too heavy, reaches up to take things from the big nursery table, opens the door for himself, walks unaided down the precipice of the stairs.

I do not know whether you have ever been to a Montessori school. The furniture—all the chairs, tables, desks, crockery—are specially made, small and light in weight, though strong, so that the tiniest child can handle them without help. The rapid development and quick capacity for learning of children in these schools, I believe, is due to this wise providing of an environment suitable to the child. This is much more important, I am sure, than the specific teaching appliances and methods of instruction, which, in my opinion, are not specially admirable, and, in my experience, are not over-much liked by children. It is the mastery over the environment, the splendid power-feeling gained by moving things about and doing everything themselves, that gives the children the liberating energy which makes it easy for them to learn.

We do not consider sufficiently the discouraging position of the young child among objects that are all too big and too heavy for him to move by himself. Toys, after all, are only pretence. The child wants, and ought to want, real things. Try to realise what trouble, hindrances and resistances have to be overcome before each step of advance is made and before quite simple tasks can be done. And what a waste of energy this is—how it holds back the child!

I remember, when quite young, I once tried to make

a large bed—in memory, at least, that bed seems very, very big. I was small for my age and not strong. I shoved, I pulled, and I pushed. At last I got the mattress turned over on to the floor. The problem was how to get it back on to the bed. I accomplished this by creeping under the mattress, raising it up on my back and then pulling a turned-over chair, placed in readiness, under the corners of the mattress. I believe I was the whole day over the task, which I refused to give up. I had a very determined will. I do not know how I outwitted the grown-ups, who certainly would have stepped in had they known what I was doing. I know now that it was jealousy of my older, stronger and bigger sister, who could make beds and do all the tasks I was told I was too small and too weak to do, which started me on this ridiculous project. Afterwards I was ill, which brought to the knowledge of the adult world what I had been doing. My mother did not give me the praise I had sought and expected. Instead, she scolded me and emphasised my silliness in trying to do what I ought to have known I could not do. Probably this is why the incident remains so vividly clear in my memory. And, looking back, I know that what happened then did have a permanent “affect”—a string had been touched that gave a jar to my whole character and would not let me rest. I would not remain little and weak. Always I should struggle to accomplish, but without judging, or waiting, or, indeed, caring very much whether the task was worth the doing.

The character of the child is fluid and evanescent, exquisitely sensitive to every impression, and the child is without experience. Always he has to be making discoveries and swift adaptations to meet each new situation. Thus the child comes to be an actor with many parts. I have spoken of this before. Every child is born to play the part of a quick-change artist. Gentle with one sister who is kind, deceitful with a

brother who teases, coaxing with father, but obedient to mother and to nurse. And what I desire to emphasise here, as strongly as I am able, is that these traits of character, whether they are bad traits or whether they are good, ugly or beautiful, are not inborn in the child. These are habits of behaviour and are not inherited from the father or the mother, though they may be, and most usually are, copied from them. But the character of each child is built up day by day by means of new assimilations and protective conformances; it is continuously modified and changed as he learns slowly to give up his first ego-wishes and ego-joys (the pleasure-pain principle), replacing these by new aptitudes of a more social character (the reality-principle).

You will see, I think, why I wish to stress this view. It means a revolution in our educational outlook. It is we, the adults—the parents and the trainers of the child—who are splendidly responsible. Freud has been a revealer of new knowledge in regard to what we can do to help children. Let me try to make this clear by means of a very simple illustration. If your child, for instance, begins to show signs of violent temper and great resistance against your authority, do not sit down with folded hands and say, "The child inherits its father's temper." Instead, look into the child's environment, consider his position in your affections, examine well the life in the nursery. See who has been exercising a too great or unfair authority over the child, to set up this resistance of passionate temper. Perhaps the nurse needs to be changed or some older child ought to be watched and checked in its interference with the little one. Try to find out what the child is thinking about: watch him play, get him, if you can, to tell you his dreams; search until you have found some clue to direct you to the source of the trouble. The same if the child is fretful, sulky, shows jealousy, develops habits of deceit, begins to lie and to steal, and to hide

things. Find out the connection with the inner conflict. Then try to change the adverse influence in the environment which is the immediate cause of the trouble. The beginning of the great majority of faults of character may be traced back to some early happening, often quite trivial, that could have been prevented by watchful and wise parents.

But here I must give a very necessary warning. The over-good and over-conscientious parent is almost certain to try to do too much. I have spoken of this before, but it is so important I make no apology for bringing the danger again before your notice. Such parents demand a standard of conduct far above that which the child has reached, and by doing this they do harm that rarely afterwards can be undone. Unable to reach the expected goodness, discouraged, always drilled and lovingly disciplined into obedience, with no opportunity for external conflict, the inner conflict deepens. The child gives up the game of life. He begins even at a very early age to dream and gain his satisfaction in fantasy. Such children may, and, indeed, usually do, become well-behaved from a continuous following of imposed habits; but this good behaviour is absence of the will to do evil rather than true virtue. It does not come from within; too often it covers a barrenness that is worse than any wrongdoing.

I must follow this a little further, though it takes us away from the immediate subject of our inquiry. The discouraged child so easily takes refuge in a dream world from the pains of reality, from conflicts between angry egoism and affection for the effort-demanding parents. All that in which they fail in the real life they succeed in accomplishing in the dream. I have spoken of this before. The danger is, however, so common and so great that I want to underline it again. For, if continued, nothing else acts so certainly to destroy the power to make effort. Gradually all effort

to conquer reality is abandoned. To avoid altering their methods or acting on their surroundings—a course which would necessitate the relinquishing of their dreams and fictitious satisfactions—such people stay for ever in the world of childish pretences and avoidances. The pleasure-principle ousts the reality-principle of life.

This is moral death. To act becomes self-condemnation. Dreams are continued and heightened in order to satisfy a greed for ease, that becomes more devouring as time diminishes the remembrances of reality. We have all of us known these loafers in life, these self-deluded pretenders. Such people humbug themselves in the interest of a character determined to remain at peace. Often outwardly, and unless disturbed, they are good and kind. They wish to satisfy their conscience as well as their desires. An impossible task, in the achievement of which they become infected with that kind of sentimentalism which is born and lives on untruth. They have to act to deceive themselves, much more than to deceive others; so that in the end they lose all power of self-judgment or self-criticism. They permit no scruples to stand in the way of their deeper desires, unconsciously they deceive themselves to maintain their peace, so to keep this undisturbed they perceive these desires and their motives, not as they are, but as they dream and would like them to be. Always, to themselves, they are right; it is other people—those who fail to accept this estimate of what they are and do—who are unkind and unfair. Criticism arouses in them the most intolerant anger. They are not conscious humbugs. Only they want too much, desiring an indulgence of their own dreams, unrestricted by any limits of reality, with, at the same time, a conviction of their own goodness and immense moral superiority. They are still reacting to the situation started by their virtue-demanding parents. If they had been permitted some wickedness as

children, they would not have had to exhaust so much of the energy of life in maintaining a position which, in reality, they ought to have discarded in the nursery.

One of the most necessary duties for parents is self-analysis. Whenever they feel this tendency towards over-interference they should ask why they find difficulty in leaving the child alone to learn his own lessons. So often it is their own concealed complex which causes them to indulge in this over-drilling. Their anxious love may be but a disguise for a thwarted thirst for power. Never must the parents forget that they are bound as well as the child.

Every parent should look forward to the time when the child will be a man or a woman. It is comparatively easy, as well as enjoyable, to make the boy or girl good now, if we accept as goodness what this usually means in the case of the child—obedience and quietness, so that no trouble is given to the parents. But this does nothing to train the child. To do this the child has to experiment and to find out for himself. The difficulty is, of course, how far the experiment should be permitted, for interference at the right time is as necessary as liberty and freedom from interference at the wrong time. That is why education in parenthood is so exceedingly necessary. It is not enough for parents to love their children in order to help them; it is even more necessary to understand them.

I would, however, urge parents to have firmer faith in the child's power to liberate and help himself.² It is so hard not to be afraid for one's child.³ Yet it is very necessary to remember that conflict is a condition of growth. Love may hinder most terribly by sheltering too much. I may have failed in making this clear. In my anxiety to convey the difficulties which hinder the child, I perhaps have not sufficiently insisted on the strength that may be gained through struggle. This is, I think, especially true of the many conflicts which, as we now know, find expression in the home life,

with its give and take, kindness and love, and also hatred and cruelties.

Let us examine this a little further. There is the collective family life; there is also the outer life of each child, who is known and, more or less, understood by the parents, and the other members of the family. And there is, besides these two aspects of the outer life, the far more determinative hidden life that belongs to the individual child alone. This life is secret: it is intensely real. The inner self sets up its private gods, passes its inmost judgments, comforts itself with ideal, often fictitious, guiding aims. It is within himself that the child carries on his diligent search for the attainment of that which will supply him with motive and justification; that which will compensate him for failure in the more usual tasks of the home. And unless hindered and discouraged too much and too often, the child will from within build up his own strength, set up his own moral barriers, find his own sublimation. Then, later, he will be able to use productively the power he has gained.

So often the parents hinder him by interference, by trying to help too much. What they force on his acceptance will never become his own in the same way as what he finds out for himself. It would be wiser to trust more, and to leave more to the child himself. There must for every parent be long periods of waiting and patience.

The first duty of every parent is a watchful understanding. Jealousy is so common an emotional trouble with all young children that any parental failure in recognising its presence is a serious matter. And first it must be remembered that the jealousy we see manifested outwardly is always connected with the child's personal conflict, which is hidden and acting unconsciously. All parents probably think that they feel to their children in exactly the same way: psychologically this is impossible, because unconsciously the

parents turn towards the child who most fully responds to their own inner demands.⁴ This deeper feeling may be started by some trivial situation which opens an affective response with a special child. Often the parents' feelings are fixed before the birth of the child. One child results from an accident, or, perhaps, an undesired impregnation, another was desired and sought. Most parents have absolutely no insight into the real factors that develop character, either in themselves, or in their children. Of course, it is difficult to estimate these forces, and mistakes are very easily made. But, at least, we may train ourselves not to accept anything, in our children or in ourselves, without attempting to find an answer to the difficult, but always necessary, question, Why? The family situation is necessarily most harmful when the parents have succeeded in disguising and justifying the secret motives of their life with pretences and subterfuges.

We find, then, that in a family of several children, boys and girls, it is almost inevitable that there should be some favouritism, and that, in this respect, the unintentional attitude of the parents is far more affective⁵ than their intentional attitude. Also there is certain to be a struggle, both visible and hidden, between the children to become the favourite of one or other parent. In some of the children this striving is active and is shown in efforts to please and earn rewards, but in other children it takes the less fortunate way of brooding, which leads to a dangerous increase in the inferiority feelings. The sulky child is always the jealous child.

I need not elaborate further these common family situations as much of the necessary explanation has been given already. I would like, however, once more to impress upon you that it is much safer for the child to show these jealous feelings in spiteful and angry conduct against the envied rival (the father or mother, the brother or sister, or the new baby) than it is for

the jealousy to be hidden. A substitute expression will be found if the direct door is closed. No great blame, therefore, should be expressed when children show signs of being jealous.

And this second form of hidden expression, usually misunderstood by the parents and always mysterious to the child himself, is much more frequent and, what matters most, is much more dangerous. Let me give one or two illustrations. The child may appear frightened of the dark, may call for its mother, beg to come downstairs and stay up with father and mother, ask not to be left, will not sleep alone. These are all very common devices of the jealous child. Of course, the child acts unconsciously, it is because the jealousy has not been expressed that these substitute reliefs are indulged in. This fear of darkness is one of the commonest forms of childish disguises: often it is a real fear which, if strongly active (as it must be if the jealousy is pronounced), may itself be unable to gain relief in open expression, and may be hidden carefully from the parent.

I may quote rather an interesting case that illustrates this fear of the dark; it concerns two sisters, of whom the younger was delicate, and greatly indulged and over-petted by the mother. The elder girl was devoted to the mother and unconsciously terribly jealous of the indulgence shown to the sister. And this jealousy was of long standing. Soon after the birth of the younger child she had been found trying to poke out the baby's eyes on the explanation that they blinked and annoyed her. But it was an ethical home in which jealousy would not be recognised and certainly would be permitted no direct expression. So the elder child developed a haunting fear of darkness and of robbers. This fear was hidden from the mother, but the younger sister was frequently got out of her bed and sent down into the darkness to search for the imagined robber! In this really ingenious way, the elder sister found com-

pensation and paid back her animosity to her rival in the mother's affections. But all fear in children, and, perhaps, especially this fear of darkness and the frequent search for a robber, is connected with deep emotional disturbance, and the signs should be regarded as a warning flag of danger by the parents.

It will, I think, be plain to you, now, why the child should not be censured when it tries to express its jealousy directly. This does not always happen. One of the main difficulties is that the child does not seek a direct outlet. For it is not only the parents who control and hold back the child from any open declaration of the hostile feelings, but the child controls himself—holds himself back from taking the relief he so urgently needs. If the conflict between the jealous hatred and the natural affection, also felt for the object of such hatred, is too severe, the feelings will be suppressed by the child himself. The self-repression, as is evident, must always be much more affective on the child's character than an outside repression, however severe, imposed by the parents. Certainly it is a factor of the strongest moral significance. But its action emotionally may be harmful. For the closing of the door of consciousness shuts off the opportunity of changing these feelings by judging them. I mean this: If the child rushes with a knife and hits the father, the father has an opportunity of showing the child that it is wrong to want to kill: even if nothing is said, the child will think this for himself: he will remember that his father is good to him: he will wonder why he wanted to kill him, and though he certainly will not find the right answer, the mere asking the question will be of service and help his liberation; whereas, if the jealousy has been translated into a fear of darkness, all these openings towards reality are blocked; the child is lost in the dark that he fears. That is the result if these substitute formations (of which I have given you but one common

example) are set up, while, in cases of severe conflict hysterical symptoms are almost certain to appear.

In this case, the only effective treatment is the painful and difficult one of trying to open the locked door, to let light into the closed room, where the secret and all-powerful forces of the unconscious mind issue those directions for which the conscious mind (subordinate always to these hidden masters) finds specious reasons and deceiving purposes. But this work of psychic liberation cannot be done by the parents unaided, and would call for the help of one trained specially in understanding the child mind.

Sometimes, however, the trouble may be shifted by the process of transference. I spoke of this process at the close of the last chapter, where I recounted the case of a young boy who transferred his hostile feelings against his father into a hatred of God. I then gave many examples of the transference of all emotions that occurs very commonly both in the child and in adult life. We saw they were repetitions of the conflicts of childhood. It is these inner troubles of our soul which direct our fate, and decide which we shall be—rebels or peaceable citizens. Have you ever considered, to illustrate this fact by one example, why the Jew, who, so much more definitely than any other race, is commanded and expected to honour his parents, has throughout the centuries led in rebellion, both in theory and in actual revolution, against the established order of society? But I may not pursue this question further. If the transference of these hostile parent feelings can be made in childhood, the adult response will certainly be modified. Thus the energy now spent in revolt may be liberated for the constructive needs of life. In this way a great leakage of psychic force will be stopped.⁶ Always, and in ways few of us recognise, the child is ever himself seeking for these transferences. The boy who defies and rags his schoolmaster, to give one very common instance, is often gaining a much-needed

and real psychic liberation. It may be a consolation to schoolmasters to reflect that the hostility of a class of boys is rarely directed against them personally; they suffer vicariously because of the boys' concealed attitude to their fathers. The schoolmaster is really the scapegoat, who atones for the family failure, the breakdown in love between father and sons. But this question belongs to the next chapter on "The Place of the School."

Transference takes many strange disguises. The hostile feelings to the parents may, and often are, expressed in bullying other children at school, or in domineering over younger brothers and sisters in the home. I have heard of a boy, of exceptionally fine character, but suffering under a strong mother-complex, who as a boy used to hold a red-hot poker near his younger brothers and sisters; the boy said that he did this to teach them endurance; he did not know that the real reason was to give relief to his own buried conflict. All bullying and teasing of younger children or of animals should be regarded as this kind of substitute relief: that is why punishment is so ineffective and so harmful. Directly a child is observed doing any kind of cruel act the parents should take warning. It is useless for either parent or child to try to alter the symptom by itself, as useless as it would be to ask a patient not to tremble or feel faint without dealing with nervous or heart trouble at the back of the symptom.

In every case of childish wrong-doing it is safe to expect to find the underlying cause in the child's severe, but usually unconscious, jealousy.

Eneuresis⁷ (or wetting the bed) and all the other numerous retained bad habits of childhood, such as biting the nails, sucking the fingers, picking the nose, winking the eyes and other face twitchings, can, in nine cases out of ten, be connected with some disturbance of childish jealousy. These habits are considered

insignificant, or are treated locally, and without connection with their cause. They are almost without exception expedients of the child to attract attention; tricks and artifices by which the painful buried emotions get to the surface; they heal the uncomfortable jealous feelings of psychic inferiority. A host of other childhood's defects, of which, perhaps, the most common are awkwardness, clumsiness, stupidity and failure to learn, are also psychic defences or protests against the feeling of being neglected. We have all of us felt at some time in our childhood the painful and devastating feelings left in our souls of being thought of less value than others, the companions, the friends, the fellow-workers, the parents, the brothers and sisters, all those we love or whose opinion we value in the world with which we are in intimate contact; these will-destroying feelings too often lead to serious adult crime and vice, to drink, to fraud, and even to suicide and murder and also to excessive sexuality; all of these destructive actions may be regarded as being primarily a means of achieving feelings of power and independence. I have said that there is in the beginning an unbounded desire for self-assertion in each one of us. It is one of the fundamental desires. It urges us forward on the hard way of achievement. And if self-assertion (itself the reverse side of inferiority—the depression seen from the front which appears as a raised pattern) is combined with a desirable means of self-expression, a right, instead of a wrong, achievement may be gained. This leads forward to genius and to great acts in all departments of the arts and sciences.

Here, then, is the opportunity of the parents. The child is exquisitely mouldable. What the parents can do is to guide and direct, to clear up difficulties as these appear and to remove obstructions to growth. They can place within the child's reach the materials by which it can liberate its primitive ego-instincts, by giving them a right social expression. In fact, as I

believe I have said before, the real work of the parent may be likened to that of the stage scene-shifter and the property-manager. They must not want to write the play, still less must they try to act any of the parts. Always they should be content to keep in the background, watching, directing, but never interfering when everything goes well, but always ready as soon as anything is wrong to let down the safety curtain, to redress the actors and bring forward a fresh scene.

Now look for a moment at the results in the nursery. It is when the child feels neglected that at once he becomes naughty. For the simple reason that this is so much the easiest and most effective way of attracting the desired attention. Good, the child is left alone, but naughty, he becomes the centre of the nursery interest and attention. And the more naughty he is, the more satisfaction he gains. Of course, he is sorry afterwards, but I am certain that this sorrow is more on account of his quickly lost power than for the sin of his bad behaviour. Now it is very important for the parents to understand this. The real problem in dealing with the young child who is naughty is to minimise as much as can be the child's enjoyment of naughtiness. Any unwisdom on the part of the mother, such as her being too emotionally concerned, indulging in nagging or violent anger, may have serious later results. Inevitably the child feels, as he sees his mother's tears and want of control, "I have caused this." He thoroughly enjoys himself. He has the most delicious feeling of power. Instead of being weak he is master of his mother. That is why usually he is good after he has been naughty. But this kind of conduct is disastrous to the child's character.

The naughty child is always the child over-occupied with thoughts of himself. And his feelings are unhealthily important to him just because he finds himself for some cause at a disadvantage. As I have said, the one thing to help him is to provide an expression

by which the desired power is gained in a right way. If this is neglected, the child becomes naughty. The best course is, as far as it is possible, to ignore the naughtiness. If parents neglect this, continue to allow their children to satisfy their hidden wishes through bad conduct, let me warn them that they are dangerously limiting their children's chance of a successful and happy life. By thus early connecting pleasure with bad conduct, they are certainly, though they do not know it, making the way easy for every kind of future bad conduct.

With older children the position is more difficult, for they cannot be deluded by parental subterfuges, and simulated neglect does not deceive them. Their need for self-justification, also, is stronger and less readily appeased. Often, I think, their souls feel the same need for a spiritual fight as their bodies feel the need for a physical fight. And further, any conflict with them means a life as strained and uncomfortable for the parents as for the children.

Parents do not comprehend sufficiently how impossible the growing-up boy or girl finds it to make the adult understand. For, if I am right, they, at the same time, hate scenes and desire them; they make every effort to keep the situation free from emotion and all the time they yearn for emotion. Also they are intensely self-conscious. But these questions I shall deal with when we come to examine the adolescent boy or girl.

In dealing with any form of childish misconduct⁸ or bad habits two facts need to be remembered: the child's early importance as a centre of its world's attention and his complete dependence. I need not dwell on these facts, because already I have shown them to you. The memories of the omnipotent baby period haunt the child; they spur him forward to effort and self-expression in order to regain the lost powerfulness, but also they send him back to the

mother—to dependence. Power and dependence are the very contradictions of each other. And yet it is just this contradiction that has to be reconciled. To achieve its adjustment, the child is dependent mainly on the parents, but also on the brothers and sisters and other members of the home group. If they do not rightly satisfy this universal and right demand of the child for self-expression and for notice and favour—that is, if the child is praised and esteemed too little or too much, over-noticed and humoured or neglected and overlooked—he will almost certainly suffer psychic disturbance, which will be very likely to manifest itself outwardly in some form of bad conduct. I feel it is almost impossible to convey to you all the difficulties which the young child has to encounter. There is much that I would like to say that must be omitted. For already this chapter has exceeded the limits of my space. I have written on this subject elsewhere in a little book, “The Mind of the Naughty Child,” where the question of childish misconduct is dealt with simply and practically. There are, however, two faults that must be very briefly considered, as they cause the gravest concern to parents. I refer to lying and stealing. And first let me state with all the power I have that these faults are not a sign of original sin. They are the outward symptoms of an inner wound. Let me show you that this is true.

Day-dreams and fantasying are part of the life of every child. This we know: it is the child's shelter of happiness when reality is made too hard. Now the fantasying dream leads directly to the fantasying lie. The child says that he did what he has dreamt of doing; or the lie takes a less direct form; the wrong deed done is denied, because the child is so accustomed to dream of himself as being good and splendid that he cannot face acknowledging himself as being anything else. He is so used to the actor's part that he cannot reveal

himself. This is the true reason of almost all departures from truth.

For mark this. It is very rarely that the lie is received by parents; very often, especially in the case of young children and also of schoolboys, it is so obviously wrong that the invention on its surface judgment is utterly absurd.

I can still remember when I was quite a tiny child having stolen an apple from a dish when I was at the house of my grandmother, a terrible figure in my memory. I was caught with a piece of the apple in my mouth, but I lied and lied that I had not touched it. The lie is a device of pride. I do not believe, as is commonly said, that the child is afraid of punishment. What he does fear is facing the truth about himself. He cannot bear to see himself in a position of humiliation. So he lies, as he dreams, and for the same cause and because of some inner hurt. And he pretends to himself, far more than he tries to deceive you. Thus if you want to help him, you must give him something to hold up his pride: give some reason which can *be approved by himself*, and which he can accept as having prompted the lie. I have italicised the words *approved by himself*, because this is absolutely essential. The child must be able to excuse himself in a way satisfactory to his conscience. Your excusing him is not important, he seeks this only as a further shelter for himself. But if you can show him how to pardon himself, he will be able to acknowledge his departure from probity. Then afterwards it will be your duty to find out what unsolved complex is turning the child too much to dreams: why he fears himself. As an immediate help you can provide new, pleasant, but right ways, in which he can assert his power. Legitimate sources of pride must be discovered so that self-confidence may be built up, which alone can enable him to tell the truth.

Stealing is more common with boys than with girls;

it is specially frequent in the first years of puberty. These two facts should guide us to its cause. Boyish thieving is not a sign of a tendency to thief. It is a special, and (to the boy) very painful, manifestation of feelings of jealousy and inferiority. Probably this will surprise you. But will you ask yourself why a boy thieves? It is manifest that in most cases the stealing is not due to a mere desire for utilisation of the thing stolen. Secondly, and this is very important, possessions are esteemed by boys as a means of increasing importance. And it follows from this that possessions, and especially the spending of money (for nothing makes the boy feel so grown up as this), are an antidote against the feeling of humiliation from not being loved (jealousy), or any inferiority. These painful emotions can be mended temporarily by acquiring possessions. This, then, is why the boy steals. He takes money or other things as a substitute-action for that which cannot be stolen : that is, the love for which he is jealous, the praise he desires and has not gained, or the success he has failed to win.

It is plain that the more we consider this question of childish misconduct, the more we are turned back towards the inner conflict. It is the ever-disturbing need causing confusion in the young soul. I ask myself, why do we torture children by our hard judgments, forcing on their sensitive natures punishment for failure in right conduct, while we make no attempt to understand the hidden struggles that always are the cause?

One word more. Our hard adult stupidity does immense harm, not only to the " young thief " we fail to understand, but to society at large. For though the fault of thieving is not in itself a sign of moral failure in the character, our treatment of these lapses from honesty, our failure in understanding the needs and sufferings of the adolescent boy, frequently hound on the stealing boy into the thief. Certainly, the

majority of adult law-breakers and unhappy and un-social individuals are those who in their childhood failed in solving the inner conflicts of the soul.⁹

A few words must be said about the only child. No child is in a worse position. These solitary children have too much attention, in particular, from the mother. Without contemporaries, they suffer from want of criticism and healthy competition. Parental love is concentrated into an essence which over-stimulates, but does not nourish. An excessive Narcissism is encouraged, through the parents' over-occupation with the child, and their continuous devising of amusements and pleasures for him. It is so easy for the parents with only one child to love too possessively. The situation is, of course, especially dangerous when the marriage of the father and mother is unhappy, for then it will be almost impossible to prevent the child being used as a means of satisfying the affective cravings of one or other of the parents. This is disastrous for the child.

In any case the parents of the only child are confronted with special problems, the deep psychological significance of which is not considered by the modern advocates of the small family. It is frequently stated that the large family makes too heavy claims upon the mother, but it is probable that the family of one or two children claims more. Both mother and child are too closely bound. And these inner emotional demands are far more binding, and also destroying to happiness and health, than any visible claims.

The parents of the only child need to exercise the sternest self-discipline to hold their affections in check, and to guard against an inner over-occupation with the child. It is not enough to be outwardly unselfish, nor will the situation be changed, though it may be helped, by sending the child away or providing companions as play-fellows. This last device would be of psychological service only if these children were

loved with the same force as the real child. The danger to the child rests in a psychic entanglement. The Œdipus-complex is almost certain to be dangerously strong. In adult life such a boy or girl, while usually strongly attracted and, indeed, driven to the opposite sex, will find it exceedingly difficult to fix on a mate, and afterwards equally difficult to be faithful. The path of escape from the mother must always be hard for the only child. How this freedom can be gained will be considered in the second part of our inquiry, "The Adult Life." Here I would urge on the parents the necessity for the child's sake of filling their lives with other interests. They must relinquish the easy indulgence of a too preoccupied love, unless, indeed, they wish their affection to act as a chain to hold back their boy or their girl from life.

Let me try now to summarise the results that we have arrived at. We have found that the family provides the only right environment for the child's healthy growth. It is the most natural and inevitable of social groups. It is formed, not by deliberate choice, but by instinct and the action of the deeper forces of our living needs. The politics of the home, the authority of the father, the tenderness of the mother, the up-striving rivalries of the developing children, of both sexes and varying ages, are the purest and most essential expressions of the group-forming herding instinct of mankind.

We recognise, most of us who lived in a family of some size, that we did pass through a competitive society, in which we fought continuously, though usually secretly, for our right place, or what we thought was our right place, that we were acutely conscious of our rank, were jealous and assertive, very quick to resent any word or act which made us conscious of our inferiority. The struggles between sisters and brothers often were severe, age and sex asserting strongly their respective rights.

Thus we establish, first, that the home and the complete family must be maintained in the interests of the child's developing character.

The child only gradually finds a place for itself in the world of the home. It only gradually forms and selects a character.

We have established that this character is not born with the child, but the child forms it day by day and hour by hour, using the material which the home and the parents supply. That character is like the moving mirror of a river: the child reflects the sky of its home, with its clear contented blue, or its drifting procession of clouds, it reflects also the sands, the mud, or the grass and flower-clad banks of the outer world. The child cannot resist its early environment. The currents of its character, slow or swift, smooth or disturbed, may be regarded as individual adjustments: each child has a different method of response; and the tone of the character and the colour of the soul, beautiful and bright or clouded with storms—these are the certain results of the relation to the parents in the childhood's environment.

The second truth that arises from this is the immense power of the parents and the dependence of the child. We are always being brought back to this question of parental responsibility. The parents are the potters who mould the child's clay.

With regard to so-called sins of children and their failure in social conduct, we may, perhaps, summarise the position in this way: We show too little imagination in our judgments of their conduct. Often we abuse our adult privileges. We enjoy such an immense advantage (from the child's point of view) just in being grown up.

I do not hesitate to say that in the great majority of cases of childish wrong-doing the reasons for the act must be connected with the emotional life. Our fundamental error is our persistent failure to recognise

the unconscious conflicts of the soul. The real problem of the parents is to liberate the child from psychic entanglements. This can never be done while we persist in ignoring their existence.

I have tried to make plainer to you the mind of the child who does wrong. I do not know how far I have succeeded. It is a task of such great difficulty that I cannot hope to have done more than open a small window which will let in a few beams of light.

In conclusion I set forth two principles. *First* : The hidden root-cause of children's bad habits, misdeeds, and sins must be discovered and dealt with, not the mere symptoms. *Second* : Open expression of any sin is always safer than repression. And out of this arises the following advice : *Do not try to make your children too good ; instead, try to understand what failure of your own makes them do wrong.* If you forget this, possibly you will gain tranquillity for yourself, but it is very likely to be at the expense of the future happiness and well-being of your family.

CHAPTER IX

BIRTH AND DEATH

"No man lives in the external truth, but in the warm phantasmagoric chamber of his brain, with the painted windows and the storied wall."—R. L. STEVENSON.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The significance of Birth and Death to the child—Parents cannot conceal the truth—The child does not accept parental subterfuges—The evil results of thwarted curiosity—Spontaneous symbolic actions—Illustrations—Adult curiosity—Sublimation of curiosity—Repressed curiosities—Fear of sex—The child who questions and the child who does not question—Sex instruction—The inner conflicts determine the attitude of the child to sex instruction—Repression and sublimation—The very young child—The errors of the advanced—Three cases showing actual experiences in attempting to give instruction—The effect of the emotional attitude of the parents—The great difficulties of the position—Necessary to guard against an easy optimism—The emotional difficulties—Death and its emotional relation to Birth—The child's interest in Death—The child and the savage regard Death in the same way—The concealment of the truth by parents—Illustrations—The real motive of the parents—The connection between Death and the inner conflict—The desire of the young to die—Death fantasies in poetry and in art.

It is said that Gautama, the Buddha, was brought up in a palace where he could see nothing distressing, because his father wished to save him from attempting to bring deliverance to the world, as it had been predicted that he would do. The streets were made gay before him if he went out; everywhere ugliness was hidden from him. And yet on three occasions he encountered Old Age, Sickness and Death.

You will see why I have introduced this story. Too often parents are like the father of Gautama. They would keep all signs of the beginning and end of life hidden from their children; they persuade themselves

that on each subject it is possible to tell pretty untruths ; the child will accept them. But it is not so. The child knows, but pretends not to know. Untruth must always fail.

The whole subject is difficult and inter-related with many other questions. I shall not even attempt a complete examination. I shall confine myself to those facts that seem to me helpful to our understanding of the child.

First it will be necessary to examine a character trait that is common to many children.

