

Talks to parents and teachers / by Homer Lane.

Contributors

Lane, Homer Tyrrell, 1876-1925.

Publication/Creation

London : George Allen & Unwin, 1928.

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/gcqqnvq7>

License and attribution

Conditions of use: it is possible this item is protected by copyright and/or related rights. You are free to use this item in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s).



Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>

Talks to PARENTS and TEACHERS

“One of the best books published for some time on the problems of childhood . . . Every parent and teacher could learn much from these talks.” SPECTATOR

HOMER LANE

This book, by the famous creator of the *Little Commonwealth*, is based on various notes of his lectures given in London to parents and to teachers; these lectures were directed to the ordinary wayfaring man and woman, ignorant of technicalities but anxious to know something about the workings in childhood of the unconscious mind. Homer Lane's general principle is that what happens to us before we are eight matters more than anything else which happens to us before we are eighty. The book has as much fresh and explosive interest for the ordinary parent, as for those engaged in the more narrowly specialised work of schools. For the teacher it covers the groundwork on which he will later be building: for the parent it gets down to "brass tacks" as not all books do for this subject, i.e. early problems of health, such as constipation, the treatment of sex, and many other of those troubles of infancy and childhood to which Lane himself had devoted personal observation and experiment for many years. The book has a bearing on the work of the doctor, and on that of the minister of religion.


SOME PRESS OPINIONS

"Homer Lane was a genius. No one of our time has shown such wonderful intuition in dealing with children as he has."—*Daily Herald*

"In every way the most important contribution to the problems of freedom in education and re-education which has appeared in recent years."—*Schoolmaster*

Eighth Impression

8s. 6d. net



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Wellcome Library



TALKS TO PARENTS AND TEACHERS



Talks to Parents and Teachers

by
HOMER LANE

With an Introduction by

DR. A. A. DAVID

LONDON

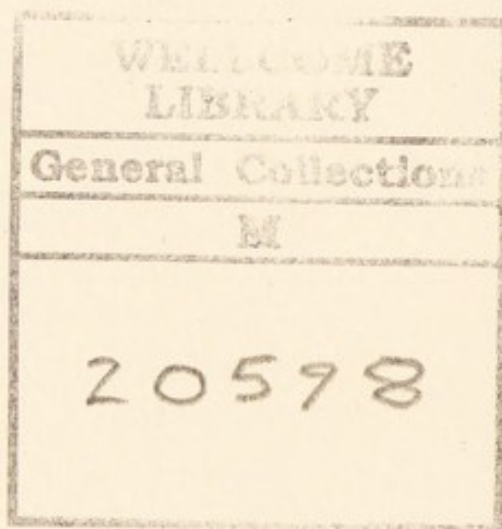
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD

RUSKIN HOUSE • MUSEUM STREET

Wellcome Library

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1928
SECOND IMPRESSION 1928
THIRD IMPRESSION 1930
FOURTH IMPRESSION 1934
FIFTH IMPRESSION 1937
SIXTH IMPRESSION 1942
SEVENTH IMPRESSION 1948
EIGHTH IMPRESSION 1954

This book is copyright under the Berne Convention. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, 1911, no portion may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Enquiry should be made to the publishers.



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY BRADFORD AND DICKENS
DRAYTON HOUSE, LONDON,
W.C.1

INTRODUCTION

HOMER TYRRELL LANE was born at Hudson, New Hampshire, on September 22, 1876. He was the second son in a family of three boys and two girls. His father, Samuel Lane, moved to Massachusetts, where he was connected with the railway. His mother was a strict Baptist, and in revolt against her authority Lane became the leader of a "tough" gang of boys in the town, and when about fourteen years old ran away from home. He spent some time in lumber camps in Maine—here he won a reputation with his fists—and eventually reached Southborough, Massachusetts, where he worked as an errand-boy in a grocery store. Later he became clerk and delivery man. He was occupying this position when he married in 1898. There were two children of this marriage. In 1902 Lane married again, his first wife having died eighteen months before.

He always declared that it was the birth of his first child in 1899 that made him turn to educational work. His earliest experience was as a teacher of manual work on the Sloyd method, the fundamental principle of which is the value of working for some useful end which will enlist the interest of the pupil. As a preparation for teaching, Lane went to Boston, through the help of the village doctor, who was his life-long friend and who stood by him both at the death of his first wife in 1901 and many times later.

At Boston, Lane studied at the Sloyd Training School. The course included lectures on psychology at Harvard, and Lane's interest in this subject, and his original views, made him one of the most successful students at the School.

On completing his training, Lane started a workshop in Southborough and taught the boys from the village in the evening. Then he taught for a short time at the Pennsylvania State Penitentiary: this was the beginning of his work among delinquents. From there he was appointed to teach manual work in the public schools of Detroit.

In addition to his teaching, Lane took an active part in settlement work in Detroit, and was the founder of the "Try Square Club," whose members had belonged to a notorious rebel gang of lads known as the Riverside Gang. He also made a systematic study of children's play in the Summer Playgrounds, which were organized by the city to keep children off the streets in the school holidays; and he became Director of the Detroit Playgrounds. At another time he spent a considerable period observing in the babies' ward of a hospital, making a special study of the problems of nursing and weaning and of infants' activities.

He spent the summer of 1906 at a camp run by the Boys' Home and D'Arcampbell association in Detroit, and was then asked to become the Superintendent. To this he agreed, on condition that the home was moved into the country. An old farmhouse was secured, and the colony consisted of about sixty boys from nine to seventeen years of age;

they did the farm-work. Next year the house was burnt down. Lane broke his wrist in rescuing a boy from the fire ; he spent the night finding sleeping accommodation for the boys and driving them to neighbouring farmhouses, paying no attention to his broken wrist till the afternoon of the next day. The doctor who at last set it told him that he would now never have the proper use of it again. As a fact, it healed completely in record time. Again and again Lane overcame physical disability by the constructive power with which he set himself to any creative work on hand.

When the new buildings were completed in 1907 the name of the home was changed to the Ford Republic, in honour of the family which had subscribed largely to the cost of rebuilding and to mark a change in its system of government. The system up till then was described by Lane as having been a benevolent despotism, differing little from that of an ordinary reformatory. But now the community became self-governing, though not to the same extent as the subsequent Little Commonwealth. For at the Ford Republic there was a right of appeal from the "citizens'" court to the supreme court, presided over by the Superintendent, and the decision of this court was final.

Lane won wide recognition for his work at the Ford Republic and did a good deal of lecturing as a result. Among his friends was Thomas Mott Osborne, the author of *Society and Prisons* and the famous governor of Sing Sing Prison. Lane, however, was not satisfied with the Republic. He was

anxious to substitute for the institutional system of one large building a number of cottages each holding a "family" of boys. He did not, however, get the consent of his committee for the change, and in 1911 left the Ford Republic. It was then that he first came over to England, to lecture on his theories of self-government in connection with the proposal to found a self-governing school in Dorset. He returned to America, however, towards the end of the year, and started work as a navvy in a gang which was laying streets and sidewalks in Buffalo. Here his gift for mechanics was so useful that in the summer of 1912 he was put in charge of part of a contract with a large gang of men under him engaged in laying plant for sewage disposal. In that part of the work which was in his charge he abolished all foremen and "clocking-on," and established a record for low prices.

Late in 1912 Lane was invited to come to England again, and shortly afterwards became the Superintendent of the Little Commonwealth, a self-governing reformatory school which had recently been established in Dorsetshire by Mr. George Montagu (the present Lord Sandwich) and his friends. Lane's wife and children followed in 1913. The Little Commonwealth was carried on as a certified reformatory, to which children could be sent by magistrates or Boards of Guardians, until 1918, when it was closed in circumstances which were at the time not fully explained to the public. Two girls, who had run away from the Commonwealth and had been arrested in London in circumstances which made it imperative for them to find some justification for their action,

made a charge of assault against the Superintendent and alleged that this was the cause of their truancy. The Home Office decided to investigate the case, and appointed Mr. J. F. Rawlinson, K.C., then Recorder of Cambridge, to hold an inquiry.¹ The Managing Committee of the Commonwealth welcomed the inquiry, but feared that Mr. Rawlinson's training was not such as to enable him to understand or sympathize with the unconventional methods of the Little Commonwealth. Events proved that their fears were justified. One of the girls who had made the charge against Lane did not appear to substantiate it. The other girl did appear, and her contradictory statements made it clear that her charge was false. Mr. Rawlinson's report was made privately to the Home Secretary and was never even shown to the Managing Committee. The charge was not proved, neither was Lane exonerated. The Home Office threatened to withdraw their certificate from the School if Lane remained as Superintendent; and the Committee, rather than part with Lane, closed the Commonwealth, without publishing any explanation of the reasons. There was much mystification, and Lane was never free after this from considerable suspicion in official quarters.

Lane moved to London, taking with him a number of the Commonwealth children for whom the Committee could not provide, and he made himself from now

¹ For a fuller treatment of these events, including Lane's own narrative of the closing of the Little Commonwealth and a comment on the whole circumstances by the Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, the reader is referred to a book shortly to be published under the title of *Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth*, by Miss E. T. Bazeley.

onwards financially responsible for these children. He had no income of his own, though friends helped him through the crisis, and set to work to earn his living at first by lecturing on education and psychology. He was attached for a time as a lecturer to the Australian Expeditionary Force, and in this capacity gave a course of lectures at Cambridge. Gradually he turned from lecturing to personal work as a consulting psychologist, at first chiefly with teachers, for his dominant interest was always in education. His long and careful observation of children and of adolescents had convinced him that many of the ailments and much of the unhappiness of later years are traceable to errors of treatment in childhood, which can subsequently be retrieved. In this work his really remarkable achievements in physical and mental treatment were little known outside the circle of his friends: he never allowed his success to be advertised. Lane was a student, but also a critic, of Freud and of Jung. He belonged to no "school." He was a particularly open-minded and liberal student of his subject, free from dogmatism and working out his practice as he went.

Many men and women suffering from nervous depression and various types of spiritual disorder owed to him the recovery of power over themselves and their work, and renewed happiness in marriage or in social life. Those who have any knowledge of psycho-therapeutics will realize that it is impossible, in many such cases, to give help to people, and especially to those of the opposite sex, without great risk to the helper. In February 1925 Lane was

treating a highly abnormal woman. After refusing various other gifts, he accepted from her as a loan a large sum of money. Her relatives appealed to the police, who found that Lane, who was an American citizen, had failed to register afresh after a change of address. He was arrested under the Aliens Act, refused bail, and sent to Brixton Prison. His rooms were searched, and a number of apparently incriminating letters were discovered addressed to him by abnormal women-patients. Lane had preserved these letters (characteristically in an open file), together with many others, for the purposes of a technical book which he had been intending to write. In dealing with such cases he encouraged from his patients the open expression, in writing if they so preferred, of any morbid broodings, so that the patient, by externalizing these, might be rid of their unconscious influence. His own explanation may suffice: "If your little son asked you to wipe dirt off his face, you would not say, 'I will if it is soot, but not if it is anything really disgusting.'" He was no more to be blamed for receiving such letters than is a surgeon whose patient is sick after an anæsthetic. In the trial at Bow Street in March 1925 the prosecution relied largely on these letters, with a reinforcement of insinuations for which no proof was attempted. The object apparently was to represent him as leading a life which he could not possibly have hidden from a large number of men and women of character with whom he lived on terms of close intimacy. It was unfortunate that the last chapter of the *Little Commonwealth* had been left unwritten by those

concerned ; for the fact that they had issued no public statement at the close made it easier now, though Lane had not been convicted on that occasion of anything, to insinuate that he had been guilty before.

Those who blamed Lane for taking a large sum of money from one of his patients made the mistake of regarding this as his general practice, and were not, perhaps, aware of the many cases which he treated gratis. Throughout his life he was handicapped by want of funds. He was frequently offered money by those who wished in return to dictate his policy or control his work. These offers he always refused. He valued his independence before everything, and he was incapable of being untrue to himself. He helped many who could pay little or nothing for his services, but he never refused contributions from those who could afford to pay and who offered him money without any desire to control its expenditure. Such contributions he spent not on himself—his own standard of living was a simple one—but on the prosecution of his work and in payment of other services which were given gratis. The lavishness of his generosity was the despair of some of his friends who had made considerable personal sacrifices to help him, and his carelessness in business transactions shocked those who had been trained to more methodical habits. As he never expected any return from those to whom he gave what he had to give so he refused to recognize any obligations on his part to those from whom he received. He considered that transactions on a money basis spoiled human relationships, and, in fact, would have liked to

conduct his work on the basis rather of gift than of payment.

It could hardly be expected that such considerations would be appreciated or even explicable in court. Lane, cross-examined at Bow Street, was strangely like Socrates before his Athenian accusers: neither side understood the other's type of mind and emotion. But the sentence—a month's imprisonment with a recommendation to the Home Secretary to deport—could not be justified and was upset on appeal. The actual offence—no other charge was ever brought, apart from innuendoes—was the technical one of non-registration. Everyone knew his address, and the normal penalty in such cases is a small fine. The sentence was passed in spite of overwhelming evidence as to his character given in the witness-box by all sorts and conditions of people.

Lane appealed, and at the London Quarter Sessions in May the sentence of a month's imprisonment was quashed and a nominal fine of two guineas substituted. The recommendation to deport was not cancelled; it was not, however, to be passed on to the Home Secretary for a month, Lane having stated that before that time he would have left England. The understanding which Lane gave to do this was not, it seems, intended by him to have the form which it did actually have; he imagined that the general criticisms of his character were in some way publicly withdrawn, nor was it apparent to him, in the moments following the settlement, that he had done anything which might put him in the position of having seemed to admit himself as "undesirable." He certainly

did mean to leave England in any event, and before the appeal he had openly said so, since conditions had been created which for the time made his work impossible. But he had also before the appeal definitely and explicitly, in a discussion of procedure, rejected the suggestion of any such bargain as was, in fact, made. That the misunderstanding which allowed this bargain did arise was due in part to his obvious weariness of the whole business—he was throughout as impatient of legal puzzles and formalism as in the earlier Home Office inquiry about the Little Commonwealth—and in part to his complete disregard of his own security or personal repute; it had always been an ineradicable part of him to regard these things as irrelevant both to the interest and to the validity of his work. In consequence of this misunderstanding, the witnesses for the defence were not put into the box at all at the appeal. Thus, in spite of the appeal, the real issue as it concerned himself was left suspended in the air; the same thing had happened at the Little Commonwealth inquiry. Throughout he had been with difficulty persuaded to take any serious thought about the lines of his defence.

Lane left for France, intending to write; and that his books died with him is a great part of the loss. He was a man of perfect health, both bodily and mental, and no man was more free of the self-consciousness of worrying about what we think that other people are thinking about ourselves; but there is no doubt that the strain told on him more than was apparent and lowered his powers of resistance.

While at Nice he contracted typhoid and pneumonia. He moved to the American hospital in Paris, where his wife and eldest son joined him. In this hospital he died, after a fortnight more of hard fighting, on September 6, 1925.

Lane's friends had always urged him to write, and, yielding to their persistence, he had proposed two books, one of them on the upbringing of young children and the other on the "re-education" of adults by means of psychological analysis. These he had more than once begun, and a few relics of his attempts remain, but generally he destroyed what he had written. The fact is that he was neither a systematic thinker nor a literary craftsman. He was a genius in understanding and sympathy, but a genius of that type which cannot easily make its methods available for others to use.

But some of those who have observed or enjoyed his gifts of insight into the complexities of personality were unwilling that no record of his labours should remain. Hence this book, consisting in part of Lane's manuscript Lectures of 1919 on *The Self-Determination of Small People*, and, for the rest, based on miscellaneous fragments and on full notes taken by some of those who attended his lectures, since delivered in London to parents and teachers. These notes and remains have been brought into their present shape by Mr. H. H. Symonds and Mr. C. H. C. Osborne, while Lane's work at the Little Commonwealth in Dorset will be described in the separate book above referred to, *Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth*, by Miss E. T. Bazeley. The

two volumes together form a worthy tribute to a life of singularly fearless and unselfish service.

Lane's life ended in a tragedy. The faults which laid him open to the law's suspicion—misjudgments due to a naïve lack of worldly prudence—have little relevance to our estimate of his character, still less to the permanent value of his contribution to our growing knowledge of the motives which determine conduct and of the right way of handling them. He disliked the term psycho-analysis, preferring "re-education": he saw that the aim of psychological treatment should be, not to take the personality to pieces, but to help the patient to build it up, to analyse only as a step to synthesis, to explain difficulties only to restore the patient to his own control and so liberate him for the task of completing his own cure. In this process he always refused to recognize, indeed he often expressly repudiated, any personal influence of his own. Be that as it may, the many whom he led into new happiness of life and work are not likely to forget their contact with a man who had won his own way to freedom through labour, suffering and love.

ALBERT LIVERPOOL.

CONTENTS

	page
<i>Introduction by Dr. A. A. David</i>	5
TALKS TO PARENTS AND TEACHERS	
I Infancy	19
II The Age of Imagination	61
III The Age of Self-Assertion	82
IV The Age of Loyalty	103
A NOTE ON CONSCIENCE, MANNERS AND THE SENSE OF INFERIORITY	117
A NOTE ON THE UNCONSCIOUS MIND AND OUR IDEAS OF GOD	121
A NOTE ON THE "SYNTHESIS" OF THE INSTINCTS	130
A NOTE ON TOYS AND PLAY	133
A NOTE ON PUNISHMENTS	140
THOUGHTS ON THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF SMALL PEOPLE	
I Self-Government or Punishment	149
II Misconceptions of Power	159
III The Sham Authority and the Real	170
IV A Release from Authority	179
ADDITIONAL NOTE—AN ACCOUNT OF THE LITTLE COMMONWEALTH AT EVERSNOT, DORSET	188
<i>Index</i>	195



TALKS TO PARENTS AND TEACHERS

I

INFANCY

FROM BIRTH TILL ABOUT THREE YEARS OF AGE

A CHILD ten minutes old is, with the conscious mind, wholly illogical, but its unconscious mind has the full knowledge of all things needful. Thus the unconscious mind knows how to breathe, and the child's first act at birth is crying: it shouts for air, gets it, and so has set the lungs in action. Equally it knows how to suck—a highly complex process. The child at birth is fully equipped to carry on the business of living. The knowledge is not conscious, but unconscious knowledge.

Parents think of the baby as a little animal which needs feeding only. This is the radical misunderstanding. Mind from its earliest development has two different needs, to possess and to create, to have and to experiment, to repeat former pleasure and to do new things for the sake of doing them. The first dawn of consciousness is when the child

does something with definite purpose, and recognizes his power over his own hand. First he discovers ownership of his hand, then that he can move it. He now has his first misunderstanding with his mother. He is screaming and stiffening his body in rage. Fists and feet are beating about, while his mother is administering a dose of soothing syrup. What has happened? He had almost met with success in the first serious task of his life, and had been interrupted at the critical moment by his mother. He had been trying to get control of his hand. He had found, after having watched its spasmodic movements, that he could make it move, and could to some extent direct its movements. He was concentrating all his effort on putting the fist in his mouth. He wanted to put it in his mouth, rather than in his ear or his eye, because so far in life his only source of satisfaction had been through the mouth. Having had only one pleasure, he wanted to experience it often ; so when he had made the astounding discovery that he could at will move his hand, he wanted to use this new-found power for his own happiness. His motive was purely selfish and primitive, but the moment he began to exercise this power of deliberate action he jumped into difficulties, and began to learn by doing. With effort power increased, and this produced intense interest. This interest is a spiritual activity. He now wanted to *put* his hand in his mouth, not merely to *have* it there. But his mother had observed his efforts, and seeing that the difficulties of control made him fretful, she had put the fist in for him, and when she

did this he cried. Originally all he had wanted was the pleasure of having the fist in his mouth. But he had found the unsuspected source of a still greater interest in the task of getting it there. His cry was from divine discontent with the difficulty of his job. By assisting him his mother had deprived him of success and his creative energy had been balked. The child dislikes assistance which defeats his purposes, for doing, rather than having, is to be the ruling principle of his life. In adults the creative or spiritual impulse has been weakened, and we ourselves emphasize possession rather than creation, but the child emphasizes the spiritual. The mother argues that when she puts his hand in his mouth he cries because he is hungry, and is therefore disappointed when he gets not food but a hand. But the mother here sets the material before the spiritual, and this is how we begin the process of creating in children "original sin"—a conflict in them, that is, between what they rightly want and what other people, whose attitudes of mind they will soon adopt and make their own, think that they ought to want. If only we would encourage doing rather than having, we should avoid much evil later.

Such misunderstanding by a parent is common. In the assertion of his new-found powers, the child meets many well-intentioned interruptions to his progress. But he persists in his efforts, daily gaining more confidence and searching for new fields to conquer. With each successful effort he grows stronger. With each failure, whether due to natural difficulties or to inopportune help, his confidence is

diminished. He gradually, however, becomes proficient in controlling his hands. When he can put hand to mouth without difficulty, he loses interest in the business and uses his hand for other purposes. He is a good educationist and knows the value of revising a process to perfection, but when that is reached, interest is gone. He now becomes aware that he can move objects by pushing them with his hands, and soon he learns the use of his fingers: he learns to grasp objects and lift them. He is not taught these accomplishments; he discovers them by his own efforts, and each variation makes its impression on his growing mind. Any attempt on the part of grown-ups to speed these operations retards them. Being in search of power, he utilizes every difficulty he meets. The overcoming of these difficulties is his chief source of pleasure.

At first everything the child picks up he practises putting to his mouth, as he did with his hand. But when he can do this with so little effort that satisfaction in the act has ceased, he seeks new difficulties. He discovers, quite by accident, a new application of his powers through the medium of a newly recognized sense. He had been playing with a spoon which his mother had given him. When he lost control of it, and it fell to the floor, he noticed a clatter. Like the systematic experimenter in natural science that he is, he verifies this by repeated experiments, and proves his point. The sound of the spoon striking the floor is new evidence, obtained through the sense of hearing, of his own power. He is delighted. The repetition of the experiment required the

assistance of his mother, who had to restore the spoon to him ; in the end she tied the spoon to the chair, so that she need not be called on so frequently to return it. He dropped the spoon again ; but it was checked in its fall, and failed to yield the usual satisfaction to his sense of hearing ; there was no noise. Here was a mystery. Having reached the conclusion that the character of the spoon has altered, he now modifies his direction of research. With remarkable persistence he studies his material and its peculiarities. He soon makes a profound discovery. Keeping his grasp on the spoon as it descends, he hears the delightful crash as it strikes the table ; without the disadvantage of losing hold of it he can raise it again and repeat the experiment. He eagerly perfects himself. He learns to strike hard, and derives increased satisfaction. His knuckles suffer, so he devises a method of producing the noise without hurting himself. More progress ! Life is becoming wonderfully interesting. Then comes the inevitable rebuff to originality. His mother is annoyed by the continuous noise ; the source of his greatest joy is an annoyance to her. She substitutes a rubber toy for the spoon. He bravely adapts this to his purpose, but there is no noise on the table, no evidence of power. He protests, and will not be appeased. He knows his business, and no one can divert his efforts into any course which yields him no results.¹ His

¹ This wish to play with noises, thwarted and repressed, will result at a later stage in inappropriate and uncontrolled noise-making. If at the right stage his experiments are not interfered with, he will very early lose interest in noise as a manifestation of power, and begin to take a subtler interest in discriminating

insistence may finally get him a spanking—or some soothing syrup, an opiate to take away his interest in things.

How many adult scientists would persist in any field of original research under such discouraging circumstances? The child, however, has much more determination in the face of obstacles than his elder brother; he has had but a few months' contest with society, and still believes in himself and his powers. His efforts are so intense that every ounce of his energy is expended upon his work, and he frequently becomes quite exhausted. He then cries and is fretful—from this cause as well as because of baffled effort—and at such times he is treated rather impatiently by his mother. She fails (quite correctly) to recognize any physical cause for his weeping, so she ascribes it to wilful naughtiness, temper or pettishness, and disciplines him for it. And so he learns that, whenever he cries persistently enough, he will receive attention; and sometimes, when he has no outlet for his energies because of the lack of materials, he cries from sheer boredom, for the express purpose of claiming attention; and he usually achieves his object.

between one noise and another. If thwarted, he will always think of noise as a manifestation of power. The noisiest children are those who have had least opportunities of making noise. Thus in the schoolroom the child returns to an earlier conception of noise as representing power: he drops books (often unconsciously) to show what a good and effective fellow he really is. This is neither moral in a baby nor immoral, simply a-moral, but a fault in a ten-year-old. The teacher imposes punishment. The result is the development of a more definite fault. All punishment, all fear, forces the child into deeper forms of immorality than the one we try to cure.

When he is put to bed and does not wish to be left alone, he knows by experience that he will be taken up if he yells long enough. By this means he consciously brings his will to bear upon people as well as upon materials. The greater part of his crying is not because of pain or discomfort, but is merely the means of enforcing his will which he has found successful. His dependence on his mother is not lessened by the occasional spankings he receives. He does not understand "punishment" and its purpose or its supposed benefits.

He can now creep about, and becomes more independent of help in providing himself with the pleasures of sense. There is no effort at construction yet. His sole purpose in life is to alter the condition and position of various objects. He pulls at the draperies and table-covers and overturns chairs. The course of his increasing activities leaves a trail of disorder. One thing is a never-ending source of fascination to him, and that is fire. He is just beginning to notice colours pleasurably, and he has long been attracted by movement. He is also conscious of the grateful warmth which he feels when he is near the fire. True to his nature, he desires to control this fascinating thing. All its properties are pleasant; and as yet he is not aware of any single truth that has not been discovered by experiment. But he soon realizes that there is always some barrier between himself and this new interest. Either the fire-guard or his mother prevents his reaching the fire. To reach it becomes, therefore, his purpose in life, and with the same dogged persistence that has always

characterized him he tries again and again. He becomes troublesome and fretful. He will not submit to defeat. If placed in a chair, he howls his discontent until placed on the floor, when he makes straightway for the fireplace. He notices the placing of the guard before the fire whenever he is brought into the nursery, and by now recognizes defeat.

After weeks of repeated failure and disappointment he ceases his effort. He still watches the fire, enjoys the colour and motion and warmth, but it no longer stimulates him to effort. He continues to progress in the mastery of materials in other directions, but the result of his failure with the fire has had its effect upon his persistence in other difficult situations. He has learned what hopelessness is. He gives up more readily than in his younger days, when he had never tasted defeat. His failure has weakened his will-power.

His life is now further complicated by his recognition of the meaning of mother's admonitory "No, no." This understanding she has brought about by punishing him when he failed to stop some forbidden effort. He has already learned caution. Many painful falls and bruises have taught him to exercise great care in climbing into a chair or going upstairs. He can already discriminate, without actual experiment, between things that are pleasant to taste and things that are not. He has acquired a store of useful and practical knowledge. He approaches the kitten with due understanding of her scheme of defence.

But he is now daily puzzled by his mother's behaviour. He has many times pulled the table-cover askew with no bad result to himself. Now his

mother says "No, no," and then follows up these syllables with an unpleasant action. One of his favourite amusements is to tear the pages from books, but after several punishments he becomes aware that, although it is not immediately unpleasant, as was pulling the kitten's tail, it is an unprofitable amusement because of his mother's interference. He experiments cautiously with this strange complication. His mother's "No, no," means that he must not tear the paper, so he exercises self-restraint, discovering in himself an elementary judgment. But his ideas are upset one day, and a new mystery, quite beyond his powers, is presented. He was alone when he found a book. He picked it up, and because his memory was not quickened by the usual "No, no," he tore out one of the leaves. The sound of the tearing paper recalled to him that he had done an act which had previously met with punishment. He was terrified and expected the inevitable, but it did not happen. Here was the mystery, the inconsistency. An act that had always before brought a penalty now brought none. He tore out another page and another. A new and different feeling of pleasure came to him. He was fascinated by the novelty of doing safely a thing that had before brought punishment. He completed the destruction of the book, and then turned to some other employment. His mother entered the room and saw the mutilated book. He toddled confidently towards her, expecting her caresses, when, to his amazement, he was confronted with the torn book and given punishment. He was dimly conscious of

some connection between the destroyed book and the punishment, but his act was too remote in time from the pain for him to connect them clearly.