In the last chapter I mentioned thwarted curiosity¹ as one of the signs of emotional disturbance. I want now to explain this in relation to the question we are considering. And as a preliminary to this explanation, I would ask you to think of the child, who exhibits an unreasoning curiosity about everything ; opening drawers, looking into the envelopes of other people's letters, searching excitedly for what he does not want.

Here we meet with a case of spontaneous symbolic action. The peculiarity of such activity is that if you ask the child, "What are you doing?" he gives an evasive answer. Also he shows great annoyance at being questioned. He tells you he is looking for something, or wishes to know what is inside some box, or some drawer. He cannot name the thing for which he is seeking. But the insistence of the action, the importance attached to it, and the anxious way in which the search is carried out are not explained. Again, we have to ask the question, "Why does the child do this?" "What is it urges him to act like a 'Peeping Tom'?" For the child is urged. You will find this habit of needless prying almost impossible to check. It may persist into adult life. I have known a man, well-educated and intelligent, who whenever he is upset begins to search for something he does not want. He will disturb the entire house, and though gentle in disposition, grows vexed, and even angry, if

he is disturbed in his search. He realises the foolishness of his action; he cannot, however, explain it; he just feels he has to search.

Psychologically this is a most interesting case. For this man is a dreamer and quite unable to face the difficult practical situations of life. He never worries, because he never realises the situation that ought to be worried over. He lives in a finely constructed intellectual day-dream of theoretical reform of the world. He is very rarely disturbed. Yet once he begins to search, to feel this impulse which compels him—the object sought for is always quite insignificant—he is disturbed to the depths, in the same way as most people are disturbed by severe anxiety or real disaster.

I mention this case to illustrate how unconscious and how deep this searching habit may be. This, of course, is explained by the emotional connection—a connection entirely forgotten by the searcher himself. The action is symbolic. It implies that the search for the thing that is not wanted, the curiosity over something of no interest at all, is a substitute-action, for something about which knowledge has been desired in the forgotten past—desired so much that it could not be denied: a curiosity so urgent that its thwarting started the emotional trouble of which the searching acts are the symbol or sign. This process of substitute expression I have explained before. The child or the adult pries or peeps, opens drawers and letters aimlessly, looks for quite useless objects, that is, searches for knowledge *he does not want because there is some knowledge he wants tremendously badly, or wanted when he was a child, but could not ask about, or find out.*

Now, what is this knowledge which children want, and cannot get? It is, of course, knowledge about something forbidden.

The forbidden thing is sex.

I need not go over the old ground. I may perhaps remind you that the sex-life begins from the hour of

birth. From the first to the sixth year there are very definite sexual activities. They begin with such infantile actions as thumb-sucking, many bodily movements, such as rubbing and pulling, and other signs of the very real interest of the child in its own body. There is also a delight in nakedness. Freud calls this period the polymorphous sexuality of childhood.² All these pleasures are gained by the child from its own body; that is, they are auto-erotic, a term which the psycho-analysts have adopted from Dr. Havelock Ellis. This is the first stage of the child's sexuality. Then, at a very early age and at the same time as these ego-centric interests, there is a development of the psychic elements of the child's dawning sexual life; a love-object is found, usually the mother, a part of the love-fund is diverted from the Self. I need not follow this further, we have already sufficiently established how early and how deeply the emotions of love and hate and jealousy and curiosity become active in the child.

It thus becomes evident how impossible it is to ignore the sexual life in considering the child. The child brings his interest in sex with him into the world.

This curiosity will manifest itself first at two or three years of age, or even younger. Very frequently the first outward expression is connected with the birth of a new baby. Birth is an event of momentous emotional interest to the little child. It does not need much imagination to realise this. Jealous feelings are very certain to be aroused. The child, who up to then was the centre of attention, the youngest, the despotic ruler in the nursery, loses his position of importance. He is banished from the mother. The child understands nothing, but feels neglected and unimportant. And he suffers all the more because of the mystery with which birth usually is treated. Nothing is properly explained. Where has the baby come from? Why has this thing happened? Why

does his mother want anyone but himself? The throne is taken from him and given to the new-comer. The new-born, the youngest, inherits the crown of privilege. What more certain than that an emotional disturbance should be aroused in the child, who is quite inexperienced and almost always is left unguided by the parents to struggle through the blackness of early jealousy. He hates the new brother or sister, the stranger, who has taken his place with his mother.

Now it is so obvious, it hardly needs to be said, that these questions of the child about the new brother or sister should be answered. Indeed we may go further than this and say that both the older and the younger children should be encouraged to express their curiosity. This is, however, more urgent in the case of children under six years than of older children. It is in these first years that sexual curiosity is very strong and most needs to be satisfied. But too often birth is treated as a dark event to be hidden: questions, and in particular the questions of the nursery-aged children, are hushed, passed over, or lying answers are given which serve no purpose, except to break the trust of the child.

We do not want our children to be interested. And they, with the almost uncanny sagacity which children show in this connection, understand this adult desire only too well and too quickly. And birth, which should give liberation, is used as but another means of clouding and blinding the child.

There need be no spoken words to make the child feel that something hidden and disgraceful is happening. Adults are surprisingly ignorant of the affectability of children; their quick response to any kind of influence. And in this case of the birth of another child—a usurper who takes the other child's place—this affectability is exceedingly acute, on account of the emotional disturbance, in excitement, in jealousy, in hatred, and the nearly connected, and always harmful, inferiority

feelings. How strong these feelings may become is well known. The jealous child may, and frequently does, try to injure the baby, either by upsetting it, by drowning it in its bath, or by gouging out its eyes, as in the instance I gave in the last chapter. The ex-baby will also employ every kind of device to become again the centre of its world's attention. Quite recently I came in contact with rather a charming incident of this kind. It was a christening party. Everyone's interest was occupied with the new baby. Suddenly the next youngest child—a boy of about three—set up a terrible howl. He had cut himself really severely with a knife. The father was a doctor and the hand was plastered and bound. The small boy was petted and praised for his pluck in bearing the pain. No one realised he was thoroughly enjoying the situation. I knew how deeply he must have suffered to have been driven unconsciously to use so painful a device to regain this satisfaction of the notice he craved.

Few parents are aware of the confusion and hurt that may be caused to a child by false theories and untrue ideas of birth. Birth fantasies are the commonest occurrence, and are found in many cases of adult neurosis. Anyone who has any acquaintance with the customs and ideas of primitive peoples in connection with birth will feel no surprise at this statement. The mind of primitive man and the mind of the child work in the same way. This is why the question of the parent telling the truth to the very young child is so important. If the facts of birth are not told them they will make up fantasies themselves, which later will be repressed into the unconsciousness. Here is the explanation why the child seems to be innocent and to take no interest in sex matters. Whereas the reality is that the barrier within the child has banished the sex interest, because of its painful significance. The unconscious becomes more and more blocked and sublimation is rendered much more

difficult. This process of repression of sex curiosity always has its beginning in the first four or five years of childhood. After that time very little can be done.³ The open doors into consciousness have been shut and locked with the double keys of jealousy and fear.

It is then that the repressed curiosities will struggle to gain substitute satisfaction in an aimless inquisitiveness. The psychic disturbance may, however, be so acute that the child fails in achieving any direct kind of symbolic replacement. The emotionally over-charged curiosity is locked in the unconscious, where it remains, and (unless it attains sublimation) it must become a source of ill-health, until the time when the harvest of tares is reaped from the bad seed that was sown.

I have used frequently the word sublimation, but I do not think I have explained it. The name is new, but the process for which it stands is as old as life. In every individual the libido, sex-desire, energy, call it which you please, is always being diverted from the original sexual goal. When this process succeeds, without injury to the conscious or unconscious mind (that is, without harming the entire individual), it is known as *sublimation*; when the process does not succeed the result is *repression*. I hope that this explanation is clear. Sublimation is really a displacement; by it interest is transferred without a change of the underlying wish. The unsocial individual, for instance, is the individual most anxious to use all his energy in giving pleasure to himself, but if a strong motive arose, such as a desire to succeed in some enterprise, his energy might be directed into social activities, though his wish would still be directed to himself.

This process of psychic-fruitfulness (if the term may be allowed) is always going on. Take this question we are considering of sexual curiosity. In the adult life the baulked interest uses many strange disguises. In its most sublimated form it may lead to scientific

research, to exploration, and to all the fine discoveries of life. It may, however, fail in finding these open paths to reality and achievement, and may be manifested in sexual perversion, such as exhibitionism, to name one only of its many disguises. One of its commonest expressions is in a great love of interference or gossip. It is also the motive behind the collecting instinct.

One lesson stands out from all this, a lesson no parent should fail to learn. The paths by which a child can express its curiosities should never be blocked, and this brings us back to the duty of the parent in regard to this matter of birth. For what a birth in a family does, or rather ought to do, is to open an opportunity for the children to express their interests and to ask questions. As soon as the child asks a question, it should be answered, quite simply, and in such a way that the child can understand. It is the child in this matter of questioning who must guide the parent. I mean by this that the parent must tell the child what the child wants to know. I shall speak on this matter directly.

But the trouble, of course, is that the child who most wants to know the forbidden things is the child who cannot ask about them. It sounds as if it were so simple, this answering of the child's questions. It is not simple. I myself was led astray about this matter, as will be evident if a comparison is made with my earlier books.⁴ I must try to make this plain to you. When the child does not ask questions, or asks and receives a reply which represses curiosity, the child's silence or his apparent acceptance of your reply does not represent the real situation. What is felt by the child is that his curiosity is forbidden; and because he wants to do what you want him to do—to be acceptable to the admired grown-ups—he refrains from asking questions. But you must never believe that not mentioning these things is any proof that they are

not being thought about. The child is fantasizing, making up what he does not know. Never was there a greater mistake than this false estimate of the child's silence. The child who does not ask any questions of his mother when a birth takes place has been shamed into silence, either through the severity of his own conflict (the inner urge) or by the misfortune of his home surroundings (the outer urge).

It is the same throughout life. Those who cannot speak about sex are not those who, as they think themselves, take no interest in this subject, but those who have taken so great and so secret an interest that the conflict has been too hard, so that, as a protection, they have banished the thoughts from consciousness.

There is another fact that must be remembered. It is one that sounds very simple; perhaps that is why so frequently it is neglected. For each child, as also for each adult, the problems of sex are personal problems. Instruction here is not, and never can be, like teaching the child about other things. That is what so many of the modern advocates of sex education so entirely overlook. Sex education is an emotional education; that is why it is, and must always remain, so difficult. In every child, as it has been my purpose to show you, there are concealed conflicts of jealousy, of love, of hate, in relation to himself and to others, which determine already the response to the sex instruction.

Another difficulty—perhaps the paramount difficulty of all—arises out of the attitudes of the instructors—the parents or the teachers. Their own complexes, and also their relations (again dependent on the complex) to each individual child, must influence profoundly their ability to impart the desired knowledge. Let me give an illustration to make this plainer. I was speaking on this question of the sex instruction of our children to an American mother with two sons. She told me she had always been able to talk openly

with and help her elder son, but had never been able to say a word effectively to the younger boy. She attributed this to the difficult nature of the boy's temperament. She did not realise that the obstructive element was almost certainly the boy's jealousy of her evident greater affection for the older son.

Even the outside position is difficult. Few adults, in my experience, can be direct and simple enough to give the kind of knowledge that the child really wishes for. The parents are over-conscientious and so much afraid. They lay too great stress on the beauty of sex, because they are afraid of the child seeing its ugliness; they are troubled with the difficulty of making the child understand and by their own ignorance as to the child's feelings and knowledge. Much sex teaching fails, I believe, for this reason.

We find, then, that this whole question of sex enlightenment is much more complicated than modern opinion has recognised. It is not and never can be something that can be taught like botany or arithmetic or any other subject. We find that as much harm may come from unwise teaching as from no teaching at all.

I must follow this last question a little further. To-day, in my opinion, there is greater danger from over-zeal and from doing too much than from doing too little. And on this question I wish to re-state a passage I wrote in my "Motherhood and the Relationships of the Sexes."⁵ I had not heard of the unconscious mind when I wrote it; I felt, rather than knew, the harm that might arise from blundering and ignorant interference. This is the passage: "Now because I desire sexual enlightenment for all children, and in particular for all girls, and seek as a reformer the re-shaping of education in the home and in the schools, it does not follow that I am so over-presumptuous as to believe it possible in this way quickly to remedy all sexual mistakes, or that I do not realise how our

policy of muddle and leaving these matters alone has not always been as disastrous as, indeed, we might expect. I know that in many cases and among numerous young people the sexual life follows a healthy and beautiful unfolding, in spite of anything we may do, or may leave undone. And it needs but a cursory view to see that all is not confused and an aimless conflict of waste, but that the wonderful beauty of youth often will triumph over the meanness of our fears, our subterfuges and blind blunders. One perceives something that goes on, something that is *continually working in the child to make order out of our muddle, beauty out of our defacements; to force light, frankness and purity in place of our shams and lies.*"

I would ask you to note, in particular, the sentences I have now *italicised*. Even then, though I did not understand the process, I knew the power of youth to find salvation. Too often it is we, the old, who hinder. What I fear most, is the continuance of the old lies dressed out in another disguise. For really it is ludicrous to set out to give children sexual enlightenment until we have learnt to accept the child's sexual nature. How can we satisfy his special needs if we still hide away from truth. We have, I am sure, to be cautious in this matter of instruction.

To the theoretical parent or teacher, eager to reform the world on paper, it may seem easy to introduce sex education into the nursery training of the home and into the curriculum of our schools. Looked at like this, it appears a comparatively easy matter to tell the little child the truth about its own body, and, as it grows older, to give carefully prepared lessons about plants and animals, which shall lead it slowly and beautifully in the way of knowledge. Text-books have been written, pamphlets officially issued, schemes drawn up for home and school instruction, and rules laid down—new finger-posts to right conduct—whereby the younger generation may be enlightened and (as we

hope) by this means be saved from making the mistakes that we ourselves have made. I wish it were as simple as this, that sex instruction could be taken from books.

Of late various attempts have been made to focus attention on this aspect or on that; we have been told how this teaching should be given, and with still greater assurance how it should not be given; this must be done and that must not be done, this said, and that left unsaid; and groups of earnest-minded parents and teachers in almost every town have met together to discuss and to decide debatable points; lecturers have been applied for and their utterances have been listened to as a new gospel. Yet I venture to think that, as in all other experimental and debatable questions, the very multitude of counsel and earnestness that is expended indicates the uncertainty of our knowledge, and the doubtful value of many of our affirmations.

I find a tendency amongst most grown-ups and especially teachers in co-educational schools and advanced parents, who ought to know better, to place too firm a reliance on their own power to educate the young in sex. I myself have done this. Like those drowning in deep water where they cannot swim, we have clutched at any plank of hope. You see, so many of the old planks—religion, social barriers, chaperones, home restrictions, and so many more devices on which our parents used to rely—have failed us, broken in our hands by the vigorous destroying grasp of the young generation, and, therefore, we have clutched with frantic fingers at this new fair-looking life-raft, in pursuit of the one aim—to protect our children.

But can we do this? I doubt if we can, except in a limited and very different way from what is usually accepted. We cannot help the young very far or deeply by any conscious teaching. Not only do they want their own experience, not ours, but it is right for them

to have it. The urge of their developing life carries them away out of our detaining hands. And I think it may be well that at once we realise and acknowledge the very narrow limits of our power.

But a more important aspect of the subject, and one closely connected with the whole aim of our inquiry, is that a knowledge of the mere facts of sex is not and never ought to be considered instruction in sex. Certainly the knowledge of facts is important, but mainly because of the clearing away of shame connected with the subject. But here again the situation can be falsified. What I mean is that if the inner feelings of the parents do not correspond with the teaching that is given; if, for instance, love is said to be beautiful and holy when the parent feels it something quite different; *it is the feelings*, rather than the spoken words, that will give the *affective* education. I repeat, once more, for this matter is so urgently important, that the facts should be told in the earliest nursery period. Otherwise it will be too late. The child will have solved the problem in some way for himself, and will have made up his own birth fantasy. As I have told you, these fantasies will be banished into the unconscious by the time the child is five or six years old. After this time, it is doubtful whether "talks about sex" really achieve anything: sometimes, I know, they do harm.

Further, I feel that too frequent, and even too open communications on the subject of sex, in the period after the first childhood and before puberty (the period of sexual latency),⁶ may act to deepen the gulf between parent and child, when the boy or girl reaches the adolescent stage and again begins to experience the emotions of love. I am not certain, and it is all very difficult. But the two generations must always be at different stages of experience and can scarcely ever speak on an equality of feeling. Consequently, what the parent says is interesting but it is not intimate,

not convincing; often it hardly counts. Certainly it does not do what a word from a comrade of the same age will do. And in a queer, unconscious way I think the child often dislikes this intimacy. It is another chain to bind him in his infantile prison to his parents.

You see there is no easy way out. Above all else, I am certain, we have to guard against an easy optimism.

That is why I have felt bound to utter this, I fear, rather pessimistic warning as to the dangers of overforcing knowledge on the boy or the girl. This is at least as injurious to the emotional growth as overforcing is to the intellectual growth. My own opinion is, that the only teaching of any service to the older boy or girl is a very clear and direct statement of facts, and help in regard to habits of personal health. I cannot treat this aspect of the question here; I have written about it in my book, "Sex Education and National Health";⁷ but no rules can be laid down, for this instruction must always be a personal problem different with every child.

It should be remembered that at puberty there is a strong re-awakening of the sexual activities with a definite return to the infantile stages. Already I have spoken of this connection between these two important periods of growth, and we shall examine fully these adolescent problems in the next three chapters. I will, therefore, say only that the effect of the instruction given to the growing-up boy or girl is directly dependent on the infantile sexual life. If no sublimation of the inner complexes has been attained, the adolescent is bound by his first conflicts, which, though banished from his consciousness, are active in his unconscious mind, and determine his attitude to sex: it is therefore obvious that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to give the required help, and the fact of the emotional relationship to the parents may make it impossible, and indeed exceedingly unwise, for them to approach

the subject. But some teaching the adolescent ought to receive. Boys and girls in these difficult years are more occupied with sex than at any later period. They are intensely curious and are worried over details and certain aspects of the problems of the adult sexual life in a way that I believe few parents recognise.

I must insist once more (though I know that by doing so I shall antagonise some parents who do not believe, because they will not believe) that there is no escape from this sexual curiosity, either of the young child or of the boy or the girl. It is a curiosity which is, indeed, entirely normal and unavoidable, so that all appearance of its absence is entirely deceptive. The degree of curiosity differs, of course, in different children, and in different adolescents, but I do not think it is absent from any normal child or boy or girl. If they do not question their elders, certainly they will talk with one another, either directly or indirectly, or, which is much worse, they will fantasy to themselves. Always I have found that older boys, or girls, and perhaps especially boys, unless *very young*, find the greatest difficulty in asking what they want to know; they approach the question from any point except the straight one; they cannot start; they beat about and around the question very much in the manner of a jibbing or shying horse. The most hopeful plan in a very difficult situation is for the parent to wait (for the opportunity will certainly occur) for an unconscious betrayal of curiosity. This betrayal will show best just what is the particular problem which is troubling the boy or girl at that time. In every case behind the curiosity there will be some personal emotional element, but just what this is will be always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to find. Yet it is this emotional element that is important. This is why the intellectual teaching cannot help very much and often disastrously fails.

I will now give three illustrations of actual cases. The first is taken from "Sex Education and National

Health,"⁸ the other two are given in my book, "The Mind of the Naughty Child."⁹

The first case was told me by a very wise mother of her way of dealing with her son, who was, I think, about fourteen years old. This son seemed to be thinking, and was unduly worried, about the very small families of one or at the most two children, or the childless marriages, common among his mother's friends. He did not, however, speak of his trouble directly. Instead he asked his mother if her friends were more delicate (meaning, of course, more refined) than other people. His mother was aware of what was troubling him, she understood what he really wanted to know was whether married people lived in celibacy when they were not having children. This was, of course, connected with his own personal conflict. His mother wisely told him the plain facts, and for him curiosity and doubt were, as far as that was possible, quieted.

In the second case a little girl became troubled and nervously ill soon after the birth of a baby brother. The symptoms were serious, so that the child was placed under special care. Many months of patient work were required to get at the back of what was troubling this young child. All the facts of birth were carefully and lovingly explained to her; but this was not what was the matter, she had found out about birth already for herself from the talk of a servant. Her special trouble was that her mother had not trusted her; had not told her the truth. Only with the greatest difficulty was her confidence restored. It was not until this was done that the nervous symptoms and moral faults, that had so much alarmed her parents, were cured.

The third case is of a much older girl and is

quite different. Here the trouble rested in the parent giving too much knowledge, not too little. This girl had from her childhood been brought up on very modern lines; she had been taught about flowers and birds, made to understand her own body, but the holiness and beauty of sex had been over-emphasised by a neurotic and not too happily mated mother. The latter circumstance accounts for a strong disharmony in the psyche of the girl. Puberty brought her troubles she had not been taught to face, feelings and sensations that were not at all explained by her mother's over-idealised teaching. This poor girl felt herself wicked and horrid. She was, as we should expect, quite unable to speak to her idolised mother, and, unfitted to face her trouble alone, she became nervously ill. Melancholia was feared: but fortunately her suffering was discovered by a wise friend and the help she so urgently wanted was given to her.

I trust these three cases will have made plainer to you the kind of difficult problems the parent ought to expect, and be ready to deal with. It should, however, be remembered that often the wisest parents are quite unable to help the child.

Perhaps the greatest mistake we have been making for so long is in regarding this instruction in sex as something we can impart to children or withhold from them; a subject we may teach or not teach, enlightenment we may give to them or conceal from them. This view is entirely erroneous. In one sense, the whole matter really lies outside of our wills. Sex instruction cannot be omitted by any parent from the training of any child, for it is given *by not being given*, just as surely as the other way about. There is no escape for anyone who has to do with a child.

You will see what I mean. It is not the good and

wise lessons you may give, of nicely arranged explanation, with flower illustrations or stories of the happy mating of birds and animals, still less is it warnings or goody-goody talks about purity; nor is it any kind of formal or even conscious instruction that will have the true moulding influence on the character of the child, but what most influences him, or in other words teaches him and helps or hinders him, is the emotional attitude of the parents, an attitude which commonly is quite unconscious and unrecognised by them, and is, of course, incomprehensible to the child, though felt so strongly.

The second great emotional event in the family is Death, which, though less important than Birth in its affective influence upon children, yet cannot be passed over without notice. In some respects the position is repeated. We encounter the same falsification of the real situation.

Parents have set up a fictitious belief that children take no interest in death—do not think about it unless a death occurs in a family. This is as false as the belief that the child is not interested in birth. What a death in a family does—or again I should say ought to do—is to provide an opportunity to get the children to talk about death, so that a clue may be gained as to their thoughts and their own problems. But the exactly opposite course is taken and foolish stories are told to children. Death is made mysterious and horrible, or wrapped round in garments of beautiful sentiments, equally untrue and equally harmful, because of their untruth.

Parents seem to suppose that children believe their tales about death in the same way as their fables about birth. Very rarely, if indeed ever, is this so. The fact that the child asks no further questions is no proof of acceptance. I must once more insist upon this. We are so blind about children. There is, indeed, an enormous mass of delusion in our adult appreciation of the response of the child to what we

say. And, for this reason, the old foolish fables and lies are continued from generation to generation. But the children always pay the heavy price of adult dishonesty.

And in the case of death there is a special psychological reason for parental denials. For death has a deep emotional significance for the parents and children. This takes us back to the position considered in a very early chapter of the conflict between the generations, the jealousy of the old towards the young. The young must outlive the old, inevitably they will take from them the enjoyment of all the good things of life. This, in large measure, explains the dread of the old and the falsification by them of the facts of death. I cannot wait to illustrate this.

A further psychic trouble arises from the fact that the child's interest in death is closely connected with the inner conflict and the emotional desires to escape from the parent. I have explained this already in connection with the *Œdipus* and *Electra* situations, and in the chapter on the father. We do not like this idea of the hostility that children feel towards their parents, and so we refuse to accept it. But anyone who is acquainted with the dreams of children will know how frequently the theme of this hostility in various forms appears. Sometimes the adverse feelings are faintly disguised: the dream is about going on a journey (getting away from the parent), or a battle or a fight with an enemy (killing the father), or again a funeral, a concealment device which needs no explanation. Or the disguise may be sufficiently complete to allow a verbal expression of the concealed hostility. A little girl I knew told her mother she had committed a great sin. When she was asked what it was, she said she had prayed to God to kill Mr. X. (that was the father of her little friend) as she wanted to see a great sorrow. The mother tried to console the child, but she persisted in emphasising her own wrong-doing. She knew

(unconsciously) the true situation. I could give many more illustrations but I must hasten on.

Fear of death, both in the child and in the adult, is always connected closely with the unsolved parent-complex. The individual who emotionally cannot leave the parent is held back from life: he commits a sort of soul-murder. He cannot escape from his infantile fixation.¹⁰ He fears the soul-death. But as this fear is unconscious, and cannot be manifested directly, it is frequently expressed symbolically in fear of bodily death.

Now, this being so, it is evident that the precautions of parents are entirely futile when they hide any knowledge of death from children, in the hope that in this way they may not fear it. Just in the same way as terror of the dark is dependent on the inner emotions and conflict, so the question as to whether a child is, or is not, afraid of death, will be decided by the emotional affects, quite apart from the outside situation. The hiding of the circumstances of death will, however, almost certainly increase the trouble.

Let me tell you one case of loving, but mistaken, concealment. A little girl born late in the life of her parents and therefore separated by an impassable gulf from her almost grown-up brothers and sisters, had a nurse whom she greatly loved. Her Nannie was the centre of her life. But the nurse went away for a holiday, caught an infectious disease and died. The parents were very loving, but they made a great blunder. Fearing the effect on the little girl of hearing that her Nannie was dead, they used one of the pretty stories so usually told to children. Nannie had gone on a long journey to look after other little girls in a beautiful country where she would be always happy. Now the child accepted this statement, just as children do outwardly accept. She asked no questions, did not even seem greatly to miss her nurse. She soon became fond of the new nurse who took her Nannie's

place. It seemed that all was well. But, in reality, everything was most wrong. The child developed nervous symptoms, was naughty in unexplained ways, became a different child. This did not happen at once, and it is probable that, if her father had not been a medical man and specially trained in understanding the child mind, no one would have connected the child's unaccounted-for illness of soul and body with the death of her nurse. Outwardly there was no sign of connection. There was the very greatest difficulty in finding what was troubling this little girl. A trained analyst, used to children, was called in to help the parents. It seemed the child knew quite well that the nurse was dead; what was hurting her was that her parents had not told her this.

It is always dangerous to deceive children in connection with any event that may have an emotional affect. There is another fear, connected with death, though I think less important, because more manifest. Children, being ignorant, suffer from fear more readily than the civilised adult. In this fear of death they are nearer to the attitude of the savage. Death may so easily become associated with horror. Children are told they must remember the dead parent, or the brother or sister, who has gone to heaven. They hear that the dead are as guardian angels, who are with us to help us when we cannot see them. Now how can the child understand this? So they translate the idea into something they can understand. They do not want invisible watchers and hope this is not true, but fear it may be true. Graves, skeletons, coffins, tombs, worms, graveyards, witches and goblins, increase the horrors, so that the pressure of the fears of the outer situation has to be supported in addition to the concealed inner fears.

So impossible, however, is it to dogmatise on any one *affect* of an emotional situation that there is quite another side to this experience. Death may bring

liberation to the child from the inner conflict. I give a case of this kind in detail in the chapter of Family Histories (p. 246), where a little girl of tender years, suffering very much from a father-complex, was able to transfer her love from the earthly father to God, the Heavenly Father, through the death of her father, which placed him in heaven. This child used to pray, "My papa which is in heaven," instead of, "Our Father which art in heaven," and when reproved and forbidden to do this she used to utter aloud the formal prayer, but to herself substitute quickly in a whisper the familiar and personal prayer to her own dead father. A reference to the life-history of this child will show how this fact of having an earthly father in heaven formed a "fictitious guiding line," which permanently directed the subsequent life-history. One fact, omitted there, should be noted. Neither as a child nor in the adult life was there the slightest fear of death. In adolescence, especially the first period, there was constant dwelling on death, which always caused the greatest unconscious satisfaction. This was, of course, a disguised wish to return to the father. The wish of the young to die is always an indirect expression of the desire to go back to the infantile attachment to the parent, usually, of course, the mother. It is very common in adolescence. The parents should recognise and understand the significance of these death wishes. The renunciation of these wishes, by sublimation, leads to the death fantasies which abound in poetry and in every art.

PART III

THE SCHOOL

CHAPTER X

FREEDOM FROM THE PARENTS

"One's people have no right to pretend that one's a kid when one's just on twenty—it's a damned shame; just to please themselves—it's rotten—rotten!"—ELENOR MORDAUNT, "Alas that Spring."

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The young have to free themselves from their parents—There is nothing personal in the conflict between parent and child—The children are following a psychological law—They must break away from the childish dependence—The sublimation of the inner conflict—Parents dream of enjoying life through their children—These hopes ought not to be realised—The young should never be sacrificed to the old—Adolescence the second important period of growth—My own view on adolescence—My hesitation and doubts—Growth of character in adolescence—Repetition of infantile sexual phases—Adolescent Narcissism—A period of apprehension—Psychical results—Fictitious aggressiveness due to distrust of self—The difficult task of the parents—Desire for a mate—Passing phases of homo-sexuality and auto-eroticism—An examination of the problem—Real dangers in the persistence of the adolescent stage in the adult—Psychical harm of auto-eroticism—The destruction of the creative forces of love—Psychical masturbation more dangerous than usually recognised—Erotic day-dreams—Illustrations—Parents to blame if they hold back adolescents from seeking a love-mate—Sublimation of the libido—Adolescent behaviour—A comparison with childhood—The parents—Evils of possessive love.

IN the life of every girl and every boy there comes a time when they must, and ought to, free themselves from the thralldom of the home.

This may sound hard to parents, who desire almost always to keep their children in tutelage and cannot often think of them except as belonging to the home and to themselves.

Yet the young must rebel, must escape from this too closely binding yoke of love. They have to break away from the moorings of safety, to adventure, to find a place for themselves, to get into the world and to establish their own lives as women and men.

We should hear much less of trouble between parents and children, if parents, and especially mothers, could be made to understand that the conflict with their growing boys and girls is not a personal conflict; that it has nothing, or at least very little, to do with the actual situation, and is not directly dependent on anything that either the parents or the children may do or may not do. And this is comforting to parents—it does not mean that their children love them less.

I shall not occupy our time in again going over the old ground. We have now examined the family situation. We have recognised its conflicts—the general opposition between the generations and the personal conflict, much deeper and much more painful, between the child and the parent. There is no need for me to insist further on these disruptive animosities acting hidden in every home. The conflicts are based on an inescapable psychological opposition. There is the necessity for the young to escape from the detaining hands of the old. And there is the much more necessary escape of the soul from infantile bondage.

It is, I think, the dream of every parent to prevent these conflicts, to put a stop to this disruption. The mother, almost from the cradle days, looks forward to the time when her son will be old enough to be her companion. How she plans and builds and dreams! She fails to realise what this fantasying means. She does not understand that in her son she is seeking the

renewal of the love that so frequently has failed to satisfy the inner needs of her soul. The mother thinks, too, of her daughters, but again only in connection with herself. She gains vicarious happiness by dreaming of the future when the daughter will marry. Unconsciously, by identifying herself with her child she renews her own youth. The mother cannot, without the strongest and most painful efforts, dissociate herself from her children—who psychologically remain for ever carried within her womb. Even her sons' and her daughters' children she pictures first as her grandchildren. And the father also looks forward, thinking of the time when his sons will be men, sees in his daughters the image of his wife, but his desires are, I think, less possessive and his dreams more without form.

Now these common parental wishes lead very directly to what I should like to call "psychic cataract." For this way of regarding children, as ministers to the ego-centric desires, does set up a very aggravated and difficult-to-cure obliquity of vision. The parents fail to see what is plain to undeceived eyes, that these parental hopes are wrong, based on the greatest selfishness; that not alone can they not be realised, but they *ought not to be realised*. The young can never without sin be sacrificed to the old. For that is killing life itself. It is horrible to think of. And that is why, however concealed by the wide cloak of love, parental selfishness is greater wickedness than any other form of selfishness. You will remember the sacrifice of Isaac by his father. I do not know if I am straining the meaning, but, to me, the legend suggests, as the psychological truth behind the story, that all parents are ready to sacrifice their children, until the voice of God is heard and they hold back their murderous hand.

The world is not made for the old. Selfishness—the concentration of the ego on its self—is old. Do not let us be ruled by what is old in us. We deceive

ourselves too much, and most of us manage Life too much. We mustn't deceive and manage Life. We must give Life a chance. We must pluck up out of ourselves that which is not our real selves. Cleanse our parenthood from the ancient sin of possession. We have all of us to learn—the old as well as the young—that freedom lies within ourselves. We have, as parents, to become more self-dependent, more self-reliant. No dreams can help any one of us; no drugging our minds with hopes built upon other lives. The young have to go on and leave us behind. And it is well. No external influence ever made or unmade the soul's freedom. We, too, the parents, have to grow up; break free from our inward bindings to the past. It is in our own power. All of us always erect the walls of our own prisons and only our own hands can pull them down.

Let me try to be practical. I have hitherto insisted on the vital importance of the earliest nursery years. I have said that in them the main structure of the character and the later adult attitude to the world is erected and fixed, and never can be altered. In adolescence, with an apparently extreme rapidity, and among a scene of almost bewildering changes and feverish activities, this structure of the edifice of character is greatly solidified and strengthened. The features harden; we begin to recognise an habitual expression; a predisposition to this behaviour or to that gradually is established; a character which will remain substantially unaltered is formed, though it may, and will be, modified, until the last years of life. The fluidity of childhood fades, though in a period of apparent increase of fluidity and change. Adolescence is the second season of psychic growth. And for this reason it must be regarded as being as important as the period of childhood.

I do not intend to attempt to write a description of the inner psychic transformations passed through by

boys and girls in these hard and troubled years. This work has been done already.¹

I want to say at once that I am less sure about the adolescents' spiritual history than I am about childhood. There is much that to me is obscure; I feel I am groping in a darkened room with closed windows and doors. The adolescent is so secret. Then I am acutely aware of the embarrassments which, in these years, so fiercely separate the old from the young. Probably, by temperament, I am better fitted to comprehend the mind of the young child than the more complicated and troubled mind of the adolescent. And I fear so much making mistakes—forcing conclusions where I have not arrived at any certainties.

I shall, therefore, limit myself to the aspects of the question which to me seem urgent, choosing wherever I can facts about which I have personal knowledge. Certain observations I have made and shall try to set down clearly. I have arrived at a few beliefs and these also I would wish to bring before you.

And first I shall have to examine the sexual life, and once more remind you of facts that will not be readily acceptable to many parents. During adolescence, several definite and well-marked stages of the sex-life have to be passed through. At puberty—the period just before adolescence—a regression to childhood takes place.² In fact, to borrow an old simile, the development of character is spiral; the same stages are repeated twice at different levels of intelligence.

Thus we see a return of the infantile excessive consciousness of self, with a feeling of general emotional interest in many parts of the body, or perhaps it would be truer to say in the body as a whole. This is experienced by every adolescent. The boy takes pride in his muscles, the strength of his body has a new delight. The girl becomes conscious also of herself: I think more vaguely, though with no less intensity. Both the boy and the girl begin to take a strong and

different interest in dress. This is a first struggling attempt at sublimating the ego-delight in the body. It should not be checked. Wherever it is absent and the young adolescent does not feel pleasure in decking out the body, there is something wrong. This may be taken as a danger signal, pointing to a fixation to the infantile position.

This adolescent Narcissism should be regarded as a testing of the self—a proving by the boy or the girl to themselves of their own strength. Just as the young child is occupied with himself and his body, finding out what he can do and cannot do, what gives pleasure and what gives pain, so for the adolescent this occupation with himself is necessary before entering adult life. The uncertainty before the unknown is very strong at this period. The adolescent is like a spectator sitting waiting for the curtain to be drawn before the theatre of life. Psychologically this uncertainty is of great importance. In the same way as the child feels small and weak, the adolescent feels unprepared, eager but apprehensive before the unknown. Thus the consciousness of inferiority again becomes over-active. And, when this consciousness has, for any cause, been excessive in childhood, fear of themselves will be greatly intensified and the Narcissism of the adolescent will be more pronounced. This is evident. Always it is more necessary to emphasise the importance of the Self when there is a want of confidence in that Self.

Hence the fictitious aggressiveness and assertive contradictoriness of the adolescent. He twists for himself situations, opinions, and conduct in a strong effort to gain confidence. The lines of his distrust and doubt are many and varied. Most frequently the boy or the girl will try to create a justification for themselves by means of a struggle against the judgment of others—against adult laws and the hitherto accepted authority of the home; while a similar justification

is found by the indirect way of disparagement of others, and especially the parents and the various members of the family group. In order to gain peace from their own fears of themselves, adolescents will often entirely falsify the real family situation and will invent terrors of neglect and unkindness. They always think they are not understood by the parents. The old childish feelings of jealousy and distrust revive on the slightest provocation. Actions, deeds, and words which apparently have no meaning—all kinds of silly behaviour—are frequently indulged in. All this is a neurotic desire for gaining confidence and attracting attention. Coquetry, so common in girls at this period, has its origin in Narcissism. Like aggressiveness in boys it is founded upon fear. The expedients by which an escape is sought from this fear of the untried self reach out in every direction. Headaches, outbursts of temper, restlessness, fits of depression, alternating with boisterousness, irritability, feelings of anxiety and neuralgia and many minor ailments are all signs of this inner distrust.³

Any kind of unwise opposition may release tendencies that will so heighten the inner confusion that the necessary efforts to gain reassurance will be abandoned. These tricks and tendencies, so necessary to the soul's health, but often so annoying to others—especially the parents—may, through outer pressure, be given up before their work is done. They are all efforts to gain liberation and to establish assurance.

And once more let me warn parents, if through any maintaining of authority or foolish insistence on parental dignity this assurance is not found, they are directly obstructing their children's growth. Equally harmful, and, indeed, often more insidiously disastrous, is a too tender pressing of parental love. For the great fear of this period, as it should not now be necessary for me to remind you, is that liberation will not be found from the infantile emotional fixation

to the parents. I need not remind you that failure here is destruction to the character—the death of the soul. The task of the parents is to avoid this holding back of the young adventuring soul, and to assist, as far as is possible, the liberation that must be found.

This is not, of course, to say that boys and girls should be allowed to do as they like. Nothing is further from my meaning. I shall return to this fact of the adolescents' need for authority later in this chapter.

Never, I think, have parents to work harder than in these years, but the work must be carried out secretly. The adolescent is always difficult. There can be no rules laid down as to what should be done and should not be done. Scenes need changing with much rapidity and great cleverness; the right properties must be provided at the right time. Never do boys and girls need their parents more than at this time when apparently they do not want them at all. The parents must, however, have the necessary knowledge to recognise what are the right expressions for the character in this period, otherwise they certainly will do harm by expecting from the adolescent the same response of obedience and uncritical love that was right in childhood, but now means a weakening of character and of power for living an independent life.

And now let me return to the point raised at the beginning of this chapter: the similarity in sexual development between the adolescent and the child. Gradually the Narcissism of the boy or the girl passes. The feelings alter and the psyche reaches out in a fresh great effort towards life. Just as the young child becomes conscious of others and turns in love to the mother, so, too, the adolescent, as soon as he (or she) has gained confidence and sufficient inner freedom, begins to desire a love-object, and, unless hindered from outside or from within, will look about for a mate.

But first there is a period of homo-sexual love, which must be regarded as corresponding to the "polymorphous perverse sexuality" of childhood.⁴ The boy or the girl seeks close friends of the same sex. It would lie outside the scope of our inquiry to investigate with any detail this exceedingly complicated problem. This much may be said. In adolescence the homo-sexual affection is a perfectly spontaneous expression. I would suggest that it is a further effort of the character to gain confidence before finding the love-object; a halting stage between the first ego-love and the final stage of hetero-sexual love. We shall then recognise that the persistence of homo-sexuality in the adult life is really a retarding of growth—a staying, for some reason, at a stage which should have been passed through and then left behind. The psychic homo-sexuality of adolescence has its proper time and its right expression, and is not to be regarded as dangerous and unhealthy, unless it is unduly prolonged, or over-accentuated, as tends so frequently to happen under our boarding-school system, where no other emotional outlet is provided.

The same truths, broadly speaking, may be applied to masturbation. During early adolescence auto-eroticism is as common as it is in early childhood.

If the habit is not associated with any excessive struggle in the mind of the boy or the girl and is almost (or quite) spontaneous its effects are not evil. Already I have written at length on this much-misunderstood question in my book "Sex Education and National Health," and I will not repeat what I have said.⁵ What is dangerous is any retention of the masturbatory habit past its season; any extension of its season to a time when there should be the beginning of the search for a mate of the opposite sex.

A few words of explanation must be given in regard to the nature of this danger. In my opinion it is a danger different from what many parents and most

schoolmasters believe. Masturbation, if continued in late adolescence and the adult years, does not do anything like as great hurt to the bodily health as to the character. It is its spiritual influence, if long-continued, that should be feared. For auto-eroticism diverts to the self—or it would be more true to say holds captive and prevents from flowing outward—the libido that should be used for altruistic love. It forces the vivid interest of life back into the Self. It checks the race-preservative instinct and tends to pervert those feelings that urge us outwards to unselfishness and creativeness, making the character uncreative and unresponsive to life.

This may seem a hard saying. Yet I believe that it is true. There are, of course, many modifications; I am classifying very roughly. The libido finds many different expressions. Sublimation may be gained through endless different channels. But, broadly speaking, creativeness is checked by all that hinders growth, that holds back the character bound to an infantile expression, instead of urging it forward to new experience. Nothing, in my opinion, does this so certainly as auto-eroticism—it holds the soul bound in its own person, and prevents it reaching out to others to find, by giving, the liberty which is the crown of love.

The sex instinct should have for its unseen object the perpetuation of the species, and for its immediate motive the pleasure and the delight of the Self *and the loved one*. Now the masturbator is self-sufficient: he gathers these aims and uses both in his own service: he neither perpetuates the species nor unites his pleasure with that of another. And in this way he suffers a crippling limitation of personality.

It should be noted further that auto-eroticism takes other forms than those usually recognised. Its practice may be indulged in where its presence is not realised. Psychical masturbation is,⁶ I believe, more

common than physical masturbation. Ideas supply the sex-stimulus; erotic day-dreams, fantasizing, give the excitement which the adolescent craves. In this way the imagination is tasked with representing, to a greater or less extent, as the case may be, all the satisfaction of normal sexual gratification, so that ultimately ideas alone rule the entire libido. There is also, as Havelock Ellis⁷ has pointed out, a conscious brooding over sex images, associated with "dream-imagination or sexual day-dreams." Sometimes these dreams take the form of continuous stories which are carried on for a considerable period, with the same hero or heroine as the case may be. This kind of day-dream is specially prevalent among girls, as anyone who has a knowledge of schoolgirls must know. Most often the erotic dream is indulged in in bed before going to sleep. It occurs both in healthy and in nervous adolescents, and, in particular, is frequent with imaginative children, who have never been checked in the early habit of making up stories with themselves as hero or heroine.

This form of erotic day-dreams, or psychical masturbation, in my opinion, is a very real danger. It is so carelessly tolerated, because it gives no manifest trouble. The cinema, music-halls, revues, scenes from the theatres, and, indeed, many things in our excited and hurried life of to-day, nourish the habit to the fullest possible extent. And if the indulgence is continued into the later adult life, owing to any failure in solving the inner conflict and finding suitable heterosexual love (or other sublimated activity to replace the love-object), I believe the dream becomes so settled as a habit that it kills the power for love; destroys the capabilities for interested action, which acts against the undertaking of any creative work, and, indeed, kills the desire for any kind of complete life. And the trouble so often is present where it is not suspected. It is probable that the majority of

men and women, as they get older, struggle against the habit of erotic imaging, but I think also that many do not overcome the habit, though they believe that they have done so. What they do is to banish the dreams from consciousness, not to overcome them. And in this way the conscious, and more or less controlled day-dreams, pass into the unconscious and entirely uncontrollable dreams of sleep.

As far as my observations extend, I feel convinced that this unconscious psychical masturbation is widely prevalent; further, I believe that it is one of the strongest factors weakening the forces of life, and that it explains the existence of much voluntary celibacy as well as being the cause of great unhappiness in marriage. I am not certain whether I am right here, but it has seemed to me its presence may be recognised in those men and women who turn to sleep with a kind of passion. I mean this quite literally. Adults who under any kind of stress seek sleep as a child seeks the breast of the mother; people who go to bed to forget life. I know, of course, that all of us do this, that for everyone dreams are the unfulfilled wishes of life. Yet there is a difference in this matter of sleep between one person and another. I find it difficult to make the matter perfectly clear. Perhaps you will understand if I remind you that one person, when in trouble or any pressing difficulty, cannot sleep—is unable to gain forgetfulness until the worry is in some way faced or overcome; while another person, in similar circumstances, at once seeks sleep—turns away from the situation, and must find oblivion and the peace of unconsciousness. Now, if I am right, it is the second type of sleeper, the one who, in trouble, is compelled to find forgetfulness, who is the unconscious psychical masturbator.

I believe that this habit usually is fixed, though not always started, in adolescence, and, further, that it is always connected with failure in breaking the

infantile attachment to the parents (solving the emotional inner conflict). An illustration of this kind of regression may perhaps be given here.

It is a girl, just seventeen, and one of a large family, but bound by her childish attachment to her mother, whose favourite she is, and who holds her with too excessive indulgence and a too possessive love. At night and in sleep this girl returns to a state of infantilism. She talks in her sleep, makes little crooning noises, and in the morning when she is roused, she refuses to wake, and cuddles into the bed as if nestling in her mother's arms.

The mother is neither sufficiently wise nor unselfish enough to recognise these retrogressive signs and discourage the over-attachment, in which, indeed, she finds the greatest personal satisfaction. She told me that her daughter was never happy away from her, not knowing how this statement condemned herself. She could not see the situation as it is, the wishes which direct her conduct being, of course, unconscious wishes. So she has not the slightest idea that she is interfering with her daughter's growth, sucking her vitality, like a vampire, for herself and the satisfaction of her secret desires. It would be impossible to make her understand how urgent is her duty to separate herself emotionally from the daughter.

We do not easily realise the harm that may follow from this kind of unconscious parental selfishness. For what I desire to show you is, how terribly this type of unconscious erotic dreamer is handicapped in realising a complete and happy life. The destruction comes ever increasingly, if the habit persists into the later years. For the adult ought not easily to turn away back to childish dreams. Difficulties are the mountain peaks that have to be climbed, a necessary part of that effort and struggle forward without which life becomes even as death. This habit of turning to sleep to find life acts to destroy life. Always it

should be checked. It leaves the problem unsolved. The inner conflict binds the soul. It gives peace where there should be no peace.

The unconscious psychic dreamer never achieves anything. He remains a child when he ought to be a man. He does not solve difficulties, he shirks them. Dreams that are never remembered, so that their lesson may be learnt, comfort him in sleep for the failures by day! Such a way of life is like spreading a cheap salve over a festering sore. Every kind of malediction has been directed against physical masturbation and the homo-sexual expression of love during adolescence, without knowledge or consideration of the needs of the adolescent sexual life; while there has been no recognition at all of the evils of psychic auto-eroticism—evils which, as I have tried to show you, may be far greater, because the habit is so much more hidden and therefore more likely to persist in the later adult years. The adolescent of himself passes out of the stages of auto-eroticism and homo-sexual friendships, and, unless hindered from within or prevented from without, will pass on to hetero-sexual love and will seek and find the life companion.

But if this does not happen (and in our difficult civilisation there can be no certainty that it will happen), the parents must help the adolescent boy or girl to sublimate his (or her) libido, by deflecting it into other channels of work, of religion, of social interests, or any form of acceptable activity. A sufficiently satisfying substitute expression must be provided in a life so wisely ordered as to afford opportunities for the utilisation of all the growing urge of the emotions. Then, and then only, can reality come into its right—keep its place in the young life so that action is accepted as the adult duty and dreaming renounced as the lazy make-believe of the child.

But this understanding is, as yet, far from any kind of realisation. For one thing, parents are still greatly

to blame for directly checking the proper unfolding of the sexual feelings towards love of the other sex. They do this without understanding that they are holding back the boy or the girl in a lower stage of the circle of the sex-life. They preach prudence. Boys and girls must not think of love until they can afford marriage. They insist on the inexperience of youth. They shut the open door. For the parents, too, are bound by their own complexes and the temptation is always great to keep hold of the child.

This brings us back to the need of the growing-up boy or girl to gain liberation from the parents. Here, also, we may establish a comparison between this period and the period of childhood. In the same way as the baby has on its birth to give up the effortless peace of the pre-natal life, so the adolescent has to relinquish the security of childhood, with its careless happiness. And, as is evident, the unavoidable consequence of these relinquishments is a confusion in the general background of life. Both the new-born babe and the adolescent may be said to be waiting trembling over an abyss. Both have to go forward or to die. Just as the baby cannot continue its effortless life, but must move and feed and breathe, so, too, the boy and the girl know that they cannot go on in the old childish way. But it is a frightful strain to get into the new ways. Fresh adjustments have to be made between the Self and the surroundings. All the old confidences and the accustomed adaptations tend to be destroyed. The adolescent does not know, hardly more than the babe, where he is or what to do.

Always, but especially in the first years of adolescence, boys and girls suffer, in this way, under an uneasy expectancy. And, because of this uncertainty, so prominent also in early childhood, their behaviour goes back to many of the reactions of the child. The impulsive conduct of adolescents, the way in which they respond to one kind of influence or another—

often following consecutively exactly opposite calls—is very similar to the eager discursive activities of the young child. There is the same impatience of delay; there is the same quickly extinguished joy, alternating with the equally quickly aroused pain. There is also the same undue sensitiveness to the opinion of others, joined with an over-stressed desire for notice and admiration. The young child will hide his face in the folds of his mother's dress, when looked at by a stranger, but, at the same time, he will peep out to see if the stranger is not looking again; so, too, the adolescent blushes and turns away under notice, and yet seeks and desires notice.

Much adolescent behaviour must be regarded as phases of childish restlessness, due to the strain of making continuous new accommodations. It would seem that the same lessons have to be learnt now as in childhood, but directed to different ends. The child has to learn to control the body, to gain the mastery over the limbs; the adolescent has to learn to control the emotions, to gain mastery over the soul.

And the difficulties encountered in learning these hard lessons give rise to similar uncertainties. The little child feels weak and small in a big adult world. The adolescent feels, in a deeper and sharper sense, the Self to be incomplete, so that there is a need (often twisted and tangled with other motives) to get outside of the Self. This need finds, of course, its easiest and most direct expression in the search for a love-object. Adolescence is the period in which the desire to love is stronger than the desire to be loved.

It is this search for the beloved one that occupies the adolescent's soul. And because, from unnecessary outside hindrance, so often the search fails or cannot even be begun on account of the unsolved inner complex, all kinds of unwanted substitutes have to be accepted, often against the strongest soul-resistance. Thus there is continuous doubt and hesitation. All kinds

of stupidities of conduct are indulged in that have their origin in this inner unsatisfied need. This again causes the most painful and incapacitating uncertainty. Often the adolescent dare not act alone any more than the infant dares to walk alone. But the soul's needs cannot be acknowledged like the needs of the body. Thus there is, besides the urge forward towards experience, a strong conservative tendency to cling to the old safety; not to grow up; not to leave the mother—the Peter Pan motive that is the great danger for any young soul.

One of the most necessary, as also the most difficult, lessons for parents is to learn to leave their children alone. Again the situation of childhood repeats itself.

The soul's first halting walking needs the same guidance as the little child's first faltering step. But as the girl and the boy grow older they must learn to walk alone. If the parents persist in holding out a hand, never let the experimenting adolescent fall down; or if, in mistaken unselfishness, they persist in giving service, when they should provide opportunities for service to be given, they destroy a proper independence and confidence; and also they hinder, in the most harmful way, the right flowering of the altruistic elements so strong in the adolescent character. But the hand held out too long is used to satisfy the unconscious wishes of the parents, to give them the pleasure they gain from the dependence of their family upon their love and authority, and not for any need of their sons and their daughters for their help.

The parents' duty is to urge onwards, never to hold back.

I have mentioned before, but I must, on account of its importance, direct your attention again to the fact that this separation from the parents needs to be something more than a separation in space. It is not greatly affected by any kind of outside liberty. What the adolescent must have, I need hardly now remind

you, is psychic separation—an emotional freedom, not only from the too crippling dependence of childhood, but from the inner conflict which binds the soul of the son to the mother and the soul of the daughter to the father.

There is, unless prevented, always acting the inner urge towards seeking a mate, which feeds the impulse to break loose from the parents. This frequently expresses itself outwardly in a marked tendency to reject impatiently all shows of affection from the parents—all caresses, kisses and other endearments are disliked. This is perfectly right, though frequently it pains parental selfishness. The young are really tremendously afraid of the chains of the old. You see, though they do not know it, it is their soul's freedom they are fighting for. I shall show in my concluding chapters on the Adult Life, how the character, and success in work, and also the later response to the impulse to seek a mate, are directly dependent on the settlement that is now made in relation to the parent-conflicts.

Neither the parents nor the children can see the position except from the outside, for the real situation is hidden, because in both the barrier between the conscious and the unconscious mind acts as a screen, so that each is unable to realise without the strongest efforts the needs and desires of the other. But the parents are worse sinners than the children. Parental love is, after all, the supreme selfishness. What is it except natural instinct and habit and an extension of the power feelings, joined with delight in possession? Yes, above all else, that delight in possession.

Nor do I think that a change from this possessive love can, or will, be accomplished. If we stop to think, it becomes evident, at once, how easy it is for parents to use their children as instruments for satisfaction. Wherever, for any cause, one or other parent is unsatisfied in their own deeper desires they will

almost inevitably seek to satisfy these desires in their children. Until the inner barrier is overcome,⁸ it is impossible for parents even to have the wish to liberate their children: for they do not want to give the emotional liberty that must leave them bereft once more.

Do you doubt this? Then let me show you the situation from the outside. Do we not know that the wife, and sometimes also the husband, not happy in their own marriage, concentrate their hope of a satisfying life on their children? The mother wants her daughter to identify her life with hers, to be literally and wholly devoted to her; while still more frequently and far more lastingly dangerously, she loves again in the love she gives her son. Or the father compensates himself by means of his devotion to his daughter, while he satisfies his unfulfilled wishes for power by completely directing the life of his son.

All this is quite wrong. It breaks the energy of the young, saps their power, keeps the vital force of life bound in its infantile prison. Too much protected, too possessively loved, children are turned into dutiful automatons, instead of rebellious adventurers. Literally they are dead before they are alive. Seeking emotional relief, these vampire parents unconsciously have drained for themselves the energy and love their sons and their daughters ought to preserve for their own lives.

There needs to be written a new commandment, that parents should honour their children, which is of greater importance to life than the old commandment that children should honour their parents.

CHAPTER XI

THE PLACE OF THE SCHOOL ¹

"We find here one of the most important tasks of pedagogy, namely, the solution of the problem how to free the growing individual from his unconscious attachments to the influences of the infantile *milieu*, in such a manner that he may retain whatever there is in it that is suitable, and reject whatever is unsuitable."—JUNG.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The aspect in which I shall consider the school—Oppositions to being educated—Recapitulation of facts of the child's primitive emotions—Adolescent regression—Illustration—Freud's theory of the unconscious—The flood of light he has shed on the unsolved problems of education—Mental processes take place without exciting consciousness—Emotional factors which control the educatability of the child—The child's attitude to the parents control all subsequent relations—How this affects the teacher—The teacher the parent-surrogate—Oedipus and Electra conflicts in their relation to the teacher—More important to know the unconscious than the conscious mind—Why children cannot learn certain lessons—Why success is gained in other work—Failure and success dependent on the relations to the parents—Liberation by the teacher from the infantile attachments—The child not unable to learn but hindered from learning by the inner resistances—Problem of mental backwardness—The unconscious attitude of the pupil—The unconscious attitude of the teacher—Psycho-analytic view alters the obligations of the teacher—More important to understand the child than to teach him—The necessity for the teacher to understand himself—The teacher's choice of his profession—The necessity for the acceptance of the psycho-analytic standpoint—The unbroken continuity in the child's development—Regressions—Nervous symptoms—Recasting the past experiences—Separation between the home and the school—Fantasying and day-dreaming the great enemy of the teacher—Why boys and girls forget—Bad memories the result of the inner conflict—Main work of education to liberate the child—Easy satisfaction of make-believe—Present position of the young—This position easier on the outside—The inner conflict deeper—Cinemas—They provide adventure in a too easy way—Popular art—Royalties fulfil our dreams—They are a glorified picture of the average man's ideal of himself.

I DO not propose to deal with education in its general aspects, but rather with certain *oppositions to being educated*, felt by every young person, in a greater or lesser degree. It is an opposition which the schoolmaster has to meet and overcome, or fail in his work. I shall touch only on a few points connected with the main current of my inquiry. This approach to the problem will give the school and the schoolmaster a different valuation and a different importance. It will show, I believe, that the teachers have done their chief service to the child unconsciously, while they have been valued for what were, after all, only the trappings and incidentals of their profession.

But first I wish to recapitulate a few facts in order to show more clearly the enormously difficult position in which the teacher is placed. The child's character, as we have proved, is deeply impressed by all that has happened in his first years. He has enjoyed an emotional life of very full and deep, but primitive, feelings. The first experiences are powerful by reason of their crude sensationalism and emotional character; they are uncomparing, unanalysed, and uncriticised. We saw, too, that these first years are years of great struggle. The primal instincts conflict with the adult demands and social conventions. And because of this conflict, between what the child wants to do and what he has to learn to do, his first loves and many of his early activities are banished from his consciousness, but they remain active in the unconscious, and, at any period, may reappear in disguised forms; while at puberty and in adolescence there is always a regression to the primitive emotions.

Let me try to make these hard facts more vivid to you by means of an illustration. The character which every one of us gradually forms is like a ship. On the decks we see the clean sailors, the smart officers, the passengers—the words, smiles, actions we gaily present to the world. Below are the invisible driving forces, the

cleaners, the stokers, and the engines, which supply the real force that determine how the ship will encounter the waves and winds of the outer world.

Now it should be evident that any real education must be concerned with these driving forces of character. And the question at once arises: Is there any clue to help the educator to understand and control these concealed forces? Freud's wonderful theories of the unconscious give the clue, which before was missing. He and his followers have shed a flood of light on many of the most unsolved problems of education.²

We know now that exceedingly complicated mental processes take place without exciting the consciousness of the child, and that through the persistence of *affects* relating to the infancy and childhood, concealed emotional factors control and determine the child's educatability and often interfere in the gravest way with its power to learn.³ I need not labour this. Already I have shown you the overwhelming importance of the home and family relationships. I must ask you to accept this.

It is practically impossible to over-estimate the early influence of the parents. The attitude of the child to them is the pattern of all subsequent relations. You will see at once the significance of this. At the school there is a transference of the characteristic responses to the parents on to the teachers. The schoolmaster and schoolmistress, like the parents, represent the authority of the adult, the voice of experience, the instincts of age. The teachers stand as the parent-substitutes, or surrogates, to the boy or girl; they transfer to them the mother or father *imago*.

It thus becomes evident that the child's relationship to the parents and the conflicts already determined in the home, with their strong emotional *affects*, have direct bearing on education. For such transference to the teachers of the infantile and unsublimated parent-feelings sets up emotional relationships which, though,

of course, acting unconsciously, account for class-work insubordination, for stupidity and incapacity in certain lessons, as well as the opposite in other lessons and with other teachers—success and special brilliance.

It is plain that the more we examine this question of education from the psycho-analytic standpoint, the more we shall see that it is the unconscious mind of the child, rather than his conscious mind, that has to be reckoned with. The only safeguard against utter waste and failure, in all lasting achievement, is to accept this. There is no escape. The heart is the great teacher. Our schools, from which we have taken the most elaborate precautions to drive out the emotions, have yet, unknown to those who control them, been directed, and their success and their failures decided, by hidden emotions. In this way the young, with their splendid hold on life, have outwitted the dullness of the old.

But I wish to be clear and practical about the consequences of these concealed emotional *affects*, even at the risk of being bald and thin. Where children cannot learn their lessons, it is almost always because the teacher makes on them an impression like that of a father or mother, or brother or sister, of whom they are jealous; with whom they are ill at ease; whom in secret and unconsciously they oppose, or in some other way cannot be comfortable with.

On the other hand, when the children succeed, learn and make rapid progress, it is equally because of a happy response, awakened by the teacher, who unconsciously reminds them of a parent or other person who is loved, so that energy is liberated and work becomes easy. The transference of the disagreeable, or the pleasant, emotions does really inhibit, or free, the powers of the boy or the girl, so that they are unable, or able, to learn. If they are inhibited, they must be placed under another teacher, if they are to succeed. But if there is a general inability in regard to all tasks

and the work in every class is equally bad and ineffective, the only real cure is to find out the family situation and the child's relationship to the parents. Sometimes help could be gained through a consultation with the parents and a frank talk with the pupil. But as the difficulty is an unconscious one, it is by no means certain that any result would be achieved. What is needed is an analysis that would show the boy or the girl what was the obstacle that was hindering them. A trained analyst alone ought to do this work.

Liberation may, and frequently does, come unconsciously. The disagreeable emotions of the pupil can be overcome by the help of the teacher, who by his attitude, way of moving a hand, shape of head, tone of voice, or any, even the most trifling, resemblance, has been identified with the disliked parent. He may succeed in transferring back to the parent some desirable feelings, if he can establish a new affective and happy relationship with the pupil. I believe that, in an unknown number of cases, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have rendered this service to children and to their parents. For this is what has happened, in nine cases out of ten, when a boy or girl goes to school and comes home markedly improved. The child has been liberated unconsciously by the teacher from some part of the burden of the infantile attachments.

Enough has now been said to show that the child who is stupid at lessons is *hindered from learning* much more often than *unable to learn*. This alters the whole problem of mental backwardness.⁴ The analyst knows that a child may be feeble-minded simply because of the inner trouble caused by an unfavourable home environment. Not more than two per cent. (some authorities give one per cent.) of children are mentally backward because of defects of the brain. It is some unsolved emotional conflict in the unconscious, a trouble that could probably have been prevented, which is the cause of the vast and pitiful army of retarded children.

But to return to our examination of the normal school-child. Sometimes the difficulty to learn is connected with a certain study rather than with the teacher: it is in one subject only that the boy or girl is inhibited—prevented from learning. One boy cannot remember languages, another has no kind of ability for mathematics. These failures are never due to chance; they, too, could be prevented. Let me tell you a case to illustrate this. A little girl, when quite young, was good at languages: she had a French nursery governess and quickly learnt to speak and write the language: at her first school she started German and was considered specially quick at languages. Then came a break in the family. Her father, of whom she was very fond, died. The mother rather quickly remarried. Against the new father the girl, now about eleven, at once developed a deep jealousy, more dangerous because it was concealed. Now the new father was exceptionally brilliant at languages. There was a breakdown in the girl's health which necessitated a term's absence from school. The stepfather, not knowing at all the consequences, gave the girl her French lessons. Ever after the girl seemed entirely unable to learn any language. I myself am never able to speak a language, though I can understand others speaking fairly quickly and, of course, can learn to read. I know this is because I was late in talking and was laughed at by my childhood's companions for the way in which I mispronounced certain words.