As though this were not a sufficient problem, another variation of cause and effect soon arose. On this occasion his mother was near him when he found a book. Immediately, as the impulse came to him to use it to gratify his senses, he anticipated his mother's objection, and refrained. Soon, however, it appeared that his mother was varying her behaviour. Cautiously, with a thrill of excitement in the presence of danger, he tore out a leaf. The hero had come into being within him. But it was an empty victory. The mother merely took the book and, glancing at its contents, returned it to him. It was a worthless catalogue ! But still the mystery was not cleared up, for liberty soon vanished again when he was punished for tearing a book which was valuable. How in the face of such inconsistencies can a child be expected to respect his elders ?

He is now walking. The difficulties of this have been overcome by our scientific baby, through systematic application and through his sense of power and his constant belief in his own effort. When he had taken his first steps and had mastered the difficulties, he was so elated that he lost some of the sense of impotence which had come from his defeat over the fire. He discovered in his travels that in a standing position, and with his increased strength, he could move the fire-guard. The old longing to see what the fire really was, and to control it, returned to him. His mother saw him working at the fire-

guard one day and the usual "No, no," convinced him that this was one of the things that he could not do except when he was alone. He had already sensed his mother as a barrier between himself and his pleasure. He discontinued for the moment his work at the guard. Later his opportunity came. He found himself alone. It took but a moment to get to the guard; with the skill he had gained in the field of engineering from other experiments, he soon, by patient pulling and tugging, got the unwieldy thing from his path. With a feeling of elation, keen because he was realizing a hope deferred, he advanced confidently to the flames and seized them in his hands. Why had not his mother saved him from this? Why, when he first became interested in this beautiful thing, had she not allowed him to learn its properties, instead of depending upon the chances of her vigilance to protect him from his natural interest in it? His screams brought help; and before his mother reached him she knew what had happened, for this very danger had been much in her mind for weeks—but even then she had not taken the only means to prevent it. He accepted his suffering without understanding the cause. He did not at once connect the pain with the fire, any more than he had connected the book with his first spanking, but after his recovery, when he was following his usual play, he was attracted by the fire as before. His first impulse was to go to it, but no sooner was he near it than he remembered his painful experience and kept at a distance. He was never again burned by an open fire.

The attitude of the enlightened parent should be one of reverence and trust in the nature of the child, who is always working at some unfulfilled wish. Set him free to work. Only in the mis-educated adult does the possessive, as opposed to the creative, impulse get the upper hand. The problem of education is to preserve the innate spiritual factor in mind. You can't impose it, it is there from within—but you can cramp and thwart it. When the mother thwarts the child by putting his fist into his mouth for him, she is producing a purely sensuous enjoyment instead of a spiritual enjoyment, and is preventing the most important thing in the child's growth.

Mind is dynamic: its energy cannot be destroyed. It must go forwards, or, if it cannot, then backwards. To go forwards is to grow and advance; to go backwards is to regress to earlier pleasures, to have the purpose fixed at a point which should have been passed and left. Wish or purpose so fixed, in an infantile form, later becomes bad health, or faults of character, or both. Growth is a progress from the more sensuous to the less sensuous. The first and most intense of our pleasures is at the breast—the sensuous pleasure felt with the mouth and the cheeks. It is a pleasure of touch. The fist, the rattle, the toy, all at first go to the same place, the mouth. The problem is to bring in the new interests—the noise of the rattle, the direction of movement in the hand. Or put the child in his cot, where he can see the motes in the sunbeam or the leaves moving on a tree. It is a delicate task to keep his interests moving, and easy to forget that he has them or needs them.

But the child who in the proper sense of the word really is unspoilt—has not been spoiled by having his instincts disallowed and his growth stopped—will always of his own nature be carrying energy onwards, farther afield and to a higher form. The boy a few years later rides up and down the path on his bicycle, as he learns to ride; but on getting skill enough, goes farther afield to a higher purpose. Just so the child always increases difficulties for himself in play, and so goes on in self-education, acting always on his impulse to increase his sense of power. This principle goes on through life. Any later faults are the result of the turning aside of this creative impulse.

THE GROWTH OF INTERESTS, AND THE GROWTH OF POWER.

The child's interest must not be allowed to centre in the mother alone, for this retards growth. Mother is the source of the first and greatest and most intense of his pleasures, but in the natural growth of interests the monopoly of this first interest has to be broken down. If this is not done, if the child is too much made a plaything or too much petted, or kept in constant memory of the breast by the use of a "soother," then all wish will become fixed on mother and accumulate round her, and there can be no true growth. Desire will, throughout life, be piled up at the old centre. With too much dependence on mother goes an equal degree of irritability against mother; this will later be repressed into the unconscious mind, but it will be a dominant motive of

adult life. It is a constant problem with a baby how much to coddle it, how much to help it to be independent. The great principle is to make the wrong thing very easy for the child to do and the right thing difficult, as it is the fighting against difficulties which charms the child. The habit of thumb-sucking has often been rendered permanent by a tied sleeve or a glove or alum, or some other device to make the habit difficult ; for as soon as it is made difficult it is made desirable.

Equally damaging is the mother who looks for love, sympathy and unselfishness from a young child. Real altruism does not develop till the age of loyalty ; the baby is the perfect and perfectly natural egoist. The qualities of the conscious mind of the child—egoism and the wish for simple and enduring personal power—will sink down into the unconscious mind of any adult who has grown up spiritually sound ; the qualities of mind conscious to the adult—unselfishness and altruism—have in the infant not yet unfolded from the inner places of the unconscious mind. The conscious of the adult is the unconscious of the child ; the child's unconscious grows to consciousness in the adult ; inside and outside change places. To ask for unselfishness in a child is to ask for what does not yet exist and to provoke deep spiritual barriers between child and parent. Many mothers think that the child loves them, but there is nothing altruistic in the love. It is only love of domination, or else pure dependence and the wish to be loved. The small child's love is all demanding, not giving ; there is no service in his love. He

will treat his mother as his ball ; he throws the ball up and it comes down, and he thinks it comes down because he makes it do so. In the same fashion, when he behaves in a certain way to his mother, and she does something in return, it is not love to her which he feels : he only wants a certain reaction produced in her by himself ; for this desire to dominate is the most primitive form of the love of power—and it persists in many adults ; many have never been weaned. The same love of domination can be seen in the child if there is a new baby. A small sister's birth will make him hate her ; she gets more attention than he. So he will criticize her colour and size : she is inferior. Very likely the mother's method of dealing with this will be to show the child how much she and others love the new-comer. This increases his hatred for her ; domination is his supreme joy and task. To pull his sister's hair and make her squeak (there are as yet no moral distinctions at all) is just as good fun as to pinch the right part of the Teddy Bear and get a squeak for each pinch ; and you can't teach the child before seven what it means to his sister by turning round on him and pulling his own hair. The way to proceed is not by trying to put into him either ethical virtues or logical understanding which he cannot yet have, but by neutralizing and diverting his unsocial acts through the creation in him of new and more positive and more constructive interests. Sympathy comes with growth, not by teaching. To say to a small boy, " Come and kiss grandma," is wise only if we wish to make grandma unpopular ; kindness is in feeling, not in

"manners,"¹ and feelings develop in an orderly and inevitable sequence, which cannot be hurried. A mother had great affection for her small boy, and thought her duty was to put virtues into him, so she began to teach him to be unselfish and loving to her. When he was playing, she did not see any dignity in the play, and often interrupted him in it. At the birth of her second baby she neglected him. He showed his dislike to the new-comer, so the mother showed still greater affection to the new baby and hoped the elder one would learn his duty. But he made several attempts to kill his little brother, and also developed various obsessional acts. The doctor advised the mother to break his spirit by punishment. She tried for four and a half hours, but at the end the child's spirit was unbroken.

NURSING.

The governing principle in the treatment of infancy should be the knowledge that no child is just a piece of animal mechanism: the child has a highly complex spiritual personality. This knowledge is perhaps most important in dealing with the problems first of nursing and then of weaning.

The child may wish to be nursed too often—too often, that is, for the rules of doctors, nurses, midwives, health visitors and other thorough-going materialists. Doctors have arranged a time-table for feeding. But Nature should determine. The child should be nursed when he expresses discomfort.

¹ See p. 119.

This is the method amongst animals. If this is done, the baby will not make extra demands on the mother's care and comforting. Hunger only comes when the values of food have been used up, and this period will vary with different children and with different months of growth. The child can, of course, adapt himself to all sorts of arbitrary conditions, with more or less damage, but the general principle should be that when there is a greater demand on his mind, as at five weeks old and later, he will need food oftener. One can see when he begins to make a demand on his power plant, namely, when he begins to "take notice." Then the mother should help the child by feeding him oftener until he has adapted himself to the new conditions of stress. Doctors are, in any case, poor guides; one will say "Every hour for the first few weeks of life," another "Only once in four hours." Nature seems wiser. Animals have no indigestion or other childish ills, nor is there much infant mortality among them.

The effects of the orthodox method of feeding to a time-table are definitely bad.¹ If the child is hungry before his time, and has to wait, he will stop feeding before he has had enough. For it is not desire for food but the desire for contact with the mother's breast which is the origin of his conscious desire,

¹ Just as it is bad to refuse a child food in infancy when he wants it, so later on it is no less bad to interrupt a child by breaking in abruptly upon his interests when playing (or working), or to drive him off to bed on the stroke of a clock. Five or ten minutes do not matter, and the small child is seldom intent on anything for longer. It is generally easy to divert his attention, and then he will go off cheerfully to his bed or his meal.

and if he has to wait, there is an accumulation of this desire, and so a more rapid discharge of it, and he stops feeding before satisfactory *food* values have been amassed. This process will be repeated till he develops malnutrition. It is a problem of understanding the pleasure of the child, not a problem of diet. Hunger is not merely a matter of the stomach. There is in all hunger and in the satisfaction of it much that is mental and not physical. The child has an area of intense pleasure in the lips and mouth, and the child's desire, when hungry, is not consciously for food but for pleasure in this area. This pleasure is the means by which Nature gets the child fed and nourished ; but what the child itself wants is not food, but the more superficial pleasure of contact ; just as in the case of the fully developed sexual desire of later years, the conscious element in desire is not the deepest element, the desire for a child not being a conscious element at all in the experience. Just so in nursing we must understand Nature's process of attending to the whole problem simultaneously—to the desire for pleasure in the pleasure area and to the deeper desire for actual food ; for the two wishes, and the satisfaction of them, must be kept in step, otherwise we have nervous results which are marked both in childhood and later in the sexual life of the adult. The child itself will have the constant feeling of unsatisfied desire for something. For the unsatisfied desire for the breast will turn to the over-expression of some other desire ; we shall have a fussy child, who will want more attention. This fussiness is a desire for a substituted form of pleasure, and

arises from inadequate satisfaction of the original instinct. There is a marked difference between a child who is brought up on the natural system and those brought up on a time-table.

Food taken under happy and unhappy conditions has different nutritive properties. There are different kinds of personality in children who have been bottle-fed and those who have been breast-fed. The bottle-fed baby is deprived of the elemental pleasure which a baby has who is fed naturally ; he will always demand some substituted pleasure, and will have his own peculiar difficulties later. More will be said of these shortly.

WEANING : HOW TO WIDEN INTERESTS AT THIS TIME : SOME LATER RESULTS OF UNSATISFIED NURSING DESIRES.

Weaning is a very delicate process, important for the whole of a child's life. It is not a problem of nourishment, but of the spirit. This side of the problem is all but neglected. We must be careful to substitute some other kind of pleasure to take the place of the original pleasure of the mother's breast. The process of weaning can be carried out so that the child himself, with a little encouragement, will choose a new and wider form of pleasure, and so pass lightly through this, the most intense, emotional experience of life. If the change, when its time comes, is violently made, desire will not go forwards to new fields and to wider experience of mind, but backwards to some substitute pleasure of the same

type as the one to be surrendered. Thumb-sucking, an obvious substitute, is the commonest. If this is then vigorously suppressed by the parent, the child will show that he accepts her attitude by one of those perfect symbolisms of which the unconscious mind is master, and will fall back on nail-biting instead ; for the teeth, in biological history, stand for the animal's aggression and attack, and the nails for animal claws ; the child's act is thus a picture of his mental attitude ; it is an affair of " tooth and claw," an inner conflict between the angry, disappointed, pleasure-loving animal in the baby himself and the idea which is being imposed on him of pleasure rejected. Nail-biting is thus a step farther backwards in regression than thumb-sucking, and expresses an imposed, and to that extent accepted, disapproval of the pleasure first substituted. Rubbing parts of the body, and the various devices for getting pleasure by touch, are other substitutions of new contact-pleasures for the breast, which occur at weaning. The feeling of many mothers that these self-discovered pleasure substitutes should be sternly suppressed comes from the fact that they were once sternly repressed in themselves ; for we disapprove of those attitudes and acts in others of which we have been disciplined most sternly to disapprove in ourselves ; the vigour of our disapproval comes from an unconscious emotion of very long standing, which explains both its vigour and our inability by any process of reason to control it. It is, however, vital that none of these infantile perversions (however " nasty " the mother may feel them) should be in any way suppressed,

for though they will be apparently cured at the time, later in life they will reappear in forms much more injurious to mental health.

The worst of all things that can happen at weaning is that the child should be given a comforter or dummy. The comforter is the first soul destroyer, and more than any other single thing in infancy is responsible for faults of character and conduct in later life, for it keeps interest tied at the level of sensual gratification. Sensuous pleasure takes various forms, with the progressive development of personality ; and its first form is the pleasure got in mouth and lips. Tie the life interest, then, to this type of pleasure, to the sensuous type, when the first (and the most critical) call to progress and adventure arises, and it will be tied afterwards to the other types of sensuous pleasure as they in turn arise. For the dummy paralyses the creative impulse and the means of real growth ; it leaves the child without stimulus to wider activity and with no spiritual hunger ; it kills off curiosity. Of the two contending forces in human beings, the creative instinct and the desire for possessive pleasure, we thus put the whole emphasis on the second ; and that is why the creative powers of most adults are still occupied with childish elements. Were this not so, we could reach far greater mental development. Over-sexuality, as a social problem, we impose on ourselves by our own failures to value the spiritual development of the young child ; if we valued this truly and handled it wisely it would be through creative faculty, not gratification, that man's greatest happiness would

come in adult years. Parents do not realize that the child has a serious, dignified and scientific purpose and interest, or that he can cry, whether at weaning or before it, not from hunger only, but from mental boredom. Success with weaning means success for the child in later life—capacities for social service which will be well developed. The dull child at school is the child who has had a soother or has relapsed into long thumb-sucking, through lack of interests, in infancy. He will probably still suck his thumb over difficult lessons, which shows that he has not learnt to adjust himself to new problems in the present, but prefers to go backwards to the old satisfactions of the past.

Any child who has unsatisfied desires of this primitive, instinctive kind has desires which last for life. Thus there may be, for instance, an over-development later on, of possessiveness, of the desire to have and to hold pleasure, and that an unattainable pleasure. For not only will there be both a desire for pleasure rather than for action, for getting or for storing up rather than for doing and creating, but, further, the pleasure which is at any time desired will, though it may be achieved, never fully satisfy ; for it is only a symbol of that original pleasure which, being lost once, is unobtainable always. Another form of difficulty which may be caused later in life by this unsatisfied desire for mother's breast is a neurotic dissatisfaction with one's vocation and work ; nothing satisfies, one has always made the wrong choice, the other thing would have been the right thing. Or, again, the originally unfulfilled and always

postponed desire for mother's breast may lead to a postponement of all hopes of vocational success till heaven, on the other side of this poor vale of tears. The identification of mother—the long and vainly pursued—with ideas of heaven, God and security, is seen in the symbolism of the well-known hymn of the Salvation Army, "Tell mother I'll be there," that is, in heaven, where the final assignation is arranged. Again, the discipline of perpetual and enforced postponement in infancy of the one great passionate hope for mother and the breast may lead to another and rather similar attitude towards security—when a close-fisted person disciplines himself, by an unconscious process which is simply a current expression of his long-forgotten disappointments as a child, to exaggerate material values and to forgo all real happiness; he holds everything up, and will never part with money or give anything away; for to save and to hoard, to postpone the actualization of all values to the distant future, is to dramatize in a way acceptable to his adult self the buried hopes and bitter disappointments which governed his infancy but were at last repressed into the unconscious mind. In the same way the form of insanity known as *dementia præcox* is the wish for a return to the emotional state of childhood; to evade in this way the problems of living (here by a movement backwards, and not forwards to heaven) is only another way of pursuing those full joys of childhood which have been either lost without compensating interest or never enjoyed. Even imbecility may come on occasion to those who have, abruptly and without

transition, been changed from breast-feeding to the bottle.

The important thing at weaning is to increase all capacity for enjoyment, to give the child plenty of material and toys suitable to its interest, and not to punish or in any way suppress regressive tendencies if they appear. Violent measures are never good. To put a thumb-sucking child into clothes in which it cannot move hand to mouth, or to fix on a woollen glove, merely fixes the habit with the glove. We believe that children develop bad habits by indulging in them ; in reality, children develop bad habits if prevented from indulging in them.

If the child has moods of great dependence, do not refuse him the comfort for which he asks ; hug him and give him close contact ; pick him up and press him tightly, and do not lay him down at once. Or wrap a shawl closely round him ; this wakens the old sense of security and is not bad for him. Another device to ease the parting from mother's breast is to give the child something warm and round and comforting to lie on, and to have next his cheek—for instance, a small round cushion of some soft material ; for the pleasurable warmth of touch on the cheek was an essential part of the experience of the baby at the breast. Further, if bottle-feeding succeeds breast-feeding, the ordinary form of bottle may be improved greatly by making the teat of the bottle more like the nipple of the breast. If the child cannot sleep, wrap the bedclothes tightly round it ; anything which gives it again a part of the complete comfort known before birth will help to ease

these difficulties. (Some adults still care to lie like this at night, or with the knees drawn up, or with cheek resting on the hand or on a piece of pillow hunched up into a round lump, these things being infantile wishes still left over.) Nor must the child be disciplined not to cry; any unsatisfied desire is made permanent, though in its later form it will be changed to something acceptable to the conscious mind of the adult. The Spartan method, which may cure the child of crying for mother, will certainly provoke just those pleasure substitutes and perversions which it should be our great aim to avoid. But any need for these half-way houses of comfort will pass away in proportion as the child is given plenty of natural interest in his environment, plenty of amusement and of material to dominate. And in any case, as the mood for dependence passes, use the opposite extremes also during the weaning period—let the baby lie naked on a blanket and kick about and have the pleasures of complete freedom.

For the bottle-fed baby it is important to neutralize the idea of rubber, so far as this is possible, before the rubber teat is introduced; for the unconscious memory of adults very commonly shows a terror of rubber; this comes from the sudden shock of its distasteful smell and feel when it is first used at weaning. So it is wise to introduce rubber first in other forms, as by rubber toys, such as animals which squeak when squeezed, or which swim in the bath, and by something of rubber which can be bitten; for if rubber has already had a place in a wider field of interest, it will be less objectionable

when the nipple of rubber is first given. Rubber phobias in adult life are common, and go deep.

When to wean is a difficult question ; the time must vary with the circumstances, but it is wise to choose a time when it is most easy to widen the child's opportunities of pleasure ; warm summer weather, for instance, when the child can be put on a rug on the grass, and have plenty of interests all round it. When the child is weaned, the actual food values which it will get in a new form from the cup or bottle will be the same ; what will not be the same, but immeasurably less, will be the amount of the pleasure which is got by contact. And it is precisely the amount by which the pleasure now found at the cup is less than the once great pleasure found at the breast which measures the amount of energy set free for mental growth. For the amount of energy is always constant, and employment of some kind or other it must inevitably find. Give it a free field for transference from the breast to creative occupations, and it will go forwards ; but if the proper mental interests are not supplied, then it must go backwards to earlier pleasures, or else remain fixed at the same point, and get employment by discovering unworthy and debilitating substitutes. The decrease in the amount of sensual pleasure now available by contact with the cup is the measure of the child's capacity for mental growth.

TOYS AT WEANING AND IN INFANCY.

Up to the time of teething, all toys should be suitable for mouth and lip, washable, hard, smooth,

and not too small ; for a child will test everything by the pleasure which it affords in the mouth and by his ability to put it there. The toys should therefore be smooth, without insanitary cracks, and not small enough to be swallowed. It is important to note that the toys must be kept thoroughly clean with frequent washing. We do not dream of giving people unwashed plates, but we forget to wash the baby's toys.

We should introduce a scheme of toys for the child so that by the time he is a year old his possessive craving to have mother, and to have the pleasures and security which she affords, will have been drawn up into the creative field. Often a child is simply given a rubber ring to bite—a thing without colour, sound, movement or any kind of response, and able only to produce pleasure of the mouth. This is to miss a great opportunity ; the child should have toys with a wide appeal to the senses. While the teeth are coming, and when the child is being weaned, toys are needed which will interest the eye, the ear, the sense of touch, and the muscular sense by which we grip things and measure balance ; pleasure will thus be drawn away from the lips and mouth to wider perceptions, from the sensual to the mental, and the child will get pleasure not merely by putting things into its mouth, but by experimenting with them and seeing what they will do. As the child develops, so the complication and variety of its toys should increase. Bright colours, difference of colours, difference of surface textures, differences in sound, different sizes for the grasp of one hand or of two

hands—plenty of variety can be found. The important thing is for the child to have plenty of materials to dominate, so as to get always fresh evidence of his powers. For instance, a red ball rolling along and knocking up against something will give access to several sources of pleasure, and will draw interest up into the intellectual field. It is true that, in a sense, the pleasure of watching the ball rolling is a pleasure of sense; but it is the beginning of the æsthetic enjoyment from which will spring delight in art and beauty.

Again, the child should be given rattles, and toys which it can strike or bang, as well as toys of different colours. Sounds should differ in volume and harmony, from pure noise to what is really pleasant. Bells and gongs can provide musical notes, and mere sound can be had from tins filled with different substances which will rattle—small wooden blocks or cotton-reels, large pebbles, shells, or butter-beans. The child thus learns to distinguish one noise from another, and begins its artistic development; it is evolving its powers of discrimination. But it must be able to make all the noises itself, so that it is exercising the sense of power. If a child is not allowed discordant noises at this age, because these are thought bad for it or because it is thought unpleasant that others should hear ugly sounds, it will discover these noises at a later age, and finding in them a new impression, a different sense of power, will go to them at once. We should not try to keep ugly things away from a child, because contra-suggestion will come in, and when the child

finds them for itself it will be attracted to them by their novelty.

The degree of difficulty in the control of toys is important in the evolution of mental power. First, give a small ball that the child can hold in one hand ; then go on to a larger one, which requires both hands to grasp it, so that both hemispheres of the brain are employed, and get their proper exercise and development. This is particularly important if the child shows a tendency to use one hand only, as is not uncommon. All differences and novelty of sound, colour, surface or weight will draw interest into new and wider fields. The basis of a knowledge of physics, mathematics, and dynamics may be laid at this age by giving the child balls and toys of different weights, as of celluloid, rubber, and wood, so that one, when dropped, makes a more perceptible bump on the knees than another. The child will not reason about it, but will unconsciously learn a good deal about the density of materials. If the first contact with this kind of knowledge is pleasant, then when a child comes to a physics laboratory at twelve or fourteen, he will find a sense of enjoyment and interest. Much can be done to lay foundations for the schoolmaster by giving the child opportunities for the pleasant exercise of power.

A child will always tire of a toy when there is no longer any difficulty in using it. He is like the boy with a new bicycle ; as long as he finds it difficult to avoid trees and to turn corners, so long will he spend all his spare time on it ; but once he has thoroughly mastered it, he will only use it as a means of getting

about, and not for its own sake. It is an unhealthy child who has no creative interest ; he will hang on to thumb-sucking or the comforter as long as he can. Keep a child busy and he will be happy, and conversely the happy child will always be busy.

From about the age of six months, when the child is beginning to sit up alone, give it toys which require to be balanced—animals which must be put down carefully in a certain position, if they are not to tip over ; toys which make a sound in certain positions only, like bells and chimes. These will teach a child balance sooner than any other device, for they explain to the child the problems which it is facing in its own development at the moment. When giving the baby complicated problems of manual control in a new toy, support it, so that it is free to deal with the toy and is not distracted by the difficulty of sitting up and maintaining its own balance ; then take away the support and give it a simpler problem. If the more complicated toy is very attractive, and in trying to deal with it the child is not supported, and so tips over and bumps its head, the pleasure connected with the toy will be turned to pain, and the toy in future will have unhappy associations instead of satisfying the child's sense of power and pleasure. This is very important, because if a child in dealing with its toys is habitually unsuccessful, and its experiments with them end in pain, it will cease to be interested in the toys and will fall back entirely on its imagination and become introspective. This caution is to be understood as applying to new toys only.

Teeth come when the child needs them. The time when they appear depends on the psychic state of the child, for the appearance of teeth coincides biologically with an increased development of self-assertion.¹ Teeth were first evolved not for purposes of mastication, but for attack and defence, as may still be seen in the tusks of the elephant and in the horn of the rhinoceros ; these are of no use for eating, and are a survival of ivory grown by the animal for purposes of combat. So as teething progresses further we should provide toys which allow of increased self-assertion on the part of the child—building-blocks, a kitten, anything which gives a

¹ Teeth are themselves the expression of a spiritual development and change ; they express, in a physical form, independence of mind and growth of mental and emotional powers. The first teeth express an independence of mother which is physical ; the baby grows them when he is ready to pass on from milk to other food which is not already masticated and pre-digested. Second teeth, which are a physical expression of what on the mental side is the aggressive instinct of the "age of self-assertion," stand for the readiness of the child by now for a further stage of independence from mother, this time in the psychical field ; his body grows a new set of teeth, his mind grows a new set of ideas about individual rights, and he proceeds to leave mother's apron-strings by vigorous means (see p. 101).

The first teeth which are grown are the important ones ; if the mental health of the child is then creative and happy, the teeth will be good and healthy, and the later teeth will not be troublesome. Bad mental health in infancy means bad dental health for the adult. And good mental health is that the spirit of growing independence, of which the teeth themselves are the counterpart or symbol, should be "positive," creative, and thoroughly welcome and acceptable to the child. If, however, there is violent dependence and fixation on the mother, then faulty teeth are grown. A negative attitude of the child to life will mean bad teeth. Not to welcome new claims, new calls to adventure, and new responsibilities as they arise, will mean that the corresponding physiological change, which is only another and parallel expression of the unconscious attitude of the mind at the time, will be badly and unwillingly performed.

more developed sense of power than, say, the mere dropping of a ball. Let him learn to dominate material objects, build them up and knock them down, for love of domination. The greater difficulty of control will draw attention away from the discomfort of the teeth; indeed, if care is not taken to give some distraction, the child will become introspective and regress to an earlier form of pleasure, and will probably demand to be fed more frequently. In any case he will want more attention from his mother now; but if he is given the right interests, he will be free from the troubles and ailments connected with teething. At any time, when a tooth is coming through, it is best to give the child a quiet rubber toy, with a rough surface for biting on. The slight pain caused by biting will be a relief. Nor must the other rubber toys be forgotten, to habituate the child to rubber.¹

To sum this matter up, we may say that the child who has independence and adventure in his play will make fewer demands on nurse or mother at and after weaning; but that if these demands are made, the child must not be humiliated or punished for them, else the wish will be driven farther back, and deep forms of nervous disorder may result. For the external conflict at weaning between child and mother becomes an internal conflict between two sets of desires in the unconscious mind of the child (and so later on in the adult)—a conflict between an imposed and to that extent accepted system of law and order and the desire for pleasure or happiness. If we can by any

¹ See also p. 133, Note on Toys.

means avoid this radical conflict, we shall make great progress in education and in social virtues; we can end sex-perversions and exaggerated sexuality, for all this is created by our misunderstanding of the psychic life of young children. Two rules of good conduct for parents may be here set down; first, always discover a new interest for the child's activity before making any attempt to correct a "fault" through which this activity is finding outlet; second, remember that if it is harmful to say "Don't," it is no less harmful to do too much for the child, and to take all initiative from him in his play, or in his dressing, or in all the other activities of the day.

SANITARY HABITS.