Thus we have first to remember that each child's ability to learn is conditioned by many things unknown to the teachers and by events usually not remembered by the child; and further that this ability is dependent not upon reason, and often is very little affected by the child's conscious efforts and desire to succeed; but that it is dependent on emotional *affects*, often of a quite unreasonable and infantile nature.

And there is another factor of equal importance

that must now be considered. The teacher's unconscious attitude towards the pupils resembles in its emotional irrationality the pupil's attitude to the teacher. Thus a teacher may be as unable to instruct a particular boy or girl as that boy or girl is unable to learn from a certain teacher. Both attitudes—that of the teacher as well as that of the pupil—are dependent on unconscious mental forces; both alike in order to attain success, the one to teach and the other to learn, require emancipation from inner inhibitions.

It will now be sufficiently evident that the acceptance of the psycho-analytic view of education entirely alters the obligations of the teacher. It is far more important to understand the child than to teach the child. It is even more important for the teacher to understand himself. This does not, however, mean that every teacher is to study, and still less to practise, psycho-analysis. It is very doubtful if this would be of benefit. What I should wish it to mean is that all teachers should themselves be analysed in order that they may discover why they have chosen to be teachers.⁵ If, for instance, they have been driven to this profession by an unconscious wish to gratify a thwarted thirst for power, or still worse, to heal a deeply concealed desire for cruelty, they ought to be prevented from entering the profession. I have heard of a schoolmaster in a private school for boys who put pepper on the wound of a dog. The incident was told me by a boy who was in the school at the time. Consider such a man, with a devouring sadism, having the charge of boys! We demand a training, extending over several years, to enable teachers to master the subjects they are to teach; it should be more important to discover their motive in teaching.

For too long the psychological aspect of education has been neglected. What is needed is the acceptance of the psycho-analytic standpoint; that is, the acceptance, *and all that it implies*, that both teacher and

child have an unconscious life, and are governed by the orders given by this life, more than by their conscious desires and intentions.

I believe that this acceptance will come. Everyone now accepts certain doctrines of Darwin which once were so violently condemned. No teacher would tell a class that man stands by himself and that the animals were created by God for his use: but that does not mean that every teacher needs to study the Darwinian theory.

The acceptance of the psycho-analytic view of education will make it the main duty of the teachers to accept the unconscious mind and to estimate its influence on the motives of the child; and also to liberate him from his infantile attachments. Much that in the past has been accomplished unconsciously will be done consciously, with a corresponding gain in effectiveness and power. But the teacher who accepts this new conception of education will have first to understand himself: he must be able to realise that the majority of the difficulties he has to meet in his work are very largely the result of unconscious and hitherto unacknowledged trends in his character. He will form the wise habit of checking his own acts and his thoughts. Will ask himself why he likes one boy, and dislikes another; why one lesson is agreeable to him, and another is disagreeable; why he loses his temper, is sarcastic, or indulgent as the case may be. He will come to know, by means of this self-checking, if honestly undertaken, that his moods, his feelings, his responses to his work, as also the opinions he holds and his methods of teaching, are mainly dependent on these tendencies within himself. While the reasons that for so long he has advanced to explain his conduct, why he does this and refrains from doing that, will be recognised for what they are, as commonly indulged-in excuses to cover his pride. This difficult self-honesty is the only preparation that can fit the schoolmaster

or schoolmistress, or, indeed, any adult, to help the boys and girls they have to teach. Until they can understand themselves they cannot possibly understand them. And until this understanding comes, what will happen is what has been going on for centuries and centuries—the pupils will be made the scapegoats for the sins of the teachers.

There is another question which must now be considered. We know there is unbroken continuity in the child's development—in both the conscious and the unconscious mind. And, owing to this, there is a constant tendency to place each new experience in relation with analogous similar experiences of the past. Often the present event is connected with something that happened to the boy or the girl many years before, and consciously is completely forgotten. Remembrance will often go a long way back, and the former experience is usually connected with the present in a way that is radically wrong. I mean, it is the image or memory of the old event retained in the unconscious that revives, and not the event as it really happened. Now the danger is evident in this method of unconsciously reviving old imagined pains and interpreting the present by them. For since the imagined memory is unconcerned with the truth, it brings back the most extravagant pains and disturbances, and a situation of impossibilities takes the place of realities. Many teachers suffer under these regressions on the part of their pupils. A boy, or a girl, for instance, who is afraid of a certain master or mistress, is nearly always suffering from such a revived memory. Blushing, stammering, unexplained fears, unreasoning dislikes and most nervous habits can also be explained as being due to regression; indeed, there is no nervous symptom without regression. And the teacher, in dealing with nervous children, should remember that the response of the child to the present situation is conditioned by what has happened in the past. No

child can get rid of the past unless he is helped by some means to recast it. That is, the unhappy new feelings, which are dependent upon some old forgotten pain, can be eased only by a new connection of happiness. If, for instance, a certain school task cannot be done, the failure is probably dependent on some early emotional situation, as we saw in the case of the girl unable to learn languages owing to her feelings towards her stepfather. Now punishments or scoldings for failure in work, in such circumstances, cannot fail to increase the trouble: the painful feelings become stronger and the block that prevents learning necessarily increases. The only way to help the girl would be to create a new pleasant connection which will unite with the past: such, for example, as a trip abroad, where happy memories related in this way with the foreign language would act to replace the hostile feelings now connected with her learning the language, because it had been taught by the disliked stepfather. I desire to make this fact perfectly clear, because so frequently the school life acts to increase instead of to remedy trouble of this kind.

Nothing could be more harmful in this respect than our present system, which separates the school life from the home life, cuts the child's experience into two opposed parts, and so does everything possible to increase and make permanent these blocks that hinder the character through the whole of life. Regressions are always destructive. They are the great checks to achievement. They turn the swift running of life into an obstacle race.

Very closely connected with regression is the habit of fantasying or day-dreaming, the danger of which I have already so strongly emphasised. For if the boy or girl suffers too much from a present made difficult by entanglements from the past, which, acting unconsciously, cannot be understood so that no reconciliation is found; then most usually an escape will be gained

by this easy and pleasant way of make-believe. The schoolboy or the schoolgirl will give up effort and will revert to an infantile stage of experience and will dream instead of working; that is, he or she will gain happiness from unconscious wishes.

The day-dream is the greatest enemy of the schoolmaster. For in the day-dream the boy, or the girl, enters a world where all problems are solved and no painful adjustments have to be made. The dream may take many forms, often it is disguised so that it does not seem like a dream; but always it is make-believe, based on the wish to do, or to be what the dreamer finds he (or she) has not been, or has not done, in real life. That is the danger. The turning away from reality invariably betrays deep inner conflict. But I have no space here to deal further with day-dreams, about which much has been said before. It is, however, a point of special importance for teachers to note that this escape from reality takes many different forms. Lapses of memory and general inability to retain knowledge, well known to every teacher, compulsive acts, putting fingers through button-holes, twisting legs, and many other tricks of movement, as well as headaches and minor illnesses, are all common devices of the unconscious, by which children seek to escape from themselves. Teachers, too, are familiar with pupils who seem unable to concentrate their attention on their work. The child who cannot learn to read, or the boy or the girl who continually forgets the lesson he or she wants to remember, has some personal problem that remains unsolved. It is not that their memory is bad or that they are stupid and inattentive. These easy explanations ought never to be accepted. What has happened is that the power to learn has left them in the lurch, because the inner struggle has been occupying too much of their strength.

What was stated at the start of this chapter should now be plain—that the main work of education is to

liberate the child. Each boy and girl has to be helped to get free from their unconscious attachments to the infantile experiences, in such a way that they are able to retain whatever there has been in that experience which is favourable and suitable to their present needs, and to reject whatever aid has been outgrown and now is unfavourable.⁶ Of course, the difficulties of even trying to accomplish this task are immense. At present they are, I feel, insurmountable. But this is the goal that should stand in front of us. The teacher—not the instructor, but the liberator and the saviour.

To-day, in my opinion, it is harder than ever to keep back the young from the easy satisfactions of make-believe. For one thing, their conflict, in some ways, is harder than it was for us. Probably this statement will surprise you. The present position of the young, is, of course, much easier on the outside, but, you see, I am talking of the inner side of everything. And what I mean is, that it was so much easier for us to rebel. Parents were less indulgent, schools much more bound by rules, which gave us the most splendid excitement when we broke them. I do believe that in this way we gained frequently a great unconscious liberation. The way is so pleasant and so easy to-day. I can still recall the most delicious and energy-giving excitement I experienced as a little girl in escaping through a window to go to a fair which I had been forbidden to visit. How I enjoyed myself! There was a glorious fat woman and a man who ate swords! Wonderful!

Popular art, and especially the cinemas of to-day, provide the young with the adventure we stole for ourselves. It is an entirely effortless and therefore more dangerous form of the day-dream. It enables boys and girls to enjoy excitement without plotting to get it and to picture success without contriving to attain it. It enables them to take out of others' imaginations the flavour of the cake which they have

not eaten, and which, therefore, has not nourished them. The cinema is, indeed, a pathetic place, where the bored young find weak excitements and the anxious and starved of real experience enjoy by proxy a life of cheap achievement, of luxury, and sometimes of impossible crimes. To-day we even dream by proxy.

I want to insist here that there is the greatest difference between an art, however crude, which brings us towards the facts of the world and ourselves, and an art which leads us to imagine ourselves doing what we are not, and never could be, doing; in a word, which presents life as it never can be. At present this worst form of the habit of day-dreaming meets us in every direction.

Royalties, even, just like common heroes and heroines, fulfil dreams for us. The old, more dignified view was that the Crown supplied the sense of dignity, gratified the need for a visible embodiment of the authority of the law. To-day the Royal family must not be superior. In the popular view, they no longer are objects of veneration, so much as a glorified picture of the ordinary man's ideal of himself. The girls who watch the Princess married at Westminster Abbey dream that this is their wedding. The Prince opens golf-links, travels, assists at boy-scout parades: this is not to show himself god-like and distant, but as a personation of the average taste of the average good-tempered healthy man. It is this personal kind of royalty that the millions love. It is but another expression of the effortless fantasying by which we compensate our souls for the failures and want of happiness in our modern society.

CHAPTER XII

THE PLACE OF THE SCHOOL (*continued*)

(*With special reference to the adolescent boy*)

"He whose sight has been sharpened by analysis sees before him miseries without number caused by repressions, and the misery is increased because educators, almost without exception, are incapable of understanding the causes of these repressions."—O. PFISTER.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER : Modern advanced experiments in education—Psychological failure of these schools—Confusion between outside forms of liberty and liberty of the soul—The freedom that the young seek and must find is much more freedom from themselves than freedom from rules—The boy needs to rebel and be mastered—He cannot rebel if the school has no authority—Two illustrations showing wrong management of modern libertarian schools—Want of confidence at adolescence leads the boy to need authority and to resist authority—The modern school is too childish to suit children's need for discipline and order—Dogmatism suits boys—They learn from it better than from uncertainty—Modern devices for making lessons interesting—Fixing the boys' attention—Essays from schools of two different types compared to illustrate—Co-education—More investigation needed—The school the waiting-halt between the home and the world—The public schools do prepare for the world—Reasons for their success—Excessive affectability of adolescence causes reversion to first period of infantile sexuality—Explanation—Parents' and teachers' conferences : what they could do—Special masters needed to link school and home—Questions for parents.

I WISH in a short chapter to suggest that the psycho-analytic view of education and the task of the teacher (a view which I hope we have now sufficiently examined and you have accepted) make very considerable modifications necessary in our judgments of modern advanced experiments in education. For a very long time, it has seemed to me, we have failed to understand

what our boys and our girls need. This failure, I believe, has arisen from a confusion between the outside forms of liberty and the inner liberty of the soul—the one liberty that matters. The real need is so plain. The freedom that the young seek, and must find, is much more freedom from themselves than freedom from rules. They are often, I am certain, but bound more firmly by all our blinded attempts to set them free.

We must examine this a little further, for it is very important.

I have said something before of this double need of the boy (I would include the girl, though, in her case, the need is not, I think, so urgent) both to rebel and at the same time to be mastered. I need not elaborate this further. But it is these opposite, and apparently conflicting, needs that the school has to satisfy. And the boy cannot rebel against the authority of the school, if the school refuses to exert authority. He cannot easily transfer to the masters the infantile rebellious feelings against the father, if the masters are too mild to give opportunity for rebellion. Now it is here, I would venture to say, that those schools that carry Liberty as the flag of their faith are making a mistake. They do not supply what the boy wants to satisfy his inner needs.

For the sake of vividness I will relate two incidents which occurred in different schools of this modern type. At the beginning of a new term a girl of ten years was asked to write comments on the lesson plan of the subsequent term. She was told to say what she thought were the mistakes in the plan and to suggest improvements. The girl wrote a clever comparison between clay-modelling and arithmetic, with the intention of showing how much more good she gained from the former than from the latter. The mistress was delighted with the intelligence of the paper and the little girl was praised. She was let off at least one arithmetic lesson to give the time to clay-modelling. This was bad for her education. But

what matters much more is the psychical hurt the child suffered. For she received direct and strong encouragement in make-believe : was sent further back on the easy downward path, away from effort and real work. The second incident concerns a boy and is perhaps more directly instructive. The boy had done something rather wrong and was sent to the headmaster, who talked to him kindly and almost jokingly, in the " Well-old-chap-I'm-sure-you-did-not-mean-it " manner. Afterwards the boy commented on the interview in this way : " I wish to goodness he'd got angry, then I'd have felt much better. I could have been angry too."

Now this young boy expressed, though he did not know it, the need of his soul. And what I wish to point out is the fact, so completely overlooked by the masters of these schools, that it is by no means certain if the boy wishes or, indeed, ought to wish, to be on familiar terms with his schoolmaster. I would go further, and venture to suggest that this extreme friendliness serves some deeply concealed wish of the master, and has nothing to do, as he no doubt believes, with the welfare of the boys. And this falsification of the real position—the hiding of the separation and conflict between the old and the young—is harmful : it blocks for the boy one of the channels by which he might find liberation.

All educational theories, like all other beliefs, are explained from the analytic standpoint as being dependent on some inner determining feeling, which, unsuspected by the teacher himself, fixes and controls his methods. This does not, of course, prove that one kind of method is better than another kind, but it does show the urgent need there is in every case of an understanding by the teacher of the directing force behind his aims and methods in the school. Only by knowing why he teaches, and theorises, and acts, in the way he does, can the schoolmaster with any safety estimate his position. That is why I have recom-

mended that every teacher should be analysed. Unless this is done, we must act in darkness, and his own complexes cannot fail to be the strongest influence in fixing his choice among the various theories of education. They will also decide finally his success or his failure with his pupils.

We may now go on a step further.

As regards the difficult problems of the older pupils, we have seen how at adolescence there is a regression to infantile reactions and modes of behaviour. Thus the boy, like the child, resists authority because at this period he desires authority. I repeat what was established in the preceding chapter. The adolescent's self-assertion is due to the uncertainty created by the adjustments which have now to be made, to the parents, to the home, to the school, to the teachers as surrogates for the parents, and to the world. Adolescent Narcissism is to every boy a necessary protection. He is about to leave the home, already he is struggling in the hard psychic conflict to escape from the emotional binding-strings to his infantile past, he feels at a terrible disadvantage, though he does not at all understand this. He is even as a lost dog searching for some master. The boy is terribly sensitive: he wants every kind of support and tonic to stimulate confidence.

Now, in my opinion, the advanced experimental school, with its want of routine, its want of fixed discipline and its experimental changeableness, fails to supply the steady discipline, the fixed standard of behaviour, the orderly adult attitude, which are precisely what adolescents need, even when the ordinary outward attitude is one of rebellion. The adolescent wishes to rebel, but, at the same time, wishes to be defeated in rebellion. It is this contradictory desire that needs to be satisfied. This is why punishment so rarely is resented by boys and sometimes seems to be accepted with satisfaction.

The modern school is itself too childish to suit children. Dogmatism suits boys. They learn under

it better than from uncertainty. Ridicule has been flooded on the old-fashioned type of master, who would classify the Beatitudes and draw up a dry scheme whereby to memorise the beauties of Chaucer. But this system of teaching, absurd as, of course, it is from an intellectual estimate, may steady the boy, help to concentrate his available energy, by reason of its method and its exactitude. At least the boy has to make some effort unless he is hopelessly to fail. You cannot guess at this kind of work, or slip through by clever improvisation and talk.

I do not believe too much in all the modern devices for making lessons interesting. I fear that if lessons are made too lively, if the teachers do not insist on the necessity of the pupils remembering a due proportion of dry facts, which cannot be done without effort and the habits of attention and concentration, the minds of the pupils will wander away from the interesting lesson, along some suggestion which such lessons so readily supply, into the still more interesting and easier day-dream.

It may be worth while to give some little evidence I have which seems to support this view. Some time ago, during the war-years, I examined essays from two schools. One was a co-educational school, run on advanced lines, the other the usual preparatory school for the conventional public school. There were about fifty essays sent from each school. I set the subjects and gave a wide range of choice. And the first fact of interest is the striking difference in the selection that was made by the two sets of pupils. In the case of the first school, almost without exception, the subjects chosen were romantic and imaginary. Girls, and also boys, ranging from ten to fifteen years, wrote of knight and lady meeting to make love beneath an old oak tree (this much-chosen subject being, "What happened under the oak tree?"): there were as well sentimentalised essays on Nature, on Spring, on Gardens, on a favourite book, and on an admired

hero or heroine; while among the younger children the favourite subject was the life of an animal, a dog, a cat, or a horse, unconsciously humanised by the young writers. The essays, as a whole, were weakly emotional, and especially those written by the girls. They were childish personations of day-dreams, in which the writers showed themselves in positions of success and prominence, or in painful situations demanding rescues and pity. The stories were intermixed with conventional phrases, plainly borrowed from books that had been read. There was no single essay which could be called original, or which gave any evidence of clear and exact thinking.

In the preparatory school the boys were younger. No boy was over fourteen, only two or three were thirteen, while one, who wrote a really surprising and accurate account of the French Revolution, was ten. The subjects chosen were practical and were connected with aeroplanes, motors, the war and allied subjects. There was one good essay on "A Favourite Author": here there was no sign of romantic imagery, but a capable and original estimate of Dickens, original because it was an expression of the boy's own ideas and not ideas he had borrowed and sentimentalised. These essays were admirable; they were all far more observant, humorous and definite than the work of the other school. They were also better written, much better spelt, and, what was of greater importance, showed a wider understanding and choice of words, with much more care and exactitude in their use. That it may be certain I am showing no unfairness, I may state that I knew the majority of the boys and girls in the co-educational school, and was very fond of them, while the boys in the preparatory school, with two exceptions, were all strangers to me. Also in correcting the essays I had the opinion of another writer (a man) to check my judgments.

What I want to insist upon is this: Many of our modern judgments about education may be quite

wrong. What is needed in every case, before a decision can be reached, is more observation, with more concrete and detailed knowledge of the real needs of boys and girls. I am certain that the time is not far distant when we shall have to revise many of our latest judgments: I believe we shall have to vacate certain advanced positions that have only recently been occupied.

Take, for instance, the difficult question of co-education, which I mention only to illustrate this point. I regard co-education as a problem of such immense importance and difficulty that I hesitate to give an opinion. I am, however, sure that the whole issue changes under psycho-analytic knowledge. The right or wrong of co-education cannot be decided, or even considered with any profit, without an understanding of the relation of homo- to hetero-sexuality. The observed fact that boys and girls in co-education schools tend to separate suggests that they themselves feel the need for separation. The advocates of co-education, in the past, have had largely to meet erroneous arguments based on prejudice and instinctive dislike, but, in the future, it may be found that the true case against co-education is based on much deeper reasons.¹

The work of the educator is at once simple and immensely hard. It is to train the boy to put away childish things and to become a man. The essential business of the school is to act as a waiting-halt between the home and the world. It has to free the boy from the one and prepare him for the other.

Now I maintain that, in spite of all its manifold faults, of which I am fully conversant—its deficiencies and its stupidities—the public school does carry out this task with some success. At least for the average boy it is better than the school of the advanced ethical type, which is too much like, and yet unlike, the home and too utterly different from the business world, which is to come after the school. The master—this is at least true of the headmaster—is an authority.

He commands and gains obedience. But though he teaches his boys and as a rule understands them very thoroughly *from the outside*, he does not attempt to be too close to the boys. Then there is a certain degree of self-government by school and house prefects and games prefects, and a large degree of traditional, boy-created boy-life, not organised, and very little interfered with by adults. The boys are not expected to be too good. The games teach, to some extent, fairness, endurance and team-working. But the great service rendered to the boys arises out of the admirable way in which the masters serve as father-surrogates. In the public school it is never difficult for the boys "to rag" and "get the better" of some master. Let such a master take heart of grace, for he is acting as scapegoat for the boys' fathers! I am certain that a great number of cases of the dangerous inner conflicts are solved with comparative success by this unconscious service rendered by harassed masters.

It is especially boys who need to find freedom at school. This I have explained. Inner freedom—that is the aim never to be lost sight of. Liberation for our sons, independence of the psyche, and abundant life. The life that now, too often, through conflict between the unconscious mind and the conscious will, is chained within, until the buried wishes break out in a jester's motley to gain deliverance.

It is so tremendously important that the liberating power of the school should not be wasted. Consider what the adolescent has to face before you decide to go on closing this door of his escape. The young are very secret, which is one reason why we are still so ignorant, even on the outside, of their deeper needs. The adolescent boy does not easily confide. He does not confide, for he does not know how to do so. He does not understand himself, and does not want to do this. There is so much in himself that he cannot approve of—cannot look squarely in the face. That is why the adolescent boy needs help so terribly. He

has to find reconciliation with himself. The parents at this time must stand aside. They can do little to help him. Who is there if the school fails?

It is, I believe, owing to this uncertainty, that the boy at this age answers so quickly to every influence. And it is this state of excessive affectability which appears to act to revive the childish impressions, and may, it seems to me, be one explanation of what causes the adolescent regression to the first period of infantile sexuality (the first five years). This going back to an earlier stage is not so surprising as at first thought appears. It would seem to occur just in the same way as the emotion of rage will make a man return to habits of speech, such as an uneducated way of talking, which usually is restrained by subsequent training.

If the feelings censored by the social disapproval of the inner critic, which in childhood and in youth are thrown into the waste-paper basket of the unconscious, have been fully outgrown, then, when they revive in later adult years, they reappear recognisably in their original forms. The homo-sexual impulse, for example, can reappear, be recognised and judged as having no attraction. It is when the attraction is not fully outgrown, not sublimated and liberated from the unconscious; then, because the emotional interest is not destroyed, the impulse re-arises, usually in symbolised forms with substitute expressions, invented by the disapproving censor to hide their hideousness. Thus the unfamiliar shapes and strange forms of the infantile impulses appear and make themselves seen. If they are fully strange, have spent all their attractions, they dare to reappear because they are so unfamiliar; but if the concealed attraction persists, and they are not so forgotten, so that they can be recognised by the detectives, the suspicious eyes of our inner judgments, then they reappear in disguise.

This brings me to the last question I wish to put before you: the connection between the school and

the home. I considered this question first in "Sex Education and National Health,"² where I emphasised the need, and suggested a possible development of more concerted action between parents and schoolmasters, which would result in greater mutual helpfulness. I had been troubled with the wasteful way in which the school neglected the home, while the home failed equally in adequately assisting the school. It seemed to be the idea that one set of duties belonged to one and another set of duties to the other. This, I felt, was terribly harmful for the child. And it seemed reasonable to suppose that the inefficacy resulting from such disunion could be avoided. Many schools now have parents' and teachers' conferences. True, those I have been able to attend have not impressed me as being very useful or achieving anything that really mattered very much; but these faults of superficiality and ineffectiveness could surely be changed. What is needed is an extension of this system. There should be much more study of the historical and objective facts, an accurate knowledge of the unconscious as well as the conscious mind, and more understanding of the deeper life of boys. More important than anything else (for without it any knowledge in this connection must be wasted) is a closer combination of interests between the parents and the masters.

In my former book I outlined a plan by which it seemed to me the home and the school could really begin to work together. I suggested that in each school there should be one teacher specially trained, whose work would not be to teach children, but to understand them—a trainer of the soul instead of a trainer of the brain, an educator of the emotions instead of an educator of the intellect. This teacher would be specially trained and, having the necessary knowledge, would be able to act as the confidant of the parents, and as an intermediary between them and the other teachers. In this way it seemed to me that, without any extensive or difficult changes, the harmful separa-

tion which now cuts off the home from the school might be bridged over.

I have little to add to what I there proposed. I would, however, emphasise that this co-operation between the home and the school becomes, not only a desirable change, but a most urgently imperative change, in connection with all that we now know about the needs of the adolescent. Only by school and home working together in the completest confidence can boys be helped in any way that matters very much.

In the first decisive period of life, the infantile period, it is the home and the training given by the parents that are of paramount importance; but in the second fateful period, the period of adolescence, the school is of greater consequence even than the home. At no other time does the influence of the school attain the same prominence. The school can give the soul the liberation which now the home cannot give. The parents are often helpless on account of the emotional conflicts which, at this period, attain their culminating measure of destructiveness.

But the school, in order to fulfil this task, must understand the home in all its many complicated relationships. For the problems of this second period cannot be solved on their own merits, and without a knowledge of, and reference to, the problems of the first period. Or, to state the matter shortly and incisively, in order to be able to educate the adolescent a return must be made to the nursery history.³

I need not wait to elaborate further the truths which already we have established. It should, however, be noted that the knowledge of the teacher needs to be general, to embrace a complete and detailed study of infantile psychology, with its reactions and inevitable disturbances, but also the knowledge must be, in particular, concerned with the past history, the family relationships and home experience, and the special problems of each boy. Of course this work

would be difficult, supremely difficult. That is why I advocate the appointment in each school of a specially trained teacher. No amateur tampering with the difficult problems of the psyche can be tolerated.

You see, what is wanted is someone who has been trained to understand the unconscious and conscious mind of the boy, in the same way as the school doctor has been trained to understand his body; someone who will give medicine for the mind in the same way as the doctor gives medicine for the body; someone who will be no more prejudiced in finding or hearing of past or present failures in mental health than of failures in physical health; someone who will understand the concealed conflict of the boy and will thus have the knowledge and sympathy to help him and to advise the parents in regard to the home treatment and the school staff as to the treatment in the school.

One difficulty will certainly arise from the ignorance of the parents. It is easier to train the teacher than to train parents. They will not, and indeed they cannot, in the great majority of cases, give the right kind of information about their boys, for the simple reason that they will not know it themselves. The barrier between their conscious and unconscious mind will prevent it. We do not know what we do not want to know. Nor am I hopeful that this blindness can be changed, at any rate for a long time, and never without an acceptance of the psycho-analytic principles. If, however, the consulting teacher is fully capable and fully trained, it ought to be possible to gain sufficient practical and workable information from a set of simple questions, which the parents should be required to answer, whenever possible in a personal interview, before the boy enters the school.

I would suggest some such simple questions as the following :—

- I. Has the boy at any time had any illness of a nervous character?

2. Have any members of his family suffered from nervous troubles?
3. Was the boy afraid of the dark or did he have night terrors? Did he bite his nails or suck his thumb?
4. Were there any other noticeable bad habits in childhood?
5. What were his chief childish faults in the nursery?
6. Was there any jealousy of his brothers and sisters?
7. Did he make up imaginary stories about himself, or did he imagine that he had a child companion? Please give any details remembered about these stories.
8. As a child was he much attached to his mother?
9. Is he resentful of authority at home?

It may, of course, be objected further that the parents would dislike answering these questions, thinking that they showed an unnecessary interference with the home life. I confess I have not much patience with such an objection. You have got to interfere with people if you are to accomplish things that matter. A short time back it would have been considered an interference with the parents to say the pupils in the holidays must not visit any places of entertainment for a fixed time before returning to school. Yet I know of several schools which strictly enforce this rule. Such questions as I have suggested should be answered as a matter of course, just as each term the health certificate is filled in. The parents comply because they realise it is for the good of the boys. All parents understand this about physical health: it ought not to be difficult for them to learn to exercise the same care over mental health.

The schools could help the homes so much more practically if they knew the relevant facts about homes. Parents tell schoolmasters very much that they do not want to know; they must be taught to tell them what they need to know.

PART IV

THE ADULT LIFE

CHAPTER XIII

FAMILY HISTORIES¹

"Whatever the part played by heredity, the thing that supremely counts in the making or marring of a human life is the influences with which that life is surrounded in the formative years of childhood."—DR. W. A. WHITE.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: The importance of these family histories—The family should be studied like a biological problem—Twenty histories—Various results of relationships in homes shown in after-life—No. 1.—How an incapable mother develops masculine dominance in a daughter who seeks a submissive husband—No. 2 shows that a tyrant father accentuates feelings of inferiority in children, which, joined to close attachment to the mother, has disastrous effects—No. 3.—Illustrates the evil of the son being too much loved by the mother—No. 4.—Shows ill-effects of jealousy, where the mother shows preference for a son over a daughter—Injurious dream conditions—No. 5.—The brother also suffers in another way—No. 6.—A case of hostility covered by excessive devotion—No. 7.—The children the bond of union between the parents, unfortunate results—No. 8.—Traces the character affects caused by the relation to the parents through two generations—No. 9.—Jealousy felt to the father transferred to God.—No. 10.—Conscientious mother who secretly dislikes her children—No. 11.—A fine character ruined by the severity of the father—No. 12.—The daughter's attachment to the father and its effect—No. 13.—A sublimated Electra-complex—No. 14.—Loss of capacity to act through prolonged dependence on the mother—No. 15.—A strong father-son attachment—No. 16.—Unwanted children—Nos. 17, 18, 19.—Three illustrations of different disastrous results from the Œdipus situation—No. 20.—The happy household.

As a preliminary to the concluding section of my book, in which I hope to show how certainly the later character

and adult experience arise out of, and are directly dependent on, the early relationships of the family, which we have now examined, I find it necessary first to set down and analyse certain individual and family histories that are known to me. These family records, with their concealed conflicts and difficult emotions, can never be neglected; they are the past history of each adult, yes, of you, my readers, and of me, and of every one of us: but our eyes must be trained to read them as they were written in reality and not as we wish to read them through the pleasantly tinted glasses of our imaginary memories.

I have said that I propose to analyse certain of these histories. But when I use the word "analyse," I am fully aware that I am able to give only a rough outline of the facts—the outside happenings of the individual life; yet with suggestions as to what concealed things those facts point towards, and with special regard to the strong family influences. Complete analysis can never be carried out except by one who has been fully analysed himself, and, further, has had a special training to understand the unconscious mind. Yet I venture to think that a more general survey will be worth while. I believe that what I can record and am able to suggest, in regard to these histories, may illuminate the paths along which we have travelled in the course of our inquiry on the child, and will also render easier the acceptance of the facts that have yet to be established with regard to the adult life.

It will be evident that in giving these family histories certain changes had to be made. Identification had necessarily to be obscured. The greatest care has, however, been taken to maintain whatever is essential to the records without omissions; also, in all cases, to refrain from straining the facts and not to force suggestions. Where the facts were not known, no details are given. This is why some of the records are fuller and more complete than was possible with others.

The suggestions made are, of course, my own : and these may be wrong.

Nothing is, perhaps, more necessary than a careful record of family histories. Certainly such knowledge is required before we can understand or help the child. The parent, the teacher, the social worker, the religious trainer, the politicians and re-makers of law, all need to study the family like a biological problem.

History 1.—An infantile and helpless mother, clinging, pretty and unhappy, with strong complexes, suggesting suppressed and unrecognised eroticism (I have no facts as to her family history and relationship to her parents which would explain this); but I know that she suffered under neglect from her husband, who first was unfaithful and then left her. There was one child, a daughter, very deeply attached to her mother. I have no authenticated details of the nursery and school years, but there can be no doubt that, as a child, the girl was strongly influenced by the disagreements between the parents.

By the time her history became known to me, she had developed a strongly protective love for her mother, who depended upon her entirely. Plainly she found in her daughter the support and protective tenderness she had failed in receiving from her husband.

In this way the mother used for herself the emotional force which the daughter should have had for her own life. We see how the early assumption of the masculine character, thrust upon her by the affective cravings of the mother, determined the daughter's life.

As we should expect, her own love-history was unfortunate. I know, of course, only the outside facts. As a girl she was good-looking, tall, commanding in figure and attractive to men, who found her a "good comrade," but on closer acquaintance she was too aggressive to be wooed. There was one broken engagement, and several affairs all of which came to

no conclusion. For a time business was tried (though there was no financial necessity to work), and great and rapid success was obtained. Finally, and after the death of the mother, a marriage was entered into with a man much younger than herself, in a lower social position, and also of a very submissive and feminine type. The wife entirely ruled him and the home. The marriage was unhappy as she could not give the normal response to love. There were many close friendships with women, and much activity in social work. Excessive feminist views, especially in regard to sex morals, were held. There were no children.

Several minor character traits may be noted. The handwriting was cramped and small, but very neat and much more like a man's hand than a woman's. The walk was also masculine, so were other habits. There was a great love of argument and a tendency to violent temper. In apparent sharp contradiction, there was an excessive and believedly feminine fear of spiders. But this, as anyone acquainted with these matters will recognise at once, was a substitute formation and connected with some powerful, but unconscious, inhibition of the love-instinct. What is interesting and should be noted in this history, is how the selfish love of the mother acted on the daughter and determined her fate. The love she gave to her mother, developing, or rather giving a twist to her affections, in the wrong direction, killed her power of direct love towards men. By identifying herself with her mother, suffering with her when she suffered, giving protective love at a time when she should have received it, there happened what I may perhaps best make clear by calling it "a psychic alteration of sex emotion." She could love as a man, but not as a woman. There were no recognised homo-sexual feelings; but there was great unhappiness in marriage, the relationship being controlled by the mother-determined distortion of instinct, and an absolute impossibility of accepting the feminine

rôle. A rather fanatic prudery was also a sign of repression.

History 2.—The father in this case was the determinative factor in the family history. He was a distorted character, in whom obsessive sexual desires were badly sublimated into religious mania. As a young man he had led what is called "a wild life," but before middle life he was violently and suddenly "converted," I believe owing to a serious illness. He was much afraid of death. He became a member of a narrow religious sect whose unbeautiful creed he followed with passionate fidelity. Religion became the driving force of his curiously warped nature, affording an expression for the relinquished passions skulking and smouldering within. He married, for as a Christian it was "better to marry than to burn." (There had been an earlier marriage, of which I know nothing, except the fact of its existence.) The wife chosen was young and pretty, of a timid and affectionate disposition, also religious, but of no special force of character. Prevented by her religious views from accepting the reality of her husband's character, she maintained an outward pretence of affection, but submitted to his embraces as a cross laid upon women by God—"the nasty side of marriage." There was a large family of children.

Inevitably the children, born of such parents and brought up in such a home, suffered great disharmonies of character. Attached to the mother and hating the hard, religiously tyrannical father, both the daughters and the sons identified their fate with hers. Only one daughter married, a man older than herself, who provided her with a comfortable home. She had no children and disliked the idea of having a child.

The history of the sons is of greater interest. They were all attached to the mother. But the parent who decided their fate was the father. His character,

egotistical and unsympathetic, made it exceedingly difficult for the boys to assert their value. They could never advance an opinion, never be themselves. Their markedly neurotic dispositions were derived from this uncertainty in childhood, which developed exceedingly powerful inferiority feelings, under the pressure of a continuous adverse and hostile criticism. In the case of one son there was a complete breakdown of the mental life. The predisposition towards neurosis was increased by a constitutional weakness, another cause of inferiority, which further acted by attaching the boy, through a sickly infancy and childhood, more fixedly to his mother, and thus strengthening his conflict in this direction also. It would seem that the strong inner need to gain security led to the withdrawal of the personality during the later adolescence; hallucinations became frequent, which later developed into mania. Afterwards there was a recovery, followed later by another breakdown of a less severe nature. Even when in health, the psychic condition was revealed by the complete incapacity for work and the infantile pleasure in such occupations as making toys, sailing kites, etc. But what is of particular interest is that, after the death of the mother, there was a really remarkable recovery of power. Work was undertaken successfully and soon a marriage made which proved happy. There were no children. The history of the other sons I am unable to give. The lessons of this family are too obvious to need pointing out.

History 3.—A woman, unhappily married and unable to get on with her husband, who was of a melancholy disposition and violent tempered, left her home to enter a situation, taking her young boy with her. The child seems to have felt himself his mother's hero and responded with great affection for her. The sexual nature of this affection was plainly visible in the way he liked to wrestle with her, even pulling her on the ground and getting on top of her, while at other times he would

caress her in a manner much too old for his years. On one occasion, when his mother was lamenting her position, he showed great excitement and ran at her and hit her with his fists. A short time afterwards there was a fit of unaccountable naughtiness which ended in an attack of sickness. The boy was very subject to stomach troubles. He was a remarkably clever boy, did well when he started school, and early sought responsibilities far in advance of his age in order to help his mother.

In spite of this, or more truly, *because of this*, he was not a lovable child. His excessive attachment to his mother seems to have blurred his social capacities. He could not get on with other children, fighting the boys and teasing the girls. He preferred to be alone, unless he was with his mother. He had many bad habits. He was fond of collecting curious things. For instance, he had a passion for keys, so that he would do anything to gain possession of them, when he would lock, or unlock, as the case might be, drawers, boxes, doors—anything locked, he would find the key and get unlocked. No punishments could break him of the habit, the significance of which I do not think it is necessary for me to point out.

It has seemed worth while to give this child's history, incomplete as of course it is, because it illustrates the excessive danger—a danger rarely recognised—of a young boy being in this position alone with his mother. His affection, when he matures, if not effectively sublimated, will be very likely to express itself at first in dreams, and afterwards in other directions, dependent on the attachment binding him to the mother. A further danger arises if, at any time, the woman returns to her husband, or separating from him finally divorces him, and marries again; in which case the displacement of the boy in the mother's affections must tend to develop hysteria or other form of severe neurosis, due to jealousy on his having lost the position in the centre of his mother's life which he formerly enjoyed.

The same fear is, of course, always present whenever there is a change of parent.

History 4.—A little girl was born in a home where there was already a brother passionately loved by a too good mother. The little girl soon felt, for no one feels these things so quickly as a child, that the brother had a place of greater importance than herself. An incident of the nursery may be recorded. One day the little girl played with one of the brother's favourite toys: he hit her and appealed to the mother, who acted outwardly with great fairness, telling the boy he must not be selfish and must share his toys with his sister. But inwardly the mother markedly favoured the boy; a fact which is shown by her action a few days later in buying him an expensive clockwork train, which was given with the remark, "Here is a toy for boys; girls don't care for trains." How deep an *affect* this had on the little girl may be gathered from the fact that the incident was told to me by the girl herself when she was quite grown up. "I can still remember how it hurt," was her remark. There seems to have been love and considerable sympathy from the father, but I have no details except that he often comforted her, when she was found by him crying over some scolding from the mother. She was untidy and broke things and got into trouble in consequence.

She did not hate outwardly this brother, more loved, more admired, more praised than herself; had she done this all might have been well, as she would have gained relief from expression of the hidden hostile feelings. Instead, she developed the usual device of the unhappy jealous child and took to fantasy making; pretending that she had another mother who loved her better than her brother, while at other times, she pictured herself as doing some wonderful deed to win the real mother's admiration, being very clever, very good, very beautiful. This was the inner life of make-

believe, hidden strictly from the mother and all the family. The outer life was one of continuous nervous trouble, which culminated in a severe attack of St. Vitus' Dance. Immense efforts were made to gain the approval of the mother. As, for instance, on one occasion, when she got up in the night to clean the kitchen as a surprise for the mother: but as she was clumsy (also a neurotic device for gaining the so passionately desired sympathy of the mother), the result was an overturned pail of water. When the child was discovered she was, of course, quite unable to say why she was out of bed and what she planned doing. The surprised parents probably, and naturally, thought she was bent on mischief. I believe there was a suggestion of a rifled larder: at any rate there was punishment, with the inevitable result of an intensifying of the jealous sufferings. There were many of these misfortunes and the poor child got further and further into the morass of misery caused by the stupidity of this good mother, who had no idea, I am certain, of her own preference for her son and thought her daughter had been born with an unfortunate nature, inherited from her husband's mother.

What is, however, most interesting is the later adult experience and love-life of the girl. The child is now a woman nearing thirty, very charming, very nice-looking, but she is utterly unable to settle on her love-mate. Engagement has followed engagement, but in each case the lover has been discarded for no adequate reason. She loves women and is loved by them (I should perhaps say, perfectly innocently), but she cannot love men. In all other connections there is the same twist in the character. There is an absolute inability to face situations as they really are, with a striking tendency always to see herself in the rôle of a heroine. She delights in intrigues, and invents them when they cannot be faked into an existence. Capable and intelligent, she gets into trouble wherever she is,

and has lost situation after situation owing to these mischief-making faults, while she behaves in her love affairs with a capricious unkindness very difficult to pardon if one did not understand.

History 5.—It will be well to give a brief history of the brother, which I know from hearsay. The childhood has already been sufficiently dealt with. Missing the authority of the father (who seems hardly to have counted in the home), the boy's egoistic qualities became over-accentuated, with a too great dependence on himself and a great intolerance of any kind of authority. Under the influence of the strong attachment to the mother an intensified Œdipus-complex seems to have developed, with contempt of and indifference to the father, rather than jealousy. The school career was very successful. At adolescence there was a very strong attempt to break away from the mother, with considerable conflict and a good deal of boyish bad conduct. The attempt at freedom seems not to have been successful. One feature which points to this was a very intensified, outward, over-emphasised dislike for girls, with a tendency to treat them badly. There was at the same time a good deal of clandestine love-making. There was also great extravagance and very reckless spending of money. Later, but while still quite young, a most disastrous marriage was made with a woman of the prostitute type.

These two histories show in a very vivid way the terrible and permanent harm that may be done, quite unconsciously, by a good, conscientious, unselfish and religious mother (for the mother had all these virtues) who, being blind to her own complexes, does not understand how her attitudes must affect the emotional responses and lives of her children. She destroyed one child by loving too much and the other by loving too little.

History 6.—Let us take now the history of two

daughters, born into a house with a mother and father between whom there was trouble, the father having an affection for another woman. Though the trouble was carefully hidden from the little girls it formed the decisive factor in their lives. It is not clear to me whether the love-object was the father, though I think that this was so. It was, however, the mother who was, as, indeed, usually she is, the central figure in this family drama. Both children suffered jealousy, probably of the lady (whom they knew) loved by the father, such jealousy being transferred to the mother.

The *affect* was directly opposite on each daughter. The elder, stronger, and more forceful-charactered girl developed a passionate rebellion against the mother, a specially sweet and long-suffering woman, of so violent and unreasonable a character that she could not be allowed to live at home; while the other child was the absolute type of the perfect daughter, self-sacrificing and passionately loving.

But why this case is so interesting is that it was the good child who suffered while the bad child triumphed. The rebellious daughter was able to free herself and gain inner liberty so that she was able to establish her own adult life, to work successfully and to marry happily; the dutiful daughter, on the other hand, remaining bound by the inner unsolved conflict to the parent, lost her own power to live and to love, and was not liberated even by the death of her parents. Beautiful and highly gifted, there was a dreadful shrinking from the realities of life: the idea of the physical side of love was so repulsive that marriage was impossible. There was much nervous ill-health. I would ask you to note this case very specially as it is exceedingly important. A too great devotion and anxious excess of tenderness on the part of anyone, but especially on the part of a child to a parent, covers always, and even when most hidden by a great outside devotion, an intense hostile tendency.

History 7.—In this family we see a frequent, but always unfortunate, situation. The children form the one bond of interest and happiness between the parents. The father is the most devoted, while the mother, owing probably to an unrecognised wish for power, persecutes the children through incessant loving, worrying, and burdening their liberty with over-attention. She cultivates submission with kindness and demands frequent demonstrations of affection. She is, of course, entirely unaware of her own selfishness, which she excuses, or more really hides, under the pretence of a devotion which insists that children must be kept out of dirt and mischief and be taught through love to obey and be unselfish. This “excellent” mother does not realise in the slightest that she is fulfilling her own unsatisfied desires for power by means of this incessant training and interference. The youngest child is kept a baby far beyond the baby stage, but this attentive care and persistent petting gratifies the mother. Nothing would make her understand the harm it will certainly do to the little girl.

The children are still young, the older girls and boys are at school, the younger children in the nursery, but it is not difficult to look forward to the crippling which the too possessive and selfish love of this apparently devoted mother cannot fail to exercise on their future happiness. It is fortunate that the father has considerable influence, in particular with the older boys, who are beginning to rebel against the binding of the love-rule of the mother; and through this admiration, which will lead them to take the father as their model, they may obtain the necessary freedom from their early attachment to the mother. The girls, who are younger and have not left home, are entirely devoted to the mother.

History 8.—In this history I am able to trace the effect of the parents through two generations. The

family was one brought up on the old theory of obedience for children and honour for parents, a theory so comfortable for the old who imposed it, so disastrous for the young.

The father of the group I never knew, but I believe he was a charming and cultivated gentleman of the Victorian period, of great worth and great egoism. The mother I knew when she was old. I was a child then. A terrible figure of virtue she seems as I look back—always right herself, always finding others (especially children and servants) to be wrong. She must have once been very good-looking; I believe she was also capable and clever, and much admired by her husband and her sons.

There were eight children, three boys and five girls.

It is impossible to give details of their histories; but even the bare facts are instructive, as in each case they follow the exact lines we should expect from the family situation. The daughters, who seem to have been attached to the father more than to the mother, had happier histories than the sons. Two married; one, the favourite daughter of the father, a man considerably younger than herself. In the case of both daughters, an engagement, broken off prior to the marriage, points to difficulties in establishing the love-life. Both daughters were happy in their marriages, and both had children, who had, in their turn, successful lives. Of the three remaining daughters, one died in childhood, the other two remained unmarried. One was "a middle child" and, as happens often in large families, she was small and weak, in comparison with her brothers and sisters, and so suffered from an overpowering sense of inferiority, which, concealed and covered over with many neurotic devices, was never sublimated and overcome by successful achievement, and thus formed the guiding line of her history, keeping her back from life and love. The other daughter who did not marry was the youngest in the family, and so probably she

was kept too long a child, while there was as well a very strong and emotional attachment to an elder sister: this explains why, in spite of every favourable opportunity (she was very good-looking, charming, wealthy and had many men in love with her), she never married.

The history of the sons can be given very briefly. All must have suffered under the Œdipus situation, but what is interesting is the result. For the attachment to the mother led to the greatest disaster in the case of two of the sons, while the third son, by the same means, came to the greatest happiness, after the achievement of a very perfect sublimation.

The eldest boy, the favourite of the mother, followed the usual course of those who, fixed and chained to their infantile emotions, never grow out of their childhood. There was a great deal of wild conduct, extravagance in money and failure in work. This went on through early and middle manhood. In advancing age religion was embraced, but without any real change or benefit to the character. This son never got away from the Narcissistic stage of admiration of himself. He was twice married (unhappily), had a prolific family, whose history, almost without exception, was one of unhappiness and disaster.

The second son was a more robust type. Probably there was jealousy of the elder brother and the superior place he held in the affection of the mother. This would account for failure in school work, which later was made up for by great capacity in business. A fortune was made and lost more than once. A marriage, not very happy, was entered into. Drink and every kind of coarse dissipation closed the unfortunate life record. There were five children of this marriage, and, without exception, their histories are a chronicle of the gravest disasters.

The third and youngest son was also attached to the mother, but, in his case, religion was very early utilised

to gain sublimation. A very beautiful character was in this way built up. The tenderness and affection first given to the mother were drawn upon and the surplus transferred to the Heavenly Father. He later entered the ministry. The love-history was not entirely smooth. He became engaged to a woman older than himself, but the engagement was broken. Subsequently there was a very happy marriage.

History 9.—This history has been mentioned before in Chapter VII., but it is convenient to give it here with rather fuller details, because it is the clearest example I have met with of an unconscious and successful transference of the hostile parent feelings.

It is the case of a boy who grew out of babyhood showing unusual outward affection for his father. He was also too much attached to his mother—a woman of a very decided character—being in that most unfortunate position of an only and too-much-considered boy in a family of girls. In consequence the boy suffered from strongly repressed jealous feelings, directed against the father, whom he at the same time admired and loved. In this way a conflict was aroused between love and hate, and very serious nervous symptoms arose.

Before this there was a very marked life of make-believe. An imaginary story was continued for a long period, covering several years, in which the boy, changed into a man whom he called Mr. Roberts, did all kinds of wonderful deeds. These deeds were always told to the mother; one interesting feature of the make-believe story was the number of children Mr. Roberts always had: also he was always making expedients to get rid of the wife; most frequently he drowned her in the Mississippi river: the boy at this time was five years old.

Another interesting feature was some rather curious beliefs connected with magic, similar to the customs

of certain savage tribes. The chief playmate of the boy was a sister younger than himself. The two children had a wizard about whom they were continually speaking, but about whom they refused to give any information, when questioned. But whenever the boy was angry with his sister he would say, "I shall take away your wizard." At meals they would always try to leave something on the side of their plates, and they would whisper about it. Once, when punished by a nurse for the wastefulness of the habit, the boy burst into tears, stamped his feet and cried, "We have got to leave it for the wizard." But the most elaborate ritual was connected with their dressing and undressing, and was, in some way, related to the floor-covering of the night-nursery. If the nurse or mother placed either child on certain markings in the pattern of the oil-cloth, it appeared they were walking on holy or tabooed land and would die. Both children went into the most unaccountable paroxysms of terror and anger if these taboos were not observed.

There were, as well as these manifestations, the usual symptoms of the jealous child. Night terrors, the calling for the mother and fear of the dark. An attempt to send the boy to school proved to be a failure and he had to be taught at home.

The origin of the trouble was first discovered at about ten years, when he suddenly and unaccountably developed a very passionate hatred against God. He was overheard one day swearing on his toy sword to devote his life to killing God. As he had not been brought up in an over-strictly religious house, and had never against his own desires been taken to church, this vehement hatred, which continued for some time, was noticed as unusual. As the nervous symptoms increased, a doctor trained in the understanding of the child mind was consulted. He at once recognised in this God-hatred a projection of the jealous feeling against the father. The parents learnt that this was a

sign of health, an effort the boy was making to rid himself of an unbearable inward trouble. And what should be noted is that, not hindered as so frequently happens by blundering adult interference, but instead helped by wisely directed sympathy, he was able to effect his own cure and gain liberation from his jealousy.

History 10.—This family history has no specially remarkable features. I give it because it is so ordinary. It shows, however, very plainly the harm suffered by the children when born in a home where the parents do not love each other.

The parents were ill-mated. Each disliked the other with that most harmful aversion which is never sufficiently honest to face its own existence. The children were unwelcome even to the mother; they did not compensate for the unacknowledged failure of her marriage. For, having married young a man older than herself and of a different, stronger and much coarser sexuality, she came to regard birth, and everything connected with it, with a definite dislike, almost horror. Not to condemn sex would have been self-condemnation, and must have led to a facing of the real situation, which, as usual, was the one thing escaped from. She did her duty always, splendidly, heroically; sacrificing her peace to minister to the comfort of her husband, and unselfishly tending and training her children. But her love was a kind of tortured necessity, and the need of the children was not covered by this. Beyond her love lay some ultimate claim of her own personality, some unsatisfied claim upon life. In the final analysis, where she found happiness was within and for herself, while the children were connected with the hatred that was felt for the father. And the children knew this: it was this that in reality decided their fate.

For children born unwelcomed, though they may never become aware of the fact, do know—or *feel* would

be the truer word—that something is amiss. Day by day they are placed under the influence of their parents' conflicts. They come, by that curious process in which nothing is ever hidden from a child, to know that they are in the way; they are a bond that binds the parents against their deepest inclinations, forcing them to repress vital longings; and through this adverse action, pressing upon their sensitive child feelings, inner disharmonies are started, until their own capacity for love and achievement and happiness is slowly and insidiously ruined.

In this home there were daughters but no sons. Gifted, beautiful, intellectual and with every worldly advantage, they were hindered from finding happiness by problems of feeling. Passionately desiring love, there were difficult and repeated failures in finding love. It was as if a most powerful but intangible fear held them back. There was an inability to meet life. In the case of one daughter, who had gained some inner freedom through successful achievement in work, there was a serious nervous illness, after an unfortunate emotional crisis. One daughter married. Another gained happiness by the path of religion—the great and probably most satisfactory refuge for those who, for any cause, have to face a too painful inner conflict. For God, who is taken as the love-object, being invisible, never disappoints, never wounds and never fails. Hence the unselfish happiness and devotion of the truly religious.

History II.—This is the history of a child's insurmountable difficulties, first with the parents and afterwards with himself. The father was of the type determined to rule and unmindful of the tender nature of the child. The mother was unwisely devoted to the boy and too emotionally loved in return. The situation was precisely right for ruining the boy. He was eager and nervous as an infant and a young child. Repressions of an unusually severe character were

used by the father to teach restraint and self-discipline. Once, for instance, he was made in winter to stand out in the cold snow when very thinly clad. It is probable that the father had sadistic tendencies, which unconsciously he was satisfying. That this discipline acted adversely and much too hardly upon the boy was shown, and ought to have been recognised, by the appearance of severe stammering and other nervous troubles.

A very fortunate school career, in the course of which great success was gained, gave great relief to the boy. He became much happier and less nervous. Then a most unfortunate love experience at the beginning of adolescence, with a woman many years older than himself, completed the trouble started in his childhood. Erotic practices were begun and indulged in at intervals, but always against the most terrible moral struggles. An incredible misery developed through shame at the weakness of his power to resist. For a period some relief was gained through intellectual interests and achievement in work. There was also a very passionate love of Nature which brought some comfort. But the effort for sublimation broke down, failing probably to meet the demands of this excessively fine and self-judging soul. Under the remorse of failure, there was a complete breakdown of the personality. The denied impulses returned in a disguised, painful and obsessive form. His history ended most tragically and a character of great beauty was destroyed because of the unhappy unsolved problems of his childhood and boyhood.

History 12.—The mother in this family was held closely bound in the Electra situation, the chains of her childhood's prison not being broken even after her marriage and when she had children of her own. In her girlhood she had been the constant companion of her father, her attachment to him having been founded and maintained on intellectual interests

shared together. The intellect was persistently and most barrenly cultivated, while the emotions were denied. The result was, of course, a building-up of a fiction of life entirely removed from reality. The relations with the mother were hostile and remained hostile through the adult life. Their failure "to get on" was explained by the daughter as being due to the stupidity of the mother (who really was a very practical and clever woman, though not intellectual); this fiction being used, of course, as a covering excuse for her own concealed jealousy of the father's love for the mother. For the husband and wife were really fond of one another. The intellectual companion the husband missed in his wife he found in his daughter.

A marriage was made with a man younger than herself, and of a specially gentle and yielding nature, so that she was able to impose her character upon his. There were several children from the marriage. Both parents are strong and vigorous. The children are weak, with marked nervous traits. They show tendencies, both in their bodies and in their minds, that would seem to be inexplicable, if one did not know the parental history and the heavy clouds of unreality under which they were being reared.

That is why I have given this history. The worst home influence that is honest is better than any form of pretence. Always the family situation is specially harmful and destroying whenever the secret desires have been disguised and justified by subterfuges and invented refinements of their real character.

History 13.—In this history we have a further example of the Electra situation: a daughter who, as a child, was too strongly attached to her father. A complication came through the death of the father, and a partial liberation was achieved by a transference of the love for the dead earthly father to the Heavenly Father. I have referred to this case already in Chapter IX., where I told how this child used to substitute

" My papa which is in heaven " for " Our Father which art in heaven," night and morning when saying the Lord's Prayer. Throughout childhood and adolescence there was a precocious and strongly developed religious life. As well as the love to the dead father there grew up a strong attachment for the mother, much increased through illness. There was also a very powerful constitutional inferiority dating from birth, which was increased by the presence of an older and cleverer sister. There was great mental backwardness in childhood and up to adolescence.

Under the direction of these three guiding tendencies, *i. e.*, passionate love for the dead father, the affection for the mother, and an ever-present consciousness of inferiority, the character was built up in a sharply defined direction. For, as is almost always the case with the constitutionally weak or physically inferior child, the guiding principles were clung to and followed with great tenacity and anxiety.

This strengthened the character, which became determined and in favourable circumstances capable of great achievement; but was unable to bear contradiction, and, under opposition, became dogmatic, while any unkindness rendered the exact opposite result and the character became childishly ineffective.

There was, as was inevitable, persistent activity of many neurotic devices to cover inferiority. Probably much of the early delicacy was an unconscious trick used to arouse pity. A breakdown and illness when boarding-school life was tried seem to prove this. The inability to learn may also be explained in the same way. There was the usual neurotic refusal to face unpleasant facts, and the energy that should have been given to life, during childhood and up till about fifteen years, was used up in dreams. There was some religious mysticism; a vision in which it was believed God was seen, and a frequent recurring desire for death (explained, of course, by the unbroken attachment to the dead father in heaven).

An unusually fortunate combination of outside events turned, at about fourteen, the girl's attention away from herself and her dreams. A capable and understanding schoolmistress aroused in her a desire to learn. Then an examination, in which, to the surprise of everyone and herself, she excelled her older and cleverer sister, fired her ambition. Intellectual advancement was rapid and continuous. At about the same time, new responsibilities in the home had to be undertaken. Under the fortunate pressure of the new necessities the inferiority complex was largely overcome. There was still considerable inner uncertainty, covered over by an increasing tendency to aggressiveness and the desire "to boss" and rule others. The persistence of the original guiding feeling was seen by the complete breakdown of power, if placed in any position which aroused the feeling of inferiority.

The emotional life was even more marked as dependent on the original guiding lines. There was a marked adolescent homo-sexual love period, during which friendships were made with girls and women always older than herself. There was a tendency to change these friendships, the passionate nature of which was manifest. On one occasion hours were spent hiding behind a hay-stack to watch for the passing of the loved friend; then, when she came, a sudden timidity made it impossible to go and speak to her (the hindering inferiority feelings).

The hetero-sexual love life developed late. It is here that the special interest in this history arises. Still bound by her childhood's relations to her dead father, she fell in love only where there was some obstacle to the attachment. Of course, she did not know the reason; she believed it was the mischance of circumstances that brought her again and again into these difficult and painful positions. She did not know that the presence of an obstacle was a necessity before she could love. There was the continuous

desire to repeat the situation of the first love. The very common need, felt by those who fail to gain freedom from the love to the parents, was strengthened in the case of this girl by the fact of her father being in heaven. So powerful, indeed, was the unconscious need that the necessity extended from the emotional sphere to the other departments of life, and conditioned all her activities. Only obstacles liberated the energy necessary to lead to action and achievement. This woman needed trouble, failure, and opposition as others need peace, encouragement, and success.

I may say here that this need for an obstacle in love is a fact that specially ought to be understood and recognised. It sends a new sharp light on the question as to why so many people fall in love with those already married. This is not chance or misfortune: it is one of the penalties paid by those who do not escape from their parents. But this question will be considered again in Chapter XV.

History 14.—This history may be stated briefly. In one of its main lines it repeats the situation of the previous history. We saw there how constitutional inferiority under favourable circumstances, and by developing an aggressive attitude to life through the desire to overcome inferiority, encouraged efficiency and led eventually to successful achievement. The neurotic uncertainty (as Adler so aptly calls it) may, however, have a precisely opposite and depressive result, so that the character is turned away from effort and driven back to childish dependence and incapacity. That is why I give this history as a warning of the tremendous emotional difficulties, which have to be encountered by children who are in any way physically handicapped.

In the case of this child, a boy, there was a slight organic inferiority as well as great general weakness. He suffered also other grave disabilities. He was the youngest child, and his strong, big, clever brothers

and sisters were always about him as a reproach for his smallness and weakness. Then he had a too devoted mother and a too sheltered and regulated life. He was not encouraged to play with the other children, whose boisterous health frightened him. As he grew older his delicacy was largely outgrown. But many character traits developed, all based on the wish for security. The very common neurotic device of clumsiness and untidiness was unconsciously cultivated, which saved him from being asked to do things. Much time was spent in reading, which was, as so often it is, a form of day-dreaming to escape from reality.

These conditions lasted until he was sent to a boarding school. The always-present tendency of the inferior child to be afraid of new situations was pronounced. The boy was very unhappy away from home, and his absence served only to bind him more firmly to his childish attachments.

A strong effort was, however, made towards self-assertion and, prompted probably by a desire to beat the achievements of a clever elder brother, a very good school-record was made. Emancipation from the inferiority complex in this way might have been gained, and was gained in the intellectual sphere. But an unfortunate choice of a profession, which rather quickly resulted in failure, inevitably brought a revival of the childish attitudes. Security again was the one thing that was sought for. Attention was turned towards the past, and almost entirely estranged from the unhappy uncertainty of the present under the compulsive idea: "What can I do in order to be safe?" In this way the character became further and further removed from reality, and suspended in a mesh of fictions and theories of life, with an incredible incapacity for action or any facing of the problems of daily living.

There was no desire to marry. The emotions found their satisfaction in a strongly developed unconscious eroticism. Thus the guiding desire grew to be the

exaltation of the ego-satisfactions as an effortless way in which an escape could be gained from the unbearable pain of facing inferiority.

History 15.—The family situation in this case is fortunately unusual, but it is well worth our notice, because it shows how a harshly condemned sexual abnormality may be directly dependent on the childish relations to the parent.

It is the case of a boy with a father-fixation instead of the usual situation. The mother had left the home when the boy was an infant, and he had been brought up by the father with very great devotion.

There is nothing to record of the boy's childhood or boyhood, which was in a marked degree ordinary. This is very usually found where boys have a stronger attachment for the father than for the mother. There is not the same conflict of love and hate, and not the same desire towards self-assertion, prompting rebellion, or eccentricities, or any kind of remarkable behaviour; for the mother is so different, being of another sex, that, unless she is loved, she can be ignored. In normal circumstances the father-fixation tends to a low valuation and dislike of women. The boy's affections are permanently bent towards men rather than women. It is one cause of frequent unhappiness in marriage and explains much male cruelty. It may prevent marriage. It also promotes conservatism and old-fashioned views, by closing one of the widest doors of emotional conflict.

Wherever, as in the case of this boy, there is an exceptionally exaggerated love between father and son, causing a homo-sexual fixation, there may be the development of deplorable sadistic tendencies. Marriage in such circumstances must lead to terrible unhappiness.