A common mistake in dealing with young children and infants is to employ some rather vigorous or humiliating lessons in cleanliness and bodily sanitation. It is important, however, that the child should not be made either uncomfortable by too strict expectations of punctual results, or ashamed in any way of what he is doing when he is set down to perform his bodily duties. Nature has associated the actual discharge of these functions in infancy with a definite sensation of pleasure, the purpose of this pleasure being to teach the child to refrain himself till the occasion is suitable; the release is then made the more agreeable and interesting. But to follow up accidents in the matter with scolding upsets this nice scheme of things; for the child may then find it more pleasurable to hold things up

too long, and so avoid risks, than to follow out the rules of Nature ; so the foundations may be laid of an obstinately constipated habit. Nature's balance is subtle, and it is a natural and unsophisticated attitude of mind in the baby which maintains it. The processes of sanitation should neither be made too formal and serious nor too much a matter of criticism, nor yet should success be too much praised, for this may lead the child to value too highly its own waste products, and in this last way it may again be led into retentiveness and constipation. Nor should the child's perfectly natural and necessary interest in its own bodily functions be in any way discouraged or labelled as "nasty." They are in no way at all nasty, being a very natural and obvious cause for interest and wonder. If the child is not taught, by unwise criticism of these interests, to overvalue their subject-matter, he will in time exhaust the wonder which he feels ; he will turn ahead to new fields of exploration as soon as the whole business has become commonplace and dull. But if he is criticized as "nasty," and his interest becomes in this way fixed, he will continue to dwell on the topic in a way that has been *made* "indecent" for him ; and at school age will have a morbid interest in talking on the subject or will scribble on lavatory walls. The "indecent" of the small child is in no way indecent ; nor is he more interested in his bodily functions than in any other of the things which he is discovering ; all that needs to be recognized is that as yet he has, by the nature of things, no æsthetic development. The parents' usual idea is to "break

the habit " ; the result is to fix it. If the habit has already begun, then it must be cured by other interests and not by a frontal attack, nor by any form whatever of moralizing. Morality is not involved. And the cure of constipation in young children, if it has already begun, is through more of spiritual and mental interest, not by lectures or the medicine bottle.

TREATMENT OF SEX IN INFANCY.

We need a similar wisdom when children, in exploring their bodies—another entirely natural and most absorbing field for their interests—come upon the apparatus of sex. Soon after birth every child begins to examine things in its environment and to make scientific experiments upon them. The child is curious about its own body. First it gets interested in its hand ; it moves this about, and only uses up the interest when it knows all about its hand. Then it goes on to another mystery, the foot ; most children spend a fortnight or more examining toes and foot. They lose interest in these as soon as they have knowledge and control of them ; this has solved the mystery. When the child reaches the examination of its sex apparatus, we stop this off short with a slap or disapproving look, and later on, when the child can understand speech, we almost always give some sort of teaching on morals, in the form of instruction on good form and bad manners, on nice and " nasty " little boys and girls. So we suggest to them that there is a part of the body different

from the rest. By making a mystery of it, we fix it in their interest. There is no element of "morality" in children's minds in regard to their sex apparatus, still less of immorality, but parents get nervous and apply punitive measures to suppress the curiosity. A good deal of later interest in obscenity is due to this repression in infancy of a perfectly natural and neutral and healthy form of curiosity. What disturbs us in this attitude of the child is not really anything which the child is thinking about the topic—the topic is no more and no less exciting to the child than toes or fingers or a toy—but something which we ourselves are thinking on the topic; for we project on to the child, and attribute to it (quite falsely) our own attitude to the subject, and that is why we feel irrational anger and disapproval of the child; for in our own childhood we have been taught on this matter irrationally to disapprove of our own selves. So we make a mystery of these parts of the body for children and create an obsessional interest in them, which will later become a fully developed obsession about the sexual instinct itself. It is most important to notice that unconscious attitudes on these and other matters are very readily transferred, by what is mainly an unconscious process, from parent to child—for it is the unconscious emotional attitude of the parent, not the thoughtful and conscious attitudes, which in these matters tell most; and much that looks like physiological heredity, in those "attitudes of mind" which are found in common through a family, is not heredity at all. When we think of how sex subjects are

separated from our normal life and put in special departments—in theatres, in books, in advertisements of dress—we see that the subject which draws our attention all the time is sex ; this is a relic of unsatisfied curiosity, and results from the early repression of it. We create this attitude for adults by our attitude to children about sex.

It is obvious from life how closely our ideas of sex are associated with ideas upon the bodily functions of excretion. To some extent this is inevitable, and it is due to the economies exercised by Nature in the provision made. But there is more than this. Having the two matters already very closely associated in our own unconscious mind from our own infancy, it is natural for us to apply the same adjectives of reproof to children on both topics ; the child exploring his body, and the child who has had a sanitary mishap, are both described as “ dirty ”—“ Don’t be a dirty boy,” or “ It’s a nasty thing to do.” The ideas of nastiness and dirtiness, conveyed with a good dose of unconscious disapproval from the parent—and it is this unconscious element which tells in creating an attitude of mind—thus do a double duty ; and the persistent application of the same ideas and words to the two different activities will in the end get the two activities themselves confused or identified in the judgment of the child. That the mind of the child should “ identify ” two distinct things is, of course, not logical ; but the results on the unconscious mind of reproof and of heavy moral disapprobation never are logical results. When, with the future development of the æsthetic sense,

the waste products of the body definitely *are* estimated by the boy or girl as dirty, in the sanitary sense, it will be seen how far-reaching this early, and therefore permanent, "constellation" of sex and insanitation will become in the adolescent, for the illogicality of the unconscious mind will still hold the two things together in a common condemnation. Thus not only will the two areas of the body have been thought of by the child as the same, and so be still held together under the illogical and comprehensive reproof of the now developed attitude of the unconscious mind, but the adult interest will be transferred from the beautiful side of sex to the ugly.

THE WRONG INTRODUCTION OF AN IDEA OF GOD.

It is a misfortune that it is in connection, so often, with these problems, and in support of the parental disapproval which they provoke, that children are for the first time introduced to the idea of God. "God doesn't like little people who do that kind of thing," or, worse still, "God will punish you if you do that," or, worst of all, "You will have your hand cut off if you touch that." If the child is lectured when he is "naughty,"¹ and God is brought in to support the lecture, God is then straightway associated in the child's mind with ideas of prohibition and punishment. The effect for the child's future religious life is disastrous enough, for the religion of Christ is positive, happy and creative, and the exact opposite

¹ A prescription for Utopia in the nursery: abolish three adjectives—naughty, nasty, dirty.

of this negative system to which the child is thus formally introduced ; but much more disastrous is the way in which " sin " and " sex " will henceforth be unconsciously tied together in the mind. Of both these ideas, as is obvious, the conscious meaning will be vastly increased with the lapse of years, but the early connection of the two will continue (for it will have gone down into the unconscious mind) and may have tragic effects in inhibition and unhappiness during adult sexual life, or, conversely, in the adult's rebellion, and in an attack upon all true morality. For any effective suppression of a child's natural desire in infancy may have either of two results : acceptance by the child of the imposed attitude, followed by some degree of impotence in this department (whatever it may be) for the adult ; or else rebellion by the child against the unnatural limits imposed, in the form of an obsessional practice of doing the " naughty " thing in some equivalent form, some form which is feasible and which offers a convenient symbolism of freedom and power.¹ The

¹ There is, of course, also the case of the *unsuccessful* suppression, when by force of " contra-suggestion " a thing is done all the more because it is forbidden ; indeed, some things are done for the first time simply for the reason that they are forbidden. The boy who smokes is a good example of a thing done, not because it is desired, but because it is " naughty." Father's virtues, which are permitted, are not imitated. Usually prohibitions upon smoking are the first thing which make a boy smoke. Even if his first try makes him sick, this will not cure him, for those desires which come from a conflict with authority will not be cured by disastrous results ; whereas a direct desire, as opposed to one for " naughtiness " (childish or adult), will be stopped by such results. Artificially created desires mostly do bring uncomfortable results, but the individual seems unable to grapple with them. This is clearly seen in the

essential point for future happiness is to make the first introduction to the idea of God an introduction to a happy and creative and helpful spirit, and to do this without any moral instruction whatever. With young children God should not be introduced at all in relation to practical affairs and problems of conduct; there will then be no risk of building up a negative conception. And the religious spirit will be free to develop later on as a conception of love and service, which will then always limit in a right way our capacities of social expression. An anxious attitude to the future, given as "religious" instruction about heaven on the mother's knee, can never be fully, if it is in any way, redressed.

One of the chief faults in the ordinary method of giving "moral" instruction, if it must be given, is in the time of day chosen for it. The parent sees that when the child is absorbed in work or play the instruction passes over his head; he pays no attention. But at night, when he cuddles up on his mother's knee and loves her very much, and wants complete rest and a sense of security, she is apt to fail him and to cheat him of his wish by beginning her moral lesson of how she would like her little boy to behave. This completely spoils his sense of security and rest, and sets up a mental struggle, a wish to defend himself, which is a great cause of fatigue; for fatigue is at all times brought about much more by psychic than by physical experience. "Moral" instruction

matter of drink and drug habits and sex-perversions, where the momentary pleasure is very small compared with the unpleasant results.

should be kept for an early hour in the day, when the creative impulse in the child is fresh. It will then do much less harm. A sense of inferiority¹ is very easily set up in children, and is one of the most destructive of those neurotic disorders which incapacitate us for living.

With the birth of the imagination, and with the ability to talk and to understand what is told him by word of mouth, the child reaches the end of the first period of infancy. He has been dealing with truths exclusively, for every impression has come to him directly through the senses, and has been verified by personal experiment. He has met with mysteries and inconsistencies, but he has no knowledge of positive untruth. All things in his world are or are not. His fund of knowledge and of capacity and of emotion, for his future guidance, is great or small according to the facilities which he has had for personal experiment. If his mother has respected his efforts and made easy his desire for truths, he will be supplied with Nature's equipment for the advance of mankind. He will be strong and confident because he has known success. He will be sure, because he has known truth. He will be patient, because he has overcome difficulties. If, on the other hand, he has not been allowed to determine his own interests, if he has not been allowed to be

¹ See p. 117.

noisy because his mother disliked noise, has not been allowed to fall from a chair because his mother has been too watchful, has not been allowed to crawl on the floor because he would soil his clothes, has not been given the opportunity to realize success because there was always someone to do things for him, has not been stimulated to originality because he has been forced to conform, then he will enter the next stage of his progress handicapped from the start.

II

THE AGE OF IMAGINATION

FROM TWO OR THREE YEARS OF AGE UNTIL
ABOUT SEVEN

AFTER a time a child will in the main exhaust its opportunities to acquire power through the senses. It has learnt to control its own body and the objects around it, touching them and picking them up ; it has learnt to walk, to run, to jump, and to exercise the various forms of muscular power, including those of speech, and it has begun the interchange of ideas. It has emerged from infancy and its solitude, and has realized that there are other wills than its own. It knows by experience that there are more limitations to activity than those which are merely physical. It then becomes less restless in body, and seeks a new kind of power. It enters the delightful world of unreality ; new and imaginary relationships are developed, into which the child projects itself. The chief purpose of this dramatic power is to compensate the child for its smallness and insignificance in a world of giants, where its own personality tells so little. Every young child is bound to feel this inferiority among the large and obstinate things and persons of the universe ; by imagination it can reverse the position, and become great and strong where it was before small and weak.

For to the imagination of the child the world becomes pliable and obliging ; persons and things will do as instructed. The process is not a logical one ; there is no firm barrier between fact and fiction, truth and falsehood. Fairy-stories, of which this is the age, are real ; indeed, there is as yet no conception at all of " truth," whether as a basis of history or as a virtue in living. A child rushed to her mother in a state of excitement and related how she had been attacked and pursued by a big black bear. " Oh no ! " said the mother. But the child went on piling up the fear, and at last, to attract the mother's notice seriously, pointed through the window : " If you look you can see him for yourself." The mother looked and saw the black dog asleep in the garden. " You naughty child ! You have told a deliberate lie ; you must go and kneel by your bed and pray to God to forgive you." Impressed by her manner, the child obeyed ; then returned in a few moments and, in a most reassuring manner, said : " Oh, mother, it was quite all right. God heard what I said and told me not to worry, because He has often mistaken our Fido for a bear Himself." From beginning to end the child told no lie at all ; the whole was truth to her. In the age of imagination the whole universe (God included) is something to be moulded to the wish of the child.

These powers of imagination direct for children both their games, and especially their games with dolls, and the reveries and day-dreamings into which they fall and from which, if not checked in the supposed interests of truth, they will emerge always as

the conquering hero, superior to all danger and obstructions. They thus compensate for their sense of inferiority. If a child has been harshly treated, it will become a dominating tyrant in its games, and so get back its own again. All through a child's life one can from its self-created play detect what are its ideals, its conception of power. In this way study of a child's imagination will give a picture of the environment in which it has so far lived.

In this imaginative period the child is still an individualist and seeks his own ends. He is but slightly affected by the opinion of others as to what is worth doing or having. His idea of success has no reference to property. The few objects which he cherishes as his own are usually without value or utility, and are prized by him because they need the exercise of his imagination to make them useful.¹ At this stage, too, the child becomes more capable of sustained purpose. He is more difficult to distract, and exercises a more complicated number of activities. There is the germ of a more definite life purpose, which is directed to overcome any sense of defeat. A child had a craving for a particular kind of food, which those in charge thought unwholesome. The child in imagination pictured himself eating as much as he liked of this, and so vividly that he failed in all appetite for other food, and lost weight. And it is a quite natural activity at this period for a child in this way to live a lie. He may identify himself with some animal and live for months as a cat or dog, or with some person and live as a king, or he may

¹ See p. 133, Note on Toys.

hold long talks with some imaginary friend. But though at times he will think himself something greater than he is, and so dominate his surroundings, at times also he imagines himself as something weaker and more helpless. It is quite common for a child in imagination to be the victim of constant and cruel punishment, which at the time has no counterpart in reality. This form of self-punishment is itself the result of some earlier punishment, humiliation, or criticism; many children are forced to get their rare experience of real joy through the joys of repentance and reconciliation, for authority is never so jolly as when it melts to kindness, and makes things up, after the event; and the child with this experience will use imagination to get more of such happiness by having first in his imagination made himself unhappy.¹ It is, of course, equally possible for a child who is severely treated to build up in his imagination some contrary fiction of grandeur or superiority. In either event, if a child is humiliated through punishment, the result will not be moral redemption; he will merely get his own back one way or another through the power of imagination. In so far as punishment really does suppress, to that extent the child will never grow up, for to that extent he will retain, though not consciously, the

¹ Corresponding attitudes in adult life are common. There is the maxim that lovers' quarrels are love's renewing. There are the drug-takers, the dipsomaniacs and others, who yield again and again—though it gives little enough pleasure to them by now—solely to put themselves in a position to assure their self-disapprobation and so to enjoy the sweet pleasures of repentance. The attitude is almost or entirely an unconscious attitude in adults.

unfulfilled desire which normally should have been outgrown.¹

The age of imagination needs careful handling. Children who are afraid of the dark, or full of "phobias" at this time, must be treated with care. Do not say to such a child, "There is nothing there," and turn up the light to prove it. The thing is inside himself, and to be told there is nothing outside will only annoy him, for though the external form which he gives to his fear is a fiction, the fear is real enough. With children over three, we can find by careful observation and inquiry what is worrying them; usually it is the desire to do something they have been prevented from doing earlier. When a child is afraid of the dark or has an over-developed imagination, it is almost always the result of some ramification of the nursing desire which has been suppressed. The really harmonious personality, in childhood as in adult life, is one which has grown naturally through each of childhood's ideals, has left them behind, and so grown to fuller powers.

One way for the child to build for himself ideas of power—which is the essence of the imaginative age—is to picture himself as carrying out those ideals which he sees set by grown-ups as a standard; thus he will be ready to fall in with their ideals as shown in look or word or act, and indeed this readiness will in time contribute a good deal to the larger and developed idealism of adult years. There are, however, problems here. First, the ideals of adult life are not, and cannot be, and ought not to be, the ideals

¹ See further p. 140, Note on Punishments.

of early childhood ; idealism waits for the age of co-operation and loyalty ; its growth cannot be forced. From this follows the second difficulty : that it is possible, by trying to set too highly developed a standard and by creating motives for good conduct which must be unreal because not yet in place, to go too far and to produce hopelessness, and this will do as much harm as is done by suppression. For we may create fantasies of unattainable success, and so in the end produce the adult type which says : " I cannot do it ; I have no ambition," the real fact being that such a man in childhood had not too little ambition but too much—for the unattainable—and so gave up the unequal struggle. To set too high an ideal is to over-develop the imaginative powers and drive the child to live in a world which is a world of fantasy only. For this reason the too-idealistic mother will produce the same results as the scolding mother ; for the latter, always scolding the child for having done so badly, and thus discouraging him in all childhood's practical affairs, will equally drive him out to take refuge in fantasy. The child who is too much criticized and discouraged (" Think what good little Arthur would have done if he'd been here "), or who is humiliated or snubbed, or never noticed if he isn't " naughty," will, by imagination, call a new world into existence to redress the inequalities of the old ; he will go out and live entirely in fantasy, and neglect fact. The survival of this neurotic enjoyment of fantasy rather than of doing makes a common adult type ; we look always forward to the jam we shall get to-morrow, to new

worlds to conquer, or the hero's part, and remain content as most indifferent performers in a humdrum job.

The age of imagination is not an age in which the child either does, or ought to do, no more than "imagine." It is the age at which imagination first comes to life, and mitigates the world of simple sense perception which has gone before it. None of the "ages" of childhood are marked simply by that one quality alone which is their main characteristic, and from which, not unjustly, they may take their name; nor have they any monopoly of this typical quality within their limited span of years, to the exclusion of the other "ages" which will follow. To speak of an "age of imagination," or of "self-assertion," or of "loyalty," means that at some particular period in childhood (which may vary quite considerably with the previous history and environment of the child) this or that instinctive capacity unfolds from the unconscious and becomes a spring of conscious action; it means also that this motive is for some time dominant; but it does not mean either that it is the sole motive which then operates, or that after a certain time its effects cease. So far from the latter being true, the full equipment of manhood and womanhood is a synthesis of all the dominant tendencies and instincts which have at intervals developed. Some need of security and shelter, some systematic use of the perceptions of each sense, some imagination of a world not yet made actual, some assertion of the self against inert or hostile wills, together with co-operation and the group

spirit and the powers of loyalty and the development of sex, all these things, each in its turn the dominant factor of an age or process in development, contribute to the final synthesis of a full man. But into the whole man which this synthesis will build, none of the component parts will be carried forward without some change in their quality or aim; the parts change their character when they are combined into the whole. Thus the imagination of childhood is unreal and fantastic (though it has its purpose), but the imagination of adult life is a practical idealism. Again, the force which leads a new-born infant to suck, and which later at three years or so leads it to a curiosity about its own origin and birth, is a component part of what will later be the full development of sexual life. And so with the other instinctive tendencies, as they develop in their sequence; each has its part to play then, and each is also carried forward. But if they are carried forward unchanged, if self-assertion, or romancing, or the unsatisfied desire for comfort at the mouth and lips, go forward unchanged and as they were to adult life, then, in proportion, life is unhappy and imperfect, full of infantile tendencies surviving; if, however, they have had full scope and freedom in early years, they will go forward not as petrified and illogical survivals, but as potentialities, as the living material of a new synthesis¹ which will contain, enlarge and recombine them all. In this new thing, which is man and woman, they will not be recognized by their old fashion or likeness; no man looking at the sunlight

¹ See note, p. 130.

can see red or orange, yellow or blue or green, but all the colours of the spectrum go to make up the complex simplicity of light.

The age, then, of imagination is the time when unrealities are added on to fact. Fact still remains, but its boundaries are foggy. The broomstick is a charger, and there is all the pomp of kingliness in a crown of cardboard ; the breakfast-table is a mountain-top, and the robbers' cave is underneath ; breakfast, however, remains a reality. Fairy-stories are true history (as in the early life of man), and dolls talk, walk, eat and are talked to. And there is a sound psychological reason for these things—they redress the balance for a small person in a world which is for him too big to be shifted. The imagination is a substitute for will ; it is, so to say, a getting into training of the will. It is not a way of telling lies ; it is a way of growing up. The fictions of the time of imagination are useful, necessary and right ; to Aunt Emma, the moralist in full alpaca, they are "lies." To her it is "wicked" to say that the dog is a bear—she can see that it isn't. The child, however, can see that it is, and he has every right then to have his way. To humiliate him for his fictions, to moralize him and to tell him they are lies, is to make a proper liar of him when he is grown older. It is to deny his right to live freely through his imaginative years, to exploit their tendencies to the full, and so to outgrow these. It ties him to the unfulfilled wish, and carries this forward to plague and baffle him in school and life. Aunt Emma and the "good" people have much to answer

for. This form of lying is creative lying ; the child is trying, in what is for him at this period of development the best way, to use his environment. This lying is a spontaneous thing ; we turn it into an immoral thing by our wrong treatment of the child.

It is the use of dolls which best illustrates the virtues of imagination at this period. Humans are intractable and large ; dolls will do what they are told, take their meals when bidden ; they can be put to bed and given baths, do not answer back, and in all ways respect their powerful masters and know their place. They make a pliable environment. They are attractive, too, in a quite different way, for at the bidding of imagination they can be made to do the very things which human boys and girls are not always allowed to do—they can eat chocolates between meals, run downstairs after bedtime, have mustard and pepper, or stay out in the rain. So the owner of the dolls is powerful, prominent, and, by greatness of mind, well compensated for smallness of stature. Imagination of this type gives prominence, happiness and power to small people.

But imagination can also be invoked for a quite different type of lying at this period, for the type which comes not out of the instinct for power, prominence and success, but out of the instinct for self-preservation. This second type is not "creative" and not a normal and progressive way of moulding the environment ; it is an escape from the terror of threatened punishment. Imagination here lies by reason of hysterical panic. The child instantly denies on impulse, without any reference to facts, for

self-protection ; for his whole being is always on the defensive, since he has been mainly motivated by fear. If children are not punished or threatened, they will not lie in this way. Bluster, and stern questions, and high moralities to the little child breed fear and muddle and the lie which is no more deceit than it is confusion. Such lying may become habitual ; imagination will be developed for self-protection only, and the child will grow up to be purely anti-social. The case of a girl sent to the Little Commonwealth may illustrate this type of mind. She had been made a hard liar by hard treatment, and was committed to the Commonwealth as an inveterate mischief-maker. She used to call on Mrs. A. and tell her what she had heard Mrs. B. say of her, then go and tell Mrs. B. what Mrs. A. had said of her. Then she would take up her place on the kerbstone and watch the dramatic result. Imagination perverted to the uses of fear had left her no pleasure except in anti-social acts. What followed in her case illustrates how the other kind of imagination—the “creative” and romantic way of lying—may also, if left undischarged at its proper period, be left over to adolescence, where it will still operate ; it will be seen, however, that the motive here is kindly and generous, not anti-social. The girl had been at the Little Commonwealth some weeks when she wrote home to her mother a wonderful letter, telling her how I had taken her a trip to a seaside place ; how we had gone by motor, and all about our adventures by the way ; and how on arrival I had taken her to the theatre ; then followed

full details of the plot of the play. The whole letter was a wonderful work of fiction. Having written it, she showed it to another citizen, who said: "Oh! how can you tell such lies; you know you haven't left the Commonwealth since you arrived!" "Well," said the girl, "my mother is worrying about me, thinking I am lonely and dull, and I wanted her to know what a good time I was having, so I thought I'd make up a story that would make her quite happy." Then she brought the letter to me. I read it through quite seriously, and handed it back to her, saying only: "That's a very good letter—but I didn't remember that the play ended quite that way." She looked up at me in silent surprise. A few days later she said to me, "I didn't send that letter I wrote to my mother." "Why not?" said I. "Oh, you silly!" was her reply—and from that time I had no more bother with her in this matter of romancing. With quite young children too, when a very prolonged and obstinate fiction becomes tiresome, to play up to them and seriously to accept it will sometimes end it—where this is really needful. It is a matter of understanding their mental processes. Where it is necessary to convict a child of telling lies, we must take the psychological method, not the moral. And in no case should "lying" which is romantic, where sympathy and friendliness give the motive, be treated as a "fault." And the other type of lying¹ should be treated by the elimi-

¹ As childish lying may be either creative or a necessary defence against injustice and persecution, so the quarrelling characteristic of the dramatic age is a perversion of a wholesome sporting instinct, and sulking is a conscious effort to secure

nation of threats and punishments and of all that shakes the child's trust in himself (and others).

From the age of three, or soon after, all children will wonder about their origin, one of the problems of the imagination, as it fills out, being always, "Where did I come from?" "Where did the new baby brother come from?" is another form of the same problem, and this form may come up earlier than the other and may lead to the first question on the subject from the child to his parents. A child is particularly interested in new pets or a new baby; new arrivals of life affect the child emotionally more than anything else—more than a new toy or any inanimate thing—for it touches one of the oldest forms of instinct, the sex instinct having been fully developed before self-consciousness came into the race. Jealousy, too, will lead the child to speculate where the new baby came from. A very usual reply is, "God made him"; the child promptly asks, "Who is God?" and it is indicated that God is something or someone in the sky. The child looks up and gets a vague idea that God is something blue,¹ but is quite unsatisfied still as to how he was made and where he has come from. All questions as to birth and origin must be answered simply,

sympathy. Stealing, again, on the part of a child of five, is not stealing at all, until it is labelled such by adults. All these faults may be robbed of their capacity to cause enjoyment, and so turned into failures and brought to an end, by removing the motive which caused them.

¹ The unconscious mind has some instructive symbolisms with the colour blue, the colour of the heavens: "to be in the blues," and "Blue Monday" (the day which follows Sunday and our near approach to God). The connection, in thought, of unhappiness with God is very clear.

frankly and naturally. No uneasiness must be shown (the child will notice this at once), and no mystery made. There is no conscious sexual interest whatever in the child's questions; nor will the child ever ask any questions for the true answer to which he is not ready; he only asks them because the answer will form a natural part of the mental stage which he has reached. Any lie is fatal; the child will feel the unconscious discomfort behind the lie; and the interest which provoked his original question, now balked, will be fixed on the mother, who, as he sees, *could* tell, but will not. Now the imagination prompting this question is a component of what will later be the developed sexual life, so the fixing of his interest in this matter on the mother will have a very bad effect upon him later; for he will have a persistent and unsatisfied wish centred round her.¹ To tell the child the truth, that he was originally a part of his mother, and was carried by her, is to tell him what he will accept as a simple scientific fact, on a level with other facts of his environment. It is

¹ An adult will always be making demands from other people of evidences of their affection for him, in so far as he retains any degree of dependence on his mother—and especially of dependence due to his legitimate and natural curiosity about sex, which she has refused to resolve and which therefore continues to centre upon her and so to keep him unconsciously dependent on her; and all who later on come to symbolize mother for us, and so to act unconsciously as substitutes for mother in our imagination, will be centres of this same dependence. If our demands for affection, created by this sense of dependence, are unpleasant to those on whom they are made, they will be checked and sent deeper; and this is the cause of many broken friendships and unhappy marriages. They result from a childish dependence upon mother, and so upon the mother substitute, which has never been outgrown.

what he wanted to know, and he now knows it. He does not yet want any physiological details ; in very early years the physical side of sex does not interest. When further knowledge is asked for, as may probably happen through the child's observation of animals, it should be given quite frankly, and all specific questions answered as they arise. If there has been no previous concealment, and especially if the child lives in or visits the country, he or she will gradually discover the physical facts unaided and with pleasure. Any more formal instruction should be given primarily as instruction about God, as a picture, that is, of God's happiness in the various creatures which have life, and of the love which he has for them and which he gives them for each other. The whole topic should have a spiritual basis. The vital things are that this instruction about sex should be given by the parents, and not casually by strangers, and so probably in a ribald way ; and that sex should be associated, as one of God's greatest gifts for the development of the world, with some positive ideas of God as the creator of all life and the giver of all that is happy. In this way we shall not pass on any suggestion to the child of disliking or despising the idea of sex ; the ideas of God and of the reproduction of life will be bound together and given a positive setting and associations of happiness, instead of, as is more commonly the case, a negative setting and the associations of sin and of God's displeasure.