History 16.—This history is different from the others in one important particular. As was the case in

History 10, the children (two daughters) were born into a home where they were not wanted: this was not, however, because the parents were ill-mated, without harmony and love and driven to satisfy their longings by the means of their children, but because they were well-mated, so completely harmonious the one to the other that they wanted nothing beyond themselves. There must, of course, have been a reason for this in their own histories of which I have no knowledge. The normal expression of love brings with it the desire and love for children. This father and mother were intellectual and greatly engrossed in social work. This probably explains the ego-centric nature of their love. Perhaps to each of them work meant fulfilment, while the children, to the mother at least, meant frustration—prevention from work and the power gained from personal achievement.

They were conscientious parents. Their little daughters were fully looked after and carefully reared. But the parents did not keep near enough to them—some essential thing that the children wanted most was absent. They felt this in the way in which children always feel, though there was nothing outwardly expressed to make them feel. Probably the parents themselves were entirely unconscious of their own attitude. That is why I give this case: active unkindness may do so much less harm than an unacknowledged and entirely hidden unkindness.

The frigid parental feelings conditioned the life of the two girls. Both grew up neurotic, and suffering the greatest difficulty in facing life. A partial liberation was gained, in the case of one daughter, by success in a literary career, and by the other from social work and a happy homo-sexual friendship. Neither daughter had the slightest desire to marry.

Histories 17, 18 and 19.—I shall give now brief records of three cases of failures in the adult life and in marriage, in order to illustrate the most common

ways in which an unsolved Oedipus-complex wrecks happiness. I am acquainted with the bare facts of the early home relationships, but am unable to give details. I shall call these cases X., Y., Z.

X. was the only son of a young and beautiful mother and a hard unsympathetic father. The mother devoted herself too exclusively to her son, though she was always dutiful and submissive to her husband, a factor which would, of course, increase the boy's jealousy. There was an emotional episode when he was quite young. A further difficulty arose from the father being a schoolmaster, and the unwise arrangement by which the boy was taught by him. This closed the door of opportunity of transference of the buried hostile feelings. The adolescent rebellion was of a very severe nature, and the boy left home. Under the influence of these rather unfortunate circumstances the main guiding of the character seems to have been in the direction of sexual preoccupation and an enormously powerful jealousy. Through all his experience the unfortunate circumstances of his home followed him like a shadow. He could never find happiness in any association: his desire for love prompted him to seek women, but never allowed him for long to satisfy his longings. He was unfaithful to all women because he was unconsciously faithful to the memory of one woman—his mother. This mechanical pursuit for happiness, which for ever eluded him, went on for several years with continuous promiscuous love-making, which hardened and petrified the emotional capacities. Then a marriage was made with a girl of a very fine and beautiful character. For a time peace was found. But with the birth of the first child jealousy sprang up to destroy happiness. This great mistrust of love became so accentuated that he tortured his wife with gloomy fits of unreasoning jealousy, and as there was no possibility of getting rid of the intruding baby or of his wife submitting wholly to his desires, he left her, in circumstances which showed the sentimental egotism

and callousness that so frequently characterise the confirmed amorist, who has come to react automatically to any love that recalls to his unconscious mind the first infantile emotional situation.

The history of Y. is quite different, less objectionable, but equally disastrous. I have few details as to the early history, except that there was delicacy in childhood and boyhood which prevented attendance at school. This may help to account for an unusually strong and persistent mother-fixation. The result was that all through life, under difficulties, as for instance when called upon to make any decision or to enter into any fresh line of action, there was an alarming regression to the childish level. Always this man ran back to his mother in a symbolic way. This childishness caused very great unhappiness in his marriage. Unconsciously he demanded from his wife a return to the childhood's situation, when he received comfort from his mother. He claimed protection from her, instead of, as she expected, giving it to her. He was happy only when entirely absolved from any responsibility. There were constant disputes about things forgotten and duties neglected. A very serious inner struggle must have gone on unconsciously between the man's normal and abnormal tendencies; that is, between what he felt he ought and wanted to be as a man and what he was impelled to be by the irresistible dragging back to the childish behaviour; and this concealed conflict caused, and explains, the confusion, the otherwise unexplainable variability, in his relations with his wife, whom sometimes he overwhelmed with tenderness and love, and at other times treated with great indifference. She, of course, was quite unable to account for his changeableness. After a time she left him and went to another man.

Z. was the youngest of a family of several brothers, and was for too long kept a baby. His hair was long

and curled. This may seem a trivial thing, but it is just these unnoticed trifles which so often give the key to the real situation. The mother had greatly wished for a girl: her petting of the youngest boy can be partially explained as the fulfilling of this desire. The result on the boy's after-life was inevitably most unfortunate, as, indeed, must always be the case when parents use their children for selfish gratifications. The wishes of the mother were carried out in a way which she neither understood nor expected—a way which, in the after years, caused her and her son the greatest sorrow. For the boy grew up passively homo-sexual. The fixation on his mother caused him to identify himself with her so entirely that psychically he lost his manhood and became the girl she had wished him to be.

History 20.—I give this family history because it stands out in such clear and bright contrast with all the other histories. It is a family of several children, boys and girls, in approximately the same circumstances as the other families. But in this case the father and mother are most successfully and harmoniously mated. The children take their right place and are neither neglected nor too much considered: they are loved by both the father and the mother, but not possessed by either parent; each child is welcomed, encouraged, helped and understood, and is never used to fulfil the concealed wishes of the parents, who find their emotional fulfilment each in the other.

In this encouraging, but never over-stimulating, environment, the children have been able to develop their characters without the customary useless waste and failures. The boys and girls are healthy and successful. There is really nothing more to say about them. And I would end this last splendid and uneventful record by quoting, with a small alteration, the old saying, "Happy is the family that has no history."

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHOICE OF A PROFESSION AND SUCCESS IN A PROFESSION

"I find in the whole crowded spectacle of mankind . . . a sense of fine things entangled, stifled and unable to free themselves from the ancient limiting jealousies. . . . We want to emancipate our lives from this slavery and these stupidities, from dull hatreds and suspicions. The ripening mind of our race tires of these boorish and brutish and childish things."—

H. G. WELLS, "The Passionate Friends."

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER: How parents can use to the greatest advantage the early home training—Power of moulding the outside world necessary for success in life—This power retained only where the conflicts of childhood are solved—Parents may repress discipline and shelter so as to destroy vitality—References to Family Histories—The neglect of the unconscious—The divided character—The real growth of character—The development from the infantile attachments and feelings to soul liberty—Some remarks about control—Psycho-analytic education—Mind independence—The effect of this neglect of the unconscious on the choice of a profession—Two origins for every act—Illustrations—An outside view of the position—What does success in life depend upon—The power to lead needed for success—Our education does not encourage this power—The reason for this—The old do not wish the young to be able to lead—The unsatisfied hunger of age—Psychologically running back to the mother—Application to the choice of a profession—The child likes any profession which seems to promise opportunities for domination and display—The trades children play at and why they do so—Either power or safety are sought—A profession is chosen that gives in a sublimated form gratification to a repressed wish—Danger of parental interference—The process of sublimation—This an unconscious process of liberation—Inferiority considered as a help to success—It may urge on to effort—A personal illustration—Other illustrations—The professions in their bearing and relation to the character of the child—Three classes of professions—An examination of these classes—Religion as a means of expression.

THREE things I have been anxious to bring out prominently in the foregoing Family Histories: (1) that

there are many variations in the way in which the situations of childhood affect the later development; (2) that the after-experiences and adult life are directly conditioned by the early home relationships; (3) that parental love is not always unselfish, that in many cases children are used unconsciously most selfishly as a means to satisfy the secret unrealised desires of the parents.

I now wish to establish these statements in two short chapters dealing with the Adult Life. First I shall speak of the choice of a profession and success in a profession, which subject I take now because it is less difficult, less entangled than the second subject—marriage and success in marriage.

Psycho-analytic teaching, it has been well said, is a revealer of new knowledge.¹ It does really change our outlook on all the main questions of life. In the very limited space that I have left it will be possible to do little more than throw out a few suggestions. The subject is exceedingly difficult. For one thing, to many people it is emotionally disturbing to consider life from a new standpoint, and for all of us it entails a formidable change of attitude, in particular, in regard to ourselves. There is much that we shall have to accept which, possibly, before we have condemned. But this is largely because we have known so little really about ourselves. We shall, I hope, gain a clearer view; we have now learnt many truths that should cast forward suggestions for the solution of our own conflicts and our relations with our children.

How, then, can the parents use best the early home years, when they rule their children's lives and mould their characters, in order to direct them towards a wise choice of a profession and assist them in gaining the liberating joy of success? Or, in the opposite direction, how avoid hindering them, and causing the paralysing effect of failure? I am referring, of course, to the psychological position, in which the question

whether the child is helped forward by the parent or held back by the parent is conditioned by the inner conflict, and is not dependent on any form of mere outward assistance or failure in assistance.

Let us look, however, at the position first from the outside.

It is sufficiently plain that the ideal characteristics for general success in life are progressive and creative; or I may put it like this: that which is most to be desired for success is that the child's spontaneous vital joy in life will persist and continue with growth, giving the necessary power to mould the outside world.

Now I do not think it is necessary for me to say we do not achieve this by our present educational system. Why is this? Is it not because we have realised only one half of the child's character, the conscious half, and neglected the other, the unconscious half, thus inevitably leaving them to face the conflict between the divided halves of their character so that in confusion they lose part of themselves. I mean they are led into actions and ways of behaviour by hidden causes that are connected with painful experiences that have been forgotten. We know that the childish fixation on the parents, with the early emotional situations in the home, and the possibility of gaining liberation from these first hindering feelings, are the factors which decide mainly whether the character develops successfully or fails in the struggles of the adult life.

I would ask you to refer back to the Family Histories to illustrate the frequent presence of this hindering parent-fixation. Read again History No. 7, where the mother gratifies an unconscious desire for power by incessantly training and interfering with her children, or History No. II, in which you see how terribly the repression suffered in childhood ruined the whole after-life. This discipline was given by a father, who certainly believed he was schooling his little son in necessary control, whereas, in reality, he

was satisfying his own deeply buried sadistic desires. Yet again, History No. 14, which gives a quite opposite treatment, but equally destroying. For here we have a boy who, through being sheltered and helped by his mother in his childhood, remained a child when he was a man. He became, through his unconscious fixation to her, incapable of any kind of productive work or of living a satisfactory and responsible life. You will find the same situation, varied in the details in every possible way, in each of these Family Histories. You can also think of any number of examples for yourself, if you accustom and train yourself to observe the psychological relationships of families that are known to you.

We find, then, that we have to regard the course of the character's development as an advance from the infantile attachments and feelings towards personal liberty; the liberty of the soul, which is found only where the individual has command of his whole self—his unconscious as well as his conscious mind. This, of course, can never be fully attained by anyone, but it is the aim to be striven after.

We continually think of control as if it indicated absence of doing something—the holding back of energising emotions. So entirely contrary to fact is this misconception that it would be nearer the truth to say that what we claim as control is really loss of control; it implies a transference of the libido into the service of the unconscious. For this withdrawal of the libido acts to divert the powers of life into those by-paths of substitute gratification which waste so large a part of the forces of character. The aim of psycho-analytic education is to lessen this waste and to give the individual mind independence.²

You will see the conclusion which the acceptance of this view forces in connection with the subject we are considering—the choice of a profession. For at present, both in regard to our own motives and our children's

desires in making decision as to the life-work to be undertaken, we believe we are guided by our conscious minds, the reasons of which we are aware of, whereas we are quite unaware of the unreasoning impulses, of the unconscious wishes which are behind these reasons and really guide us. We may on this account be led to choose a profession for a reason of which our moral censor entirely disapproves, which is, of course, the reason why our motive is hidden from us. I can hardly over-emphasise the importance of this fact. Always it is necessary to remember that for every act we do and opinion we have there are two origins, namely, the known outward reason, and the real, but unknown, unconscious reason. For instance, a short time ago I lost my purse with a fairly large sum of money in it. The reasons of which I was aware were exhaustion, over-work and some anxiety. Now I was extremely worried at the loss. (The purse was returned through the admirable service of Scotland Yard.) Apparently it would be ridiculous to say that I *wanted* to lose the money. Yet in an examination of the position, such as I have accustomed myself to make, I found quite easily the directing guiding power of my unconscious mind. At the time, I was threatened with a very unjust lawsuit, which might have involved heavy payments. You will see how my unreasoning unconscious mind confused the issues, making me act in a childish way; just as a little child turns its head from you and pretends it cannot be seen, so I pretended that by losing this money I should not be able to make the disliked payment. We ought to train ourselves to look behind our acts for their psychical significance.

If we look now, again, for a moment at the position from the outside, we find the most surprising mistakes in this matter of the right training of the young for adult success in a profession and choice of a profession.

Success in life differs from success in the home and

at school, because in the home and at school success is conditioned by ability to follow, to learn, and to obey—to do without any great and disturbing variations what other people are doing, or to repeat with some intelligence what you have heard or been told, or have read; whereas success in life is mainly dependent, so far as this is not a question of the unconscious wishes, on success in dealing with persons, on being able, not to follow, but to lead. Even the country labourer who deals with animals and plants has to learn to direct and use them for his own purposes.

Now it is not hard to find the hidden reason which explains the persistence of this wrong kind of training, which has been tolerated and upheld from generation to generation. For it is just this holding back of youth from experience which feeds the concealed desires of the older generation to attain the immortalisation of themselves by means of the young. If the young go on too quickly, they are left the further behind. I cannot urge this matter more strongly than has been done already. Nor need I speak again of the imperative need of the child's soul to escape from the detaining hands of the parents.

This process of liberation is always very painful for the child. That is why so often there are rebellion and unkindness. This, too, we have learnt. And until parents are sufficiently instructed to understand and assist in the accomplishment of this difficult process of emotional liberation, the children should not remain too closely bound outwardly to the parents. For this adds the outer urge of the habits of dependence to increase the trouble of the inner compulsion. Both the parents and the child tend to repeat the situations of the past: the child to live again in the security of the directed unperplexity of the ego-centric childhood, and the parents to satisfy their wishes vicariously through the children. This, as is evident, prevents the young from experimenting, going on to learn and

to conquer: it keeps them with the old, uses their vitality to feed the terrible unsatisfied hunger of age.

We ought to refuse to countenance any longer this sacrifice, which always is going on under so many disguises. The man or the woman, to take one instance, whose spontaneous feelings as children were universally checked with disciplinary repressions, or who were so guided, protected, and cared for that there was no opportunity for them to assume an attitude of their own, to do what they wished themselves to do and not what the parents fixed they ought to do; such over-regulated characters will never in adult life have any power of assuming an attitude of responsibility towards life or be capable of guiding others. In every difficulty psychologically they will run back to the mother.

Let us now consider these questions in relation to the choice of a profession. And first it should be noted that the desire to find compensation for past failure is a feature in all the early choices of a profession by children and adolescents. The little child is overwhelmed with authority and the adolescent is overwhelmed with himself. Even in the most favourable circumstances, the child is so tiny in a big world, and the adolescent so uncertain in his own soul. The child wishes also to be big and the adolescent to be grown up and a man; and both imagine themselves in authority. It even has been suggested³ that little children wish to climb and to stand on things because usually they are so low down and below things. And a common game of young children, "I am the king of the castle and you're a dirty rascal," which they cry as soon as they can climb up on some bank or object that raises them above their companions, seems to confirm this. The boy would like to be a builder of roofs, a man who goes up ladders, and above everything else an aviator. It is the apparent power of controlling the parents and other grown-ups that attracts children to the life of a policeman, a soldier, a teacher or an engine-driver.

The ideas of domination and display are to be found in all these occupations, and this explains their attraction. The dream profession is a consolation and is the result of a thwarted wish—the child's wish to be powerful. I want you to understand this absolutely clearly. The child feels helpless, but he wishes to be irresistible, so he imagines himself a policeman, who is always very big, over-powering, and who orders about even fathers. Again the adolescent boy almost always wants more money than he possesses, for spending money is one of the easiest ways of gaining a make-believe feeling of power; so he thinks of himself as being a successful financier, on the stock-exchange, in a bank, or even as a swindler.

This power-wish is one of the simplest examples of the hidden motives that may direct towards certain occupations, of which all have a similar egoistic-displaying character, though they may be quite different outwardly. There are also any number of deeper and more complicated wishes that furnish a less direct expression. As, for instance, the neurotic or nervous child, held down with a too painful sense of inferiority, who rushes to the opposite extreme, and desires neither assertion nor power, but security and peace. Such a child would seek safety in an easy and obscure profession, and in his dreams and his play would imagine himself a waiter, a postman, or a lift-man. And it is helpful to remember that, in many cases, these childish pretendings do form an affective guiding towards the adult choice of a profession.

The psychological interest of children's play was neglected almost entirely, until the psycho-analytic study of the child revealed its deep importance. Parents even still are apt to treat children as unthinking beings and to dismiss their play as having no special significance. This is, indeed, closing the open door—an entrance revealed unconsciously by the child into the deep places of his mind. The play of children is always

instructive, and should never fail to be studied by the parents. The story of the unconscious life often may be read from play and from dreams. The play fulfils a purposive function and gives the child's soul the liberation it is always seeking. Take one instance; the child exercises on the inanimate objects he handles the treatment he cannot give to adults. The little girl can punish her doll; she cannot punish her younger brother or sister of whom she is jealous, the baby who has taken her place. The boy can swish with a stick at a lamp-post or a tree, but he cannot hit his father or his elder brothers. Parents fail almost always in distinguishing what is of importance in the life of children, and what does not matter. They have not trained themselves to recognise the thwarted wishes concealed behind these plays of grown-up make-believe. It is the hidden emotional feelings connected with the play that marks the importance and the permanent *affects*.

Thus the children who dream of themselves as being in places of safety will, unless the character is liberated from its infantile attachment and strengthened, always tend to seek subordinate positions: they will make good clerks and excellent servants. While the children who assert themselves, and wish directly for power in their fantasies, will, in after-life, be attracted to the profession of a politician, a judge, an orator, an actor, a preacher, a general, or other leader of men, and any form of power-giving work. These are just examples very roughly classified. It is easy to understand why so many children, and especially girls, dream of being film actors and actresses. It would be difficult to find an easier day-dream for satisfying the instinct of display. Then there is the very common dream of being a nurse, which is motivated by the characteristic (partly sublimated) wish of sacrifice and service as a compensatory device for attracting admiration and homage.

There are endless variations in these vocational day-dreams, which often are formed of combinations of wishes, acting and reacting with, and also against, each other. The child may, for instance, if his assertiveness has led, through excessive conflict, to a concealed cruelty, become a clever surgeon or a butcher; or he may be attracted to the profession of a teacher because it will give him power over those who are little and weak. Of course he does not know this, has no idea why he chose to be a schoolmaster. It is in ways like these that censored wishes which must be repudiated by the conscious mind gain substitute fulfilment.

It is most necessary that we should understand these unconscious processes of substitute fulfilment. For now this transference frequently is hindered, checked where it might be beneficial, and left unchecked where it ought to be checked. And in no other direction, perhaps, is there greater harm done than by interference with the young in regard to the profession they enter. The deep instinctive motives which will express themselves in a disguised way in childhood must be noted; for, being unknown by the boy or girl, they cannot be told. These unconsciously revealed needs ought never to be neglected or entirely thwarted. We may think we shall be able to remedy the matter and fulfil the wishes in some other way. Very rarely can this be done. It is improbable that the sublimation of an instinctive desire so that it changes one form of expression to a different and higher form can be accomplished consciously. For sublimation may be said to be as the spirit of life, which bloweth where it listeth and thou canst see and rejoice at the sight thereof, but thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. That is why it is so dangerous to interfere too much with the child's own efforts. There is in his soul the continuously active striving to find liberation by the sublimation of his censored and rejected desires. But we shall continue to hinder

and obstruct this beneficial process as long as we go on in our ostrich-like manner, hiding our heads in the heaped-up sand of ignorance. We fail in all kinds of ways that we are only just beginning to recognise.

Perhaps the most practical educational application for parents and teachers, that must inevitably follow from a deeper and wiser understanding of the emotional life of children, will be a quite new and more careful estimate of natural capacities, or, to be more exact, of the "affective determinants" of each child's individual character, in order to judge what special posts in life they should be trained for, and what class of work should be undertaken. Such an awful wastage of the young in each generation is permitted. One of the truths we have to accept, is our greater responsibility now that we know that sin, even when it descends to the utmost depths to which human depravity can go, is not innate in, but accidental to, the character of each individual sinner.⁴ What destroys the personality, opens a door to unhappiness and failure, to crime and to disease, is some confusion within the psyche, so that the Kingdom of the Grace of the Spirit cannot preserve itself whole.

There is, fortunately, another and happier side that should be considered. Even to-day, and in spite of our failures in understanding the child, the child is often saved, even miraculously, from our confusing interference and heavy adult claims; and may, and frequently does, win through to achievement and freedom and happiness by a great variety of fortunate combinations of circumstances. If, for instance, the feeling of inferiority conflicts with self-assertive feelings, and the latter are encouraged by success, such as some conquest over physical disability or other form of affective accomplishment, then there may grow up a determined will to overcome inferiority. Such a case is examined in History No. 13, where a constitutionally inferior child attained an affective and assertive

character that led to sublimated achievement in the adult life; while, in the next History, No. 14, this liberation was prevented by the hindering over-carefulness of the parents, and an unwise choice of a profession.

In this way constitutional weakness and inabilities in childhood may lead to a desire for power in some form. The child says, when found at fault and feeling its present weakness and helplessness, "When I grow up I shall . . ." and in this way the will is directed onwards to achieve. Teasing and even some unkindness, by arousing the counter-will, may also be an element leading on to success.

I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I give a personal illustration here. As a child I was delicate and very backward. I could not learn to read. My play-fellows laughed at me. My mother apologised for me to my aunts and others, who compared me with their children or my much cleverer sister. I suffered: but I used to say to myself, "Never mind, when I grow up, I shall write books myself." I am sure that I owe to the determination to overcome this early deficiency and backwardness the fact that I am a writer. I think, too, it has helped me to understand children.

Biographies of great men and women will furnish many examples of this kind of compensatory achievement. Demosthenes, the stammerer in his youth, became the greatest orator in Greece, Schumann, the musician, was deaf, Leonardo da Vinci was born illegitimately. Then, again, desire for approval may focus the child's attention to any direction in which its proficiency has been praised. Darwin's interest in and early investigation of flower life had their origin in the influence and encouragement of his mother. The personality of the child struggles towards happiness. This happiness must be found in some way. The forces that exert a definite influence upon success and failure are most of them concealed from consciousness,

but, nevertheless, they do direct the child's efforts. Most children are, potentially, finely creative, but so few are fortunate enough to gain sufficient inner liberty, with the right combination of outward circumstances (sufficient help and encouragement, but not too much to soften the will, also sufficient opposition and difficulty, but again not too much to break the will), so that the character is freed from the crippling burden of the inner conflicts, and is stiffened by the outer influences to overcome or evade the resistances that consume power and prevent happiness.

This soul liberation, which is continuous achievement, is gained only through conflict. Tragedy follows sometimes, suffering is certain, but a way is forced forwards. Such characters live and do not die. They see life through to the end, and, at the end, they gather to themselves a strength that opens a door, giving entrance to the holy realm of understanding.

It must be so.

The artist pays by his defects for his superiority. His ego-centric character, a witness to some early never-quite-overcome burden of inferiority, finds compensations that lead him instinctively to absorb everything into the hive of his art; he fills the cells of his powers, in words, or sounds, or paint, or steel, with all the honey and the bitter pollen of experience that life offers to him.

But I am being led away from the main purpose of this chapter, and to the artists and to certain necessities arising out of the artistic life I shall return in the section next following this one. I wish to examine now, very rapidly, the professions in their bearing and relation to the character of the child.

Professions may, I think, be roughly grouped into three classes: (1) The constructive group, such as the engineer, the architect and builder, the doctor, or anyone who directly works to make things; (2) the self-expressive group, as the artist, the actor, the

preacher, or all who work to escape from themselves; (3) the abstract analytic regulative group, such as the banker, the lawyer, or business man and all those who strive mainly to accumulate wealth.

Now the child whose attention is turned outwards and away from himself, who is extroverted, who, when in trouble and too strongly affected by the inner conflict, becomes aggressive, violent, bumptious or destructive—that is, the child who tends to gain relief by action rather than by dreaming, who is curious and inventive, who does things much better than he can learn things—this child, unless prevented and discouraged, will succeed in the first group of occupations—the constructive. On the other hand, the child whose attention turns inwards to himself, who is introverted, who sulks instead of storms, is often untruthful, who broods over wrongs—that is, the child who day-dreams and lives in a world he creates for himself, who is evasive and solitary, who thinks much better than he acts—such a child belongs to the second group, and may, if sublimation is successfully achieved, become the artist, the actor, or preacher, the painter or musician. While the child who is abstract-minded, intellectually receptive, argumentative and excessively acquisitive and inclined to make collections of wanted and unwanted objects, would appear to be suited for the third group of money-accumulative occupations. (There must, of course, be considerable over-lapping in this classification, which is used only because of its convenience for my purpose.)

I propose to examine the third class first, because it can be dealt with briefly and is the least important. That, at least, is my opinion—an opinion which, as I frankly admit, is biased by personal inclinations. This, then, is what I feel. The group of abstract, analytic and regulative professions suffers from the original defect of being connected with egoism and introspection, and all the character traits connected with the Narciss-

istic period of growth. Further, they intensify the pre-eminence of the intellectual faculties and ignore the emotions, which is, in my opinion, one of the main sources of weakness and failure in our wrongly civilised society. They dry up, and at the same time they over-inflate, the character. They lead to aggression, to the accumulation of worthless things, and this encourages a terrible lack of vital interests.

The advantage of the first group, the constructive professions, is that they satisfy the deep desires, by turning the attention away from the Self; away, that is, from the inner world of psychic conflict to the outer world of effort and reality. There is much less danger of disaster and losing the way. Those who meet with some encouragement in them have the great satisfaction of visible achievement, of tangible utility. Their works praise and express them. It is unfortunate that the modern world does not give a proper position and sufficient recognition to constructive work. It is underpaid and under-honoured in comparison with financial exploiting, marketing, and legal ability.

The second group of occupations essentially (and more than either of the other two groups) exists in order to satisfy inner needs, and the work is done because of its liberating powers, and not in order to produce any results in the outer world, or to record historical facts; although it may incidentally accomplish both these things. Its justification is not shown in what is achieved, but rather in the act of achieving. Religion, art, sport, acting, dancing, are all occupations in this class: differing as they do in value and dignity, they all alike satisfy the inner needs of men and women and derive their character value from their psychological *affects*.

The activity of the writer, the actor, the painter or the musician closely resembles the activities of the imaginative child who writes stories, dresses up, sings to himself, or scribbles drawings in his lesson books.

And the artist tends to retain the instability of childhood. For, by nature of his work, he is living in a world which obeys his own will. Thus there very easily arises an inconsistency between his life and his art. The artist solves problems without facing them. What he cannot do he dreams about doing. Rousseau, George Sand, Wagner and a host of others will furnish examples of this fact. The medical view of genius for some time past has insisted on the unwholesome irregularities to be seen in the lives and works of some of the greatest men and women. The artist is driven by his inner conflict—his thwarted wishes which seek relief through a sublimated substitute expression. He is trying unconsciously to find rest by confession, veiled by the art form, of the impulses within. Sexual desires, often extreme or even perverted, provide waste products that vitalise his poems, his stories, his symphonies, his prophecies, his theories and his schemes.

The originally and unconsciously composed works of art, which are produced by the direct action of the deepest impulses, are constantly being supervised by the conscious mind. The question, "Does it represent reality—picture the outer world truly?" is asked concerning all sophisticated works of art. In this way art comes increasingly to embody a large element of scientific observations. This is, of course, not true of much modern art, in which there is a strong and splendid return to instinctive expression. This probably is the reason why so many people dislike it. But popular art, as I have said, is indifferent to inner truth; it asks only for self-exalting representations of life that will stimulate, by supplying without effort, what reality gives grudgingly. From this point of view, art products must be divided into two classes—those which lead towards reality and those which lead towards deception.

The painter is, in general, the most extroverted of

the artists, nearest to the active worker, furthest from the dreamer; and therefore his art possibly is less inwardly exhausting than the others'. But I may not follow these questions of the artist further, though they open up many suggestions that are of interest and importance from the psycho-analytic standpoint.

A few words must be said about the religious life. In religion the excess of feeling that binds the child to the parents, the excess of love and reverence and also the excess of hate and jealousy are transferred, the first set of emotions to the Father in Heaven and the second to the devil in Hell. To-day, in my opinion, the young are suffering, more than many of us have realised, from the fact that the door of this easy way of transference has been so sharply closed, by our loss of faith and our indifference.⁵ Possibly, though at first thought this may seem strange, it is harder to relinquish the transference of the second than the first set of emotions. And in this connection, I recall a story told to me when I was a child. An old woman, I believe she was Scotch, was visited by a conscientious atheist. He talked to her about the non-existence of God and she listened unmoved. Then he spoke about the devil. She sprang up and shook her fist at him. "I canna an' I will na' gi'e up my di'el." This incident is, I think, true psychologically, though probably it is untrue in fact.

We have never understood the devastating jealous emotional conflicts of children, or reckoned with their *affects* upon the after-character. I know no other way as simple and as effective as the religious way, by which to solve comparatively easily this greatest conflict of life; to escape without hurt from the parent-fixation; to find the liberation of the soul, which is the most necessary thing for each individual to achieve. And besides this immense conflict of the soul, there is the outer and visible struggle which each child has to pass through, in order to solve the conflicting claims of the

parents and of personal independence. The child asks for the scissors of freedom to cut the bonds of gratitude and dependence that bind him to the past.

This utilitarian view of the use of religion and of art, as a means of freeing the soul from the fetters which bind the adult personality to the primitive infantile character, will, I am well aware, arouse opposition. I cannot help this. I know that I can say nothing to convince those who are unwilling to convince themselves of its truth. In ages when existence had more terrors than we find now in our world with lighted streets and a police-regulated life, there were demons made of fears (the hatred and rebellion against the father), as God is made of love and justice (the affectionate veneration for the father). The unused emotional forces which cannot achieve their direct and often primitive purposes—these are the sources of what is best or worst in man.

The love that is offered to God meets with nothing that repels, nothing that brings the sharp stab of disillusion, which never is quite escaped from in human love. No man has seen the face of God, and, therefore, no man has disliked it and turned away in the bitterness of disappointment. Hence, born from this perfect love of God, love is re-transferred back to man, and, in this way, a greater love is given than can be given by the direct road, straight from man to man. This sublimation is the perfecting of love. There is indeed no other way. Thus only can we love men, who have many features we dislike.

CHAPTER XV

MARRIAGE AND THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SEXES

“ Every man carries within him the portrait of womankind which he has derived from his mother, which makes him honour or despise her, or entertain a total indifference to her.”—NIETZSCHE.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER : Love of parents will stand no rival—Parents must withdraw their exclusive claims—The man who has not withdrawn his affection from his mother will ask from a wife the help and mothering which a mother gives—Child's emotional growth stopped unless both the conscious and unconscious faculties take part in love—Parents carelessly provoke and play with childish feelings—In later life these feelings displaced from their original connections ruin love—Unhappiness wherever needs of both partners in marriage do not correspond—Parents must respond to child's age-long needs—The Don Juan type—The attraction of the prostitute—Why chastity is desired in women—Perversions and their true causes—Maladjustments of child emotions to adult needs—Various paths to freedom—Persisting influence of unconscious memories—The struggle between the generations incessant—Beneficial effects in some cases—Explanations from situations in early life of several emotional attitudes of adult life—Value for individuals and society of this teaching—The spirit of a home lives on in the homes of the children.

A FINAL chapter on the adult life must be devoted to the question of marriage in relation to the determination of destiny through parental influence.

The subject is vast and the extent of the problems involved are so immense, the complications so great and the issues so involved, that I almost hesitate at even making an attempt to treat so intricate a subject briefly, and necessarily inadequately, in this short space at my disposal. Yet it seems to me impossible to take the easy way and pass these questions over in

silence. We shall, I hope, be able to find suggestions that will help us to a better understanding of some of our own problems. I shall limit myself strictly to those aspects of marriage that are connected with the psychological principles, which it has been the purpose of my book to explain, choosing in preference, for illustration, the facts relating to the twenty Family Histories, given in Chapter XIII.

We have always recognised the closeness of this mother-child relationship, to a certain extent and in its visible manifestations, but the knowledge we have gained of the unconscious mind, which reveals to us the deeper needs of both the child and the parents, enables us not only to see the situation, but to understand it. It is easy, for instance, to realise that too great an attachment of sons to the mother or of daughters to the father will make it hard for the sons or the daughters to marry. We all of us know such cases. What we have not known is the deeply concealed emotional conflict in the bound soul, the almost irreparably persistent nature of the father-son or mother-daughter fixation. Examples of this kind, chosen for their dramatic illustration, are given in Histories Nos. 1, 4, 6, 8 and 13. In all these life-records we see how certainly the adult love-life was determined by the family situation, moulding and fixing, in this direction or in that, the affections of the children. "Every man carries within him the portrait of womankind which he has derived from his mother." Nietzsche, who never heard of psycho-analysis, knew this; for genius leaps to the truth, because, like the child, genius is directed both by the unconscious and the conscious mind.

Love of the parents; if this love persists too strongly and too long, so that with the growing years freedom is not found; then this love, imprisoned in the unconscious, will remain unaltered from its infantile expression and will, in the later life, stand no rival.

Liberation can never be gained easily; it cannot be gained at all unless the most fortunate new affective adjustments (sublimations) are able to be made (History No. 13).

Parents have yet to learn the profound responsibilities of parenthood; not only in regard to their duties of child-bearing and child-rearing and child-loving, but in that hardest withdrawal of not loving too much. Never must they regard the child as a possession. No outward self-sacrifice, no separation in space, no pretended relinquishments, no external freedom, can liberate the child if the deep inner renunciation by the parents is not made. The too devoted daughter and the too devoted son are, in truth, devoted; they sacrifice themselves to the parents; the innermost peace of their souls is relinquished to them. For it is not possible, if freedom from the infantile fixation is not gained, that an adequate share of their love and loyalty can be transferred for service in their own lives.

Certainly this attachment to the parents is one of the greatest causes that brings marriage to disaster. For, if the instinctive desire to find a mate overcomes the feelings for the mother, a temporary triumph by the new fighting love will be gained. But, in the nature of things, this infantile parent-love cannot satisfy the inner needs of life; though it will probably lead to a marriage being undertaken. There is then the very poorest chance of wedded happiness. For the atmosphere of the new home, its protective security and peace will re-animate the dissociated infantile influences, and there is almost sure to be a marked regression to childish needs and responses. The wife in the new home may be asked to assume the position of the mother in the old home. And the husband may behave with the unreasonable variability of a child, as we saw in the case given in History No. 18. The wife will be called upon to help and to mother, to scold and to pet, instead of herself being guided and

protected. Such marriages can be happy only where the normal character of the wife as well as that of the husband is displaced. History No. 12 records such a marriage, where the wife, owing to the over-attachment to the father, had suffered what I call "a psychic sex-alteration of the emotions." But what I would ask you specially to note is the harmful effect of this kind of marriage upon the children.

We have found that the attempts of the boy or the girl to pass out of the childhood sphere and to establish their manhood and womanhood by means of forming friendships and finding love are directed by the early attachments to the parents in hidden ways which we have never before understood. They are, indeed, a transcription written in Canon type of the family situation. The child is wax to the parents' stamp.

The glamour and illusion typical of falling in love are the signs of an emotional and instinctive act, in which the whole of the conscious and unconscious faculties may take part. But if, for any reason, either from the conflict within or from pressure from outside, the passage of the feelings from the unconscious to the conscious is blocked, or partially blocked, this transference of the libido cannot be successfully accomplished. There will then be an arrest in the emotional growth. The child-love will persist through the whole of life in an unaltered form by the side of, and concealed by, the adult love. And the infantile emotions, failing to find sublimation, either in the new love or by the deflecting of the libido into other channels of satisfactory fulfilment, will be withdrawn deeper from external observation, and will be held by the inner barrier locked in the depths of the unconscious. The conscious mind is unaware of the unconscious mind. But always we have to seek for the dark impulses that ceaselessly are at work beneath the smooth surface of life.

Our grasping the real position seems to me to depend largely on the understanding of a principle to which

reference was made in Chapter III., that is, the complete continuity of growth. We must give up dividing life into compartments—infancy, childhood, adolescence, and afterwards the adult life.¹ In the emotional history there are no such divisions. And any fixation that keeps the feelings chained to the past and bound to the infantile life cuts off one set of emotional experiences from another set, and shuts the open doors of sublimation, which should allow the unhindered onward passage of the libido. This acts like destroying rust biting into the very substance of the life of the psyche. Nothing else is of quite the same importance as that the libido should not remain bound in the prison of illusion of the unconscious—the door of which is more firmly shut when in fear of ourselves we throw away the key.

It is very necessary to remember that the infantile love, which binds the child to the parents—the boy to the mother and the girl to the father—is a love, primitive and ego-centric, that started in the earliest years of life, before there was any recognition by the child-mind of the rights of others, and when the uncurbed wishes were entirely pleasure-demanding. This is the reason why this love has in it (unconsciously retained) many elements that cannot be accepted by the adult consciousness. If, therefore, the parents encourage for too long a persistence of the emotional binding relationships of childhood (relationships always flattering and sweet to themselves), what they are doing really is to perpetuate the conflict in the developing psyche of the growing boy or girl, so that it will remain unsolved in the adult life, when the new love will be unable to blossom because no freedom is gained from the selfish and condemned elements in the old love.

It is these elements—the rudiments of the infantile love which the child himself has rejected—that escape from the prison of the unconscious in many disguises, and act so often to destroy adult happiness; they shame love; they frequently bring marriage to disaster; and

they are the underlying secret causes of the uncounted failures of the sexual life. So many people cannot love like grown-up men and women, because unconsciously they still wish to love like savages and children.

There is another explanation that, perhaps, had better be given here. A vast amount of error exists as to what circumstances in the early life of the child create affective influences. An "affect," in this connection, is, of course, something that acts or presses upon the character to produce a change. It is a term largely employed by psycho-analysts, and, in their use, it refers to psychical energy, which corresponds with what popularly is known as "feeling." We have to consider, therefore, what circumstances in the child's home life are likely to cause him to feel sufficiently strongly (either pain or pleasure), so that the psychic energy is arrested and often displaced: that is, stored in the unconscious mind and afterwards transferred to a different idea from the starting idea; so that the first "affect," suitable to the original situation, becomes confused and often is quite wrong in connection with the situation to which later it is transferred. Thus a soldier dying on the battlefield calls, not for his wife, but for his mother, who comforted his troubles in childhood. Rage, as we know, clenches its fists, bends its arms and stands in a position of attack, even when there is no antagonist present. The rending of garments (as Bible readers understand) is an Oriental sign of mourning. A wife enraged with her husband slams the door. Lady Macbeth washed her hands to free them from the stain of blood.²

Now the importance of this in connection with the child's early influences should be evident. We need to exercise much greater care in regard to the starting formation of these indestructible *affects*. A child is a little storm of eagerness, affections, shocks and griefs, exquisitely responsive to everything that makes it feel. Parents often carelessly provoke and play with childish emotions which, in the later years, displaced

from their first idea, may ruin the adult expression of love.

You will see what I am trying to make plain. It is not so much what the children see or hear, still less is it what you consciously try to teach them, that exerts the true moulding influence on the later life and love experience, and conditions the emotional growth of the character. It is what children feel that causes the permanent *affect*. And these feelings are not dependent, except to a limited degree, on the outside family circumstances, but they are built up out of the definitely affective states—the emotional attitudes of the various members of the family group; the responses of the parents, both to each other and to each child individually and the attitudes of the children to the parents and of the brothers and sisters to one another.³ All these produce the “affective state” which usually is totally unknown to the parents and also quite incomprehensible to the child himself or herself. It is all the things that the parents are unconsciously hiding from the children, and also probably from themselves—their own unsatisfied needs, which they have succeeded in covering away from their consciousness; it is these that are the real directing forces in their children’s character. (Compare Histories Nos. 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19.) The concealed enmity, or even small disharmonies between the parents, the repressed wishes, the strangled temptations, the secret longing of one or other parent, the miseries that are hidden—all these inevitably arouse a response, different in each child; a response which, acting continuously and unconsciously, causes the affective emotional state corresponding to that of the parents. Their shame and want of joy in love will become the child’s shame and want of joy; their unhappiness in life will be his unhappiness; their most hidden wishes will escape to create disharmonies in his young and tender soul.

We should now have a firmer understanding to

consider the relation between the infantile and adult love-life. We have found a clue that always has been missing as soon as we tried to solve these problems.⁴ The difficulty and failure of marriage are an inner difficulty and failure; they have very little connection with the reasons that usually are assigned by those who fail in finding happiness. The disharmonies which separate so frequently the husband and wife are connected with the unsolved complexes of the psyche. They, too, relate back to the infantile life. And if happiness is to be attained, the deeper needs of both sides, of the wife and the husband, must be satisfied, and, for this to be accomplished it is necessary that the needs of the one partner must be in agreement with the needs of the other. Now the trouble, of course, arises because these needs are unrecognised and usually unrecognisable, having been banished on account of the repugnance of the conscious mind to accept them. Do they appear in consciousness they are wholly disguised.

Always we have, I am certain, to remember that the outside social prohibitions, connected with the sexual life, are not anything like so strong as the barrier within ourselves. The outside barriers, those rigid taboos with which throughout the centuries we have guarded sexual conduct, are, indeed, symbols set up as signs of the concealed barrier. They really mark the deep fear within ourselves about ourselves. We are rather like the little boy who makes a great noise about being brave because he fears the dark so terribly.

I find it almost impossible to make the complicated position sufficiently clear. Simplifying and condensing, to the extent I am compelled to do, lead rather quickly to mistakes; what I wish to show you is, that the knowledge we have gained of the unconscious mind and the early experiences of childhood does throw a new, sharp light on marriage and its difficult problems. Let me give one or two illustrations. A man with a strong mother-complex, for instance, would find happiness

with a wife similarly bound, and to the same extent, in a father-daughter fixation, so that the needs of each would be satisfied with the reversal in their respective positions: while the marriage of such a man with a woman without this complementary complex would almost certainly be unhappy. Again (and this is a much more difficult case), if one partner has a sadistic tendency (not too pronounced), satisfaction, without unhappiness, might be gained if the other partner had the opposed masochistic tendency and so enjoyed the inflicted pain. (Reference may be made to the Family Histories for examples of these complementary situations.)

Many further combinations might be suggested. These adjustments are, however, so intricate, and difficult of successful accomplishment that, in my opinion, few marriages could be maintained unless the deeper needs were, more or less, suppressed. Unfortunately this is the most frequent cause of mental and physical ill-health as well as the source of the gravest unhappiness. Another and certainly better way by which happiness is often found is through sublimation and some religious, social or artistic form of substitute expression.

I must not follow these questions further, though they open up crowding suggestions of the widest interest. What I wish to emphasise here is the harmful *affect* on the children, wherever the unsolved complexes of the parents cause a reversal in the position of the father and the mother. I would refer you again to History No. 12, where we have a marriage of this kind. The mother, intellectually bound to her father, marries a man, also bound and infantile in character, who, in the home, bows to the authority of the wife, in whom he seeks his lost mother. Perhaps few situations are more disastrous in their result upon the children.

Children are so quickly and so terribly responsive to any form of disturbance in the home relationships. The neurotic character is frequently directly dependent

on such uncertainties, confusing the regular order of the family. There is in the child so much that we have never understood. In a sense every child is millions of years old : he (or she) has inherited so much from the past. And, I think, our experiments cause a confusion of new things and habits that will not be reconciled with the age-old memories. In such a situation as that we have been examining, for instance, it would seem as if the racial memories of the tribal father struggle with the weakened, effeminate father, who never exercises the authority of his fatherhood. The inner conflict is vastly increased. For nothing harms the child so certainly as a confusion of influences within the psyche. It is then that he wraps himself round in pretence as a covering for his inner bewilderment. In the certain mind there is no division. But if for any reason there is chaos within, the child starts to dream, he turns back to the detaining past, away from the unrecognised situation of the actual, with its summons to effort and to life. And this brings the negation of feeling ; it is spiritual death. For the striving, and the forward movement of any young life are built upon the foundations of the living feelings.

I spoke just now of variability in love, and stated that unfaithfulness was due to the confusion in the psyche from the fixation of the son's love upon the mother. Thus the true Don Juan owes his incapacity to gain satisfaction in love to the fact that he searches, unconsciously, for the lost features of his childhood's mother (see Histories Nos. 17, 18 and 19). Dreaming of the perfect first love-object (the mother), such a man is tortured by the wish to find a partner corresponding in every respect to his lost ideal. Mr. Hardy has pictured (unconsciously) this situation perfectly in his novel, "The Well Beloved," where the hero spent forty years in this impossible search. His ultimate failure is typical of all such bound and driven souls. Seeking for the unattainable, they are unfaithful to all women because for ever they remain faithful to

one woman; and all the rest are but hints and remembrances to be treated callously since of no value in themselves.

This infantile fixation affords, too, some light on the problem of prostitution. No one can, I think, have failed to feel astonishment at the attractive force that the prostitute exercises on many men.⁵ There is here some deeper cause than the physical need for sexual relief. But the situation is explained as soon as we recognise the infantile nature of the love needs. For if we accept, as we must, the force of these imperatively driving, though always unconscious and usually restrained impulses, it will be readily seen that prostitution provides a channel in which the repressed wishes can find an unchecked and safe expression. The prostitute does fulfil that need, which may arise in even the most civilised man, for someone to whom he may pour out, without shame, the pent flood of his hidden desires. And the prostitute herself treats her man like a child. He is to be soothed, pleased at any cost. "Wild love" is not entirely wild. It is mainly a reversion to the irresponsible child-life of immediate pleasure experiences.

The unfaithfulness of the man, which is one of the most frequent causes of unhappiness in marriage, has always been supposed to arise from an inherent male desire for variability in love. This is untrue. The real cause is a psychological cause, and the tendency could be prevented if we learnt better how to sublimate the libido and to solve the inner conflict of the soul. Invariably we have wrongly estimated the significance of the boy's straining forwards—the something within obscurely fighting towards liberation. The paths are many and strange by which the buried emotions find an escape out of the abyss of the unconscious. But the spirit can never be dead while it works to emancipate itself. This is a truth that it seems to me very necessary for all parents to realise. So often we close down the doors of the young soul.

Many so-called abnormalities of the sexual life, which we punish with brutality and ignorance, are caused by an arrest in emotional growth. It is the child, persisting in the adult, which is the real cause of these failures in love. Already I have referred to sadism (pleasure in inflicting pain) and the opposite masochism (pleasure in suffering pain). (See Histories Nos. 14 and 15.) We saw that both these perversions were dependent on unsolved complexes, arising from a failure in finding freedom from the infantile period. They are directly connected with the "polymorphous perverse sexuality" of the very young child⁶ (see page 163). And what should be noticed is, that the persistence of these tendencies in the adult life probably could have been prevented if the early circumstances had been more favourable in providing opportunities for sublimation.

Again, to take another instance, the persistence of homo-sexual love, either passive or recognised, in the adult life may arise from a son's attachment to the father, if combined with indifference for the mother, who usually claims so large a part of the son's attention. For this tends to arouse feelings of repulsion towards all women (History No. 15). The same tendency may be induced from a too strong mother-attachment, when, by identification with the mother, the son comes to feel as the mother and to love as she loves (History No. 19). Similar situations can occur both from a mother-daughter and father-daughter fixation, through a transposition of sex or by identification of the daughter with the father. (Refer to Histories Nos. 1, 4 and 6.)

I will not dwell further on these by-paths of the sexual life, which all our moral brooms have been unable to sweep clean. There is no need; these examples I have mentioned are sufficient for my purpose. For the first time psycho-analytic teaching has made it possible for us to understand instead of blindly condemning them. These tendencies, arising from unsolved psychic fixations, must be considered as

emotional maladjustments to the adult love needs. The stamp of degeneracy is untrue. There is no real dividing line between the abnormal man or woman and the normal. The one has been more successful than the other in achieving inner freedom. That is the difference.

Look again at the Family Histories, and especially at Nos. 8, 11, 17, 18 and 19. You will see that, wherever there is an over-attachment either to the mother or to the father, or where the conflict to break away from the childish fixation is too severe, the whole career and the whole love-history are settled and decided—damned and fated to disaster from the start. Dissipation and the tendency towards wild love is simply a device, arising out of the unconscious wish for attaining a feeling of free assertion of the personality, where no true inner free assertion of the psychic personality is possible. It is a subterfuge of the body to ease the soul of its chains.

The path of freedom by transference of emotion to religion was indicated in the last chapter (see also Histories No. 8 (one son), No. 10 (one daughter) and No. 13). The young are happier when they are taught to pray and confess their sins; because this is really a sublimated way of talking about themselves—ego-satisfaction. I am convinced that nothing else has been found to achieve this liberating service to the bound soul in anything like the same degree.

Art and science will offer alternative paths in some cases (History No. 10). And another modern way has been opened up by social work. You cannot dry up the spring of the libido, but you can change its direction. But unless sublimation is found and the vital inner cravings are satisfied, there must be destruction of the personality. For unconsciously the mind is split into two parts, of which one ever goes on hindering and destroying the other: one part lives in the present, wants to be alive, to love and work; lives in the home with the wife, in the world, in the profession or the

business; but the other part lives in the past, wants to be at peace and to exist without effort; lives ever with the mother. Thus there is confusion and unceasing conflict. Many grave disasters in life, in every direction, may be traced to this cause. The seed of failure and unhappiness and also of crime and sexual vice often is set in helpless children by the unconscious selfishness of affectionately possessive parents, whose too great interference, too emotional solicitude, blocks the narrow passes that lead on to freedom of the psyche and to independent life (Compare Histories Nos. 1 and 3, Nos. 4 and 5, and No. 7.)

In every direction and whichever way we turn we are met with the persisting influence of these unconscious memories of our childhood's loves. It is, indeed, impossible to over-estimate how wide-reaching is their action, sometimes working destructively, but sometimes achieving the exact opposite result, and through the sublimated conflict leading to the greatest victories of life. But this influence is always there, even when its presence is unsuspected. There are, for instance, the feelings between the mother of the wife and the son-in-law. We find among many primitive peoples "an almost sacred loathing" for the mother-in-law.⁷ We have here one of the most difficult family relationships, with complicated hidden psychic feelings of affection and dislike, of tenderness and jealous envy. The mother's identification with her daughter may easily go so far that there is an unconscious transference of love to the son-in-law;⁸ this is especially likely to happen to the mother, who has only daughters, and who has wished for a son of her own. Again, in the jealousy between mother-in-law and wife, there is a similar spontaneous expression based on unconscious hostilities and arising out of the sense of the real situation, hardly possible to be checked and ruled by the conscious reason.

I can throw out only hints and suggestions and cannot follow the crowding interests that open in every direc-

tion. We may go so far as to say that there is no problem of the sexual life and the affectionate relationships of the family that is not connected with the first love of the child towards the parents. Nothing is lost; the infantile love as well as the primitive feelings of jealousy, hate and hostility can always be revived, and under adverse conditions will return to active expression.

In the case of the father-son attachment (of which mention has been made already in connection with sadism) we find that by imitating the father on whom the attention is fixed, the son, without the softening attraction of the mother, becomes, as it were, too exclusively male. He assumes an attitude of indifference to women, and is ashamed of being attracted to them. He may treat his wife cruelly. What is more likely, is that he will satisfy his desires with women who are not his wife. This harshness also governs the main tendencies of the character. Such a man will always be opposed to change and violently against reform. He will always be a Conservative. He has never experienced the ordinary adolescent stage of rebellion typified in the father. And for this reason, all through his life, he has an affection for all things to which he is accustomed (History 15).⁹

Where it is the daughter who is over-tightly and too long bound to the mother, the effects are less serious than where the mother and son are so bound, for the obvious reasons that the normal pull by sex is here antagonistic to the attachment. I would emphasise again, for it is important to remember, that the daughter never can be bound to the father with the same bond which holds mother and son together. This we have seen. To the boy the mother is both the first love-object and the giver of food and comfort; thus in his infantile attachment the two most vital forces of life—the love instincts and the hunger ego-preservative instincts—are united: while for the daughter they are separated. For the boy the mother is the paramount

parent in a way that the father can never be for the girl. I regard this separation as being of special importance in any estimate of moral issues. There is this difference in the urge of sex between the man and the woman. It explains so many things that always have baffled us. The much-vaunted moral superiority of women, for instance, I believe, finds its explanation here. Women's virtue is not higher than the virtue of men. From the very beginning they are less hardly tempted.¹⁰

We have ignored the tremendous psychological force of these family relations, the force that is unconscious and concealed, yet always is acting in moulding our characters. Whether we look backwards to the parents, the father or the mother, each themselves chained in a firmer or looser way to their parents, or forwards to the children struggling towards freedom, fighting the inescapable battle of the soul, we find inexorable this law of our fate. It is something beyond ourselves towards which we ever strive. It is the struggle between the generations which rouses our minds from their numbing trance. There is, deep within us, this compulsion to sacrifice the infantile personality and to establish our souls.

And if we look now for a moment at this parent-child situation from the opposite side, the beneficial side, some interesting facts await us. We find the attachment spurring onwards, instead of holding back. I give an illustration, with some detail, in History No. 13: an Electra situation, where the daughter, by identification and extreme imitation of the father, assumed, unconsciously, an aggressive position of authority to all around her, to things as well as to people. There are many such cases where the character may come to feel consciously a need for opposition and will require an obstacle in order to achieve. Such people will fight best when the battle is almost lost. This need for an obstacle arose in History No. 13 because the infantile affections were transferred from

the earthly father who had died to God the Heavenly Father. The sublimation of the childhood affection becomes a splendid spur to effort and conquest. You will recall what was said in one of the early chapters as to how ugly things are changed into beautiful things. This is sublimation. It is the way in which the soul gets freed. It is, however, important to remember that this transformation could not have been effected unless the home circumstances had been favourable. A comparison between this history and the next (Nos. 14, also 12) will make this plain.

It should be noted, too, that this sublimation towards capacity may also be attained in the Œdipus situation—the fixation of the son's love on the mother, especially if the mother has a dominant and really fine character. Such sublimations are frequent, though it seems to me they are likely to be more difficult in achievement on account of the closer attachment between mother and son. (History No. 8, Younger Son.)

In many cases, where this fortunate sublimation is not gained, the need for an obstacle remains, but finds another expression. There are certain people, as we all know, who seem to fall in love most easily with those who are married already or who are in love with another. Their affections are aroused only towards those of whom they ought not to think with desire. They are driven unconsciously and cannot help themselves. For it is precisely due to the presence of the prohibition or obstacle that they are impelled to respond. The dynamic unconscious wish drives them to reproduce the situation of their childhood. (See Histories Nos. 5, 8 and 17.) These bound ones can love only where they ought not to love.

I have a further interesting illustration to bring before you. As everyone knows, chastity has always been regarded as the special virtue required by men from women. Now why is this? The unconscious mind gives the answer. It is a transposition of a psychic

wish, felt first by the child in regard to the mother, and preserved in the unconscious until the adult life, when it is directed to all women. The wife, as we have seen, is later expected to take the same place as the mother seemed to the childish imagination to take. The adult can only very imperfectly construct a view of his past; he must accept his past, not as it appeared to him when he lived in it, but as he has changed it in his dreams. If he imagined his mother superior to the love of his father in its physical manifestations, he repeats the wish of his childhood in his desire to have his wife exhibit the same character. Hence the importance attached by so many men to the chastity of women and, in particular, to the chastity of their wives before marriage. An extreme expression of this sexless-fantasy is found in the virgin births of deities. On the other hand, the boy may soon discover or suspect the occurrence of sexual relations between his parents and may come to regard such experiences as a specific sign of the mother. In this case, it may be expected from the wife and here we may see the attraction of the married women and also of widows.¹¹

Let us turn now to another and last application of the father and daughter attachment (the Electra situation); an application which is, I think, of special importance at the present time. I refer to the intellectual approach to life, the tendency to theorise rather than to act, to think rather than to feel. A dangerous condition of the mind, in my opinion, which prefers "the chopped straw" of the brain to the sweet but tangled growths of the heart.¹² Such a preference is easy to account for even on the outside. Theories of life are convenient and mouldable at desire; whereas in reality there is always so much which refuses either to fit in or to be explained away. The diagrammatic regularity of the composed pattern of the theoretical situation becomes annoyingly confused. This attitude of fixity and emotional tidiness is very prevalent to-day; in particular, it flourishes in Garden Cities and at the

Fabian Summer School. This intellectualism is but another form of ego-assertion and infantile fixation. Usually the unconscious attachment is to the father, who is in the child's mind the more composed and rational of the parents, even if he has his own irrationalities. It may arise also from a mother-attachment, if the mother is herself over-intellectualised from a father-fixation. (See History No. 12.)

This subtle process of self-delusion, by which one allows oneself to slide into a course of thought cut off from reality, is specially disastrous. It falsifies all the great issues of life. In particular, it is bad for the young. The road to understanding is blocked, perhaps, more permanently than in any other way. To be certain of oneself is altogether to lose the way. You cannot escape from life like that.

With our entire want of understanding of the vital processes of the psyche, we have almost always thought of absence of emotion as a necessary part of control. So entirely untrue is this view that I would wish to insist again, as strongly as I am able, that it is as certainly destructive to deny the emotional needs of the soul as it is to deny the physical needs of the body. Spiritual death is to be feared more than material death. There is no such thing as absence of emotion; what there is, is rightly directed and wrongly directed emotional expression. It is not too much to say that the majority of people fail to enjoy the full development of the personality, of the feelings, the intelligence and purpose, of which they were once capable, because of some early wrong direction given to the emotions through some mistake in the family attachments. It is only when every process of the individual mind follows its right development so that each instinct is used in turn—attachment to parents, independent effort, love of the same sex, love of the opposite sex, social love, affection for children; or where these impulses are not cut off and directed into wrong channels, but, in truth, are

sublimated and used for aims equivalent in power and liberating happiness to their original purpose; only then can a full, complete and joyous development of the personality take place.

There is little more for me to say.

There can be no doubt of the interest of these facts. Not alone for the individual sufferer's sake ought these problems to be seriously approached, but for society's sake as well. It is an essential part of moral conduct that it acknowledges responsibility. But you cannot be responsible for wishes of which you are wholly unconscious. That is why the acceptance of psycho-analytic teaching is so urgently important.

For centuries we have been going on trying to grapple with this problem and with that. Always we have failed. We have patched up one hole and another rent larger than the mended one has torn the fabric of life. It could not be otherwise. You cannot govern life if you persist in ignoring the driving forces of life. Freud's discoveries have opened up for man a new, splendid way of salvation. Still by death and sacrifice has the soul to be saved, but the sacrifice we are called upon to make is the sacrifice of our infantile wishes, which chain us to our past. We have to lose ourselves to find ourselves: renounce the child to become the man.

We must give up the old easy plan of bewailing circumstances: we must cease to think of ourselves or of others as driven by fate. There is no such thing as fate. It is one of the many fictions we have invented to escape our adult responsibility. What we are driven by is ourselves—the impulses we have allowed to escape from our keeping, the impulses that have failed in finding sublimation.

What this means is a new directing of the animating forces of life. For the infantile affections, which keep always their primitive form, may rasp and warp and isolate the character; they may become to life a stinging goad of torture. For they are stronger than the will, stronger than every outside barrier. They may bind

a man and keep him a child for the whole of his life : they may make him become a swaggering fool. Life gets all tangled between the old forgotten wishes and the new needs. There is confusion within the soul.

That is why we want to fight so desperately, using such frantic and silly weapons to get away and free. You see, we are struggling after something much bigger than ourselves. It is the ideal of our love that has to be saved.

In this last section of my book on the Adult Life I have set forth considerations which magnify the honour of parenthood, of the home and of marriage, since they show that the direct consequences and responsibilities of parenthood are greater and more permanently fateful than usually has been believed. On the happiness or unhappiness between husband and wife, on their being well suited, harmonious and able each to satisfy the deep needs of the other, depend, not only their own peace and prosperity of soul, but the character, the success, the happiness and unity of the love-histories of their children. Both parents must take their right places and their separate duties in the family. The mother should occupy the supreme position of the one who gives intimate sympathy, help and understanding; the father ought to afford the guidance of authority.

The spirit of the home in its just character and proper order, or in its unjust claims and unbalanced attraction to one parent, and unjustifiable disorder, will live on continually, after each member of the family has left its shelter, in the homes of its children; keeping them unmarried, or happily wedded, or impelling them to seek in primitive, unsublimated passions a satisfaction that cannot be found, or sending them after the unreal allurements of dreams; severing or binding; creating or destroying; holding wife to husband and husband to wife or leaving them to seek phantom pleasures in the waste deserts and by-paths of love.

NOTES

CHAPTER I.—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BEGINNING.

¹ The anecdote is taken from H. Addington Bruce's "Psychology and Parenthood," pp. 50-51.

² *Affective determinants*: "affect" is a word largely used by analytical psychologists. It may be explained as a condition to which feeling is attached in sufficient degree to have a permanent result on the character—that is, on either the conscious or unconscious mind.

³ Compare Adler, "The Neurotic Constitution," especially Chapter I. "The Origin and Development of the Feeling of Inferiority and the Consequences Thereof."

⁴ The history of the psycho-analytic movement—a record of twenty years' work and struggle—has been given by Freud himself in *The Psychoanalytic Review*.

⁵ In *The English Review*, Sept. 1913; afterwards published in America in book-form, under the title "Women and Morality."

⁶ This was said by A. A. Brill, who has made most of the authorised translations into English of Freud's works. I have used it because it does so exactly present what one feels about Freud's teaching.

CHAPTER II.—THE FAMILY ROMANCE.

¹ This title is used as a chapter heading in the admirable book by W. A. White, "Mechanisms of Character Formation," Chapter IV, p. 145. A study of the family has been recently published by the Psycho-Analytic Press, "The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family," by J. C. Flugel. I have not seen this book; I believe it is admirable.

² *Parent-fixation*: a *fixation* is caused when some part of the character has not grown up but remains anchored to an infantal stage of feeling and behaviour.

³ A good short account of the play of children is given in a useful little book, by G. H. Green, "Psychanalysis in the Classroom," Chapter IV, "Play."

⁴ Compare W. A. White, *Ibid.*, p. 156, who quotes from O. Rank, "Myth of the Birth of the Hero" (Nervous and Mental Diseases Monograph Series, No. 10).

⁵ Compare C. G. Jung, "Analytical Psychology," Section on "The Association Method": Lecture II, "The Family Constellation."

CHAPTER III.—THE CHILD AND THE UNCONSCIOUS.

¹ Compare my "Sex Education and National Health," where I quote from Freud's "Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory." Also the instructive paper "Unconscious Factors in Sex Education," by Constance Long, one of the essays in "The Psychology of Fantasy." This is a most helpful book. See also "Papers on Education and Children," by Dr. E. Jones, in "Papers on Psycho-Analysis," 2nd ed.

² This is taken from an admirable pamphlet by M. D. Eder and Edith Eder, "The Conflicts in the Unconscious of the Child" (reprinted from *Child Study*, 1917. Compare also W. A. White, "The Mental Hygiene of Childhood," which is a very helpful book.