Such definite and formal instruction, whether from parent to child or from the teacher to a group, can best be given in the form of a biological story—

how life was at first the life of a single cell, and was lived in the water ; that it was a problem how life should be sustained, and how after a time the stomach was devised, together with pleasure in the use of it ; that this pleasure was intended by God, the wise Inventor, to make the animal desire food, and so keep living, and how the various ways of the instinct of self-preservation made all creatures work out means to keep themselves alive ; then how, when creatures were thrown up on to dry land and could not breathe there, since they could not get air from land as from the water, they grew themselves lungs for breathing, as also a circulation of blood to keep them warm, together with many other wonderful inventions, such as sleep, by which they fitted themselves for life, for the great Spirit of Life, God, was a great Thinker and Inventor, and kind to them, and put many wise thoughts in their hearts. But it did not satisfy him that each separate creature should have life ; how was the whole race of creatures to be preserved, each in their different kinds ? The first and simplest creatures were continued simply by division ; they split apart, and there were two cells or tiny jelly-fish in place of one, so that the new one could go on living in place of the old. But then came a much more wonderful invention, two sexes, like men and women, which were to make fresh life between them. At this point the physiology of the subject should be given by the treatment in detail of the sex-reproduction of plants ; and it can be pointed out how the union in their case is largely by accident, and depends upon the wind or the bees and flies. It

should then be added how, as a next step, in the case of the animals, pleasure was added to this invention of sex, with the result that they *wish* to join with one another to make children like themselves; for without this the animal races would die out, and that this is why we ourselves feel a natural desire to have young and to make new life (just as we and all the animals have also a natural desire to keep our *own* life safe), and that this is what makes the two sexes interested in each other and proud of one another's strength or beauty. This desire to make new life, we shall add, is a good and wonderful thing, and this feeling of each sex for the other, which we call love, is the greatest of God's gifts for making the world happier and better. Further, that the invention of this way for animals to have their young ones is a far better and more skilful way than that which the plants must use; for the unions of the plants are governed by accident, but animals can select their mates and choose the most suitable of their race, so that their children may surpass them in strength and beauty. The details of the actual method of sex reproduction having been given for plants, detail for the stage of the animals will only be alluded to lightly, where it is a case of group instruction. Where, however, the parent is talking with the child, the whole will probably have arisen out of specific questions, and it is the nature of the question, rather than the age of the child, which will determine the information to be given. In the case of group-teaching, where the children, even though of similar ages, will be of different develop-

ment, the problem is more complicated, and a more allusive treatment of the animal physiology is best with the group as a *whole*. We shall then add how we find the animals we know, the dog and bitch, the bull and cow, stallion and mare, and man and woman, coming together and having offspring born to them out of the mother ; and how the method by which that which is born is an actual young thing, or a child, is safer and wiser than the birth of the mere egg ; for the higher animals, which are those which in various degrees can feel most nearly like God himself, need more care for their preservation. Further, the human child is born much more defenceless than any other young thing, and has to be tended and guarded with much more care and wisdom, so that his mother and father must love him more, and be more wise themselves ; and that this is what God, in his kindness for them, has made them. One kind of creature (the invertebrates) are born with full powers of body and full stock of knowledge ; but this is all, so to speak, ready-made, and they do not, as they live, grow up to become still happier or wiser. The human baby has more dangers to face, but he can go on to become always a finer and finer man or woman, for the great Inventor gives new thoughts to him continually, and new feelings. Thus, though we can call the feeling of the dog for its mate and of the other animals for one another by the name of love, yet before we can reach the best kind of love, that of which men and women are capable, many inventions are needed and many wise improvements to love. For God wished not

only to preserve the races of animals and men, but to improve them, and man is the creature about whom he has thought most and whom he has best loved and to whom he has given the best kind of happiness.

The religious purpose (for it is that which is really implicit in the child's curiosity) may be further brought out for him thus. There are stages, we may explain, in the development and expansion of human love. First there is the love of mother and father for each other. Then, when they have children, there is their love for them, and the children's love of parents and of one another, for the family together all make a happy group. And this is the second stage or development of love. The father dog,¹ it may be shown by way of contrast, does not recognize his own puppies, and the mother dog only knows and cares for them for a time, till they are grown up and can go away by themselves; later on any of them may meet her as a stranger and fight with her over a bone. But to men God has given more knowledge and more wisdom to use and not to waste their wonderful powers. God, in fact, has a special home of his own in man, and uses him to carry out what he wants done in the world, using both man's instincts (an earlier invention and a very splendid one) and also his power of thinking about things; which is a

¹ The dog is chosen merely as well known or observed, not because the attitude of the male dog is representative in any way of the higher animals as a whole; the domesticated animals do not, as a fact, show the higher developments of parental affection in the male, and that is a most important step in the evolution of "love."

later invention, and by it man sees that it is sometimes better not to bother with his own desires, but to prefer what will be best for other men and women. For here is the third stage in the development of human love ; *all* men and women are our brothers and sisters really. God has made us already able to see as far as this, for he is always making the world better by showing us how to feel more widely. Some day we shall reach a further stage still, and be able also to love those who do not like us ; for God has already begun to show us this in what was thought and said by Jesus.

Thus throughout God will be represented as an inventor, gradually perfecting his work, but as having his power only through men's help, and working always *in* men. God will be represented as Knowledge first, the knowledge by which a purpose is carried through ; then, at a later stage in history, as Love, which must be used always with purpose, and is to be the opposite in all ways of the waste of the energies of life. This energy, it will be pointed out, can be rightly used, or falsely used and wasted, alike in matters of the mind, in sex and in all other fields. And if God (good) be explained first in the order of time as knowledge and purpose, then as love, evil will be shown to be, above all, ignorance ; at a later stage in history it will be shown also as hate and as the energy of life wasted instead of used. Throughout, the slowness of the development of life should be made vivid, and the child's imagination set working on the vastness of time and space.

Such a "myth of creation" will drive at two

things : a positive, creative idea of God, and a positive, happy idea of the facts of sex. Not all of it will arise, of course, in answer to the curiosities of the age of imagination, but all of it will arise from time to time by adolescence. At the age of imagination the first satisfying answers will be given ; and all asked for can be cast into the form of a fairy-story, rather in the manner of Plato's myths. The child craves for knowledge of origins, and from this first curiosity about sex evolves what will later be the sexual life ; for the component material of the two cravings is the same, and the one is a development of the other. The adult craves for knowledge about ultimate ends, and from this curiosity evolves the whole fabric of theology. Both curiosities make the divine element in man.

III

THE AGE OF SELF-ASSERTION

FROM ABOUT THE AGE OF SEVEN UNTIL
ABOUT ELEVEN

THE next stage in the development of the child is the Age of Self-Assertion. It might very properly be named the Age of Heroism, for its chief characteristics are physical bravery and disregard of danger, and a moral courage in defying the prosaic conventions of society. It is the period of the greatest activity, mental and physical, in human life; and to the detached and impartial observer it is also the period of most glorious effort. It is through intimacy with the "naughty" child, wilful, undisciplined and destructive, during his stormy and tempestuous passage through the age of self-assertion, that I have gained an unshakable faith in the great possibilities of human accomplishment.

The age of self-assertion follows closely on the age of imagination; the two periods will, of course, in varying degrees, overlap. The age of self-assertion includes both the characteristics of infancy and the characteristics of the age of imagination, together with a new instinctive force. This new force is, in fact, an early stage in the development of social instinct. There are traces of this, no doubt, from the beginning, but up to the age of five no real

altruism can be found in the child ; what looks like love before that age is really dependence, and not till seven does this new force become prominent enough to be a motive for action. The age, then, of self-assertion proper is from seven to eleven, with a transition stage from eleven to fourteen before the coming of adolescence. This period of self-assertion is when the noisy, blatant and rather disagreeable moods of children are noticeable. The problem of discipline becomes acute.

The child of two or three is busy with its hands or body. Then comes a period in which it is quieter physically. It is getting pleasures out of imagination and building up its powers in fantasy—usually from the age of three to seven. After this it wants to put its imagination into practice. It realizes that doing counts, not thinking. So about the age of seven a child begins to do things which shall prove to all observers its power both over material things and over other people's tempers. It will slam doors, knock over chairs and shout. The child of seven has an intense desire to be free ; and the more repressed he has hitherto been, the more his activities will show themselves in "naughtiness" at this stage. You can tell a child's past treatment by his present conduct. Through the age of imagination the child has acquired his freedom by living in an imaginary world ; he has dominated his surroundings by impersonating giants, dragons, animals and heroes. After seven the capacity for satisfactory enjoyment in pure imagination grows less. The child wants a real experience and evidence of his actual place in

society. The broomstick and paper helmet, as dramatizations of personal power, lose their attraction; he wants real warfare and to fight a real child. At this age he finds no comfort in obedience; he is against all authority. To the average parent obedience is another word for goodness, and a disobedient child is a naughty child, whereas in reality there is no more destructive virtue than obedience; a child who is always obedient is the child to have grave fears about. Obedience to some grown-up decree will not cure any bad habit; it will only foster a spirit of dependence and be destructive of the creative impulse.

The differences, then, at this age between one child and another are determined by their earlier relations to authority. In no two children, even in the same family, will behaviour be the same, for no two children will ever have had the same environment. Thus the younger brother of the oldest child can never have the same experiences as the eldest brother of the younger child at the same age. We must, therefore, not look for uniformity of expression. The child who has lost the true consciousness of self, who has spent his time in calculating and allowing for the opinions of others and so has a neurotic attitude to authority, will have a much greater tendency to slam doors and to be cheeky and noisy. People cannot understand why a child who has been "good" should suddenly become "naughty" and difficult to control. Most parents diagnose the cause wrongly. They think the trouble is too great a leniency in the past, and proceed to cure by strict discipline. This

is exactly the wrong method. The tightening of the reins of authority gives the child just the motive to do "naughty" things, and self-assertive things, with greater vigour and pleasure. For there are two factors which have built up the characteristics of this age; they explain both its existence and its necessity. The first of them is unalterable; the second can be modified within limits almost indefinitely wide. The first factor, as in every age or period, is the biological. Every child, between conception and maturity, is recapitulating in its own physical and spiritual growth the history of the development of the race, from the life in water of the single cell to the self-conscious life of man. The recapitulation of those processes in our evolution which led to the human limbs and body—through the stages of fish, of bird, and the rest—is complete in the main at birth; but the main part of the spiritual evolution is the task of childhood; and just as a physical synthesis and recapitulation of the various types of life, which have now been left far behind us in the evolutionary process, is necessary during gestation for the building up of the physical body of each human child, so a synthesis also of all life's earlier ethical ideals, now outgrown by the race, but each again to be lived through by each new child and synthesized by him in a new whole, is the means to the adult's full inheritance in the province of the spirit. Thus the earliest years of infancy have those qualities which correspond to the evolutionary period of lonely, individual human life; the imaginative years correspond with the pre-social period, when man was unorganized and a prey to his

environment, animistic and ridden by superstition ; the self-assertive qualities reproduce the primitive beginnings of social life, when it was no longer adequate baldly to describe man's life as " solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, short," or the human being as an Ishmael. Though quarrels still abounded and there were plenty of these quarrels still between one individual and another, yet the group spirit was there, making a new background to individual effort. Individualism was in constant revolt, and there was a great deal of conflict and insubordination against any kind of common service ; none the less there was some kind of social grouping, something with which the individual in his own development was confusedly in conflict. Then came the beginnings of true civilization, of the social spirit and of its gradual enlargement of interest ; it is this last period in man's history of which the spiritual picture and recapitulation is given in the developments of the age of loyalty and at adolescence.

The age of self-assertion, then, has—as have all the other ages—its biological origins, an origin in this case of violent conflict between the social spirit and the individual. The child goes out into the real world, where wills conflict, and finds his development in the assertion of his own self ; his aim is to make an effect on other wills and to see this effect, though, as will be shown, he uses also a group spirit. This is why the self-assertive age may be described as the first development of social instinct.

The second factor, the alterable and varying factor, of the two which build up the age of self-assertion,

has its origin in the child's previous relations with authority—with father, mother, elder sisters and brothers and with others living in the house. If relations with authority have been happy, and the child has not been given an imposed conscience, then self-assertion—granted that it is reasonably understood by parents—will not be violent. But if relations to authority have been strained, and the child has been taught to mistrust or hate itself as naughty, it will now get its own back by insubordination. "Contra-suggestion," to do the opposite of what is asked us, is a weapon which at all times we show our good sense by refusing to give up, for it is useful against Aunt Emma and her legislations throughout life; but at the age of self-assertion, if authority has been severe before, contra-suggestion is doubly strong, and we never read "Trespassers will be prosecuted" but we jump the gate into the field. Sensible authority will at this period take the notice down and call no attention to the field. A mother who was going out told her children they could do just what they liked except put beans inside their noses; they were all putting beans up their noses when she came back. The withdrawal of prohibitions will be the best method for stopping such noisy and unpleasant characteristics as the slamming of doors. It is worth remembering that the boy rattling a tin can full of stones along the garden path may be more than delighted if you tell him reprovably that the noise is a very ugly noise indeed.

If the child does not at this age realize self and its potentialities, he will, later in life, be either a

criminal or a dependant. There was, in the Little Commonwealth, a girl of fifteen, who had been convicted two years before of highway robbery. She had held up a child who was on her way to do some shopping for her mother and had taken ten shillings from her. She had never stolen before. Her mother had always kept her carefully at home, fearing the danger of bad companionship. One day, after a dispute with her mother, the girl purposely walked off in search of some outlet for her resentment, and found it. This same girl, as a citizen of the Commonwealth, made a personal sacrifice which indicated a spiritual concept of extraordinary clearness. Her robbery was an act of arrested self-assertion; her sacrifice was what self-assertion is capable of becoming if it is refined by freedom to exercise it.¹

If parents understood that the child of nine to eleven cannot possibly realize self, except in relationship to others of his own age, they would be reconciled to his breaking away from parental protection; they would be careful, too, not to supplant his personality by their own. It is a very dangerous sign, although sometimes flattering to the parent, when the child refuses to consider any opinions other than his mother's or father's. The terrible grief of some children when sent away to school shows just this dependence and a lack of any development of the

¹ The force of contra-suggestion—an exaggerated independence, a fighting at all costs against authority—together with some ways of resolving it, is illustrated by some of the stories of the Little Commonwealth included in the chapters on "The Self-Determination of Small People." Had the self-assertiveness been worked out at the proper time, these acute difficulties would not have occurred in adolescence.

social gifts. Such a child is subject to reversions of impulse, which may cause serious defects of character.

But the child at this age still needs a certain measure of control to give it a feeling of security. From beginning to end of the child's life two tendencies are opposed—the craving for the absence of responsibility, for the safety of pure dependence; and the craving for freedom and for independence of all control. The conflict between these tendencies is most acute in the age of self-assertion. Some parents, however, make the mistake of only entering into intimate personal relationship with the child when it is naughty; and children who are denied the right sort of intimacy will get the other sort by naughtiness. This sort of intimacy will, of course, not satisfy the conscious mind, but the unconscious mind is so illogical that an intense personal relationship of any sort gives satisfaction to it. In the age of self-assertion less than in any age is the child satisfied to be “seen and not heard”; it is no use being “good,” because unfortunately the quiet child escapes attention and praise; the noisy child, however, gets all the attention and all the social prominence that it wants. The child would prefer to win attention and status by the creative kind of self-assertion and by being praised for its successful energy or skill, but if it cannot get its wish in that way, it will get it by self-assertion, which is destructive. If it cannot be prominently good, it will be prominently bad. Lovers' quarrels arise from just the same cause. They are the result of an earlier lack of real intimacy in childhood, the desire

for this being therefore carried over into adult life ; so resort is had to the quarrel, in order to gain the particularly intimate relationship of "making it up." People who have lovers' quarrels are not fully self-reliant, and this is the result of early criticism of the child's natural creative activities and outward behaviour. We usually pay too much attention to behaviour and not enough to motive ; this destroys the child's self-confidence, and the child seeks relationships of mere security with the parents, which the punitive relationship can adequately give. The same problem comes up in the schoolroom. If the child is still suffering from the desire of dependence upon mother, it will wish to get into more intimate relations with the teacher than the ordinary class work brings, so it will resort to naughtiness to get the personal touch. To the conscious mind it seems a foolish idea that the child should cheek mother or teacher to get a spanking, and so get closer to them, but this is how the unconscious mind works.

The problem of this age is how to give the child sufficient support and sympathy and yet sufficient freedom to develop creatively. If a child were to grow till the age of seven without having ever had the occasion to hate its parents, it would be very different from any child we have ever seen. If we like we may question whether this is possible ; but we know that it is the introduction of morals at an early age which induces fear, and that fear produces hatred of the person who engenders it. Probably, in childhood, everyone daily wishes father and mother out of existence. This hate becomes, however,

unacceptable to the ethical self of the child as it develops, so that the hate is stored away in the unconscious mind, to become the basis in adult life of negative attitudes to other authority of various kinds. But since the instinct for personal power and aggression arose earlier in history than the instinct of social co-operation, for children in the self-assertive age aggressiveness and a showy social prominence is a necessary condition of their growth. By preventing this independence we cause over-desire for it; whereas if instinctive desire is satisfied, it is made not, as Freud says, permanent, but the groundwork and basis of something higher. Unsatisfied desire results in permanence of the desire. Only through self-expression can the instinctive tendencies be developed, and their demands thus lived through, outgrown, and carried up to a higher level. The amount of fear involved in the child's education, whether fear of parents' punishment or religious fear of eternal punishment, will determine the amount of hatred which is to operate as one of life's motives and to destroy capacities to grow and to create.

Psychologists believe that the combative and aggressive instinct is permanent in all human beings; but it is probable that with a correct understanding of children the instinct for aggression need not survive childhood. It is certain that to repress the aggressiveness of a child will make him later more aggressive and anti-social; he will later on revenge himself for his sufferings by criminality or by acts of cruelty. This desire to hurt living things generally appears in the child who has been given a strong

hatred of authority ; and such cruelty has its ultimate origin in some difficulty over sex—sex curiosity punished in the age of imagination, or manipulation of the organs of sex punished during the difficulties of weaning ; for to repress these activities in the child is to repress and disapprove of that which to the child's unconscious mind means life and energy and growth. Impose this attitude upon him—the attitude of hating and disliking “ life,” energy, progress—and he will turn it out in the form of cruelty to some other kind of life. For hatred of others is the expression of self-hatred ; cruelty to others the expression of the cruelty inflicted by the child on himself when he repressed his natural instincts. We hate others when they remind us of the things which we have been taught to hate and to repress in ourselves, and which we have buried in the unconscious. That is why we have such irrational dislikes of certain people.¹

This problem of cruelty is very difficult to handle. We cannot, for instance, encourage a child in a liking to tease his sister ; we can, however, use good temper and good sense, trying to find out where the child's real interests lie and guiding its energy to these channels. Except in the deepest cases, sympathetic treatment by parents and teachers will gradually

¹ During the war no two Englishmen “ hated ” the Kaiser for the same reason. All such feeling is the bringing up to date of early fear and hatred, now buried : each person continues to dramatize in this way his own particular childish fears, and to aim at the destruction of any thing or person which can adequately symbolize them for him. War is the bringing up to date of one's primitive infantile desire to destroy the things of which one was afraid.

suffice to cure ; for it will give back self-confidence, self-love, and a belief in life, and it is the absence of these which is the cause of cruelty.

It must be remembered, here as elsewhere, that if physical violence in suppression is bad, an insidious moral influence is no better. The whining mother is more repressive than the cuffing mother. Neither by one method nor the other should ideals be imposed from without. A boy of seven suddenly developed a passion for turning on the taps and flooding the bathroom. The mother forbade him to do this, but he did it over and over again till she decided it must be stopped. She stood over him, and every time he touched the taps she rapped his fingers with an iron ruler. This became a trial as to who could hold out longest, and the boy won, because he could bear pain longer than the mother could bear to inflict it. Then once in a fit of roughness he knocked her off the chair, and in falling she hurt her ankle. As soon as he realized she was in pain his manner changed, and he began very tenderly to pet and comfort her. This, she thought, revealed the right way to work on his feelings, and whenever he was naughty she complained of a headache or some other pain. The result of this playing on his feelings was so disastrous that in a few weeks she had to call in help to deal with his hysterical condition.—A teacher, who was an enthusiastic exponent of free self-expression, all the time exerted without knowing it an overpowering domination over the nieces and nephews with whom she lived. She would have on the table suet-pudding, which the children loved, and a milk-pudding, which

they thought dull. She would then say, with an irresistible inflection of the voice, "Will you have some suet, or some of this *delicious* milk-pudding?" and nine times out of ten the children chose milk-pudding. But that was not to encourage the free exercise of choice; it was merely to produce a spoilt child, for the really spoilt child is the child who has not been able to grow up because his growth has been spoiled. The tenth time one of the children might assert himself and choose suet, but this choice, though not commented on at the time, was always followed by a lecture on good manners and on the wisdom of following the advice of those who had greater knowledge. In the same way she would say: "Now, children, shall we take a walk, or play ball, or shall I read you a *delightful* book?" and of course the children chose the book. But this was no education in freedom; on the contrary, the use of the stick would have been morally less harmful. If the parent does give a child the privilege of choice, the choice must be honoured. We must not give the child the responsibility of decisions which we are not prepared to abide by. How often one hears parents or nurses saying, "Tommy, don't you think it is time to go to bed?" Tommy, given the choice, promptly says "No." Then authority steps in and says: "Oh yes, it is time little boys were in bed"; and Tommy is dragged away howling. The wrong way of giving freedom, which is to force decisions on a child which it is not yet capable of making, will always result in an increased hatred of authority.

The characteristics of the age of self-assertion are,

as has already been said, social in one sense. The child always wants to be in a group, but only in order to have someone to show off to. It has no real idea of co-operation; giving in to others is merely the price to be paid for getting an audience; the child must agree to certain rules in order to obtain a chance of self-assertion. Thus the child only fields at cricket because otherwise it will get no turn to bat. It has not the idea of the good of the team.

A child of seven therefore requires a group of children to play with, in order to develop his social instincts in the form which they then have. The group should not consist of his brothers and sisters, for towards them he will always have some attitude of "elder" or "younger." In order that he may become truly social in adult life, he must at the age of self-assertion acquire by competition the nucleus of social sense. Watching the spontaneous organizations of children at this age in slum districts, where alone children are to be seen perfectly natural, free from authority, and thrown on their own resources, we see that in a street containing anything from twenty to a hundred boys and girls, the children will always organize into small groups, never a mob. The group will never be less than three and not more than seven or eight—the right size to give them the values they are seeking in their fantasies; so it seems that the proper-sized group should number from five to eight. If a child can find such a group, and spend some time with it each day from the age of seven to ten, there will almost certainly be released

out of the unconscious conception of self all the qualities necessary for the social point of view which is soon to develop, and a personality will result, able in adolescent and adult life to fit into social conditions without difficulty.

Let us analyse some of the characteristics of the free play of a group of children of different ages. In the game of "mother," the post of honour in the group of five-year-olds is that of "mother." She is usually represented as giving medicine to her ailing family, tucking them up in bed and consoling them in their pretended woes. She seldom has any serious problem of discipline to contend with. But among children of the age of eight or ten the "mother" is exceedingly harassed by the extraordinary unruliness of her children. She is armed with a cudgel, and depends upon corporal punishment exclusively for the maintenance of her authority. The post of honour in this game is no longer that of "mother"; it is that of the very naughty and unruly child. The same peculiarity is seen in the game of "school." Where the children are of eight or ten the coveted part in the game, that of the defiant and unruly pupil, is held by the acknowledged leader of the group, while it is the younger and less active member who unwillingly and half-heartedly represents the teacher.

Among children whose environment is in the slums, and who spend their playtime in the streets, the game of "policeman" is popular. The child of five prefers, if he can have his choice, to be the all-powerful policeman, who is struggling with a refractory prisoner; but at the age of nine or ten it

is the prisoner who takes the enviable position. Exactly how much of the crude and clumsy attempt of the child to give expression to his new-found virtues may be righted and refined by free play cannot be stated as a matter of arithmetic ; but it is my experience, based on careful study of the play impulse of children in various environments, that much of their antagonism towards authority, or at least toward beneficent authority, is dissipated in play. A study of juvenile delinquency, with reference to opportunities for free play, has persuaded me that considerably the greater part of juvenile crimes are merely a form of play. In one of the cities of the United States the number of juvenile crimes decreased markedly after municipal playgrounds were established. In another city there was an increase, under the same conditions. This led to an investigation. The first city had equipped its playgrounds, but because of what was at the time called a niggardly policy, the supervision of the playgrounds had been left inadequate. The second city, richer and able to afford to be generous, had supplied in addition several supervisors for each ground. In the first city juvenile disorder decreased, because there was no supervision of its children ; in the second, the supervision was so adequate that the children could not indulge in free play. I freely confess that it was under my personal direction that the playground policy had been carried out in the city where juvenile crime increased ; and this emphatic contradiction of my then belief, that adequate supervision of children's play was a necessity, led me to go deeper into the

matter. After searching diligently for the cause, by comparing in the two cities the housing conditions, the character of the industries, the number of cinema theatres, the personalities both of the judges of the children's courts and of the probation officers, I then noticed, I confess with horror, that the children in the unsupervised playgrounds were playing games in which the central motive was the defeat of authority. Policeman *versus* criminal; policeman *versus* drunken man; teacher *versus* bad boy. The criminal, the drunken man, the bad boy, were always the heroes of these games, and always succeeded, after extraordinary feats of daring and heroism, in putting the representative of authority to flight. In group games involving some form of attack and defence, the weaker side numerically usually worsted their opponents. For this is the general principle: the bandit, the pirate, the outlaw and the robber always win in the free play of the eleven-year-old children.¹

¹ The cinema has been blamed for juvenile crime. "The Black Hand Gang" is a name that has been adopted by several groups of boys who have systematically robbed, stolen and swindled. But I have never seen a film which would incite a lad to criminal acts of which he previously disapproved. Moreover, the boy of eleven finds his ideal in the overcoming of difficulties, and in the films it is always the hero, not the villain, who is outnumbered and who faces violent death at every turn. It is society, not the cinema, which drives the boy to crime. Instead of the *game* of "play policeman," the constant interruptions by the traffic and the law's interference with the slum child's play divert his energy to the more realistic business of resisting the real policeman. And once let the child get his sense of heroism in the police court, then as a socially creative unit he is lost. This is the true origin of the "Black Hand Gang."

Children should be perfectly free from grown-up authority for a time every day, and allowed to "run wild" with their group. In America the importance of this group play has been partly recognized, and a great deal of playground work is going on, with the definite purpose of releasing the child's capabilities by this sort of "social" training. For at this age the real creative life of the child is that which he spends with his fellows. The highest authority which he can admit and acknowledge is that of the group upon which he depends for his own share or turn. The adult is quite obnoxious to this group. If the child does not have the opportunity of this free play with other children, he will reach the "age of loyalty" without having developed a basis for true "social" interest by the time that biological development demands it. The self-assertive tendencies, which he should have got rid of in group play, will still be alive and he will be the unhappy boy who cannot "fit in," but is left out in the cold.

In most private schools play-time and play activities are much too highly organized, when the child has not yet reached the proper age for team loyalties of the organized kind. Children of under ten or eleven should still have much freedom to work out their own activities. Organized games belong to the age of loyalty. If schools would forget the ritualizing of games and books, and would allow children absolute freedom to sort themselves out and to develop their own activities, we should have a very different type of adult, more love of country and less patriotism. Unless the foundation is well laid by a freedom in group

play to show off, then showing off persists through life, and develops into fantasies of grandeur. This is a really important point, and much more attention should be paid to it by those who employ nurse or governess, and whose children consequently do not get the amount of freedom necessary. If the child has plenty of opportunity to show off in its play life with other children, it will not do nearly so much of it in its own home life and in its relations with its parents. The great power of the working classes for self-assertive organization is probably due to the training they have had as children in this freedom and in unorganized group play. The middle classes show none of this capacity.