³ *Pleasure-motive*: the two great principles of the psychic life are the pleasure-principle and the reality-principle. For a very clear explanation of the way in which each principle works the reader is referred to the excellent and, indeed, indispensable book on "Psycho-Analysis" by Barbara Low, B.A.

⁴ See Freud's "Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory"; also the authorities mentioned above.

⁵ See pamphlet by M. D. Eder and Edith Eder already quoted.

⁶ For a fuller account of the unconscious the many writings on psycho-analysis should be consulted. I would specially recommend: "Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis," by Freud; "Fundamental Conceptions of Psycho-Analysis," by A. A. Brill, M.D.; "Psycho-Analysis: A brief account of the Freudian Theory," by Barbara Low, B.A.; "Psycho-Analysis: Its Theory and Practice," by André Tridon; "Addresses on Psycho-Analysis," by J. J. Putman; "What is Psycho-Analysis?" by I. Coriat is also a useful text-book.

CHAPTER IV.—THE SUPREME PARENT.

¹ "Principles of Mental Hygiene," by W. A. White, p. 67.

² and ³ Compare "The Interpretation of Dreams," by Freud. There is an excellent chapter on "Dreams in Psycho-Analysis," by Barbara Low. Another helpful book is "Dream Psychology," by Maurice Nicoll, which gives the views of Jung and the Zurich school in regard to dreams.

⁴ and ⁵ *Parent-surrogates, parent-imago*: these terms were first used by Jung. "The *imago* is a complex of association and feeling about a real or imaginary relationship," Dr. C. Long, *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶ See the essay on "The Unconscious Mind of the Child," in "The Psychology of Fantasy," by Constance Long; also the pamphlet already referred to by D. M. Eder and Edith Eder.

⁷ Dr. Constance Long, *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸ Those who are interested in the subject of anal eroticism should consult the essay of Dr. Ernest Jones, "The Anal Erotic Character Traits," p. 664, "Papers on Psycho-Analysis," 2nd edition.

⁹ Constance Long, *Ibid.*, "The Unconscious Mind in the Child," p. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Sublimation*: the deflection of the energy, if altered for one expression to another expression that is socially useful.

¹² The reader is again referred to the pamphlet by D. M. Eder and Edith Eder.

¹³ See especially Jung's work, "Psychology of the Unconscious (a study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido)."

CHAPTER V.—THE ORIGIN OF THE CHILD'S FEELING OF INFERIORITY.

¹ *Somatic inferiority*. See Dr. Alfred Adler, "The Neurotic Constitution," Introduction by William A. White, also pp. 1, 4 and 198.

² *His rejection of Freud's sexual theory*: *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 72, 90, 91, 97.

³ *The masculine protest*: *Ibid.*, p. 49. "In the analysis of psycho-neurosis it always becomes obvious that this antithesis resolves itself in accordance with the only real 'antithesis' of 'man-woman,' so that the feeling of inferiority, uncertainty, lowliness, effeminacy, falls on one side of the table, the antithesis of certainty, superiority, self-esteem, manliness on the other. The dynamics of the neurosis can therefore be regarded (and is often so understood by the neurotic because of its irradiation upon the psyche) as if the patient wished to change from a woman to a man. This effect yields in its most highly coloured form the picture of that which I have called "the masculine protest."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

CHAPTER VI.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MYTH IN
THE LIFE OF THE CHILD.

¹ In connection with this chapter reference should be made to "Myths and Dreams," by K. Abraham, and "Wish Fulfilment and Fairy Tales," by F. Riklin. Verendonck's "Psychology of Day Dreams" may also be consulted.

² *Domination and display the themes of children's fantasies*: An instructive chapter, with interesting examples, on "The Daydream," is given in "Psychanalysis and the School-room," by G. H. Green.

³ *Archaic form of dreams*: Compare "Psychology of the Unconscious," by Jung, especially the Introduction, which speaks of the unity of the ancient and modern world by the common wishes of mankind.

⁴ Compare Chapter XI. in my book, "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society," where I examine a much larger number of these old stories in order to show the survival of mother-right customs in folk-lore, in heroic legends, and in fairy-tales.

⁵ K. Pearson, "Chances of Death," vol. II., p. 70 *note*; quoted in "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society," p. 316.

⁶ "Ancient Irish Sagas," *Century*, Jan. 1907, quoted in "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society," p. 321-322.

⁷ See notes 4 and 5, Chapter IV.

⁸ The "fairy theory" of marriage is really the maternal or *beena* form. See "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society," pp. 222-223.

⁹ Laius, the father of Œdipus had committed a horrible crime. And for this cause a curse was uttered against him that he should die by the hand of his son, who was destined, under the same ban, to marry his mother. Laius, to escape the fulfilment of the curse, abandoned the child Œdipus, with pierced feet, on Mount Cithæron. Some shepherds found the infant, and pitied him. They brought him to Polybus, King of Corinth, who adopted him. But he did not escape the usual agony of the abandoned child, felt through so many centuries and civilisations. His companions taunted him with being a nameless, fatherless, shameful child. Œdipus, humiliated and feeling inferior, visited the Oracle at Delphi to learn the name of his father. The Oracle would not reveal the name to him, but repeated the curse that had been pronounced against Laius, telling Œdipus he was doomed to kill his father and marry his mother. Then, as he goes on his way from Delphi, he meets a chariot coming at a swift pace. The driver called to him to get out of the way.

Œdipus, in anger, assaulted the occupant of the chariot and by accident killed the driver. This was none other than his father, Laius.

The story goes on to relate how the second part of the prophecy fulfilled itself unconsciously to Œdipus. Continuing his journey, he came to Thebes. Here the Egyptian Sphinx devoured all who could not solve her riddle. Œdipus came, solved the riddle and slew the Sphinx. As the reward for this deed, Jocasta, the widowed Queen of Thebes, was given to him for wife. But she also was none other than his mother, the wife of his father, Laius. Œdipus, afterwards, learning the facts of his life from Jocasta, his wife-mother, was so horrified at what he had done that he tore out his own eyes, counting himself unworthy to see the day. Later his sons, rising in their turn against him, imprisoned him in a separate house. He cursed them and they, at the end, killed each other.

It is the opposite situation of the father-daughter attachment that is depicted in the Electra legend. The incidents are less dramatic than the Œdipus tragedy. This is the story. Electra was the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. For many years the Trojan war kept Agamemnon away from his home. And in his absence Clytemnestra had lived in adultery with Ægistheus. At length Agamemnon returned to claim his throne and his wife; but he was killed by Clytemnestra assisted by Ægistheus. Thus Electra, like a female Hamlet, was called upon to avenge her father. This could be accomplished only by killing her mother.

¹⁰ See "The Truth about Woman," pp. 260-261.

¹¹ Havelock Ellis, "Psychology of Sex," Vol. VII. "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse."

¹² Iwan Bloch, "Sexual Life of our Time," Chapter V. Bloch speaks of the "greater dispersal" of the woman's feelings and "concentration" of the man's, but he explains this as being due to physical, not psychical, causes.

¹³ In "The Truth about Woman," "Motherhood and the Relationships of the Sexes," "Women's Wild Oats," and numerous articles.

¹⁴ The idea of these questions was given to me in a lecture I heard by Dr. Constance Long: I cannot remember where the lecture was given.

CHAPTER VII.—THE OTHER PARENT.

¹ Compare the essay on "The Significance of the Father on the Destiny of the Individual," by Jung, in "Analytical Psychology."

² "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society : A Study of the Matriarchate" : American title, "The Age of Mother Power."

³ See my "Motherhood and the Relationships of the Sexes : —Biological Section."

^{4, 5} and ⁶ See the chapter on "The Patriarchal Family," in "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society."

⁷ *Primal law* : *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 50, 56 ff., 83 ff., 89. See also "Social Origins," by Andrew Lang, and "Primal Law," by J. A. Atkinson.

⁸ *Totem and taboo* : "Position of Woman in Primitive Society," pp. 84, 88, 89-90, 102-103, 209, 211, 328. Those who are interested in this important subject should consult Freud's masterly work, "Totem and Taboo," Eng. trans. by A. A. Brill.

⁹ *Communal Clan* : See "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society," Chapter IV. "Development of the Patriarchal Family and the Rise of Mother Power," and Chapter V., "Mother-right Customs and the Transition to Father-right." "The Primitive Family," by C. N. Starche, vol. XXVI. in "The International Scientific Series," should also be consulted.

¹⁰ Marsden, W., "History of Sumatra" (3rd edition), pp. 226-227.

¹¹ "Riedel, p. 205, cited by McLennan, "The Patriarchal Theory," p. 326.

¹² Many more examples are given in "The Position of Woman in Primitive Society."

¹³ Bancroft, "The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America," vol. I., p. 549.

¹⁴ *Journal of the African Society*, VIII., pp. 15 ff.

¹⁵ Torday and Joyce, *J.A.I.*, XXXV., p. 410.

¹⁶ and ¹⁷ McLennan, "The Patriarchal Theory," pp. 224-225, 240.

¹⁸ "Old New Zealand," p. 110.

¹⁹ McLennan, *Ibid.*

²⁰ Turner, "Samoa," p. 78.

²¹ Bachofen, "Das Mutterrecht," p. 20, quoted by Starche, "The Primitive Family," p. 126-127.

²² Wilken "Das Matriarchat dem alten Arabern," p. 26.

²³ Ellis, "History of Madagascar," and Sibree, "The Great African Island." Madagascar is my birthplace. My father was a missionary in the country at the same time as Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sibree. For a further notice of Malagasy customs see my "Truth about Woman," pp. 160-161.

²⁴ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IX., p. 603.

²⁵ "Position of Woman in Primitive Society, pp. 239 ff.

²⁶ Besides the authorities already quoted—Atkinson's "Primal Law," Andrew Lang's "Social Origins" (which is an explanation of Atkinson's work), McLennan's "Patriarchal Theory," Starcke's "Primitive Family"—reference may be made to Giraud Teulon's "La mère chez certain Peuples de l'Antiquité" (which is based on Bachofen's "Das Mutterrecht") and "Les origines de mariage et de la famille." L. von Dargun's "Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht." Fison and Howitt's "Kamilaroi Kurnai: Group Marriage and Relationship, etc.," E. S. Harland's "Primitive Paternity," A. W. Howitt's "The Native Tribes of South-East Australia," Letourneau's "Evolution of Marriage" (Cont. Sci. Series), and "La condition de la femme dans les diverses races et civilisations," W. J. McGee's "The Beginning of Marriage," and "The Indians of North America," L. H. Morgan's "Ancient Society, etc.," and "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," and T. Rätzsch's "History of Mankind, Spencer and Gillen's "The Native Tribes of Central Australia." (For more detailed bibliography see my "Truth about Woman," pp. 389 ff.).

²⁷ *Transference* means technically the displacement of an "affect" from one idea to another and, especially, the displacement of such an affect, either positive or negative, from one person to another person.

²⁸ Compare Ed. Kempf, "Psychopathology," p. 110-111, also p. 22.

CHAPTER VIII.—BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

¹ "First and Last Things," p. 9.

² Compare the admirable passage, headed *Revaluation of Values*, p. 158 ff., in Miss Low's "Outlines of Psycho-Analysis."

³ In this connection I am always reminded of what was said by H. G. Wells in one of his books, though I forget which one it was. "All our children are changelings. They are perpetually fresh strangers. Every day they vanish and a new person masquerades as yesterday's child, until some unexpected development betrays the cheat. We have still to learn the perennial newness of youth."

⁴ and ⁵ Compare Ed. Kempf. *Ibid.*, p. 92 ff.

⁶ *Leakages of psychic force*: I have borrowed this phrase from Miss Low.

⁷ *Eneuresis*: see Adler, "The Neurotic Constitution," pp. 8, 25, 102, cases of, 85, 135, 207.

⁸ Compare the essay on "Mental Conflicts in the Child," by Constance Long, in "The Psychology of Fantasy."

⁹ Compare Ed. Kempf, "Psycho-pathology," chapter on "The Psychology of the Family."

CHAPTER IX.—BIRTH AND DEATH.

¹ In connection with this chapter the reader is referred specially to the chapter in Jung's "Analytical Psychology," which gives an account of the analysis of Little Anna. "Experiences Concerning the Psychic Life of a Child," pp. 132 ff., and the essays already mentioned in Dr. Constance Long's "Psychology of Fantasy," "Sex as a Basis of Character," and "The Unconscious Factors in Sex Education"; also Dr. E. Jones's "Papers on Psycho-Analysis," section on "Education and Children."

² *Polymorphous sexuality of children*: see Freud's "Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory," also the preface by Beatrice M. Hinkle, M.D., to Jung's "Psychology of the Unconscious," p. xxiii, where the position is stated with admirable clearness in comparing the different views of Freud and Jung. An essay by Dr. E. Jones, "Unconscious Mental Life of the Child," published in *Child Study*, April, 1916, and afterwards reprinted, should be read.

³ Dr. Ernest Jones states this in the article referred to in the last note.

⁴ Compare especially "Sex Education and National Health."

⁵ "Motherhood and the Relationships of the Sexes," pp. 326 ff.

⁶ *Sexual latency*: see "Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory," by Freud; also "Mental Hygiene of Childhood," by William A. White, M.D., pp. 53 ff.

⁷ In particular in connection with masturbation, pp. 105-131.

⁸ Page 92.

⁹ "The Mind of the Naughty Child," pp. 66-67.

¹⁰ Compare Jung, "Psychology of the Unconscious," in particular pp. 304, 434, death fantasies, p. 117, and the wish for death, pp. 320, 419.

CHAPTER X.—FREEDOM FROM THE PARENTS.

¹ There are numerous works on adolescence, but from the psycho-analytic standpoint the most important contribution is the lecture by Dr. Ernest Jones, delivered to the Educational Section of the British Psychological Society, and afterwards printed in their journal, *The British Journal of Psychology*, General Section, vol. XIII., Pt. 1., July, 1922. I gained the greatest assistance from this lecture, as, indeed, I have from all the work of Dr. Jones, which help I am glad to have this opportunity of most gratefully acknowledging.

² *Regression to childhood*: it is this view which Dr. E. Jones especially brought forward in his lecture.

³ See Adler, especially p. 156.

⁴ Compare Dr. Ernest Jones's article already mentioned, "Some Problems of Adolescence," *British Journal of Psychology*, July, 1922.

⁵ "Sex Education and National Health," pp. 89-131. Compare also Dr. Constance Long, "Sex as a Basis of Character," pp. 136 ff. in "The Psychology of Fantasy."

⁶ Iwan Bloch, "Sexual Life of our Time," uses the term *psychical onanism*: he gives a good and detailed explanation, though not, of course, from the psycho-analytic standpoint, pp. 419 ff.

⁷ Havelock Ellis, "The Sexual Impulse and the Sense of Shame," pp. 184-186, quoted by Bloch. He also refers to Eduard Reich, "Immorality and Immoderation," Felix Roubaud, "Treatise on Impotence and Sterility in Man and Woman," L. Lowenfeld, "The Sexual Life and Nervous Disorders," Eulenburg, "A Sexual Neuropathy," and W. A. Hammond, "Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female Sexes," all of whom write on the importance of psychical masturbation.

⁸ *Inner barrier*: called by Freud the "Censor," which Dr. E. Jones in his dictionary of terms at the end of his book "Papers on Psycho-Analysis," 2nd edition, describes as "the sum of the repressing forces."

CHAPTER XI.—THE PLACE OF THE SCHOOL.

¹ In connection with this chapter the important educational work of Dr. Oskar Pfister, "The Psycho-Analytic Method" (preface by Freud), should be read. It is written by a practical teacher and pastor who has applied the Freudian method in his daily work in the classroom. There is an English translation. A small book by the same writer, "Psycho-Analysis in Service of Education," serves as an introduction to the larger book, and is a series of lectures given to teachers. A suggestive chapter, "Probable Social and Educational Results," is given in "An Outline of Psycho-Analysis," by Barbara Low. "Psychanalysis in the Classroom," by G. H. Green, is also a useful book. I obtained much help personally from a symposium held by the Educational Section of the British Psychological Society on the difference in the views of Freud and Jung in this connection. Papers were read by Dr. Constance Long, Mrs. S. S. Brierly and Mr. Cyril Burt.

² See Freud's Introduction to the "Psycho-Analytic Method," quoted by Miss Low in "An Outline of Psycho-Analysis," p. 180.

³ Compare Pfister, "Psycho-Analysis in the Service of Education," in particular Chapter I. "B.—The Objects of Analytic Education," pp. 15 ff.

⁴ *Mental backwardness*: compare Dr. W. A. White's "Mental Hygiene of Childhood," Dr. Ernest Jones's "Papers on Psycho-Analysis" (2nd edition), the section on "Education and Children," in particular the essay on "Psycho-Analysis and Education." "The Problem of the Nervous Child," by Elida Evans, is also a useful book.

⁵ Compare Dr. Constance Long, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ See Jung, "Analytical Psychology," and "The Familial Constellation," especially pp. 127, 129, 131.

CHAPTER XII.—THE PLACE OF THE SCHOOL (*continued*).

¹ *Co-education*: See "Sex Education and National Health," *The School*. Mrs. Brierly, in the paper referred to in Note 1, Chapter XI., spoke of this point in connection with co-education. I would also quote a remark made in Miss Low's book, p. 161. "The hypocrisy and sentimentality which overlay so much of our life, obscuring and distorting what is beneath, can be remedied to a great extent through more knowledge. In every community there are the people whose inhibitions are so strong that they cannot even glimpse the existing facts (akin to those remarkable Heads of Co-Education Schools who always blandly assure their audiences 'There are no sex problems in *our* school')."

² "Sex Education and National Health," pp. 46-72.

³ Ernest Jones, "Problems of Adolescence," already quoted: Mrs. Brierly also spoke on this question in her paper answering Dr. Constance Long.

CHAPTER XIII.—FAMILY HISTORIES.

¹ In writing these Family Histories I derived much assistance from Ed. Kempf's "Psychopathology," especially the chapter, already quoted, on "The Psychology of the Family." I have gained the greatest help from this suggestive and illuminating work.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE CHOICE OF A PROFESSION AND SUCCESS IN A PROFESSION.

¹ Pfister. See also "An Outline of Psycho-Analysis, p. 258, where Miss Low speaks of psycho-analysis as causing a "Revaluation of Values."

² B. Low, *Ibid.*, chapter already referred to on "Social and Educational Results."

³ Adler. See also G. H. Green, "Psychanalysis in the Classroom," chapter on "Play."

⁴ This question of heredity is well treated by White in "Mental Hygiene of Childhood," pp. 7 ff.

⁵ Compare what Jung says about the need for religion, especially on the part of the young, "Psychology of the Unconscious," in particular the Introduction.

CHAPTER XV.—MARRIAGE AND THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SEXES.

¹ See chapter on "The Mental Life" in "An Outline of Psycho-Analysis," by B. Low. This book is indispensable as a handbook to the Freudian position.

² *Lady Macbeth*: Compare "The Hysteria of Lady Macbeth," by I. Coriat.

³ See Jung, "Analytical Psychology," p. 126.

⁴ I have always felt this difficulty in all my many earlier writings on marriage and the problems of sexual life. I was always groping. Sometimes I came near to the truth, but it was by chance and by "feeling" it, rather than by knowing.

⁵ See the chapter on "Prostitution" in "The Truth about Woman," especially pp. 372-373.

⁶ See Note 2, Chapter IX.

⁷ and ⁸ *Mother-in-law* and *son-in-law*: see Freud, "Totem and Taboo."

⁹ Compare Ed. Kempf, *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See "The Truth about Woman," and "Women's Wild Oats," also article first published in the *English Review* and afterwards issued in America as a book (with two other essays) under the title "Women and Morality."

¹¹ For further information on these problems the reader is referred to a very interesting and instructive article in *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* (Vol. 1, Pt. 1, 1920), on "The Character and Married Life of Henry VIII.," by J. C. Flügel.

¹² Wordsworth.

DEFINITIONS

Affect: Feeling. The essential constituent of emotion; a state characterised by a special disturbance. Jung uses *affect* as synonymous with emotion.

Affective association: two or more ideas, with the same "affect" or feelings, which by this means are joined or "condensed" with one another.

Affective attitude: the readiness to act or react in a particular way.

Association: the linking of images, ideas or mental states in such a way that one tends to call up the other. There may be association by similarity and also association by contrast. Psycho-analysis stresses affective association (see above); also free association.

Auto-eroticism: sexual excitement occurring independently of another person, and self-induced either physically or mentally.

Censor. In Freudian terminology, a figurative impersonation to denote the repressive forces that act to prevent the unconscious wishes appearing undisguised in consciousness.

Collective unconscious. Jung states (*Psychology of the Unconscious*, p. 198): "Although individuals are widely separated by differences in the contents of their consciousness, they are closely alike in their unconscious psychology. It is a significant impression for one working in practical psycho-analysis when he realises how uniform are the typical unconscious complexes." Thus the term "collective unconscious" does not signify much more than "the very evident uniformity of the unconscious mechanism."

Complex: A group of emotionally tinged ideas partially or entirely repressed (Jones). Freud, *Introductory Lectures*, p. 90, defines complex as "circles of thought and interests of strong affective value."

Displacement: transference of an affect from one idea or image to another.

Dissociation: the inverse of association: a process by which the links or connection between two ideas are dissociated or severed.

Electra complex : excessive attachment of the daughter to the father. The feminine counterpart of the Oedipus complex.

Extrovert : one whose libido, or vital interest, or psychic energy—the name does not matter—tends mainly outward. The extrovert is predominantly a man or woman of action.

Fixation : the arrest of an "affect," i.e. state of feeling by which the character, or some part of the character, is kept at a more primitive stage than that normally corresponding to the individual's age and development : especially used in connection with a father-fixation or a mother-fixation.

Free associations : associations which do not have as their starting-point a dream or a reminiscence, but which arise when isolated words are uttered : associations which are the outcome of undirected thinking.

Guiding fiction : the image of a wish or an end to be attained, which the mind sets up as a rationalisation, thus explaining to itself the urge of the unconscious motive. This term is used very frequently by Adler.

Hetero-sexual : pertaining to love and sex relations between persons of different sexes.

Homo-sexual : love or strong affection between members of the same sex.

Infantilism : fixation at an infantile state, and especially an infantile state of feeling.

Inferiority complex (Adler) : the complex which results from the thwarting of the natural urge to self-expression, and which (when repressed into the unconscious) impels the character to try to achieve power along some other line than that in which his energies are blocked.

Interest : this term was suggested by Claparède to replace libido.

Introvert : one whose libido, vital impetus, or psychic energy, tends mainly inward. The introvert is predominantly a thinker.

Libido : sexual hunger : the mental aspect of the sex-instinct. It should never be forgotten that the word "sexual" is used by the new psychologists with the widest possible significance, so that "libido" may be regarded as "psychic energy," or Bergson's "vital impetus." Jung states in the Definitions given in *Psychological Types*, p. 571 : "*Libido*. In my view this concept is synonymous with *psychic energy*. Psychic energy is the intensity of the psychic process—its *psychological value*. . . . Frequently I employ the expression libido promiscuously with energy," Tansley also defines libido as "psychic energy," but limits it as being bound up in the great natural complexes, or that part which,

becoming fastened to any special complex discharges itself along the appropriate channels." In like manner Jung includes all instinctive energy under the term libido. Baudouin, *Studies in Psycho-analysis*, p. 97, states: "Libido is instinctive energy considered from the outlook of the faculty for undergoing transformation and evolution."

Masculine protest (Adler's terminology): the inferiority complex, leading to a desire for superiority, creates the masculine protest: a wish to be a complete man—above, creative, that is the masculine protest. Adler regards the idea of inferiority as allied with femininity.

Masochism: voluptuous (sexual) enjoyment experienced when suffering mental or bodily pain. The opposite of sadism.

Maternal complex: *i.e.* Œdipus complex.

Narcissism: The concentration of the libido, *i.e.* the affective interest, upon one's own body and one's own personality in general. The name is, of course, taken from the myth of Narcissus, who, rejecting the love of women, fell in love with himself.

Neurosis: functional disorders of the nervous system: such disorders, in many cases at any rate, even if not in all, are an undesirable result following from the early thwarting of instinctive energy.

Œdipus complex: an excessive attachment, emotionally binding, of the son for the mother. Baudouin, the condition in which a boy is greatly attached to his mother, while more or less hostile to his father (p. 168).

Paternal complex: Electra complex.

Phantasy, or fantasy. Jung, in the Definitions given in his latest work, *Psychological Types*, says: "By phantasy I understand two different things: (1) *phantasm* and (2) *imaginative activity*. It is the first use of the word that is most frequent in psycho-analysis. It may be explained as a state of mind connected with one or more images or ideas, which corresponds with no actual state of affairs. It may be based upon a memory image of an actual object or experience, but afterwards it corresponds with no external reality." The second meaning, *Imaginative activity*, is defined by Jung as "the reproductive or creative activity of the mind."

Phobia: intense and persistent morbid dread of some object or class of objects.

Rationalisation: the invention of a reason for a wish, an attitude, or an action, the actual motive of which is unconscious and not recognised.

Repression: the keeping from consciousness of mental processes that would be painful to consciousness.

Resistance : the instinctive opposition displayed towards any attempt to lay bare the unconscious, a manifestation of the repressing forces.

Sadism : voluptuous (sexual) enjoyment in inflicting or witnessing the infliction of bodily or mental pain, the opposite to masochism.

Sublimation : the employment of libido or energy, belonging to primitive impulses or instinct, in a new and derived, i.e. non-primitive channel; for example, the use of sexual energy in intellectual love, or creative work.

Symbol is something much more than a sign : it is used to represent some affect that cannot find expression in consciousness. The symbol "shapes or formulates an essential unconscious factor." It is always "a creation of an extremely complex nature, since data proceeding from any psychic function have entered into its composition" (Jung). The symbol is of the utmost importance to the individual, hence the insistence on any symbolic action, however apparently meaningless.

Symbolisation : representation of some hidden emotional affect by means of a symbol.

Transference, as the name implies, is the transference or displacement of an affect from one object to another. The term is largely used by practising psycho-analysts in reference to the patient's transference of his emotional state to the analyst. The emotion thus displaced may be either positive or negative, leading either to liking and trust or to dislike and distrust.

Unconscious. It will be convenient first to define *consciousness*. Everyone understands what consciousness is. The essential factor in consciousness is awareness. It is all that is intelligible in our minds—the stream of mental impressions which give us knowledge of our thoughts, actions, sensations, surroundings, attitudes and impressions from the world around us. It is the general term describing the whole of our actions, thoughts, sensations, and emotions of which we ourselves have knowledge. We should note that the conscious mind is able to make selection : we try not to think of the things that annoy or hurt us.

We next come to *the subconscious*, or *the preconscious* (the term used by Freud) and *the true unconscious*. The *subconscious* is simply those parts of the contents of our consciousness which are out of focus because our attention is not fixed upon them. As I write I can hear the dog lick itself, I feel the pressure of my foot against the chair, I see my desk round the edge of the paper. Of any of these things by fixing my attention upon them I become conscious.

Not so with *the unconscious*, which is the storehouse of all those processes of our minds of which we are unaware. Freud divides the unconscious into two divisions: *The fore-conscious*, which forms by far the greater part of our minds, and consists of most of our thoughts, ideas, memories, etc., of which we are not actually aware, but which we can recall to our *consciousness in an undisguised form*. We do not remember everything we know at the same time. For example, I forget the title of a book, the name of a person I knew some time ago, or of places I have visited, situations that have occurred, pleasant and unpleasant, also ideas and opinions and wishes that I once had—all of which may be recalled to consciousness by an effort of memory or some associations which revive their memory. *The true unconscious* is unable to enter consciousness undisguised. It can break through and be made manifest only in special psychic states, such as dreams (its most frequent expression), fantasies, mania, trances and similar conditions; or by taking disguised forms in compulsive acts. It finds outlet also by means of unexplained fears and aversions, and is the true cause of many of our common, unconsidered, and apparently meaningless actions.

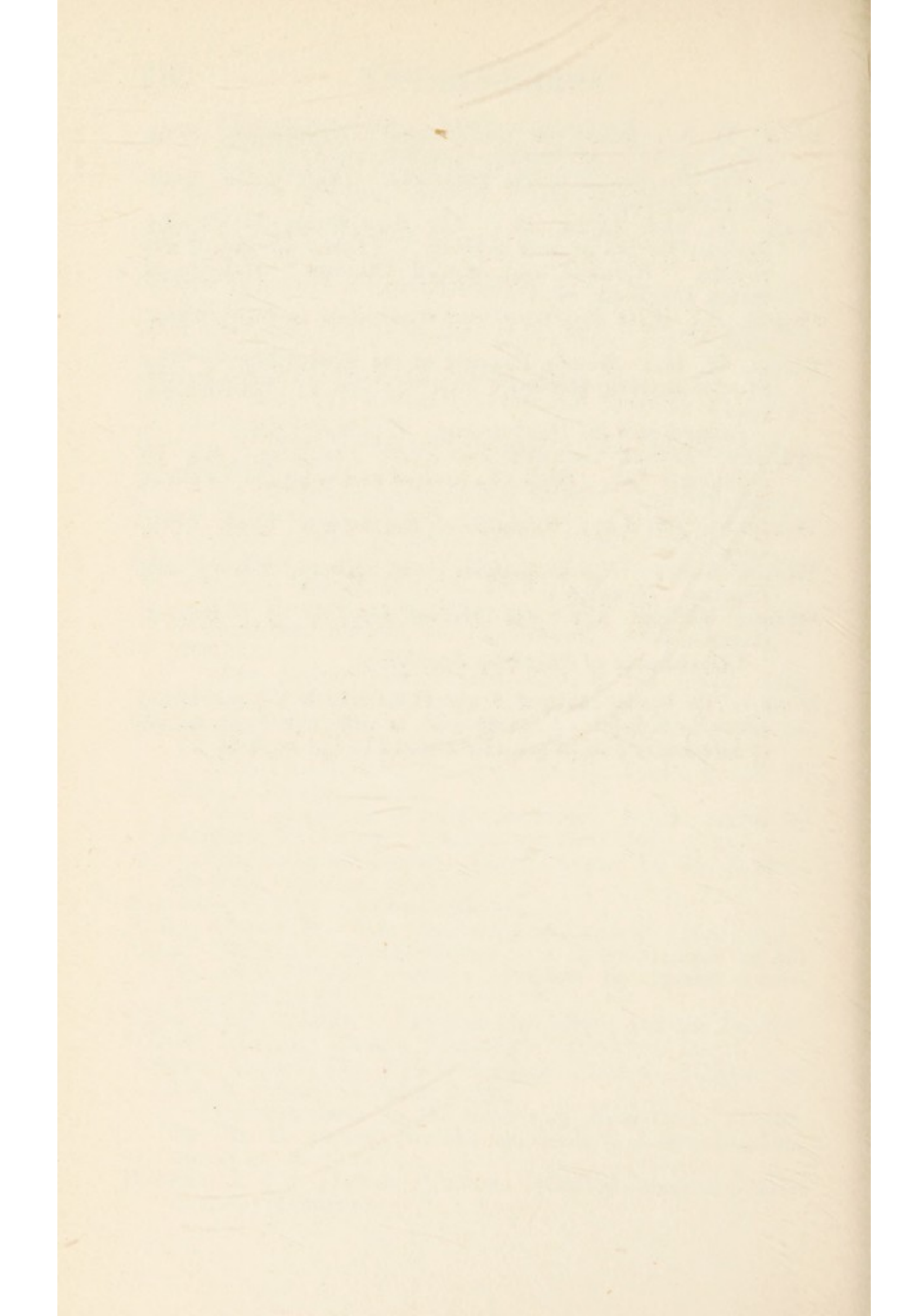
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