As a preliminary to group play there are nearly always quarrels, because no two children want to play the same game ; no one really minds, but each wishes to assert his own authority. In no case, of course, does the quarrelling remain a quarrel of all against all, and the futility of divided effort is quickly realized among slum children, whose games then take the form of "organized" quarrelling, games of attack and defence. It is this love of quarrelling which can be developed into the highest capacity for social co-operation, if only adults do not step in to reconcile the combatants prematurely, by amusing them, or by directing their games. When a game is at last started, quarrels spring up continually, but, seen from the kerb, the group seems happy enough. If we look closely, we shall find that they are using, in a happy way, activities that in the nursery they would have had to use unhappily and among many

checks, for Aunt Emma would have labelled them as naughty.¹

The Age of Self-Assertion is therefore an age of conflict between dependence and independence, between the love of mother's apron-strings and the love of adventure. There is a deep conflict with authority, and the child will be anti-social; but this stage none the less is the beginning of the social conscience, for he will express by insubordination his idea as he sees it of social service; insubordination is his way of serving his fellows. This is his training. It takes heroism to be insubordinate, and he is proud of being presented at the throne of justice (father's study, or the head-master's), for he gets social prominence as a hero. We can see here his definite efforts to get free from parental authority. But when suppressed he falls back on mother, on regressive pleasure of some one kind or another; and the fundamental problem of life is to win this independence from the mother. If he emerges from the period successful, he will be happy in his relations afterwards to authority, because he will have true self-consciousness—that is, he will have a self of which to be conscious, and which will be self-determined. Otherwise he will be self-conscious in the false use of the term which is so common—conscious, that is, not of his own self, but always of what he thinks that other people are thinking about his self. In this latter case it is "authority"—outside opinion, imposed ideas, imagined condemnations

¹ It should be added that fighting between two adolescents is psychologically an entirely different matter.

—of which he will always be conscious. “Authority,” which has misunderstood him when he was aggressive, will now remain as his foe,¹ spoiling his adjustments to life and spoiling his happiness, confidence and ardour.

¹ His real “foe” through life will not be an external foe, but an internal; it will be one side of his own unconscious mind; or rather it will be the conflict between two sides of his unconscious mind, one of which has accepted as its own, and the other of which rebels against, authoritarian attitudes. Different external forces and persons will symbolize for him his own acceptance (or hatred) of authority, and will seem to be the real causes of the conflict which he wages; but the real conflict will not be between himself and something or someone else, but between himself and himself. The external world in this way symbolizes for us certain internal states, and “touches off” the irrational emotions which correspond. We are only free of this subjectivism and irrationality, and really in contact with a real external world, in so far as we are ourselves free of unconscious conflict.

IV

THE AGE OF LOYALTY

FIRST A STAGE OF TRANSITION, FROM ABOUT ELEVEN TO
FOURTEEN : THEN THE STAGE OF ADOLESCENCE
TILL ABOUT SEVENTEEN

EVERY step forward in the evolution of the child is the destruction of something which has gone before, in the interests of some new and more difficult responsibility to be undertaken. Unless the growing child be born again and again, it cannot enter the kingdom of the spirit. Before birth the child lay in complete security, with no problems and no changes of environment ; in perfect warmth, and with a fully satisfying tactile pleasure felt equally at every point of the body, it had no needs of adaptation. Then at birth, amidst alarms and physical pressure, it came out into a cold world to find new ways. Its pleasure of touch was now concentrated at the mouth, and contact with the mother was more limited ; but the child had new worlds to discover by other and new senses—for sight, hearing and muscular control were now added to the sense of touch, and life became more full and varied as it became more difficult ; risks were greater, but the gain was greater. Then came weaning, a change as critical as birth ; for life's main interest, the tactile pleasure at the breast, had now to be re-born, and carried into higher fields

of mental interest and used in new service. In the development of these new powers of spirit all the outside world was called in aid and became the obliging servant of imagination ; thus what was later to grow into the power of purpose won some part of its training, and the stern realities of a rough world were tempered to the small person who was to find a place among them. The social instincts then laid their claim on him. By insubordinate ways, stressing always his own rights to individual and personal life, giving companions' claims the second place and the first always to his own, fighting for independence yet still in some measure willing for the spiritual frontiers of home authority to limit and support him, he goes out to be the hero of his own adventures, if not yet fully the captain of his soul. Then come the first beginnings of a synthesis—a combination into harmony and conscious purpose of all the spiritual and bodily adventures, all the unfoldings of instinct in an ordered sequence, which have gone before. The strands will now be twisted and interlocked and gathered into unity, tensile, resilient and competent for all the purposes of life ; there are many colours and qualities of the component parts, but the whole, seen now in living movement, blends into the single light which is life. This is to be the endowment of man and woman perfected—social purpose, co-operation, and the service which is freedom ; and it is to be given after the critical years of adolescence, the age which stamps the spirit with the seal of Loyalty.

The age of eleven has been called the criminal age, and it is certainly the least ethical. In what

may be called the private-garden child, carefully watched and protected, this age may not occur until about fourteen ; but for children whose playground is the streets it will occur as early as eleven or earlier. For from eleven is the most difficult age ; it is the self-giving age and the " storm period," it sees the breaking up of self-assertion, of the desire to be hero, and the search for a hero not oneself. Fourteen is the age most highly ideal, most highly moralized and ethical, but because of the unsatisfied desires surviving from past years it shows heavy conflict between the pleasures of self-indulgence and the new ideals of purposed and serviceable self-restraint ; at about fourteen there is in consequence the most intense expression of morbid interest. From eleven or so to fourteen is a time of transition, from fourteen for two to three years comes adolescence or puberty ; and it is at some time in this period that the law will perhaps call the child hopelessly anti-social, delinquent,¹ and bad.

If in this period of transition we study the child's play, we see him trying to merge his individuality

¹ The cure of the delinquent child is in re-education of the " delinquent " instincts, in giving them an environment in which they can catch up, and learn to walk in step with Nature. In extreme cases diagnosis may be necessary, whereby the development of the diseased mind is traced back, step by step, by association, until the abnormality is found in the delinquent's childhood ; it is then dissipated and the misdirected force can find its true use. As a matter of fact almost all people do feel that the physical changes of puberty are but the expression of a spiritual change ; what has not been seen is that *all* the earlier phases of change in the behaviour of children from birth to adolescence are no less the expression of an ordered mental progress and development, of a spiritual change, and that *each* instinct demands a free field at its own proper time.

in a group, in something larger than himself. He co-operates with others for a common purpose. He has the greatest interest in team games. But we still see the desire to show off, if we have earlier suppressed his self-assertiveness and so have prevented the expression of altruism normal at that age. If the child is more interested in doing "stunts" than in helping the team to win, then something has gone wrong, and the energies, first evoked at the mother's breast and afterwards to be spread over a wider field, have not been well synthesized; so the transfer from original egoism to the group-spirit is incomplete. If, however, there is no interest still left rooted in the infantile periods—no nursing desires, for instance, still left over, no unsatisfied curiosity coming down from the age of three or four about origins and birth—then the child of eleven and onwards will have no interest at all in sex as such (except from time to time to make natural inquiries), and the localization of the hitherto diffused sex area will proceed peacefully and without trouble. What is soon to be normal sex consciousness will not be felt as consciousness of sex at all, but as the desire to co-operate with friends and companions; the boy at this age will be ready to sit and keep the score if that will help the team; in any case, the team is his unit. The boy or girl who does not take any interest in games at this time is the one who has not left the previous age, one who has not become adolescent in the psychic sense. He still wants self-assertion, not to be one of a group. And it is a difficult type of adult, too, who has not developed his early, childish

tendencies even far enough to take an interest in games. The social emotion in him will not have evolved ; it will lie deeply buried still, under self-assertive tendencies or fantasy.

The problem at adolescence for teachers and parents repeats the problem of the age of weaning ; how to draw off physical desire to wider interests. The energy handled at the two periods is identical ; what was once the desire for the sensual gratifications of nursing is now a component part of that which, by the end of the period of adolescence, becomes the instinct of sex as ordinarily so called. Biologically the one is a development from the other ; sex is not some one specific capacity, which develops at some one fixed period, like speech or walking : it is manifold and various in its forms, and is operative continuously from birth onwards. And just as in the period of weaning it may be carried onwards and liberalized and diffused by a well-planned use of toys, so now it must be given fields of responsibility, service and loyalty—group activities of one kind and another—which will develop it upon the spiritual side.

In the orthodox school, time-tabled by authority and motivated in all academic work by individual penalties or reward, the only scope for group activity is in games ; here there is some or much self-government ; but in school-work authority dictates the whole, so that group comradeship in the classroom most easily fulfils itself by war with authority and by idleness ; this is why boarding-schools so often become *athletocracies*. But where boys and girls are allowed self-government in school study, are

encouraged (and not discouraged) to co-operate in their work, and have at least some rights over their own time-table, syllabus and methods of work, as well as some form of group rewards and group success, they can develop the same interest and enthusiasm in their work as in team games.

Each child brings to school the emotional make-up which his past environment has given him, varying affinities and repulsions in the unconscious mind for this or that school subject and for this or that type of personality in his teachers. In this respect the teacher's business is to make him natural again—not to make him good. The child is not an empty jug to be filled with knowledge; he is full already, full often of unconscious material which is faulty and which must be extracted and replaced by other things. Fear of punishment, and of loss of marks or of standing in class, and all kinds of imposed humiliation, will only exaggerate faults. The problem of schools is to re-awaken the play instinct (which is a social and co-operative instinct) in school-work, and to keep curiosity alive by the absence of institutionalism. Most teachers do not agree with this, and make the child do what he dislikes, as discipline. But a child only makes moral progress when he is happy. The true maxim runs that if we are happy we shall be good. If a child has interest in his work and is in each subject creating something for himself, he will go through with it. We may awaken interest by the stick, but not in the subject. What is awakened is the instinct of self-preservation; the boy becomes an artist in getting means to produce answers satisfactory

to the master. Fear produces dishonest work ; if it does not, the process is still one of fear, and therefore immoral.

Our main effort in education, it seems, is to develop habits of obedience, just as the parent thinks that when the child asks, " Why must I do it ? " he is naughty and should be punished. But the school-room should be the place where he can express his doubts and troubles and ask for information. If we get the child to do this, we shall have the direction of the child's mind. The relation between teacher and child should be pure democracy—the child should not be on the defensive, but should be free to ask all questions. Usually the child only asks about things pleasing to the teacher. The habit of obedience, without reference to any ethical considerations, is of no value. It prevents the creative kind of obedience from working. Anyone acting merely from obedience is regressing. Obedience does not help towards the perfection of the universe. It is purely mechanical, like a dead frog scratching off acetic acid. To free the child from sensitiveness to fear is the beginning of wisdom. His dislike of school work is the result of imposed fear, whether of recent date or from past years. We need to introduce in education the principle of antiseptics, and trust the mental forces to produce mental health. The business of the teacher is to do less talking and to have more understanding of the unconscious processes of the mind.

The child is at the co-operative age ; therefore, self-government must be given, both in the team play of

games and still more in a team play made possible for work. But the latter kind of self-government must not centre round the preventive idea of keeping discipline, for that will turn energy back to assertive tendencies and to a finicky interest both in making rules for order and in detecting offenders ; any interest which is primarily in suppressing disorder has its psychological centre in the wrong place. The responsibility must be not preventive but creative. The form-group must be an executive, not a police-court ; it must have positive choices to make. We must give responsibility for, say, history, and get the class to discuss the syllabus and the allotment of time to the parts of it, and to assume responsibility for getting through it. Some such form of self-government is essential to the development of character and personality, for there can be no harmony where the social instincts are untrained and where the only stimulus to academic work is competition or the teacher's approval. If schools are not organized to give this kind of self-government to groups, much self-love will be left over unexhausted ; yet for future health this must be worked out. Till parents take the trouble to examine the social organization of schools, the development of their children will be arrested.

"Give the child freedom," is the insistent cry of the New Education ; but then its exponents usually devise a "system" which, although based upon the soundest of principles, limits that freedom and contradicts the principle. As a practical parent, anxious that each of my children shall realize the intent of

his nature, I look to the child himself to initiate the methods that govern his development. No matter how much freedom is given by a particular system, at some point the child is disappointing because he does not fit.

Not long ago a teacher, highly trained in the intricacies of a system of education, undertook the task of applying it to a group of children. Elaborate preparations for the work were made and the mechanical appliances provided. The children arrived at the school, but the apparatus was delayed some few days. The teacher was disappointed. How could she manage the children without the apparatus? Within a few days, however, she enthusiastically reported that the delay in the apparatus was of no great importance, for the children were happy, bright, eager for knowledge and altogether delightful. There were no problems of discipline and no lack of activity. Then the apparatus arrived and was unpacked, and the children given freedom to experiment with it according to the plan of the designer. At the end of the first day the tired and worried teacher reported a new and disturbing spirit among the children, altogether unexplainable; the diet was studied for the cause. The second day was equally unsatisfactory, and on the third day the teacher was tearfully admitting that the children had been carelessly selected without due reference to their intelligence. As is usual, the children were abnormal, and not the system. There are, however, many teachers who can employ the apparatus of some particular system with benefit to the children, because in using the system they are unsystematic.

The point is, *freedom cannot be given*. It is taken by the child. Freedom involves discovery and invention, neither of which by their very nature can be embodied in any system. Freedom demands the privilege of conscious wrongdoing, and above all things freedom cannot exist in the presence of authoritative punishments.

It remains true, however, that up to the age of eighteen, boys and girls do need some amount of dependence, a substitute for father and mother to whom they can go for advice. The quality of this relationship, and the limits of it, will depend, of course, upon the relations which have been gradually built up in the unconscious mind to the real father and the real mother. For to the illogical unconscious mind of the pupil, the teacher, standing *in loco parentis*, *is* father or *is* mother ; the tag quoted covers a field of unconscious relationship for every pupil to every master and every mistress wider than the lawyers dreamed who made the phrase. Each child will project on to each master or mistress its own habitual attitude to father or to mother. The teacher of a class thus has to behave like twenty-five or forty different parents (for he has a different relationship to every child), and this is not possible, except in private intercourse. For though the teacher may establish relations of sympathy with the individual, he cannot get this relationship at any one time with everyone at once. Therefore the only way to carry on a class is to work through the crowd mind. But, though the teacher *can* in this way become a group leader, yet, if his attitude to the group is one of

command, he will only increase its dislike both of himself and of his subject. A group of children is a crowd with a common emotion (the only communion inside a group is unconscious communion, through feeling, not reason), and this emotion, based on their previous experience, is nearly always of dislike for the teacher, having been carried forward from their experience of parental authority as something limiting their freedom. For in all children there will be some, and in many children much, resistance to authority ; therefore all attempts to impose knowledge by authority call up contra-suggestion to defeat them. The very institutionalism of the school makes the child dislike learning ; that is why it is so important for him that for the information which is given him he should have a definite want, a social or group interest in getting it which shall be something quite different from both his own and his group's reactions to authority. Until, therefore, the teacher can become a *member* of the crowd, and do away with the emotional attitude of the crowd by himself resigning his own authoritarian position, he will find both disciplinary problems and a dislike of his instructions. It is his unconscious emotional attitude which will determine the group's reaction to him. The mere hearty affectation to unfrock himself is useless ; but if by unconscious sympathy he drops from status, and incorporates himself in the group, then the group attitude to his arithmetic will be favourable ; for when he has done this the individual can regain conscious control of his intelligence and "learn" decimals with an emotional sympathy warmed by the

co-operation of the group—and so there will be more of the days when everything seems to go well with the class. For until the original attitude of the group towards authority has been destroyed, the spontaneous emotion of the group will be to hate that which threatens its freedom—the master and his quantum of arithmetic. The emotion of the individual in the class comes always from the emotion of the group, not from the teacher, who is outside it. Therefore it is not until the teacher is within the group that he can in any sense become the brain of it.¹ The collective habit of fear, which the group has, can be relieved in this way only. By dependence upon the institutionalism of time-tables, programme and orders, the crowd can keep together, and the school can stand, bravely supporting the weight of its inertia; but salvation comes through the group spirit in active creation, which is the virtue of the age of loyalty.

The greater part² of my working life has been

¹ The policeman is more scientifically trained in psychology than the teacher, because it is recognized that he will have to deal with crowd disturbances and must control them. He is taught that when there is a street accident, he must never rush in waving his baton of authority and giving authoritative orders. He must first slip quietly into the crowd and appear to be one of them, and gradually, through understanding the emotion of the crowd, become its brain, and so control it. This is a very delicate process, and individual policemen vary greatly in their powers. Some go through the most dangerous experiences and are never hurt, others are always getting knocks; this implies difference in psychological perception. Exactly the same qualities are wanted in teachers. It is not a question of knowledge; it is a question of attitude towards the group. A man who cannot sympathize enough with a group to become one of the gang will never become a useful teacher.

² The autobiographical passage which follows refers to Lane's years in U.S.A.

spent among the "criminal." First among adult criminals, in a prison; I did not here visualize a better world. I took it for granted that human nature was bad, though in some instances it became good. I looked on crime as a reversion to Nature, and accepted the doctrine that an influence external to the individual was necessary to the development of self into spirit. Then I came into contact with youthful first-offenders. I saw greater hope, human nature less rigid, less confirmed in wrongdoing. Then, full of encouragement, I chose to live among delinquent children, and here I recognized a tendency in human nature which to me was a new vision—a tendency to do right which had been twisted by environment into what had the appearance of wrong. I was puzzled. Why, if human nature tends towards right, should the accident of environment pervert virtue into vice? The longer I lived with child criminals the more I felt the mystery of wrongdoing. I found no less of altruism and spirituality among my juvenile delinquents than among normal children. Their spontaneous tendencies sprang from a real and positive virtue. I took another step and I associated myself with the Juvenile Court, and found further confirmation of my belief. Then I lived with still younger children, and watched them at play; and I taught them in schools. I found that the child in the playground was not the same child as the one who came into school. In the playground he was admirable, heroic, fearless, resourceful, powerful and individual. In the school he was none of these. I continued my study of the spontaneity of

the child backwards toward infancy.¹ In the infant I found my clue to the mystery of crime and failure. Even the infant was denied freedom to his self. His very first sense-consciousness was perverted through interference. I could not see it at first. I did not realize that helping him in his simple efforts was interference. I had been taught that prevention was the only means of salvation.

I worked back again up the same ground, from infancy to adolescence, and in the light of my new clue the mystery was solved. Crime is no greater denial of Nature's intention than is failure. One is the expression of a human soul still fighting against domination, and the other is a human soul defeated. One is effort and power gone mad ; the other is effort and power shattered, through interference. I believe that in due time, through the child, we shall realize Nature's great intent.

¹ Lane spent a period of time in U.S.A. in the babies' ward in a hospital ; here he made a special study of the problems of nursing and weaning and of infants' activities.

A NOTE ON CONSCIENCE, MANNERS AND THE SENSE OF INFERIORITY

THE constant imposition of the adult will upon the child creates a habit of mind very difficult to get rid of in later life. Almost every person suffers, unconsciously, from a sense of inferiority. We distrust ourselves and our capacities so much that for our contentment we depend upon some constant tickling of our vanity. This habit of mind is based upon fear ; it is not creative. Our aim is to see the faults in other people, so that we can maintain our own sense of superiority by belittling their virtues. The habit is entirely destructive (it is a common habit among teachers), as it puts the other fellow on the defensive ; and no one can do any creative work when on the defensive. Many of us are so busy hunting faults in others, to make our own more bearable, that no energy is left us for creative expression.

One can see the gradual development of this sense of inferiority in young children.

What originates the baby's wish to put his fist into his mouth is the possessive instinct ; but as soon as the difficult task is once undertaken, he becomes absorbed in the work itself, and the possessive impulse becomes a mere background to the creative impulse. This modification of the possessive impulse arises from the virtue common to all humanity.

Creating is a dynamic thing, and the force is compulsory. Every person of every age and position in society is constantly creating. The force behind evolution is a creative and perfecting force. All of us have, deeply submerged, a dynamic wish for perfection—not only for our own perfection, but for the perfection of the universe. This force is expressed in the form of love. Every person is a natural lover of all mankind and of the universe. He is compelled to love. If he hates, he is expressing love through the reverse gear of behaviour.

In the child, this creative impulse is as yet *self-love*. He must love himself before he can love others. The most primitive love which the young child evolves takes the form of a consciousness of dependence upon the mother. He appropriates her; she belongs to him. There is no altruism in this primitive love; it is purely selfish, and it is the delight of his faithful slave, the mother, who serves her master with devotion and joy. When a certain intensity of self-love has been realized by the infant, he will then, since love can only exist if it is creating or growing, demand an expression of affection other than mere service of his bodily needs. The power to secure this expression comes to him as soon as he needs it; it is his baby smile—which is purely spontaneous, for he has no sense of inferiority, and his creative impulse has not yet been impaired by any conscience having been imposed upon him. This baby smile, both by its own nature and by the results which it secures, develops naturally into all the delightful forms of baby demonstrativeness. But this love has no social

qualities; it is still wholly selfish. Meanwhile the mother, who now experiences the deepest joy possible to the human being, wishes to share with others something of this same joy; others shall feel a delight in baby love. So she tries to instil into the child love of others. Visitors come, and she tries artificially to stimulate the baby smile. She chucks him under the chin, pokes his cheeks, pinches him playfully, trying to shake a smile up to the surface—often with success, for even infants can be taught to make outside attitudes their guide. The visitor feels that some response is needed, and kisses and fondles the baby. (Do babies like being kissed by strangers?) Anyhow, the mother soon begins to imply that he has a duty towards visitors and relations, and orders him to go and kiss grandmother.

In other words, he is taught manners. Manners express one or other of the two forms of the dynamics of mind—love or the sense of inferiority. If any piece of behaviour is an expression of love, it is genuine, and will be creative of love in grandmother. If it is expressive of duty and is based upon conscience, it will be a performance, not an act of love; and if grandmother is even a little sensitive she will be hurt and therefore on the defensive. It is a sure way of giving a vigorous sense of inferiority to the future adult to teach manners to the child.

If he resists the efforts of mother and grandmother to make him superficial, he quickly becomes aware, from his mother's attitude, of a difference between what spontaneously he likes to do and what he is expected to do. He then begins to construct a con-

science as an inner authority with a penal code of its own, to enforce obedience upon his impulse in the interests of good form. Conscience is that department of the mind which by our system of education we separate for children from impulse ; and the sense of inferiority, which in our various ways we create in children, is the source of the prickles and thorns on individual human nature. These are grown because the adult will and its ideals are imposed upon the child. We inhibit the higher forms of love and service by making permanent and quite unnaturally strong in children the more primitive forms of defensive and possessive love.

A NOTE ON THE UNCONSCIOUS MIND AND OUR IDEAS OF GOD

A DOG and a rabbit are running down a field. Both apparently are doing the same thing, running and using their capacity to the full. Really there is a great difference between them. Their motives are different. One is happy, the other unhappy. The dog is happy because he is trying to do something with the hope of achieving it. The rabbit is unhappy because he is afraid. A few minutes later the position is reversed; the rabbit has reached his burrow and is inside panting, whilst the dog is sitting outside panting. The rabbit is now happy because it is safe, and therefore no longer afraid. The dog is unhappy because his hope has not been realized.

Here we have the two kinds of happiness of which each one of us is capable—happiness based on the escape from danger, and happiness based on the fulfilment of a hope, which is the only true happiness. The antagonism of these two pleasure systems, which we all have, is the basis of most nervous disorders.

Let us now alter the example. Whilst the two animals are running, the moralist or schoolmaster comes up and says "This is not right," shouting and waving his stick—with the result that he stops the dog's activity and speeds up the rabbit's. Now this is exactly what happens when the moralist

interferes with the child's activities; he puts the brake on the "dog" and speeds up the "rabbit." In other words, he lessens the capacity for happiness based on hope and increases the capacity for happiness based on fear. The problem of education is to avoid developing the "rabbit" in the child and to allow the "dog" free development. Therefore we must get rid of education based on fear.

Of these two kinds of happiness one is creative happiness, the other is possessive happiness. The creative side is essential to human happiness. Happiness is not obtainable in terms of possession, for it rests on striving for something. Happiness based on possession only is bound to be far short of our true capacity for happiness.

A child cannot be happy in the use of its mental equipment if this has been wrongly acquired, through fear, that is, of punishment. For fear will turn pleasure to pain. The greatest fear is the fear of death, and people may be divided into two classes in this connection, those who fear to die (the rabbit) and those who wish to live (the dog). The behaviour of the two will be exactly opposite. The first will be content with the possession of security; the second will not be content, but will demand the happiness of doing or creating. This is really the difference between the Old Testament and the New. The Old is always forbidding and threatening punishment,¹ whereas the New preaches the gospel of

¹ Fear has two functions, and used in the creative sense is the source of all happiness. This is only another way of putting the contrast between the fear of death and the wish to live. The two kinds of "fear" may be illustrated from the attitude of a

Love and Liberty, and urges always towards the achieving of higher and higher things. If the child has the conception of a God who judges and punishes, and if he is constantly being told that he is naughty, his creative impulse will be tied up ; he will play for " safety." The idea of hell or punishment destroys happiness, for it creates a desire for more satisfaction from the sense of security than any sense of security, present or future, can ever give. Most people deny that they worry about eternal punishment, but analysis of the unconscious mind always shows that they do. It affects their whole capacity for expression. But a recent analysis of a Japanese has shown a complete lack of this fear of hell. The Japanese religion is one of ancestor-worship, so that the idea of God is behind the man and not before him.

Because of our own misconception, the idea of sex is almost always first associated for children with sin ; in dealing with them, we give them the idea that sin and sex are closely connected. If we have already connected for them the idea of sin with death, they will then connect sex also with ideas of death, and so go on to the enjoyment of unhappiness. For they will connect unhappiness with goodness, and their own repression of natural impulse and curiosity

man driving a light car towards a motor-bus. He may feel fear of being run over, and be unhappy ; or happiness in dodging skilfully, and enjoy the problems of thick traffic. If, again, one is " afraid " of arithmetic, in one sense, then one can never master it ; but if it is a creative fear, or, in other words, a fear that though we shall want, as we know, to be able to use arithmetic, yet we do not so far know enough of it to do so properly and to our satisfaction, then we shall behave well towards it and learn it.

with the approval of God. Thus arises a morbid anxiety, due to a wrong conception of God ; there is nothing which may be done, for fear that it may be disapproved ; and in the end the child may give itself all sorts of neurotic and physical disorders, to prevent the possibility of happiness now, and to secure, together with the Divine approval, a certainty of happiness hereafter. We have to go back to the beginning of the child's life to see how it becomes possible for a person to enjoy unhappiness, and one of the chief tasks in real education (which begins at the age of ten minutes) is to prevent this possibility. It will be prevented for any child who is allowed, as the instinctive desires unfold from the unconscious, to "grow up" and not be "brought up." Morality is spontaneous.

Of the two capacities for happiness, the creative involves an element of danger, surprise or uncertainty, as shown, for example, at a later age in athletic contests and games, or in mountaineering, exploration or hunting. The spirit of adventure—which is the hope of the race—can be stirred only by uncertainty. The parent who checks the creative instinct in a child may lead him to seek (as compensation) an excess of this element of danger, perhaps in schoolroom pranks involving the risk of detection. This excess may lead, in adult life, to the exclusion of all other interests by the adoption of some neurotic or even criminal state.

The capacity for both sorts of happiness lies in the unconscious mind. Both the rabbit and the dog are there at the beginning. All possibilities for

development lie in the unconscious, so that education is a problem of direction, not of correction or suppression. When anything interrupts the harmonious unfolding of our dual capacity for pleasure, its natural evolution, then there will be an exaggerated development of one capacity or the other; either some extreme selfishness, as a form of thoroughly secure self-preservation, or else an insistence on danger in order to get a special pleasure in creating. This second type may make a good footballer but a bad clerk—unless he can introduce the element of danger in some way, or wear a red tie, or quarrel with his employers. Real "education" will secure harmony between the two systems by their proper development in childhood.

A certain amount of possessive happiness is necessary to the maintenance of life. Nature, left to herself, divides the two spheres of happiness very cunningly, but with our distorted ideas of education, we overdevelop one or the other, usually the possessive. The result of the child's finding its own substitute pleasure at the time of weaning is that it acts in a way repugnant to mother, as by rubbing or by thumb-sucking; the mother associates the action with sin, or fears that it will lead to some sin, and probably smacks the child's hands and perhaps fastens them down in some way, so that the practice is checked; at the same time she introduces the idea of sin and of God, which is thus connected in the child's mind with sex. This has a far-reaching result in later life, causing various degrees of inhibition, up to impotence. It is really only the analyst who has

dealt with cases of *dementia præcox*, or an analysed person, who can grasp how powerful is this association of sin and sex, and how harmful the result. If the first budding interest in sex is associated with sin and punishment, then unconscious fears will also be associated with it. The way the mother deals with the child determines its future character, whether it will delight in creative activities or be an unhappy and sick person.

Of the two kinds of happiness, the possessive, both in the individual and the race, is the older; it is a part of the instinct of self-preservation, which is older in race-history than the instinct of continuing and preserving the race—the earliest forms of life having been without sex, and multiplying by subdivision of the single cell.¹ In the individual also self-preservation, in the sense of the instinct for security and safe possession, is the older; for in the period before birth (and it is to this condition, to a large extent, that we return in sleep) the child is completely lapped in secure irresponsibility where his wishes are automatically fulfilled; he is, in fact, in the department of possession, completely happy. But at the moment of birth the child is thrust forth into the world, and has to face unpleasant responsibilities. It has now to behave in some way, in order to get what it wants. Henceforth too little attention

¹ Freudian psychology is defective by its one-sided emphasis on the pleasure instincts. By its neglect of the instinct of self-preservation and of the desire for *possessive* happiness and security, it loses focus for dealing with the unconscious *religious* fears, and the desire for security in heaven, which play so large a part in the neurotic adult.

is paid to the creative instinct. Nurse and mother are inclined to concentrate on seeing that baby has a full "tummy," but forget that he must exercise his creative activities.

The child who is forced to find substitute pleasures of his own at weaning, and who is then deprived of these also, with sufficient persistence, will in imagination regress still further and wish again for the security of the days before birth. It is clear that to regress in imagination to the womb, and to postpone real life till heaven, are merely two ways of escape from the same responsibility—so similar that to the unconscious mind, which is illogical, they are not distinct; both symbolize the same thing; heaven is merely a spiritual womb. There are two doors of retreat, but both lead to the same place; the only difference is that one door is the early door. The child on his mother's knee, hearing about heaven in connection with an all-powerful God, who dislikes substitute pleasures and naughty children, develops an anxiety about the future; having, however, no anxiety about the morrow (since his food and his other needs of the immediate future are secure), he will base his anxieties for the future wholly on his mother's instructions about the nature of God and about God's method of coaxing people into heaven. The child will thus have no religion worth the name, but religion to him will be a question of paying a price to God for a seat in heaven. As he grows up and begins to think for himself about God, there will, of course, be great changes in his logical conception of God, and with these changes he will, in

his conscious mind, grow away from his original fears. But in the unconscious mind the infantile, illogical ideas will be living on in full terror. His adult views will be so different from his earliest teachings that he will refuse to believe that the latter either existed once or now survive. But the intense emotions of anxiety, detached entirely now from his ideas of Deity, are floating unattached, ready to fasten themselves in a most irrational manner to some quite irrelevant issue of his adult life. The explanation of all "anxiety neuroses" lies in this using up in new ways of anxieties once definitely associated with fears about eternity. Every new unhappiness gets linked up with all the old unhappiness. For once generated, these anxieties are permanent, making us quite irrationally miserable over trifles. Every one of us has something of this possessive and precautionary temper in his unconscious make-up; but the idea of complete dependence being unpleasant to the conscious mind, it takes on many symbolic forms, and may show itself in our attitude towards money, or in a desire to ensure privacy, or in placing various material virtues above happiness, in various possessive rather than creative ideas. A good deal, too, of the neurotic anxiety about passing examinations at school and college is due to the way in which these symbolize the final test for admissibility to heaven; the unconscious fears, now detached from any conscious attitude to the latter, are ready to charge and polarize the former, for as long as an examination is our problem. Very commonly, too, the old anxiety habit may be used up in

worrying about the immediate future, to-morrow ; and this is why so many people look forward to the next day only as a problem or risk, and at the end of it look back and find their only happiness in the fact that they have escaped the troubles which they feared might happen. Or, if the anxiety is too intense to be bearable by the unconscious mind, compensation is often found in fantasies of success and greatness. The individual will then look forward, hoping impossible things, and afterwards look back unhappily because he has been unable to achieve any of them. The only way to get rid of these attitudes is by a process of emotional re-education. Certainly the psycho-analysis of the textbooks hardly touches their real cause, which is religious.

We shall continue to produce this type of mind as long as in the nursery we under-value instincts and over-value conscience. The creative impulse gives the true happiness ; but we disallow it by teaching children that man is bad by nature and can be made good only by an effort of will. This gives them the choice between a painful life in hell and a dull one in heaven ("Heaven," as the proverb says, "for climate ; hell for company"), and no one who has suffered this choice in infancy can have any other attitude to heaven than that of a rabbit to his hole. In religion, as we know it, it is the possessive element which is far the strongest. What we have to achieve is a synthesis of the good company and the good climate.

A NOTE ON THE "SYNTHESIS" OF THE INSTINCTS

ACCORDING to the "orthodox" psychologists there are many more or less separate instinctive forces which operate in more or less separate compartments. There are instincts, for instance, producing separate desires for food, for social companionship, for sex pleasure. But the theory advanced above is that all the instinctive desires are only forms, differentiated and specialized at particular periods, of a single force, life—the force which causes an infant to suck, and later to inquire about its origins and birth, being the same force as that which after adolescence brings desire for the life and companionship of sex. Any instinctive development which, at the proper time, the child is not both permitted and encouraged to approve, use and develop, will last on in its infantile form, and, being therefore repressed by the child, will thus pass out of conscious control; this is what so often happens in the department of sex.

Human nature is innately good; the unconscious processes are in no way immoral. Faults are not corrected by, but brought about by, suppression in childhood. If the child is allowed to express himself at different stages without restriction, he will himself eliminate the unethical, and, as altruism begins to unfold from the unconscious mind at adolescence, will develop into an ethical being. For it is the sup-

pression of the primitive that makes the unethical persist in adult life. The freer a child is, the more it will be considerate and social, the more its chief interests will be progressive and the more its fundamental instinct, always to find new difficulties to conquer, will have valuable social outlets. It is the attempt to "create" a conscience in children which leads in the adult to unconscious conflict and to neurotic inefficiency. A "conscience" cannot be imposed. We can only impose our prejudices, never our faith. If in dealing with children we allow them to express their unconscious tendencies without imposing any idea of right or wrong, they will purify themselves. No one will express himself twice in a way that will hurt him if he is and has been free to experiment.

For the adult who is properly "synthesized," there is no overcoming of unconscious resistances, no nervous strain, no wasted energy. By the "synthesis," each of the forces which were differentiated in each psychological age, and so became dominant, will have been fused to a unity. When this integration is complete, each constituent factor will have passed out of its originally limited and particular aim, and will have become a fluid element in the whole energy of adult life, and the whole of this energy will without strain be available for the needs of the moment. The spearhead of full interest and power can thus be turned on life's problems as they arise, and the notes of the fully adult life will be ideal adaptability and completeness. Thus, for example, where the synthesis is satisfactory, sexual

abstinence is not only practicable but need bring no unhappiness ; for no part of the energy will be tied inevitably to any single or particular aim, whether this aim be professional, or sexual, or social, or recreative, or as it may be. The energy given to professional work, to social service, to recreation, or to any other purpose, will thus carry with it no transmuted element of sex ; the whole of life's energy will be available, without borrowing or transfer or change of quality (for it will *have* no specific quality), for any department of human endeavour. On the other hand, the adult life which is not thus synthesized can maintain its efficiency only by an elaborate balance, and any upset in this nice system leads to nervous breakdown ; nor is a full efficiency ever possible, for the complex adjustments perpetually required are only possible by the constant overcoming of unconscious conflict and resistance. For energy, which *is* still differentiated and specialized, is being called across into foreign employment.

A NOTE ON TOYS AND PLAY

IN the case of a child who has already met with faulty treatment at the hands of parents, which has set up repressions and their inevitable consequences, the cure lies (up to the age of about seven) in providing some absorbing interest of a creative kind. As water is the primitive plaything (it was the medium in which our primitive ancestors lived, and which flowed through them as it does through jelly-fish), playing with water is likely to prove absorbing.

It is not enough merely to let the child splash about in water. We must let him realize how water can be linked up with other interests. It is, therefore, an excellent thing to rig up a small water-wheel which the child can work himself, and from which something can be driven. If possible, he should be led to assist in making the wheel and its attachments, or to think that he is assisting. The more simple and crude they are the better; from the wheel, threads can be run round empty reels, through which pencils have been pushed to act as a hub. The pencils can rest on the top of, and between, books. If it is impossible to use water, sand can be used instead. Sand flows like water, and is, for that purpose, much the same thing.

Another way in which water can be made a plaything is by mixing it with clay. The child should be encouraged to mess about with clay, mixing water

with it and rubbing it through his fingers and modelling it. A good device is a small potter's wheel of child's size. At first he will get great pleasure merely by making lines on a lump of clay. Later he can be led to model cups or bowls, which can be cut off at the right height by stretching a piece of string across as the wheel revolves. If the models are left by the fire all night, they will be hard in the morning, and can be painted by the child in water-colours. The child should be left to mix his own clay. It is valuable for him to judge how much water to give in order to bring the clay to the right consistency.

Clay or plasticine is particularly useful when the child shows intense interest in excrement ; and when, owing to repression of the interest, or unwise treatment in regard to sanitary habits, he suffers from nervousness, and so has acquired the habit of wetting the bed. He must not be told or allowed to feel that he has done something dirty or naughty, nor must he by a violent whipping be taught to repress the habit, because that will result in serious nervous trouble at seven or fourteen. The clay and plasticine are a substitute for what he is interested in, and playing with them sets free the energy which otherwise would remain unsatisfied. The great point about clay is that the child can mix it with water ; and the great advantage of plasticine is the odour and colour. Therefore both should be tried.

Anything by which the child can be led to feel that he is controlling his surroundings by physical skill and power is good. The toys given him must

therefore present an element of difficulty, in order to give him the feeling of control.

A "kiddy kar," which he can propel and steer for himself, is an excellent toy. So is a hoop, when he is big enough to manage it without too much difficulty. So is an engine large enough to require an effort to pull, in which he can cart things and which he can hammer.

It is also well to get him to run pulleys (reels will do) off an improvised winch (a nail in the side of a reel), or even without a winch, the child pulling the string direct. Interconnected pulleys can be worked all over the room, up near the ceiling and from the floor. Meccano sets contain useful parts which can be worked into schemes of this kind, though the fitting of the pieces together is too minute a task for children below seven. It is not a bad idea to give children even as young as three and a half a small electric motor from which they can themselves run pulleys or mechanical toys which they have had a hand in making.

It is a mistake to take children out for long walks. They have nothing to do except look at a succession of new things; thus they develop the intellect, and so the fantasy power, unduly. If the nursery is properly aired, it will be as healthy as out of doors; half an hour in the open air to enable the child to jump about is adequate, and if there is no garden for it to play in, a half-hour walk is sufficient. The time thus saved should be spent in the creative games referred to above. The result of absorbing creative play is that the child goes to bed full of plans for

the next day's enterprise and full of the feeling of satisfaction. This will prevent his turning over memories of what he has seen during the day, or building up fantasies which may be of a terrifying kind.

If there are no counter-influences at work, about three weeks of this treatment should cure a child of wetting himself, sucking his thumb, sucking in wind, rubbing himself, or following any other of the regressive pleasures to which he may have been driven back. Such counter-influences will be prohibitions, advice, rebukes and all things of the kind. It must always be remembered that, although a small child can connect cause and effect, he cannot grasp abstract reasoning or any sort of moral argument, and it is therefore useless to explain to a child under seven why he must do or not do a particular thing. If he asks why he is prevented from doing anything, the best answer is, "Because I like it so." He can understand acting according to one's likes, because it is what he wants to do himself. There are three ways of dealing with the child who drives nails into the piano. One is to take the hammer and nails away, quite simply, and to tell him that he mustn't do it; this won't stop him from wanting to do it, but on the other hand you will have done him no serious harm. This last you will do if you confiscate the implements angrily, punish the boy, and read him a moral lecture; this will both make him immoral and spoil a good carpenter. The curative method is to give him wood, hammer and nails to practise with, i.e. to substitute a pleasure legitimate both in your

eyes and his for the one which was legitimate only in his. You will make of him both a carpenter and a good friend, and before long he will know a good piece of wood like your piano when he sees one.

In the age of imagination, realistic toys, by their very realism, fail to catch the child's interest. When he is provided with a mechanical locomotive, with its train of cars and track, he adapts it to his own idea of full usefulness. After enjoying it for a short time in the manner intended, he ties a string to it and runs, drawing it after him. It pleases him better this way, particularly when it bumps and rattles over the edge of a rug, or crashes against the furniture. He gets fullest enjoyment when he has taken the battered toy into the garden and drawn it up and down the path. The destruction of the toy is not his aim. It is merely incidental, and causes him but little regret. Indeed, the wreckage often represents far greater value to him than the new toy, for it furnishes him with seen evidence of his power. He does not ruin his toys because he wishes to destroy their value; they are damaged by his perfectly innocent ways of adapting them to the demands of his nature.

A small friend of mine was supplied with a steam engine, which operated several machines. It was an ingenious toy, greatly admired by the older boys and adults. There was usually a good-sized audience to watch it. It was perfect in its mechanism. The various machines were, in the terms of engineering, direct-connected. Gears and cogs eliminated all possibility of trouble from belts and pulleys. The lighting of a spirit-lamp under the steam boiler was

all the human aid required to set the whole in motion. The boy for whose amusement the toy was intended, after a day or two needed considerable coaxing before he would operate it ; he seemed to have lost interest. He was thought abnormal, even by those adults who should have known him better ; he finally neglected the toy altogether, much to their disgust. Feeling that he must be re-established in their esteem, I helped him to reconstruct the toy on scientific principles. We disconnected the direct connections, substituting crude pulleys, bits of string, and improvised shafting for the transmission of the power to the various machines. We were both of us severely criticized by the grown-ups for doing this, especially when, the power being applied, the belts slipped off and the machines became erratic and unreliable. There were many breakdowns, requiring the constant attention of a skilled engineer. The wonderful efficiency of the plant was greatly impaired, but the child now abandoned all other forms of recreation and made the operation of the troublesome machines his purpose in life. Having perfected the transmission, so that the power-plant was again working efficiently, the child once more lost interest in it. We then changed our source of power. Removing the steam boiler and engine, we substituted a miniature electric motor, generating the current by a crude battery of home-made construction. This consisted of an old fruit-jar, the top cut off by the well-known method of tying a string saturated with inflammable spirit round the place to be cut, lighting the string, and then, when the glass is sufficiently heated, plung-

ing the jar in cold water, the contraction of the glass making a clean and straight cut. Then a flower-pot was found which fitted ; this answered for the porous cell. The various chemicals were mixed. The metals were improvised from scraps found in the dust-bin. When all was finished, a task occupying several days, and the power applied, the boy was delighted. He needed a small wheel to effect some improvement in the mechanism, and with a hammer completely wrecked an expensive toy motor-car to obtain it. The crude, ugly, inefficient, noisy, erratic result of his labour became the pride of his life, and he cherished it tenderly and jealously. It remained the chosen object of his affections until he began the construction of a waterwheel and found greater opportunity in the new and more difficult work for the application of his genius.

All through the period of childhood these characteristics operate. The child of four races up and down drawing a battered tin-can by a piece of string, sensing his power by the noise. The noisy and crude and more or less nerve-shattering amusements of childhood are essential to future success. One feels confident that the great organizers in this disorganized world of ours must have had a free childhood, must have lived in a home in which adult nerves were not easily disturbed. Constant interference with the child and with his sometimes annoying activities does not in any way destroy the energy which offends us ; it merely diverts it into other channels.

A NOTE ON PUNISHMENTS

THERE are three classes of punishments :—

1. Natural and immediate, such as being burned by careless or ignorant use of fire.
2. Natural but remote, such as the pain involved in digesting an unripe apple.
3. Arbitrary and artificial punishment, inflicted by authority.

The first of these is highly educational and beneficial, and seldom needs to be repeated. Because no person inflicted the pain, there is no resentment. The child does not hate the fire because it burned him ; he respects it. The second class of punishment, "the natural but remote," is less direct in action and is not a deterrent till the intelligence of the child is developed enough to associate the pain with the act. This involves instruction by the parent, but until the experiment has been repeated several times, with invariable results, the taste of the apple may make the act of eating it a success, not a failure. The pain is impersonal, as in the case of the fire, and there is no resentment towards the apple. The nature and geography of the pain will eventually bring about understanding ; the principles of success and failure are still operative, although slower in development ; but, in this case, explanation from the parent has been necessary, and for this to

be accepted readily the parent must not, by anything which has gone before, have incurred distrust as a false guide. The third type of penalty is much more complicated. It is probable that those parents who adopt corporal punishment unconsciously follow Nature's precedent in the infliction of physical pain, not realizing that the remoteness of the act to the pain frequently prevents any relationship for the child between the two. And here is the great danger, for the child, realizing the arbitrary nature of the punishment, and not realizing the wrong in what he did, may harbour resentment against the parent and repeat the act for the express purpose of indulging his resentment. And this is what happens repeatedly in the case of children who are given corporal punishment. Deceit and dishonesty in children are both developed and made habitual by this system. To make matters worse, parents, in the attempt to usurp the prerogative of Nature and convince the child of the impersonality of their act, will solemnly assure their offspring, slipper in hand, that they are hurt more than the child. I wonder how many children under such circumstances have wept and squirmed in the parental grasp because of their sympathy with the parent and his suffering. I know a mother who carried this idea into actual practice. Whenever her child committed a punishable offence she obliged him to punish her with a cane. She abandoned this method when one day she had to cane him because he refused to cane her. I might offer a suggestion to those parents who are wedded to this method of correction. Make a chart of those parts which are

available for punishment and a corresponding chart of punishable offences, and by systematic study with the child of these charts, identify each offence with a particular portion of the anatomy. The chances of establishing a relationship between the offence and the punishment would be greatly increased.

What I have said of corporal punishment applies also to any of the usual forms of penalty. Sending the child to bed, depriving him of meals, or of any part of his meal, placing him in a conspicuous place of humiliation, and all the other non-related penalties are dangerous to the relationship between child and parent.

I believe that if the child violates any natural law, of the sort that brings immediate consequences he should not be interfered with, except in such cases as will involve danger to life, limb or health. The environment of a child over five years of age should be so arranged that he cannot perform any fatal experiments. He should not have a chance to experiment with matches and gunpowder until his education will save him from the penalties of ignorance. Fire-arms, keen-edged tools, poisons, are not yet necessary appliances in his education. He should know all the properties of fire ; if he does not, instruct him. Supervise his experiments with it until he knows what to avoid. We can never prevent, except temporarily, his ultimate investigation. If he does not give evidence of caution near an open window, high up from the ground, teach him caution in any improvised gymnasium. Remove all opportunities for serious injury from his path until he learns

the particular danger involved. The same principle will apply to the second type of errors, the violation of natural laws that have a remote penalty. In the third and more complicated type of errors, viz. errors in connection with property, errors in connection with persons (striking, etc.), social errors (impoliteness, disrespect, lack of consideration, selfishness), let the nature of the wrong deed be realized by the child, so far as possible, in the penalty. For example, if he drives nails in the piano, let him be aware of the grief of the owner. Do not scold or punish him, for he may, in his resentment, get a secret satisfaction in the sight of the damage. Be very careful in treating him for theft, because, not being conscious of values, and not being an owner of property, he does not know the social reasons for not stealing. If he is careless with the inkpot, treat the matter naturally, and if relationships are normal he will attempt to remove the stains, feeling a genuine regret for the error, with wholesome results in future.

Errors against persons are quite common. If he strikes a younger and helpless child, a not too ostentatious sympathy with the child struck will usually bring him to regret his act. The child who commits social errors should be treated much in the same way as the adult treats those who are uncongenial. The social consciousness of the child should be quite sufficiently developed at five, if the atmosphere of his home is normal and he is an intimate friend of the other members of the family, to enable him to appreciate the disadvantage of being uncongenial, if he is made to feel the "cold shoulder." If he

pounds on the piano to the discomfort of the others, let him know that the noise is unpleasant, and if he persists, let those who are annoyed withdraw to another room. Do not send him out of the room, for then he has a grievance. If he is impolite or rude, search among the older members of the family for the example which he is following, or among the servants ; cure the example and then temporarily treat the child as an uncongenial person. A child will seldom be disrespectful to those who are entitled to his respect, unless he hears others speak of them disrespectfully.

Under all conditions avoid adverse criticism of the child's efforts and activities, except for the express purpose of backing up his own sense of failure, when he has himself disapproved of what he has done or attempted to do. Comment more freely and more frequently on his good qualities than on his bad ones, else he will develop into the defensive type of child, weak in the positive, constructive activities.

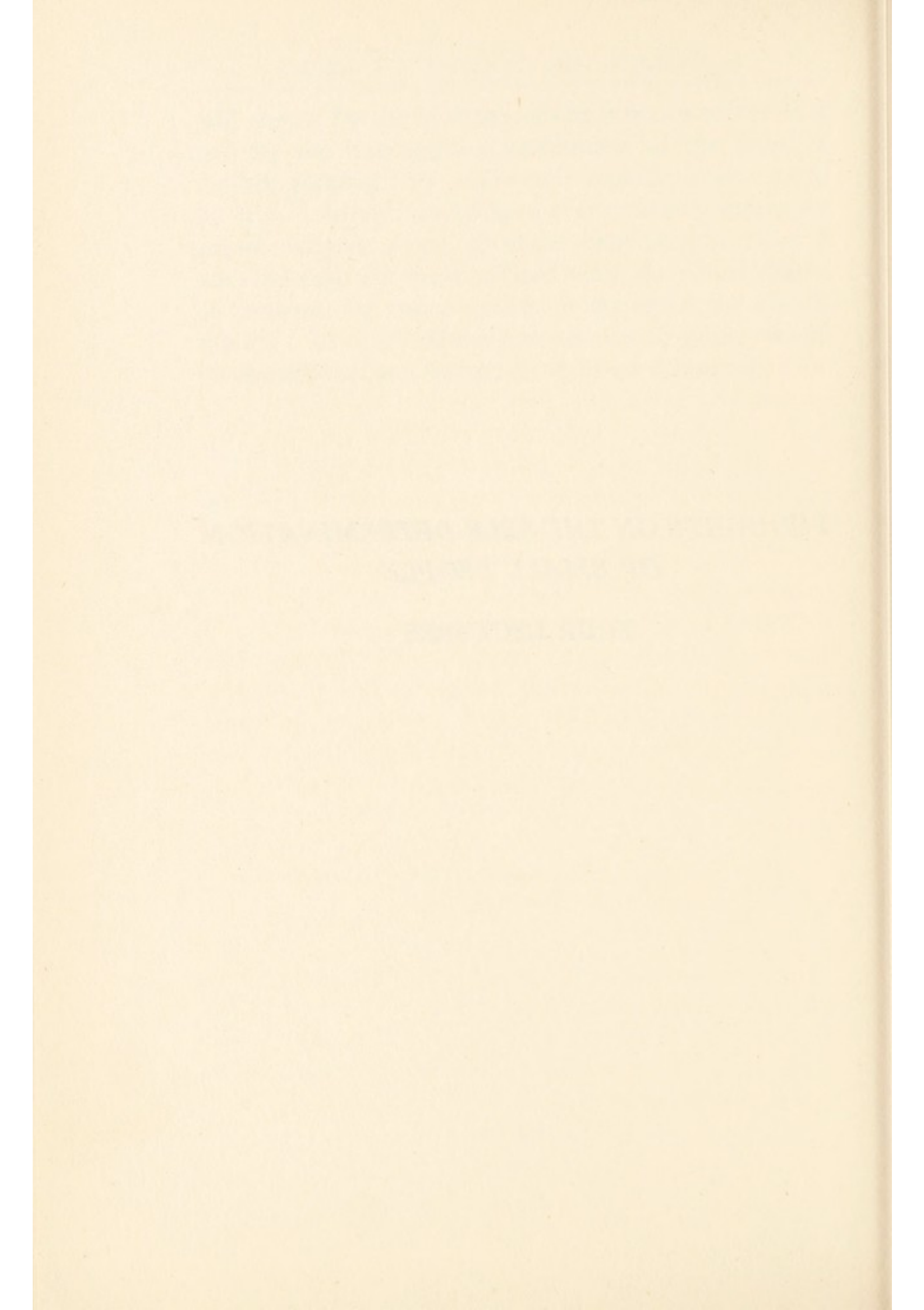
The injurious effects of adverse criticism may be illustrated from the ergograph. The ergograph is an instrument which discloses the peculiarities of will-power by employing the element of muscular fatigue. A moderate weight is attached to the middle finger by means of three pulleys and a cord ; the pull is horizontal. The hand is strapped to the arm of a chair, so that only the finger to which the weight is attached can be moved. A pen is attached to the cord in such a manner as to make lines across a paper fastened to a slowly revolving cylinder, as the finger is moved regularly to and fro. The lines so made

record the peculiarities of the person tested, in the matter of his ability to withstand fatigue. As fatigue gradually sets in, through the regular lifting and lowering of the weight, the lines on the record become shorter and shorter, until temporary paralysis prevents all motion. In the test here described, the person so tested is blindfolded, so that he does not know the results of his effort. Sometimes, long after all power is gone through fatigue, the patient will continue his effort, ignorant of the fact that there is no power to move the weight. There are many interesting things concerning will to be learned from this machine. When, midway in the effort, before fatigue is acute and before the lines on the record begin to shorten, adverse criticism of the effort is made in a fault-finding tone, there is a resultant loss of power. The lines immediately become shorter and fatigue sets in prematurely. Frequently effort stops entirely. In nearly every case, particularly with children, there is never any recovery of full power after criticism, unless another remark of commendation is made, and even so the total effort will be below normal. In other cases a child may be conscious of fatigue, and the lines begin to shorten, when by sheer will, without any comment from another, the lost power is recovered and maintained for some time. In every case that has come under my personal observation, after the adverse criticism and the consequent loss of power, an encouraging remark will restore some, if not all, of the power. In the majority of cases, after paralysis has set in and no power is left, but the will to lift the weight is

still shown by the working of the muscles of the face and by the unconscious movements of the body, a further comment in praise will actually create more power. I would like to have every teacher and every parent witness some of these experiments. For I am sure that if it were realized what the actual effects of fault-finding and punishment are upon the child's capacity for work, these anæsthetics to effort would be abandoned, and encouragement used instead.

*THOUGHTS ON THE SELF-DETERMINATION
OF SMALL PEOPLE*

FOUR LECTURES



I

SELF-GOVERNMENT OR PUNISHMENT ?

IT seems to be the working assumption of society that man is composed of good and bad in fairly equal proportions, that the bad can be eradicated by a carefully arranged system of punishments and compulsion, and that the good may be encouraged by favour and rewards ; the main idea underlying this assumption being the wish to show as clearly as possible that goodness pays and that badness does not.

My whole experience at the Little Commonwealth and elsewhere has tended to convince me that the idea and the assumption are both wrong ; that punishment induces crime and cowardice ; and that the truest symbol of any virtue imposed by authority is Christ's symbol of the whited sepulchre. I consider that Shelley stated truth when he wrote :—

The man
Of virtuous soul commands not nor obeys.
Power like a desolating pestilence
Pollutes whate'er it touches : and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame
A mechanized automaton.

The latest discoveries in psychology help us to appreciate what he meant.

The war has brought up for reconsideration the whole question whether goodness can be enforced—indeed, the whole question as to what is meant by goodness. And this not only as regards the morality of nations, but also and more acutely as regards the education of children. We are all agreed to detest the bully when seen in other nations or in other families, but the bully that lurks in our midst and in ourselves is apt to escape notice. It is this aspect to which I would like to draw attention.

Recent research into the depth of the mind has disclosed certain obscure mental processes which confirm the old opinion that “the child is father to the man,” and prove that nursery experiences and impressions form a far larger part of the permanent mental life of the adult than is generally recognized. Most nervous affections, such as stuttering or twitching, most fears and inhibitions, which are more prevalent than many honest citizens like to own, can be traced back to the action of authority on the mental life of the child.

The child-mind is not a clean slate upon which the parent and the teacher may make whatever impression they like. The energy of mind is dynamic; it cannot be stopped off. The motive-power is already there, and the teacher can control it only to a limited extent. It is the lack of knowledge of the child-mind, and the consequent absence of technique, that leads parents and teachers to resort to punishment as a means of curbing undesirable activities in children.

At birth, mental life is wholly instinctive or “unconscious,” and also amoral. The mind is occupied in

directing the functions of the body and providing for its physical needs. Gradually things in the environment make impressions on the mind and cause a modification of behaviour. Self-consciousness comes, and with it the need for self-direction or will. The dynamics of mind may now be seen in two forms. The instinctive energy continues its work without conscious direction, and, in addition to this, curiosity is developed. Curiosity is that part of mind which concerns the educator, for it is a craving to know. Now curiosity is dynamic ; it must be studied, therefore, as a driving-power, in order to learn to what extent it is self-controlled. Disciplined curiosity is interest. The question is : What constitutes the discipline ?

For some time the child must be " governed " by what is outside his own mind. He will gradually become " educated " or self-governing, as he acquires knowledge of facts and of their relation to each other. His amoral energy will become moral or immoral according to the truth or falsity of the conclusions he draws as he experiments upon his environment ; and it must be borne in mind that he is always experimenting, because he is constantly impelled by this driving-power of " curiosity " to find things out. Every act, conscious or unconscious, is the manifestation of some desire of the child-mind for knowledge.

The desires of children which govern behaviour may be divided into three general groups—allied but distinct. These may be illustrated by three typical examples as follows :—

1. The desire for food.
2. The desire to touch fire.
3. The desire to use tobacco.

The first is innate. There is an appetite for food, recurrent throughout life, the stimulus being internal and physical.

The second is spiritual and the stimulus is psychic, curiosity.

The third is imposed. There is no innate craving for tobacco, nor is there more than a little curiosity. The desire is imitative and unnatural, and therefore not "good," since the indulgence of the desire will not supply a spiritual or bodily need.

The educator's responsibility in relation to these three desires inevitably involves the choice of either self-government or punishment. The relationship of the desires to each other is much closer than is generally recognized. Let us examine the infant's desire to touch fire ; what arises will be seen capable of a very wide application.

The infant is pleased by the fire. Its warmth is grateful to the body ; the flames are pretty and lively. He has hitherto been encouraged to touch things, and has enjoyed controlling them with his hands. He wants to touch the flames, to handle them and put them in his mouth. He wants to control them. He puts out his hand to do so. But flame is of a different nature to other brightly coloured and pleasing objects in his environment. There is a reason why he should not touch flame, but he does not yet know the reason. Now the

educator has responsibility for guiding childish curiosity to the truth about fire. If the principle of self-government be adopted by the mother, the child will learn the truth, and will henceforth be self-governed in his relations to fire. He does not understand the spoken words "not" or "burn," nor can the mother convey to him by sign-language that he will suffer pain if he touches it. He must experience heat before he knows the truth. It is important that he should know, for he is in danger till he does.

The mother who believes in self-government allows the child to learn the nature of fire, carefully guarding him from serious danger, and helping him, so that he shall not suffer excessive pain. Let the child be near the fire, and when a hot coal falls out gently move his hand towards it, till the heat becomes unpleasant and gives a burning sensation. Now he is educated, having learned that fire burns when touched. He will never want to touch the fire again; he is self-governing now in this matter; he has no fear, but an intelligent caution. This is knowledge. And a little link of confidence has been forged between the mother and the child. The mother who believes in punishment withholds the child's hand from the fire. The curiosity or desire of the child is suppressed. This does not destroy the energy behind the desire, for desire is dynamic, and will either express itself by substitution in some other form or else will go on piling itself up at the same point until it becomes an obsession. This repeatedly thwarted desire also causes a "constellation." Mother and fire

become associated as things in the environment, and as the desire for the fire increases, the mother who interferes with the desire becomes an always more annoying fact in the child's environment; and this annoying fact cannot be separated from him, any more than his arm or his leg.

The now accumulated desire or "interest" in fire compels the punishing mother to create a fear of fire in the child which will outweigh the desire. She probably spans him. After many lessons he represses his desire to touch fire, through fear not of fire but of pain in the part of his anatomy supplied by nature to enable punishing mothers to make their children good. One day, however, sooner or later, he finds fire in his environment when the mother is not present. He now learns the truth, but, if he survives, he has a terror of fire which may affect his dreams, and cause fears when his mother is not with him at night. In addition to this he will still fear his mother, and the punishments at her hands will have separated him from her. The seeds of mistrust have been sown in his mind, for by keeping him from the facts she has deceived him; she has virtually told him "Fire is not hot," and he begins to suspect her opinions as being untrue. This suspicion may in later life prove disastrous.

An illustration of the effect of punishment on this desire for fire came my way. My advice was asked about the treatment of a girl of seven whose craving had become obsessional. Authority in her case was organized with all the thoroughness which is at the command of wealthy parents; yet nothing could

prevent Elsie from gratifying her taste for fire. Matches could not be kept from her. Punishments of every kind were devised and applied, but they only excited the child's craving and sharpened her wits to gratify it. She was in serious danger of being burned to death, and indeed the whole household and its property were in danger.

Briefly stated (I will not attempt to go into the minute analysis that was necessary for this particular child's mind), my suggestion was that her fire-play should be recognized and encouraged. Let her have a special dress made (and let her help to make it) of non-inflammable stuff, and let her be given a dozen or so boxes of matches to play with in addition to some of her other toys. The dress was made; the mother left the little girl in the nursery and gave her the matches, telling her that she could play with them alone all the afternoon. This dissolved the constellation; the interest in fire became normal and the little girl, after lighting two matches, turned to her other toys. I have given only the outlines of the story; the full psychology of the child's release would fill a small volume. I mention this as the parent, without proper knowledge, is likely to make fewer mistakes by following the beaten track than by suddenly, in ignorance of psychology, "letting the child do as it likes."

Another case is of a boy of six, with whom I dealt. The mother of the child was suffering from nervous depression, and her chief fear was of the boy's desire to play with fire. The nurses were ordered never to leave the child with a fire in the room, but the

mother's fear was obsessional, and she never felt safe unless the child was in her own presence. The best way of dealing with the mother seemed to be by curing the child's wish to play with fire. The difficulty was the intense accumulation of desire, owing to the severe inhibition which had been imposed on the child. I sat on the hearth with the boy and played with him. Presently a red-hot coal fell out, and the child made an immediate grab at it. I got my own hand there first and touched the coal, raising a small blister, and crying out in simulation of pain. The boy watched, interested, and seeing the result that touching the coal had on myself, he approached it more cautiously, touched it, and in turn got a blister and cried with pain. This one experience taught him more than six years of inhibitions had done. Of course, in the introduction of a young baby to fire, it would not be necessary to go the whole length of blistering its finger and causing severe pain. It was only because this boy had such accumulated energy of desire that the experience had to be severe.

Let us now look at a child of three who has a stomach-ache ; at tea, three or four hours previously, he had eaten too much cake. The desire for cake is innate. He has an appetite for it. Unlike fire, fruit-cake gives immediate pleasure during the experiment. He did not know the truth about cake with reference to quantity, and is now suffering for his ignorance. It is several hours since tea, so the pain does not educate him and make him cautious. He now needs someone to help him understand that

the cake and the pain are related. If his teacher is in the truthful relation with him, her simple statement of the facts will make him self-governing concerning cake. If, however, the mother is already constellated with pain and humiliation, because she has inflicted punishments, her warning will be in vain. He will eventually, by repetition, learn the truth for himself. Meantime, if the mother hides the cake or punishes him for taking it, the suppression of the desire for cake results in an abnormal yearning for it, and the punishment will create a gluttonous appetite—and not for cake only, or for food only. Hiding the cake will probably breed stealing, for hunger is innate and recurrent. By an unconscious process hunger may come to suggest the excitement of stealing—not of food only but of other things. Kleptomania may result from this unconscious process.

For tobacco there is no appetite. The desire is not innate, as the body does not need it; it must then be psychic, though there is very little if any curiosity involved in it. There is a craving, however, but the craving is in the first instance for freedom and not for tobacco. For years, perhaps, a boy has been punished or suppressed by parents or teachers. He has not been self-governing. His punishments make him yearn to be grown up, because grown-ups are not spanked or sent to bed without supper. He quite realizes that he can only become an adult by process of time; but he can dramatize being grown up. Tobacco becomes for him the symbol of freedom. He chooses smoking (or perhaps swearing) as his dramatic representation of self-government, for the

very reason that these are forbidden as wrong. The boy whose parents or teachers are not associated with pain or defeat will accept from them the plain statement that tobacco injures physical or mental growth in boys. He will be self-governing about tobacco. But in the other case the boy's creative mental energy has been "cornered" by punishments and suppressions into a wrong expression of the universal craving of man for freedom. If by now his teachers have not learned the truth about punishments, he will very likely continue his conflict against power until, with the help of prisons, organized authority succeeds in making him harmless and useless.

I have only scratched the surface of a mighty subject. In my opinion, when authority, in Shelley's sense of power, is recognized for what it is, the only revolution that is of any vital importance will begin to take place, and it will take place in the hearts of men. This will affect not only the attitude of parents and teachers to children, but also the attitude of men and women to each other and to themselves. Then it will be seen that love (the creative impulse) is a deeper and stronger instinct in human nature than fear, upon which the fabric of our society is at present constructed, and that love is indeed, as Shelley declared it, synonymous with life.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF POWER

THE phrase "dynamics of mind" does not convey to everyone the actual complexity of the mental processes involved in behaviour. The popular idea about conduct is that man "thinks out" what he is doing. And so he does—in part; but the greater portion of his behaviour arises from mental sources of which he is not conscious. If a man who is rushing along a railway platform just as a train is leaving the station is asked "What are you doing?" he will reply, perhaps testily, "Why, catching this train, of course." But this is only the immediate purpose of his conscious mind, which is an infinitesimal part of his whole mind; and it would have been far nearer the truth had he answered, "I am perfecting myself and so helping to perfect the universe."

Now, suppose a railway official to seize him for his own good, to save him from possible injury; in all probability he would turn on him and abuse him for an officious nuisance, and, asked what he was doing, might reply, "Telling this blockhead what I think of him for meddling with my affairs." This also would be only a small part of the truth, which, more fully stated, would run: "I am behaving to this kind and efficient public servant precisely as I used, when a child, to behave when my mother

spanked me for sliding down the banister or for tobogganing down the stairs on a tea-tray." And he would explain : " You see, all my conscious thoughts were set upon catching that moving train, which I was deeply interested in overtaking, as I had a very important appointment to keep out of town. But for the moment I forgot even the appointment. My whole conscious mind was bent upon overtaking the train, and I forgot that in the long process of perfecting myself, minor incidents and trivial failures like this do not really matter ; accordingly, when this wise and patient man held me to save me from accident, I was unable to face the reality of the situation, and I seemed thwarted in my life's purpose. That is why I swore at him and threatened to tell his superiors. I hated him. You see, experiences of this kind were so frequent in my childhood that I have formed the habit of regression, which means that whenever anything goes wrong I always become irritable, and blame someone else for my disappointments. My mother used to spank me for doing things that I then thought were good for me, and this treatment suppressed a part of my creative energy of mind, and fixed it in an infantile form, to come into expression now whenever I am annoyed by the difficulties of life."

This little episode illustrates the dynamics of mind at work in the form of regression ; for it must never be forgotten that regression, too, is dynamic. The energy of mind cannot be destroyed ; all that can be done is to alter its direction. Energy had been stored up in infantile forms of conduct, and jumped

out directly the man was interrupted in his progress toward perfection ; for every immediate purpose we have is constellated with the great purpose—perfection ; and also with our past defeated purposes, and this is the cause of regression. Thus all life may be said to be a conflict between these two dynamic forces.

Sure signs of uncontrolled energy are noticeable in the habits and mannerisms of the grown man : in irritability, unhappiness and discontent. This is energy which cannot be utilized by the conscious will, the steersman, and which may be called fixed—fixed, that is to say, upon some purpose which was good at the date of its suppression in childhood, but which is out of date and futile in the conduct of the grown man ; for suppression, it must be remembered, causes the childish wish to persist either in its original form or in the form of some other wish substituted because it is more acceptable.

If, for example, a father whips his child for tearing the pages of a valuable book, it is probable that the child will acquire an unconscious dislike for books. The pain of the punishment not only inhibits the desire to tear out the leaves, but also the acceptance of any facts from books ; and the teacher, who stands *in loco parentis*, as we so often say, becomes in this complicated process a substitute for the parent and so provokes the same unconscious reactions.

There are many ways to avoid this. Books should not be left in the path of the small engine of curiosity, to whom destruction is natural and right. He will tear books so long as the ripping sound represents

power to him. If plenty of old paper be always at his disposal, he will tear it continually for a few days until he no longer gets any fun out of hearing the sound and seeing the pieces ; and as his wish to tear subsides, he is on the way towards self-government with regard to books, and the formation of a dangerous constellation is avoided.

But these unconscious associations will often occur, and teachers are hourly mystified by some phenomenon of behaviour in their pupils. Usually the teacher decides that the pupil is naughty, and resorts to some form of penalty to make him good. Fear, however, has never yet made anyone good, but it sometimes, if developed enough, makes school-children stupid, and often makes them anti-social and delinquent.

The problem of the reformatory school is to resolve these problems which come from the unconscious mind ; for crime is fixed energy left over from an earlier period of childhood. The purpose of the criminal is regression, instead of perfection. Now the cause of every purposeful wrong act can be traced to its source by careful analysis, and I have found that almost all delinquent children will resolve their own difficulties in an atmosphere of freedom and encouragement. Occasionally special help is required and special knowledge.

An instructive case of this kind happened at the Little Commonwealth :¹ that of a big, lively boy of sixteen years whom I will call Jason. He was a native of a north-country city, where he was well

¹ See note, p. 188.

known to the police as an incorrigible vagrant and ne'er-do-well ; he had also obtained some fame as a boy fighter in the prize ring, being known as the " Kid Slugger " among the fancy. Jason was committed to the Little Commonwealth early in its history for burglary, and he did not get on very well, since there was no great demand for his type of ability. His chief peculiarity was a dislike for the amenities of life ; he found it effeminate and soft to wear a tie or to clean his boots. He was unhappy and ran away several times, but each time was " returned " by the authorities. He took no interest in the work of the community, merely doing enough rough heavy labour to meet his expenses. I had tried many times to interest him in carpentry or bricklaying, but he cared only for work in which brute strength was chiefly needed. The citizens called him a " rough 'un," to his evident satisfaction. Little by little he gathered about himself a few boys who admired his pugilistic prowess and his ungainly strength and braggart manner. He finally got so much out of hand that it was proposed to set up a gaol for his benefit, since he took pride in despising the citizens' laws and mild penalties. Here obviously was a case which required more special treatment than the citizens were able to give. From a study of Jason's peculiarities I had seen that beneath the fearless fighter and braggart, whose ideal was brute strength and who gloried in his bad reputation, was concealed a lovable gentleness with little children and an affection for animals. The boy was frankly in conflict with authority. The rough exterior was a

shell, which he wore to cover the gentle nature of which he was ashamed, and which had been imposed on him by the harsh treatment he had experienced as a child. At last an opportunity occurred to release him from some of his unconscious difficulties, and this is what happened.

I was sitting beside him at tea on the day following one of his attempts to run away. He was very surly and unhappy, and did not respond to my efforts to cheer him up.

"What's the matter, Jason?" I asked.

"Huh! Rotten hole this," he replied sulkily.

"What's wrong with it?"

"I dunno. Everything. It's too sissy and soft for me."

"Well, why don't you get out—run away again?"

"No use. I always get caught," he replied hopelessly.

"Why not try something new then?" I asked.

"You've got fellows behind you. Why don't you organize them and get control of the next election of officers, and reorganize things so you will like the Commonwealth?"

Jason glanced suspiciously at me. Was I chipping him?

"I'd just like to run this place, I would," he declared aggressively.

Here was my chance. He had expressed a wish.

"Just what would you do first?" I asked. This I knew would be a poser for him, as regressive unhappiness has its source in the unconscious mind.

Jason flushed with the exertion of trying to find

an answer to my question, and he looked about the room desperately to find some inspiration, while his admiring friends at the table gaped with interest in the conversation. Finally his eyes dropped in confusion and his cup and saucer furnished the inspiration.

"I'd smash up these fussy tea-things," he declared.

"Why?" I asked mildly.

"Oh! they're for women and la-di-da boys. Who wants pretty things like this?" he sneered, holding up his gaily coloured leadless-glaze cup.

"Well, that's easy enough," I declared cheerfully.

"Why not smash them up?"

Jason was angry, feeling cornered.

"D'yer dare me to smash my cup?" he demanded threateningly.

"Certainly," I replied cordially. "I want you to be happy here in the Commonwealth. If smashing dishes will bring that about, go ahead."

"Don't you dare me," he threatened, "or I'll do it."

Taking the poker from the hearth, I laid it on the table.

"It's up to you," said I.

"Go on, Jason, smash it," cried a boy across the table excitedly.

Jason seized the poker and struck the cup, shattering it to pieces. His friends cheered.

"Now that's a sensible thing to do," I said.

"It's no good grouching about things you don't like—always try to improve them by doing something"; and I placed my cup and saucer in front of him.

"Here's another."

Again the poker descended.

"And another."

Crash. But now Jason looked distressed. He had shattered a constellation as well as the dishes.

Murmurs of disapproval were heard from the other citizens, addressed to me.

"You're making him do it," they accused.

"Oh yes," I agreed. "I'm helping Jason improve the Commonwealth, so he will like being here." I pushed a plate toward Jason. "Go ahead, old man ; don't mind those chaps."

Half-heartedly, he again struck the dish, saying weakly : "It ain't the dishes, but you dared me to smash them." His unconscious and irrational desire to smash authority by smashing property was now dissolved. The pile of broken crockery on the table was symbolic of one of the ideals which he had cherished from childhood, and which had made him a nuisance to society.

Jason was in evident distress, having unconsciously learned a great truth, that there is no fun in destroying things if you are allowed to do it. Jason's friends now came to his rescue. They took the poker from him and pulled him away from the table. In spite of my remonstrance they held him protectingly, while they accused me of inciting him to make a fool of himself. "Besides," they said, "the dishes belong to the family. You've no right to dare him to smash them."

This was true. But now, to my dismay, Jason had recovered his nerve. In the midst of his sympathetic friends his communal instincts came to his rescue,

and he now stood triumphant, a hero in his own eyes and in those of his followers. The situation was critical and much more complicated than I had foreseen. I now had a more difficult psychological problem to solve, because a new constellation had appeared in which the group ideal played a very important part. Jason was now a hero—a leader of men by virtue of his reckless daring, and if matters had been left at this point, the result would have been serious.

I accepted the situation. "You're right; I'm sorry about the dishes. I'll replace them," said I, as I rose from the table. "I thought Jason disliked the Commonwealth because of nice dishes."

"It wasn't that, but you dared me," said he. "I always take a dare; I'm no coward."

"Hear, hear!" approved the group.

I realized that this is one of the most dangerous sentiments that society can be affected with, the foundation upon which great conflicts between nations develop.

"I'd like to see that worked out, old man," said I pleasantly. "I had never thought of cowardice in that sense. It's interesting. Here's my watch, Jason. I dare you to smash it." I placed the watch in his hand.

The lad looked at the watch and glanced round at the anxious faces of his friends in indecision. After a moment his expression changed to one of desperation. He raised the watch as if to dash it into the hearth, and glanced at me, hoping that I should at the last moment exercise authority, and so leave

him falsely victorious in the possession of his cherished attitude. The moment's hesitation brought the real Jason to the surface. He lowered his hand and placed the watch on the table. "No, I won't smash your watch," he said, with an attempt at good-natured generosity to cover his embarrassment.

The tensivity of the group relaxed with relief.

"But I dare you," I challenged.

"No, I won't do it," he snapped.

"But you're no coward," I encouraged.

Jason realized that he was in a tight corner. His expression disclosed the conflict that raged within him between his old ideal of braggart boastfulness, imposed upon him long ago by unsympathetic surroundings, and the real nature of boyhood gentleness.

"Come on out of here, Jas," urged one of his friends, taking his arm and leading the distressed boy away.

As they left the room an impressive silence pervaded the group of citizens who had taken part in the scene, broken finally by Bill, the wag, who remarked with finality, "That's done it."

And it had. The next morning Jason presented himself at the office and asked sheepishly if he could have work in the carpenter's shop.

"Why? What's happened, Jason, that you want to learn carpentry?" I asked.

The lad flushed with embarrassment. Then he smiled, and with a humorous twinkle in his eyes he said confidently:—

"Oh, I've just got to earn extra money to pay for them dishes you busted last night."

Jason became the best carpenter in the community and finally was elected Judge of the Citizens' Court, over which he presided with unusual ability. He enlisted in the army when old enough and spent all his leave at the Commonwealth. A valuable member of society was lost when he was killed in France.

I relate this complicated and unusual incident in detail to show how even confirmed anti-social tendencies in children may be released by educational methods. The energy occupied in destructive activities is always capable of being turned into social service. Harsh repressive measures will not do this, although the energy may sometimes by long confinement in a reformatory be subdued by fear. The problem of correction is, however, not one of destroying the energy of mind which is so much needed by society, but of transforming it from vicious behaviour into social service.

III

THE SHAM AUTHORITY AND THE REAL

SOME years ago I sat by the magistrate at a London Children's Court and watched the case of a boy who was being tried for burgling a shop at night. His record was bad. He was fifteen years old and had been two years on probation, during which time his conduct had grown steadily worse until the truant from school had become a burglar. He was known as a troublesome member of society, hardened in wrongdoing and callous to all good influence.

The only sign of emotion Tim showed during the proceedings was when the magistrate, in pronouncing the decision of the court, referred to him as a confirmed young ruffian ; he then raised his eyes from the floor and glared scornfully at the magistrate. Sullen and unmoved, he had listened to the various officers and aggrieved shopkeepers while they narrated his acts of destruction and lawlessness ; sullen and unmoved, he had listened to the tearful testimony from his mother (a little timorous woman) to his bad conduct ; then, with sobs in her voice, she consented to his being sent to a reformatory.

This did not, at first sight, seem promising material out of which to make a good citizen for the Little Commonwealth ; for the commitment having been duly made, the magistrate informed Tim that hence-

forth he would be subject to my authority as the Commonwealth's Superintendent. Tim, Tim's mother and I retired to the ante-room. The mother, poor, care-worn, weeping little woman, seemed numb with misery. The boy stood cold and unsympathetic, stiffening himself against any sign of concern about his mother's grief; but I observed the repressed love for her in his quick furtive glance from her streaming face to mine, the loathed representative of authority—a glance full of hatred, of fear and of antagonism.

My predecessors—the police, the magistrates, the punishing father—had not used the highest authority in their dealings with the lad, for they had depended wholly upon fear in their attempts to force him to right behaviour; but from my study of boy nature I knew that there was an absolutely invincible authority within the lad himself that was available as a means of getting him to the Commonwealth—an authority far stronger than handcuffs or human muscle. The responsibility for transforming Tim into a good citizen had been entrusted to me, and I resolved to begin at once and see that his first contact with the Little Commonwealth should be one of obedience to authority. I determined to aim a shrewd blow at those feelings of defiance and hatred which had been accumulating in his mind for years, in order to teach him who was his master and what obedience is. One can never begin too soon to discipline an unruly, stubborn boy.

“Look here, old man,” said I briskly, “take your mother home and come down to the school to-morrow. There's a train at nine o'clock, and another at one,

from Paddington. Book to Evershot. I've got to meet the one o'clock train. If you come by that, you can drive over from the station with me; if you come by the early train, ask the way. Don't forget the station—Evershot." And I gave him a sovereign for his railway ticket.

Tim's manner was a study during these instructions. At first he was suspicious. As I went on, and he realized that he was not to be "taken away," he looked amazed; when I placed the money in his hand, he looked incredulous. I turned away towards the door immediately, but I saw him look at his mother and I saw her astonished expression. The boy seemed to wilt; his muscles relaxed; he shifted from one foot to the other; he licked his lips and sniffed nervously. As I turned away, freeing him from the authority of force and mistrust and harshness, the true authority took him in charge. My hand on the door, I heard him say in a lovely, tender voice, "Come on, mum!" and saw him put his arm through hers and draw her toward the door. The expression on both their faces showed that many associations in the unconscious mind had that day been dissolved.

When the one o'clock train from Paddington reached Evershot the next day, Tim alighted. As I greeted him he grinned cheerfully, and handed me some small change left after buying his ticket, saying: "The ticket was sixteen and sixpence halfpenny." I counted it and put it in my pocket, the lad watching me the while. "Right-o," was all I said. This little scene about the money was an important part of

Tim's release. Boys do not like to be treated carelessly.

I related this incident to a friend some time later, and he spoke about the great power of "personality" as an influence on children's conduct, so I suspected that he had not seen the point of the story. "Not everyone is able to exert such an influence upon boys," said he, intending his remark to be a compliment. I knew then that he had not been a close observer of children. He was a schoolmaster. He used the word "personality" loosely in the sense of some sort of hypnotic power over the will of another; such a power was, in his opinion, a very desirable quality in the teacher, and saved much trouble. I tried to enlighten him. "Any degree of hypnotism—the subjection of one will to another—is utterly demoralizing to any person except the lunatic, who is already demoralized," said I dogmatically. "The delinquent boy is not a demoralized boy, nor is any child who is sane enough to attend a school. Their behaviour may be bad, terribly bad, but that is a sign that someone has been using 'personality' on them—trying, that is, to subject their will to an authority outside their own minds."

"But you influenced Tim," protested my friend. "You imposed your will upon him."

"Oh no, I did not. I merely released a power that was his own—the power that had defeated the brutal father, the policeman, the probation officer and the magistrate, the identical power. Tim was no more immoral, inside, when he stood glaring at the magistrate with hate and fear in his eyes, than

when he stood grinning with pride on the platform at Evershot, watching me count the change he had brought back. The glare and the smile came from exactly the same place in his wonderfully sensitive little mind. They represent two different kinds of behaviour, but the force behind each is identical. Tim's behaviour was nothing deeper than a mere reflection of what he saw in the two faces in front of him."

"Oh, come now!" said my friend tolerantly.

"All right," said I; "you analyse the incident yourself."

"There's no analysis needed," replied this custodian of children's souls. "Tim was just an ordinary product of the city slums. His father was a brutal drunkard; his mother a weak, whimpering woman too small to handle her big boy. He got out of hand, that's all, and went from bad to worse, as all children do who have not a firm hand to direct them. That's why we provide reformatories for such boys, and prisons for older criminals—to place them under restraint, after everything else has failed to make them decent members of society. It wasn't the lad's fault in the first place, and it's quite right that he should be treated kindly. Perhaps some day you will be able to put him out to work with a good God-fearing farmer and he will come out all right. Discipline is what he needs."

"But you haven't yet analysed the court incident," I challenged. "Why did this criminal, as you call him, go to the reformatory of his own accord?"

"Oh well, that was your personality. You got

him, somehow, under your influence. You have a way with bad boys that gets 'em ; that's all."

"But I always bring boys here by the same method," I replied, "and it never fails. There must be some quality in boy nature that responds to confidence and trust."

"That's your personality or gift or genius, or whatever you may call it," he replied. "Besides, it is partly luck that he came as you directed. Now, if I had given him a sovereign and said, 'I trust you to go down alone,' the chances are that he might still be smashing things up in London."

"I didn't say a thing to him about trust," said I.

"But you did trust him."

"Yes, but had I told him so, he would have known that I didn't, and then he would not have come. When one says to another 'I trust you,' it implies doubt."

"That's a new idea to me," he replied thoughtfully. "Sometimes I have to leave my classes alone in the schoolroom, and I have always told them that I trust them to get on with their work while I am out. They usually take advantage of my confidence and rag about a little—nothing very serious. Boys will be boys."

My friend's "toleration" of that spirit in boys which I most love and admire made me aggressive.

"But your boys are respectable and stupid," I cried. "Tim and his like are full of fire and genius and spirit. They won't be downed by any sort of force except love—the real thing that leaves no room for doubt. Obedience has come to be looked upon

as a virtue. But obedience is the same virtue as mediocrity—both will keep one out of gaol, and that is the standard of respectability in a mediocre society. Every few years we have a war, and even that doesn't make people realize how force and fear have nothing whatever to do with discipline and authority and goodness. Some people think hate and love are both 'positive' and that they are opposites; they are not. Hate is the accompaniment of fear. Love is the highest form of compulsion known to man. Tim came to the Commonwealth, not because my personality overcame his, but because my love for him released his own true personality. It was already there in big chunks, but force had generated fear in his soul, and the dynamics of love got switched through the reverse-gear into hateful behaviour. He reflected the world's attitude toward himself. It all began in his infancy. But the least touch of love and confidence threw back the gear into full speed ahead. After I have read my newspaper and the propaganda, and the casualty statistics, and the ghastly stories of victories by force, I go out and have a talk with Tim. His personality makes me cheerful again, and I know that sometime, if teachers and parents will study behaviour, instead of the psychology that deals with reflexes and mechanisms, there won't be any reformatories—or wars."

Then my friend went away. The memory of his manner drives me, as the magistrate drove Tim, from bad to worse, and I am unable to stop short of adding, to the many theories of the universe, my own; or, rather, that one which by the pro-

cess of spiritual digestion, which is practice, is my own.

All organic life may be represented as a wish. Man, the highest form of life, is in himself the product of the cumulative wishes of all organic life in past ages. Man is the embodiment of the master-wish for perfection of the universe, and is therefore essentially good. The motive-power of goodness is love, and love is compulsory. If a man does not love mankind and the universe, he is not true to his nature. Man does not choose to love ; he must love.

If he hates, his behaviour is untrue to himself, to mankind and to the universe, but the energy is still love, for his act of hatred is love perverted. The hateful act is destructive of the man's self, and also of the happiness and welfare of mankind, thus retarding the perfection of the universe. It is wholly unnatural.

The loving act is hopeful behaviour, the hateful act is fearful behaviour. But he who serves his fellow-man by effort of will is making love a virtue. Love is not a virtue ; it is natural to mankind.

According to his conception of authority, man will either progress toward perfection, obeying the master-wish, or regress to the primitive. The only true authority is love, and the only true discipline is founded upon hope. The authority that is based upon force will transform love into hatred and hope into fear.

If a man's love be not extended to all mankind and all communities, he cannot be completely happy ; for love is dynamic and universal. Any distrust or

fear of another community than his own will infect his own community with hatred and destroy its harmony. For hatred makes a community sick, as it makes each human being sick. Every man must choose for himself. No man can be compelled to love, for love is itself the highest form of compulsion.

IV

A RELEASE FROM AUTHORITY

"ORDER!" demanded the judge (a fourteen-year-old boy) sternly.

The scene was the weekly "court" of a self-governing boarding-school for delinquent boys. The person who had transgressed the etiquette of the "citizen" court was myself, the principal of the school. I had laughed aloud. I felt decidedly embarrassed, for no one in the room knew what had caused my breach of decorum; nor could I explain.

The boy judge, noting my evident effort to recover a manner more appropriate, allowed the stern lines of his face to relax and proceeded with the business of his office; while Jerry, the culprit before the court, a boy of thirteen, eyed me with suspicion and disapproval.

The matron of the school had charged Jerry with having a lighted lamp in his room at eleven-fifteen one night during the week, and he was being tried for this breach of the "citizens'" laws. The judge had asked him what he had been doing with a light at that time of night, and Jerry had replied, "Doin' 'rithmetic."

This answer had caused my improper outburst of laughter; for it was the end of a long and unusual

experiment in psychology which Jerry and I had been conducting.

This is the story.

Six months before, Jerry had been sent to the school for "chronic truancy." He had previously been in a special school for backward children in the city, and was considered to be "not bright." In spite of—or, as I should put it, because of—repeated punishments, he had absented himself from school on every occasion when he could manage to do so, and on that account had been committed to the school for delinquent boys of which I was the head.

Jerry had been a puzzle to all of us. He was excellent at games and loved all kinds of handicraft work, which he did neatly and very well. But in the schoolroom he was the dunce of his class. The lad could learn nothing at all, though strangely he seemed most anxious to learn. He would sit at his desk staring at his textbook with determination written on his face, but somehow he failed to get anything into his head.

"His brain is no good; he cannot hold anything he is taught," his teacher had told me soon after his arrival. "He tries hard enough, but he gets discouraged and gives it up. He is just stupid. He sits and perspires all the time he is in the schoolroom, and every time I turn my head he sneaks out and won't come back until fetched."

Now I had liked Jerry from the first. He was a cheerful, companionable little fellow, and while about the place showed not the least sign of being feeble-minded. He had a delightful sense of humour and

could hold his own in schoolboy repartee with any of his fellow-citizens. In the carpenter's shop he was a skilful and unusually original workman ; but the moment he entered the schoolroom he seemed to be another boy and all his sparkle disappeared. He became dull and stupid and lethargic. The other boys called him "sweater," because he began to perspire whenever anything was expected from him by his teacher. I knew that Jerry did not hate school because he could not learn, but could not learn because he hated school.

Here was clearly some difficulty in the unconscious mind. The lad was suffering from some kind of inhibition that was associated with study, so that his mind would not work in the schoolroom. His pet aversion was arithmetic, which meant nothing whatever to him, and he seemed to have no mathematical sense. I had had him to my study with his work several times, but could find no means of releasing his mind from its bondage. He would stare at his paper, pencil in hand, and sweat and try, but no mathematical process could penetrate. I soon found a clue to work upon, however.

One evening Jerry came to me in a state of suppressed excitement and eagerly asked me to go with him. "I want to show you something," he said, pulling me insistently by the sleeve. I followed the lad to the boys' sitting-room, and there on the table was a puzzle called "Pigs in Clover," with the pigs all in their correct places.

"Took me over an hour," he declared triumphantly. "No one has ever got 'em in before."

"I didn't know you cared for puzzles," said I, after complimenting him.

"I don't much," he replied, "but when I saw Miss Burnham (the teacher) tryin' to do it, I thought I'd have a try. She couldn't get 'em in the clover." The lad chuckled with glee.

And so did I, for now Jerry had disclosed the secret of his unconscious mind and the reason why he perspired in school.

I decided to try and break up Jerry's difficulty with arithmetic. Nearly all the boys liked "maths.," because we had never employed prizes or competition or impositions as an incentive to study. But Jerry, being an unusually sensitive, affectionate little chap, had so far failed to get free from the hatred of arithmetic that the usual school method breeds.

The process of dissolving antipathies in the unconscious mind is always difficult, because it must be the reverse of the procedure by which they are created. It demands technique. A knowledge of psychology enabled me to follow the obscure workings of the boy's inner mental forces.

Jerry's manual work at this time was helping to lay a new floor in one of the school buildings. The room had a large bow window, so I went back to my study and wrote out what appeared to be a simple problem in square measure, requiring the answer to be the number of boards needed for a new floor. Then I gave it to the teacher, asking that Jerry might be set the problem as his work in arithmetic on the following day, with directions that when the boy

failed to solve the problem he should be sent to me as though for punishment.

The next day Jerry came to my study with a paper in his hand. "Been sent to you for my 'rithmetic," he announced cheerfully, for Jerry and I had long been pals. I realized that his manner was not such as would ensure the success of the experiment. In the lad's mind I was constellated with love and friendship rather than with fear and authority. This wouldn't do. I wanted to dissolve his teacher-arithmetic constellation, which had been acquired through fear and punishment. I assumed my most schoolmastery expression and manner and eyed him severely and critically.

"What do you mean by coming to the study with hands in that condition?" I demanded. "Retire at once and wash them; then come back and I will attend to you."

Jerry's cheerful manner disappeared. He wilted and said in a weak, scared, grieved voice, "Yes, sir."

A few minutes later there was a timid knock on the door.

"Come in," I cried gruffly.

Jerry, holding well-scrubbed hands prominently in view, entered. He glanced keenly into my face, but saw nothing there to kindle hope in his throbbing little heart. His eyes dropped dejectedly to the paper in his hand. There were tiny beads of moisture on his forehead.

"What is it?" I asked sternly.

"She sent me to you with this," holding out the paper. "I—I can't do it. It's 'rithmetic," he

explained, his voice rising hopefully, as he trusted me to understand.

There was imminent danger of his becoming friendly again and ruining our present professional relationship.

"She!" I snapped. "Who do you mean?"

"Miss Burnham," he faltered.

"It would be well for you to call your teacher by her name in my presence," said I.

"Yes, sir," he agreed, in a feeble voice.

"Now what are you here for?" I demanded.

He was a picture of misery and dejection. His friend had deserted him. I was suffering more than he, but must persevere until I had given him a mental emetic.

"You're a lazy boy!" I blustered. "We've had enough nonsense over your lessons. Let me see what it is you are shirking now."

As Jerry handed me the paper, I saw that his forehead was shining with perspiration. I read the problem aloud from the paper, then glared at him for a moment while he licked his dry lips and wiped the back of his hand across his wet forehead.

"Do you mean to tell me that you cannot do this simple little problem?" I inquired severely.

"No, sir—yes, sir—I mean," he faltered in confusion.

"Disgraceful! A perfectly easy, simple little thing like this! A boy of your age should be able to do it in his head." I fixed my stern gaze upon him and continued:

"Now, look here! I can have no such indolence

in this school. I will show you how this is done, but don't you let me hear of your evading a duty of this kind again. I shall do it in my head to shame you."

I picked up the paper. "The room is fourteen and a half feet long and eleven feet wide. Multiply fourteen and a half by eleven and you get the number of square feet. Do you see that?"

"Yes, sir," he replied, again wiping his forehead.

"Eleven times fourteen and a half is—er—um——" Then under my breath: "Eleven times four is forty-four. Eleven times one is eleven with four to carry is fifteen. That's one hundred and er—um——" whispering, "Eleven times four is forty-four." Then loudly, "One hundred and fifty-four." "What's hard about that?" I demanded severely. "Now you've got the square——"

"It's fourteen and a half feet long," interrupted Jerry, timidly.

"Oh, is it? Oh, yes! I didn't notice the half." I looked intently at the paper. "Well, a half of eleven is five and a half. Add that to a hundred and forty-five and you get——"

"It was a hundred and fifty-four, sir," again interrupted the boy, who was standing more firmly with a less rueful expression on his face.

"Oh! let me see. Yes, you're right," I said confusedly. "That would make it one hundred and—er—well—you'd better do a problem like this on a paper. Accuracy is the important thing in arithmetic. Time doesn't matter so much," and I turned to my desk and picked up a pencil. Then I

read the problem again and set the figures down on paper.

I continued: "The room contains one hundred and fifty-nine and a half square feet. Now the number of boards required is—er—what is the size of those floor-boards, Jerry?" turning to him.

"Twelve feet by seven inches tongued and grooved," replied the boy, now standing at my elbow. His voice was more hopeful.

"Oh yes. Then each board contains—er—seven inches wide, that's seven-twelfths of a foot. Seven-twelfths times twelve feet——"

"Seven feet in each board," interrupted Jerry, looking over my shoulder. "There's the same number of feet in a board twelve feet long as it is inches wide. Mr. Paul (the carpenter) told me that," he added proudly.

"Eh? Oh yes, I know that myself," said I wisely. "Now, seven feet in a board and one hundred and fifty-nine and one-half in the floor"—I wrote figures on the paper—"that makes——"

The lad was now leaning against my chair, stretching his neck to see my figures. "Hold on!" he cried excitedly. "Those boards are tongued and grooved. We've got to allow for that."

"What's that? Oh yes, I was going to allow for that," said I with great dignity. "Let's see, I must allow—er—what's the size of the groove, Jerry?"

"Dunno," he answered. "Hadn't thought of it till just now." Jerry's voice had now recovered its usual cheerful, friendly tone. "Say, it ain't so easy to do that in your head, is it?" I caught the note

of sarcasm and frowned at him. He was actually grinning with satisfaction at my evident confusion over the difficulties of the problem.

"Besides, you've left out the bow-window, and you don't know how much waste there'll be sawin' 'em to length." He was grinning in frank triumph into my face. "'Tain't so easy, is it?" The young ruffian was actually jeering at me. There was gloom on my face but joy in my heart, for I could almost hear the crash of constellations.

"Look here," I said severely but lamely, "I've got to go out to see Mr. Allan about the sick horse. I can't be bothered with this silly little problem. You get to work on it and don't let me have you coming in here interrupting when I'm busy again." I arose and reached for my hat.

Jerry was not the least bit impressed by my manner, and clearly scented the reason for my sudden interest in the sick horse.

He just grinned and mischievously winked one eye as I left the room.

This is why I was called to order by the boy judge when Jerry was charged with "doin' 'rithmetic" at eleven-fifteen at night.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LITTLE COMMONWEALTH AT
EVERSHOT, DORSET. EXTRACT FROM A LECTURE
GIVEN BY LANE IN 1918

THE Little Commonwealth is a co-educational community inhabited by children ranging in age from a few months to nineteen years, those more than thirteen years of age having been committed for a term of years for crime, as to a reformatory—in fact, the Little Commonwealth has recently been certified as a reformatory. The younger children are those who would in any case be subject to institutional care in asylums or orphanages. At the present moment the population of the Commonwealth is five adults, four of whom are women, forty-two boys and girls of fourteen to nineteen years of age, and nine younger children. This population is distributed among three “families,” grouped by congeniality ; each person is free to choose his own place of residence. Boys and girls live in the same families, sharing equally the responsibility for family maintenance and government, as well as the responsibility for the welfare of the younger children. The chief point of difference between the Commonwealth and other reformatories and schools is that in the Commonwealth there are no rules and regulations except those made by the boys and girls themselves.

All those who are fourteen years of age and over are citizens, having joint responsibility for the regulation of their lives by the laws and judicial machinery organized and developed by themselves. The adult element studiously avoid any assumption of authority in the community, except in connection with their respective departmental duties as teachers or as supervisors of labour within the economic scheme. The citizens are paid wages in Commonwealth currency for their work in the various departments, and provide their own food, clothing, and recreations to whatever degree of comfort and elegance their earning capacity will permit. The wage paid corresponds to that of the outside world in similar employments. The citizens are occupied chiefly with earning a living, to a regrettable exclusion of any considerable time for formal school-work. This, of course, does not apply to the children under fourteen, who have no work to do other than that chosen by themselves after the school-work is finished.

The improvident citizen, the slacker, if he is unable to pay his own expenses, must be supported from the public treasury, the funds of which are raised by taxation. If a discontented citizen causes any damage, fails to pay for his board, or runs away, the expense of misdemeanour is borne by the taxpayers. If the citizens' court imposes any penalty upon an erring citizen which interferes with his employment, the community must provide him with necessities.

Thus it may be seen that in the Commonwealth there is a direct relationship between prosperity and

morality. What better field could there be for the cultivation and growth of a code that is based upon the spontaneous virtues of adolescent human nature? And those virtues have certainly been in evidence during the whole of our four years of existence. The moral standards of the citizen group, as measured by its attitude toward the individual delinquent, have always been wholesome and clear and definite. This is as true of those offences that do not cause any expense to the taxpayer as of those that do. Hence our belief that in spite of the very prominent place in the organization of the Commonwealth occupied by the scheme of economics, the morality of the community is not exclusively of the £ s. d. type. That is, while honesty is the best policy in the Commonwealth as elsewhere, honesty is not entirely a matter of policy. During the first year, while the original group of citizens were assuming their new responsibilities, there were frequent sudden changes in the attitude of the group toward the individual wrongdoer. At times severe penalties were imposed upon him, and then quite suddenly the type of penalties would undergo a marked change. Such punishments as close bounds, fines and other forms of deprivation would almost disappear, the wrongdoer being merely expected to make restitution so far as was possible to the community or individual for any injuries he might have done to property. Each change had causes which are obscure and difficult of diagnosis, but of the highest possible importance in a study of the moral growth of the children.

Perhaps the most interesting period in the short

history of the Commonwealth is that of the first few months after a group of about fifteen so-called criminal boys and girls had been collected and the experiment in self-government begun. These boys and girls had no idea of social order. Their conception of material values was most vague. Born and reared in city slums, surrounded on every side by the authority of parents, police and school officials, the victims of an especially narrow and restricted environment, their faculty of self-restraint was almost wholly undeveloped except when in close proximity to some restraining authority. Their idea of social relationships was limited to the primitive form of co-operation for self-protection—against authority. Separately they were passive, subdued and apathetic. Combined or as a group they were aggressive, fearless and anti-social.

It was necessary to employ extraordinary methods to free them from their misconceptions of society and social order. They had a very keen legal sense of right and wrong, but it could not be called a moral code. We said to them, "You may do as you please," but they did not believe it. In the presence of us adults they had no initiative, were self-repressed and passive. By themselves they were spontaneous, original, active and resourceful, but usually in a destructive direction. The acknowledged leader was the boy who had the best command of unconventional language, who was most daring in destructive activities, and who assumed the most defiant attitude towards adults. On the whole they were unusually obedient to a direct command or request ;

but it was the obedience of weakness, not of strength. Their ideals were anti-social. Now the conventional method of altering children's ideals is to suppress their undesirable activities, and by means of some form of primitive treatment to impress our ideals upon them. But the logical method is to dissipate the child's ideal by encouragement of his activities, until he himself discovers its advantages. The latter method was employed in the Commonwealth. I joined the group in its disturbing activities, became one of the gang, and by so doing speedily spoiled the fun. As the recognized authority in the community, my sanction and encouragement of midnight pillow-fights, larder raids and hooliganism did away with the element of danger involved, and it ceased to be fun. Now we were ready to organize in another direction, and did so. The citizens began to take interest in the more serious occupations at hand. The ideal of the group had altered. They helped with the work, and began to caution the more obstreperous about their conduct. Gradually they arrived at the point where the need for formal rules and laws was felt. They instituted not only a form of parliamentary procedure, under which rules were enacted, but also a judicial procedure by which violations of rules were dealt with. It is in the Citizens' Court that one may get into closer touch with the spirit of the Commonwealth than in any other community function, and it is here that I look for the true spiritual expressions of our boys and girls. Now I will readily admit that in the greater community one does not, as a rule, search in the courts for mani-

festations of the spiritual life of a people, but that is because courts are legal institutions rather than the mouthpiece of a public code of morality as in the Commonwealth. All the citizens of the Commonwealth attend courts, and the highest judicial authority is the referendum. Disputed points as between the citizen judge and an offender are decided by public opinion by means of the roll-call. Each citizen must express an opinion.



INDEX

Altruism, growth of, 32 f., 63,
65-6, 106, 118, 130-1
Anxiety, 58, 124, 127 f.
Authority, 57 *n.*, 84, 87, 90 ff.,
107 f., 112 f., 149 ff., 162 ff.,
170 ff., 179 ff., 188 ff.

Childhood, ages of, 67, 82-3,
103-4
Cinema, 98 *n.*
Conflict, 21, 50, 89, 102 *n.*,
105, 131-2, 161
Conscience, 119-20, 129, 131
Constellation of ideas, 56-7,
153 f., 157, 161-62, 183
Constipation, 52-3
Contra-suggestion, 46, 57 *n.*,
87-8, 113, 157-8
Creation, myth of, 75 f.
Creative impulse, 19 f., 30-1,
39-40, 45 f., 89-90, 99, 108,
114, 117 f., 121 ff., 158
Crime, 124, 149, 162
Cruelty, 91 f.
Crying, 24 f., 40, 43
Curiosity, 151-2. *See* Sex

Delinquent children, 71, 88, 91,
97-8, 104-5, 115-16, 162 f.,
170 ff., 179 ff., 188 ff.
Dependence, 25, 31 f., 37 f.,
42-3, 49 *n.*, 50-1, 74 *n.* 87 f.,
101, 112, 118, 128

Ergograph, 144 f.

Fantasy, 62, 66, 100, 107, 129,
135
Fatigue, 58, 144 f.
Fear, 23 *n.*, 43-4, 65, 70-1,
90 f., 108-9, 121 ff., 158,
162, 176-7
Fire, interest in, 25-6, 28-9,
142, 152 f.
Fixation, 30, 49 *n.*, 74, 161-2
Freedom, 50-1, 59-60, 69,
83 f., 93-4, 97, 99 f., 105 *n.*,
110 f., 116, 121-2, 130-1,
139. *See* Self-government
Freud, 91, 126 *n.*

God, ideas of, 41, 56 f., 73,
75 f., 123 f.
Group emotion, 113-14

Happiness, 121 f.
Hate, 90 f., 118, 176 f.
Hunger, 35-6, 152, 156-7

Imagination, age of, 61 ff., 82-
3, 85-6, 92, 96, 137
Infancy, age of, 19 ff., 85, 117-
18
Inferiority, sense of, 59, 61 f.,
69-70, 117, 119-20

Inhibition, 57, 125, 150, 161, 181

Instincts, synthesis of the, 65, 67 f., 85-6, 104, 130 f.

Interest, 20 f., 30 f., 37 f., 51 f., 54, 74, 106 f., 131, 133-4, 137 f., 151, 154

Jealousy of new baby, 33-4, 73

Life-force, 130, 177

Little Commonwealth, the, 71, 88, 149, 162 f., 170 f., 179 f., 188 f.

Love, 118 f., 158, 176 f.

Loyalty, age of, 32, 66-7, 86, 99, 103 ff.

Lying, 62 f., 68 f.

Manners, 33-4, 53, 94, 119-20, 143-4

Mind, dynamics of, 30, 44, 106-7, 118, 130 f., 150-1, 153, 159-60, 169, 176-7

Moral disapproval, 38, 64, 87, 134, 144 f. *See* Morality.

Morality, 23 n., 32 f., 53 f., 57 f., 65-6, 69, 90 f., 108, 121 f., 130-1, 136, 149 f., 190-1

Mouth, first source of satisfaction, 20, 30, 35 ff., 68

Nursing, 34 f., 65

Original sin, 21, 129-30

Perfection, wish for, 118, 159 f., 177

Personal influence, 173 f.

Play, 69, 95 ff. *See* Toys

Possessive impulse, 19 f., 30-1, 39 f., 45, 117, 120 f.

Power, desire for, 20 f., 23 n., 31 f., 46 f., 57, 61 f., 69-70, 83-4, 131, 134-5, 137 f., 162 f. *See* Self-assertion

Punishment, 23 n., 25 f., 33-4, 38, 42, 50 f., 64, 66, 70 f., 84, 87, 90 f., 108, 112, 122 f., 134, 136, 140 f., 149 f., 159 f., 161 f., 170 f., 179 f., 190

Recapitulation theory, 85

Re-education, 105 n., 129, 162

Regression, 30, 37-8, 40-1, 44, 48 f., 101, 127, 136, 160 f., 177

Religious education. *See* God

Repression, 23 n., 31, 41, 92, 130, 133-4

Rubber, fear of, 43-4

Sanitary habits, 51 f., 55-6, 134

Security, 41, 58, 89-90, 121 f., 125 f.

Self-assertion, 49, 67, 82 f., 105 f.

Self-consciousness, 101

Self-government, 107 f., 149 f., 162 f., 170 f., 179 f., 188 f.

Self-preservation, instinct of, 76, 126

Sex, 36, 39, 51, 53 f., 68, 73 f., 92, 106-7, 123, 125-6, 130 f.

Showing off, 91, 95, 99-100, 106

Smoking, desire for, 57 n., 152, 157-8

INDEX

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Social instinct, 82-3, 91, 95-6, 98 f., 131. <i>See</i> Loyalty, age of</p> <p>Stealing, 72 n., 88, 143, 157</p> <p>Symbolism, 38, 40-1, 57, 73 n., 74 n., 92 n., 102 n., 127, 128, 157</p>
<p>Teacher and child, 108-9, 112 f., 161-2</p> <p>Teeth, 38, 49</p> <p>Thumb-sucking, 32, 38, 40, 42, 125, 136</p> <p>Toys, 43 f., 62-3, 70, 133 ff.</p> | <p>Unconscious mind, 19, 31, 32, 36, 38, 41, 43, 49 n., 54 f., 57, 64-5, 67, 73, 74 n., 89 f., 102 n., 108, 112-13, 123 f., 130 f., 150, 157, 159, 161-2, 181-2</p> <p>Unsatisfied desires, 21, 23 n., 32, 36 f., 40 f., 46, 49, 54-5, 57, 63 f., 68-9, 74, 87-8, 91, 105-6, 134, 153 f., 161</p>
<p>War, 92 n., 150, 176</p> <p>Weaning, 37 f., 65, 92, 107</p> |
|--|---|



GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD

London: 40 Museum Street, W.C.1

Auckland: Haddon Hall, City Road

Sydney, N.S.W.: Bradbury House, 55 York Street

Cape Town: 58-60 Long Street

Bombay: 15 Graham Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay 1

Calcutta: 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 13

New Delhi: Munshi Niketan, Kamla Market, Ajmeri Gate, New Delhi 1

Karachi: Haroon Chambers, South Napier Road, Karachi 2

Toronto: 91 Wellington Street West

Sao Paulo: Avenida 9 de Julho 1138-Ap. 51

HOMER LANE AND THE LITTLE COMMONWEALTH

by E. T. Bazeley

Cr. 8vo 7s. 6d. net

The story of the Little Commonwealth for juvenile delinquents is the story of a great experiment that failed. But the ideas which in earlier years seemed strange are now widely accepted.

The first edition of this book, published in 1928, was in some respects ahead of its time. Today we can see more clearly how right Homer Lane was in his conception of re-education rather than restraint and compulsion. This beautifully-written and moving book will interest those to whom it comes for the first time, as well as those who have sought to read it again in the light of our present knowledge and the problems of the day.

THE BARNS EXPERIMENT

by W. David Wills

Demy 8vo 8s. 6d. net

This is a concise account of the remarkable experiment with boys carried out by this author of *The Hawkespur Experiment*. The war put this latter experiment into abeyance, but gave its author an opportunity to practise his principles on a group of younger difficult boys. Aged from eight to fourteen, these boys were the 'throw-outs' of the Evacuation Scheme, but before the Barns experiment had been long in operation troublesome boys were being evacuated not primarily to escape bombs, but in order that they might have the treatment that Barns provided.

EMOTIONAL DISORDERS OF CHILDREN

by Gerald H. J. Pearson

Demy 8vo 18s. net

This book aims at a better understanding of the clinical problems of children who suffer from neuroses, character disturbances and psychoses. It discusses the various categories into which such problems fall; the procedures for their management, and some of the difficulties likely to arise.

Dr. Pearson's purpose is to bring together in one volume a body of well-authenticated knowledge on child psychiatry. He undertakes to do this by means of discussions of actual case situations. He describes the types of cases—some relatively simple, some complicated—that are seen in the everyday practice of the child psychiatrist.

INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHO-ANALYSIS FOR TEACHERS

by Anna Freud

Cr. 8vo 5s. net
Second impression

'The best book with which to commence the study of psycho-analysis.' *British Medical Journal*

'An ideal introduction to the study of psycho-analysis. The book cannot be too highly recommended.' *Journal of Neurology*

'No serious critic of psycho-analysis should omit to read it; no serious student can afford to neglect it.' *Lancet*

GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN LTD





*Talks to Parents
and Teachers*
Homer Lane
Allen & Unwin
8s. 6d. net

Printed in Great Britain

On Education

by BERTRAND RUSSELL

Cr. 8vo. 10th Impression. 10s. 6d. net

"A stimulating treatise on the upbringing of the young. Every sentence in it is lively and amusing."—*Time and Tide*

"One of the most stimulating books that we have seen. . . . We advise everybody . . . to buy and study carefully this most able and interesting book."—*Education*

The Spirit of the Child

by MARJORIE THORBURN

Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net

Studying without preconceptions her own two babies, the author makes unexpected discoveries about the earliest manifestations of spiritual life. She asks again the age-old question: Whence comes the knowledge of right and wrong? Is the child born perfect or in original sin? and watches her children for the answer. Fundamental values are brought to light in the discovery not only of the morality of the tiny child but of his relationship with the natural and supernatural worlds. The conclusions reached are unconventional and important for those who have the care and education of small children or who wish to understand the bases on which a sound social life can be built.

Children as Naturalists

by MARGARET M. HUTCHINSON

Cr. 8vo. 2nd Impression. 7s. 6d. net

The aim of *Children as Naturalists* is to show how children's interest in Nature may be fostered through channels that appeal to them: exploration, discovery and intimate contact with living creatures. It should form a basis for biology and develop a love of the countryside. Part I outlines activities for different age-groups. Part II describes aspects of Nature in the form of "Quests": "The Quest for Birds," "The Quest for Fungi," etc., and answers briefly questions which may arise on Nature rambles.

some books that matter

GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN