

**CHARACTER
GROWTH
EDUCATION**

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FRITZ KIPP

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UNIVERSITY
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CHARACTER GROWTH EDUCATION

FRITZ KÜNKEL

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tion to a group of persons. Even though he may actually live in complete isolation, he will yet be bound to some group (either in his thoughts or imagination) through desire or hatred, criticism or hope.

The We-experience is never absent from the inner life of any single person. It is the factor which compels every one of us to share inwardly in the life of others and to intervene—by protestation or criticism, by advocacy or contribution, or by the assumption of authority—in the destiny of groups, families, nations and civilizations. If it were merely the division of labor which made us dependent upon the achievements of others, we could inwardly remain individualists, and a purely individual psychology would be justified. Mutual exploitation would then be enough. Actually, however, it is perfectly clear that whenever people try to live in this way, serious disturbances and suffering occur, from the first days of childhood onward.

It might seem a natural alternative to go over to Social Psychology, and consider the individual merely as a part or an organ of a larger unit. But this would be to neglect and imperil the most important thing the individual possesses, namely his unique, inalienable personality, his individual responsibility and his independent productivity. There are children whose mode of life does actually appear to vindicate a purely social psychology. These are the model children who know no will but the grown-ups', and dare not develop any personal behavior of their own. They go astray as badly as the pure individualists.

We-Psychology places the fact of social cohesion within the

INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK ENDEAVORS TO DESCRIBE THE DEVELOPMENT OF children and adolescents, and especially the difficulties and dangers attending this development, in such a way that the reader, grasping the educational difficulties, may straightway deduce the proper solution, remedies and expedients. The first three parts are devoted to the problems of character development in their temporal sequence: early childhood, school period, adolescence. The fourth part deals explicitly with the practical measures by which incipient failings may be corrected. This is the section on Child Guidance.*

It is in the singularity of its psychologic standpoint that this book differs from most other books dealing with the same problems. The principal concept which characterizes our psychologic outlook we simply call the "We-experience." In this term however the emphasis is laid just as strongly on the individual as on the group. Yet however simple its theoretic definition, it is not altogether easy in practical thinking to find at first the right application of this standpoint and fundamental concept. It is not a question of either Individual Psychology, or Social Psychology. We-Psychology (as our trend in psychology is usually called) proceeds from the fact that every human being can only attain to self-experience insofar as he stands in rela-

* Translator's note: In German *Heilpädagogik*. The literal translation of this word is "therapeutic education."

INTRODUCTION

This book undertakes to explore the development of children and adolescents and especially the difficulties and dangers attending this development in such a way that the reader, grasping the educational difficulties, may straightforwardly deduce the proper scientific questions and experiments. The first three parts are devoted to the problems of character development in their temporal sequence: early childhood, school period, adolescence. The fourth part deals explicitly with the practical measures by which important findings may be controlled. This is the section on Child Guidance.*

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*Translator's note: In German, *Kindheitskunde*. The term *Kindheit* is used in the sense of "childhood education."

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individual himself. It shows how a man can only prosper if he feels himself a co-responsible part of a group. This We-experience is part of the individual—one might almost say of individual psychology. Simultaneously, however, it proves that the individual is a part of the community, and participates in it. Hence it is the basis and presupposition of social psychology.

To mold and develop this We-experience aright becomes the main task of pedagogy. That which goes by the name of human love (agape), or patriotism, or civic duties, or solidarity, represents to us the different stages in the development of the We-experience. And faint-heartedness, inhibition, anxiety, crime, manias, depressions, we recognize as the proof of a false or under-developed We-ness. The cure and reinstatement of all anti-social and imperiled characters might, therefore, be described as a fresh awakening and strengthening of the We-feeling. A nation in which the We-experience had been universally and fully developed would have no unemployment, and no class-struggle. Again, were the We-feeling between nations sufficiently strong, wars would be impossible.

The purpose of this book is accordingly twofold. First it must demonstrate as concisely and plainly as possible the fundamental conceptions of We-Psychology; secondly it must clarify the We-problems which occur in the average development of our children and adolescents, and point the way to their solution.

This twofold purpose may be accomplished only if the We-problems are in fact the main problems of child development. For only then will be found in the very earliest difficulties of infant education the all-important theme of later character

development and—to express it in lofty terms—of the education of mankind itself. Thus the very success or failure of this book bears testimony to the soundness or unsoundness of We-Psychology.

It is not the affair of the author to pass judgment here, but of the reader. The former must confine himself merely to directing the critic's attention to the decisive issue by asking the following question: Do you consider it possible that the "We-collapse," or in other words, the phenomenon of human unkindness between parents and children, really provides the starting-point of almost all the faulty developments and the countless sufferings in the history of man?

And this leads to a second question: Do you consider it possible that unkindness, unaliveness, want of understanding and want of creative power (that is to say, a lack of productive ideas, of personal development and mental growth on the part of the educators) are the cause of almost all human suffering?

And a third question: Do you consider it possible that man's sufferings can be overcome to a small extent at least here in this world, and not merely in the other life; is it possible for them to be allayed by developing these productive powers, by developing understanding, love, and creative thoughts—forces which are nothing else but a vital expression of the We-feeling?

We-Psychology is a modest contribution toward an answer of these questions. The present book discusses—as a subject complete in itself—that section of We-Psychology which deals with the education and hence also with the future of mankind.

THE AUTHOR

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1. LIFE (SUBJECT, OBJECT, DIALECTIC)

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD CHILD IS PLAYING WITH CHAIRS. ONE chair is a ship, the other a tower in a harbor. The child climbs up the tower, slips and hurts himself. He loses all pleasure in the game and runs to his mother.

The life and movement and purposiveness revealed in this episode all come from the child. The chair is an inanimate means used to reach vital aims. We say that the child is subject, the chair is object, using these two words for the time being in their purely grammatical sense. The more we search for the inner meaning of these grammatical expressions, the plainer shall we see that the word "subject" in psychology must signify always something living, for it denotes the very essence of life itself. On the other hand "object" is synonymous with the "inanimate thing." As long as a man lives, he is capable of being subject; only his corpse is really a dead object.

The mark of the subject is that he has aims or goals, and that he is able to create continually fresh goals. He acts in relation to his means and his goal. The dead object on the other hand knows neither goals, means nor purpose. It can only be changed by the operation of cause and effect.

These terms Subject and Object, if taken as fundamental concepts for the years of educational training, are no less true for the years of self-development, and for the very les-

sons life itself has to teach. All forms of development aim at bringing the organism into greater harmony with its environment, and the whole of education aims at giving as favorable a form as possible to the adjustment that takes place between subject and object. Yet if the human subject is to learn how to rule the world of objects, he must subordinate himself to the laws of the objective world.

To state properly the problems of education from this angle, care must be taken to examine how subject and object mutually operate on one another. The first thing we see is that man is by his very nature subject, but that he is simultaneously—in that he has a body—an object in the world of objects. He acts as a subject: the child climbs up the chair. But he bears the consequences of his action, and these make him an object: the child is hurt by the chair.

The living person, therefore, is not always an active subject. There are times when he must also bear the impact of the outer world as a passive subject. Moreover, in relation to the laws of nature, he exists always as an object. To put it briefly—to live means to be subject and object at one and the same time.

The four-year-old boy plays with a small dog. The two have long been friends, and both of them find pleasure in their game, even when they appear to be attacking and defending and rolling over each other. Suddenly it occurs to the boy to pull his playmate's tail. The dog shows in no uncertain terms, that he does not consider this conduct within the bounds of the game; he breaks away and gives an ominous growl. But the child does not understand that the game has

turned serious. Once more he tries to drag the dog along by his tail. The dog, however, turns like lightning and snaps at the offending hand. The small boy runs howling to his mother.

As long as the two were united in their game, they were, it is true, making each other objects; each was treating the other as a "thing," an object. Yet they were respecting each other's independence, each allowing the other to remain subject and exert his free will. In addition each offered himself to the other as object and took pleasure in being knocked and tumbled about. Mutual play entails functioning simultaneously as active and passive subjects.

It is further essential that each shall know the conditions under which the other lives, and his special characteristics, lest he encroach on them; and more especially that they shall always both tune the rapidly changing purpose of the game to the other's pitch, so as to allow one unified dominant objective to prevail, namely the mutual game. Thus being a subject (a living being) means having objects and using such objects as one chooses, that is to say, in the service of some goal.

And so here again, to be a subject one must have goals and also choose goals; one must create values and transform objects so as to subordinate them to these values. For the boy, the game with the dog constitutes a value; and to the dog, playing with the boy is a value; for the moment, they are behaving as if they were a double subject, a group, or a "We." A group of living beings, or as we say, a "We," is one many-headed subject in which individual subjects are united by a common goal.

The expression "value" signifies in this context an ever ef-

fective goal (though it may not always be a conscious goal). The expression "goal" signifies a temporarily effective and consciously recognized value, while "purpose" may be described as a value that is already operating but is as yet unrecognized. Yet there can be neither value nor purpose nor goal without a subject, a "value-bearer" to make them effective. Of absolute values in the ethical sense there can be no talk, at any rate at this stage of character analysis.

The "We" between the child and the dog lasted only for as long as the goals and the limits (the positive and the negative values) of both appeared to coincide. To the boy, the act of pulling the dog's tail proved a goal worthy of pursuit (the value was a positive one), but to the dog it was overstepping the mark and a threat to his existence as subject. The double subject split up into its two individual components, each of which had to make the other its object, this time without any regard for the other's simultaneous subject-life. The dog felt himself treated as a mere object, and rightly so, for his conditions of life and attributes were being disregarded. Yet in actual fact he is not a mere object, a thing without life, but a living being, a subject, although at the moment he is involuntarily a passive subject. But he cannot remain in this condition. While he remained a passive subject voluntarily, it was a game; when he became one involuntarily, it turned to deadly earnest. The animal answers the threat to his conditions of life by making his aggressor an object, and is in turn regardless of the other's values or limits; he bites the child in the leg. Now the child involuntarily becomes a passive subject; and he would finally have been made a mere object, a

mere inanimate object, had he not found refuge in flight or cried for help.

In this instance again, to be an object means having existence in space, an existence that is subjected to change through influences at work without; in other words, to be an object means being subordinated to the laws of nature. Yet there are no objects without a subject to possess them, and there can be no subject without objects confronting him. The two are correlative concepts; and the one is not to be thought of without the other. (Hence object-loss leads to states of extreme anxiety, while the cessation of all subject-existence would be the end of the world.)

As subject, man is free; he is determined only by his own goals and purposes which he can change at will. As object he is yoked to the unbroken chain of cause and effect. Were he only subject, the indeterminists would be right in maintaining that the subject is omnipotent. Were he only object, the determinists would be right in maintaining that life from the very beginning is irrevocably determined in all its aspects. But man is subject as well as object. What, therefore, are we to understand by this "as well as"? How can man be free and unfree at the same time?

As subject, man changes the outer world which to him is object; the outer world in turn changes him by making him an object. The world, refusing to be reduced entirely to the level of an object, resists him. He likewise refuses to be turned into a mere object by the world (except at the price of death). As long as he lives, he continues a subject, although perhaps a restricted passive subject. And he will seek to regain his ac-

tivity either by escaping from his existing environment and searching for new objects, or by realizing a better adaptation to his present environment by the exercise, let us say, of greater prudence or greater intelligence.

This kind of interplay between two opposing forces we call "dialectic." It may be sufficient at first to anglicize this much abused word by the phrase "coming to terms," and actually it is how an individual comes to terms with reality that we must first consider. The child gradually learns the characteristics of the dog; he learns how to treat him and what liberties he may, and may not, take with him. He learns to remain a subject in relation to the dog, and at the same time to show increasing respect for the dog as subject. By so doing he grows up a little further into the world, but it is solely through the experience of pain.* Lord Bacon has summed up this process in the famous saying: "Natura parendo vincitur." Man subdues Nature by obeying her.

This experience of pain, however, reveals a new dialectic, a new and different way of coming to terms with reality. The human being has to learn to experience his own body as a fragment of that outer world which is capable of turning even

* The psychology of Charlotte Bühler (4. See Bibliography) comes nearest this conception. She speaks of a "dynamic surging movement either from the objective into the subjective or vice versa." But she avoids the dialectic concept and so sidesteps individual character study. She keeps her observations intentionally general and statistical, so that while she furnishes us with valuable findings and suggestions on the field of positive development, she leaves us completely in the lurch on the field of inhibitions and errors (which are always individual). The principle of "boundary-research" leads us on far beyond the field of general psychology where we claim agreement with Ch. Bühler. Boundary-research opens up the road for us beyond the individual psychology of Alfred Adler (1-3) and the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud (11 and 12), toward the depth psychology of C. G. Jung (18-22).

him into an object, or, as we should put it now, into a passive subject. The boy who has been bitten by the dog feels pain where he has been wounded. He longs to rub and scratch himself so that he may, as subject, once more regain his full powers of activity which have now become curtailed. But by doing so he only increases the pain. Whatever method he adopts to become again an active subject, he sinks deeper and deeper into passivity. His suffering is thereby rendered more acute and his faculties as subject, are further curtailed. There is only one way in which he can advance out of the impasse, and that is by keeping quiet and accepting passivity, by bearing the pain and nevertheless remaining a subject instead of dying, or fainting, or resigning himself to being nothing but an object. Man must reckon with the fact that in life he is subject and object simultaneously; which means that he must mature.

We describe a person's method of arriving at an understanding with his inner experiences as an intransitive or inner dialectic, in contrast to the understanding he has to come to with external influences, which we call a transitive or external dialectic. And the inner dialectic does not merely denote the attitude the subject takes toward pains that arise from some pathological disturbance of his organism, but, secondly, the attitude he takes toward normal requirements such as food, warmth, sleep, sexual intercourse, etc., that are peculiar to his body. Thirdly, we must add those processes of psychic growth, which find conscious expression within us in the form of reflection, sympathy and imagination, or which may remain lost in the unconscious depths of our psychic life,

discernible only in occasional dreams, moods and odd decisions.

That the inner dialectic never remains altogether independent of the external for long is obvious, and the reverse is equally true. However, some people achieve a better understanding of the inner reality, and some a better understanding of the outer reality.*

Inner needs and outer encroachments set up a dialectical development which produces a series of closely and intricately related problems that the person must solve if he wishes to preserve his integrity as subject, that is, if he does not wish to die. These problems may be solved productively, in which case his subject-existence is enhanced; or they may be temporarily evaded by a withdrawal of the subject, in which case his life as subject suffers a restriction which can be likened to partial death (and which can be overcome later by fresh productivity, though it may also accompany the individual to the grave). In the former case we speak of development, in the latter of inhibition. Development represents the synthetical dialectic, and inhibition the catathetical dialectic.

* This differentiation corresponds to Jung's types of introverted and extroverted character (22. See Bibliography).

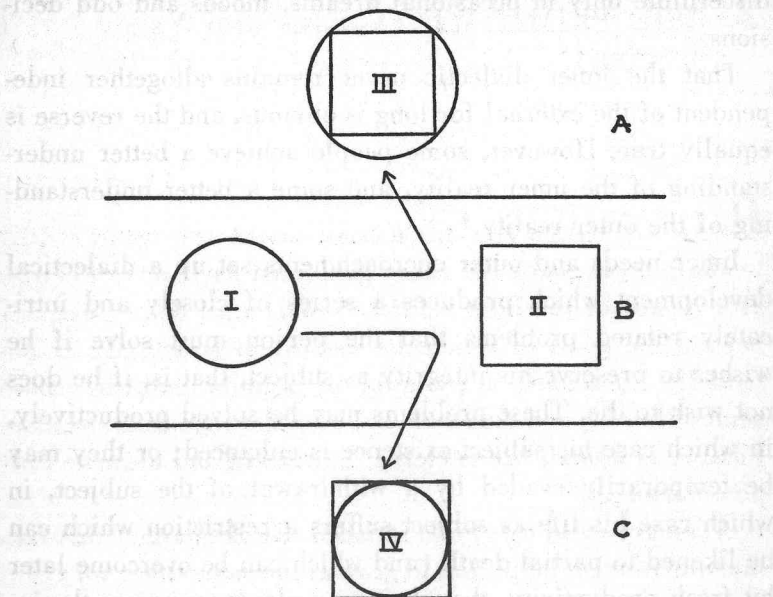


FIG. 1. THE DIALECTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Circle I signifies the child as Subject. Square II is the Object, say a box of matches. In the case of a negative experience arising, we have Result IV, namely the catathesis. The child learns that the matches are too dangerous, and that one touches them only on pain of the severest penalty. The Object has, as it were, conquered the Subject. The Circle finds itself a prisoner in the power of the Square. Alternately in a favorable case Synthesis III arises. The child learns to treat objects in a way that does justice to their nature and does not damage his own nature. The Circle now rules the Square.

The synthesis lies on a higher plane than the thesis and antithesis. And the ascent to this plane presupposes a victory over difficulties, an endurance of suffering and a considerable measure of daring and patience. On Plane A the child is not only abler and cleverer, but also more mature and grown-up, more capable of endurance than he was previously on Plane B. In an unfavorable instance the child makes a withdrawal from the world and descends to Plane C where he is less able, less productive, and also less patient and courageous than formerly.

2. THE PRIMAL-WE (VALUES AND VALUE-BEARER)

BEING A SUBJECT ENTAILS HAVING GOALS AND USING MEANS to attain these goals. But every goal must itself serve likewise as a means of reaching a further goal, until there rises, far beyond the goals of which the individual is actually or potentially conscious, a pyramid of infinite purpose whose summit lies beyond the reach and even the cognizance of man. Finality is infinal, life is eternal movement and ultimate purpose unending.*

A hungry child eats to be satisfied. He is unaware that taking nourishment helps him to grow at the same time; we again are unaware of the purpose of growth.† We must, therefore, recognize the operation of unconscious purpose.

A purpose that has long been operative within us will often suddenly emerge into consciousness as a productive "idea" or "intuition." Once having recognized it, we are free to accept or to reject it. But we can also make the purposive functions of our organism serve voluntary goals. A child may eat, not to be satisfied, but to please his mother or even perhaps to

* With regard to the Infinal, cf. author's remarks in his "Let's Be Normal" and "Vital Dialectic" (37, Chap. 27 and 41, Chap. 12).

† William Stern approaches very near this finalistic conception of the subject, but he restricts it so greatly through the idea of *causa finalis*, the final cause which the individual is powerless to change, that he cannot go to the lengths of either infinal productivity or of dialectic. The rudiments of dialectic are to be found in his notion of "convergence" (cf. 36, Vol. I, p. 237).

annoy her. We speak then of a deflected or "perverted purposiveness."

The pyramid of conscious goals and unconscious purposes thus afford numerous opportunities for error and faulty decisions. Moreover, not only do we have to ask what goals a person is pursuing and what his "evaluation" is, but we also have to discover to whom he is crediting the values after which he is striving. Any person can make it his goal to "have as good a life as possible with as little work as possible," doubtful though it may be whether such a goal corresponds to the real purpose of life. If, however, he pursues this goal entirely for his own sake, we regard him as an egoist; if he does so for the sake of his family, we are kinder to him; but if he pursues it in the interest of the human race in all earnestness, devoting even his possessions to that end, while we may call him a visionary, we perforce must look upon him as a "decent sort of man." However, we are not here concerned with any ethical evaluation, but with the characterological question of how such predispositions first arise, how they may be changed, and how they may be either systematically fostered or prevented.

The question as to the goal, or "Why a man acts as he does," falls now into two sub-questions: "What are the facts (what state of actuality) he is trying to reach?", and "Whom does he wish to benefit through these facts?" The former we call the "value," the latter the "value-bearer" (because the value ceases to operate the moment the value-bearer disappears). If a child hankers for a toy, the possession of the toy is then the value. If he wants to play with it himself, then he

himself is the value-bearer; but if the toy is to be used jointly by him and his other brothers and sisters, the whole lot of them then become the value-bearer. Put more exactly, the goal is then something as follows: There must be a state of affairs which allows us all to play with the toy. This corporate definition of a goal, which may be grasped more readily if we use the term value-bearer, is the most important fact that exists in the analysis of character. By it we distinguish between the fundamental "I" attitude and the fundamental "We" attitude.

The newborn child has to adjust himself to inanimate objects and to living persons. These two dialectical developments start from opposite ends and accordingly run in opposite directions. Now the child may regard the inanimate objects around him as willing subordinates with whom he can do as he pleases, or he may regard them as enemies whom he must either avoid or overcome. But the first fellow human being he knows, his mother or his nurse, is neither an enemy nor a tool. She does not stand as an object in relation to the child's subject, but forms a common subject jointly with the child, a We, without ever the child's noticing clearly the dividing line between the I and the You, that is between the component parts of the We.

This fact, difficult as it is for adults to imagine or comprehend, reveals itself most clearly when the mother suckles the child. The mother feeds her child; she wants him to drink. The child wants to drink; both have the same goal, viz. that milk be drunk. Their actions are entirely different, yet together they complete the unified act of nourishment. A similar

We existed in the case of the boy and the dog quoted above, until it was destroyed by the divergence of goals.

Having a unified goal is thus different from having the same goal. If two hungry children find an apple, both have the same goal, namely that of eating the apple. The two goals are alike and are mutually exclusive. As both of them cannot eat the whole apple, they stand in competition to one another. A quarrel breaks out and there can be no more talk of a We. Even had each agreed to take half the apple, the We would with difficulty have been saved from collapsing, because of the preponderance of particular and egocentric interests. Nor would it have been any longer the original-We, for the original-We is still innocent of particular interests, and should be called the Primal-We to distinguish it from the later forms.*

It is characteristic of the Primal-We, which we saw existing for a short time between mother and child, that the goals of the persons involved are unified in one common activity, whose purpose overreaches the particular interests of the individual. It is no longer a case of one acting for another, or even acting for himself. Had the mother not suckled the child, she would have suffered just as much from over-abundance of milk as the child would have for lack of milk. Not only was the "value," namely, the giving of the mother's milk to the child, common to both of them, but also the value-bearer, namely the personal entity benefiting thereby. Mother and child must both feel well. Injury to the one would mean in-

* Further remarks of the author on the Primal-We are to be found in his "Let's Be Normal" and also in "Character, the Individual and the Group" (37, Chap. 5 and 17, also 40, Chap. 2).

jury to the whole, hence an injury to the other as well. This unity in the value-bearer is aptly expressed when the mother says, "We want to drink."

The concepts of egoism and altruism prove here inadequate. The question we have to consider in their place is whether a Primal-We still exists in the particular egocentric interests of the individual subjects. It must be realized, however, that from the start the mother is not living wholly in this Primal-We. She shares in it with a part only of her functions. There are other factors outside the Primal-We determining her conduct. For this reason she cannot say either what it means for a person to be entirely merged into a primitive community of this kind. Only the child knows that, perhaps the "savage" too; neither of them, however, is able to testify to this state before he leaves and forgets it.*

Difficult as it is for a civilized person to imagine the nature of individual experience within an original-We, he may yet discern traces of this stage of development in his own character; for instance his longing for complete mergence with another, for full absorption into a We, and, accompanying this, the thought that then all his troubles must end and the goal of all desire be reached. This "homesickness," this nostalgia for a Lost Paradise, has of course been the inspira-

* Cf. Levy-Bruhl's description of Primitives (27, pp. 58-59), Max Scheler's "Feeling of Oneness" (32, p. 28), also C. G. Jung's remarks on the "Collective Unconscious" (18, p. 151 and 21, p. 45). The similarity between the stages of development of races and individuals must not here be construed in the sense of Haeckel's "Biogenetic Principle." William Stern's "Recapitulation Theory" appears to us too mechanistic (36, pp. 299, 300). We adopt rather the view of the "Correspondence Theory" formulated by K. Koffka (25, p. 34). Compare also Bogislav von Selchow's classification of German history into the All-period, the I-period and the We-period (33).

tion of numberless writings, and it is the reason too for the enthusiasm with which such works are read.* The overpowering emotion that affects most men when some memory of the original-We is evoked springs from the same cause. One man is moved to the point of tears when he hears an old familiar lullaby, another when he hears soldiers marching by, another when he sees a lighted Christmas tree. Moreover the tendency to recover once more this irredeemably lost state and particularly the egocentric attempt to exploit every last dreg that remains of it, together play an important part in the character development of every individual. Of this we shall talk later.

* The fact underlying the desire to return to the mother, or even to the womb, which psychoanalysts claim to discover in all human character, is surely that after-effects of the Primal-We persist till old age. Only the followers of Freud have put a false interpretation on this discovery (cf. 30).

3. EDUCATION IN THE PRIMAL-WE (EXTERNAL FACTORS)

A MOTHER WISHES TO TAKE HER CHILD AGED FOUR OR FIVE months off his bottle and to start him on soft foods. This brings the child for the first time up against two new products of the outside world, namely carrot mash and a hard spoon. He is utterly amazed, and looks as if he is going to spit out the first spoonful. However, with a little friendly encouragement he swallows it; but he closes his lips tightly against the second spoonful. Laughingly and jokingly the mother looks the child in the eyes and holds his attention. The child smiles back and willingly takes the second spoonful. With a lot of patience on the mother's part, the child gets down about $1\frac{3}{4}$ ounces of mashed carrot the first day. The second day is not so good, and they have to be content with barely $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce, but the following day the child eats a full standard meal. The new habit has been formed.

This is a typical description of an average successful case. But, as we know, with a large percentage of children, this change from the bottle to soft foods causes considerable difficulty. In such cases there has always been a previous disturbance of the Primal-We, and their psychology, therefore, can only be discussed after the collapse of the Primal-We has been explained. For the present we shall examine favorable cases only.

The child comes into the world as a living organism. Already his functions are regulated by a delicately balanced system, but he is incomplete without a correspondingly well-ordered system in the world around, especially as touches his nourishment, cleanliness, warmth and rest.

Since, however, the adults' system can only be partially adapted to that of the child, and then at considerable sacrifice, there arises a certain pressure that seeks to change the child's system and bring it into conformity with that of the adults. This tension is very evident in the question of the night's rest. The child needs stretches of about four hours, while the mother needs twice as long for her sleep. If one adheres to the child's system, the mother suffers; if one adheres to the mother's system, the child suffers. Fortunately, however, neither system is at all rigid, and, in the case of the child especially, the bodily functions, requirements and rhythms of life undergo rapid change.

This change has a twofold origin. It occurs inwardly through the growth of the child, and outwardly through the care given to the child. Hereditary tendencies and general health on the one side, and feeding, cleanliness and warmth on the other, can hinder or advance the child's development and can bring it into harmony or disharmony with life. The adults must, therefore, similarly admit continual change into their system if the child's system is to remain unbroken. Moreover as time goes on, this interplay of the two systems becomes increasingly complex and increasingly important, since to the problems of care and attention are soon added those of education. All these problems we shall include under

the term "progressive order." The change of diet described above may for instance be regarded as a typical step forward in this development of a joint system—a system still ruled by the We.

Other steps of this nature are washing and bathing, learning to sit and to walk, learning to be alone and to meet strange people, and above all learning habits of personal cleanliness. With each of them it is possible seriously to undermine the child's system by making it conform rigidly and undiscerningly to the adults' system. But it is possible too, by perpetuating the child's system to render it lifeless and hence disordered, since it is not undergoing systematic development as it should. In the first case we speak of too hard an upbringing, in the latter of too soft an upbringing. But the errors of childhood that arise from such disturbances first betray their essentially disharmonious character after the collapse of the Primal-We has taken place. Till this happens it is fairly easy to correct such errors, or they may vanish of themselves; "the child outgrows them," as we say, without any special measures having to be taken to that end.

The transition from a simpler system to a more advanced stage, as described above in the example of the feeding bottle and the mashed carrot, stipulates a certain process of character that we term "an increase of tension capacity." Not only has the child to adapt himself to a new food, but to a new way of taking food. In the case of each he has to progress beyond previous experience. The new and the unaccustomed demands adaptation, and this calls for special achievement in

the sphere of the child's vital processes. The digestive glands have to function differently, but fresh external habits also have to be formed; we observe especially how the mouth at first retains its actual sucking movements and then gradually complies with the new conditions, namely eating with the spoon.

There is no doubt as to such achievements being genuinely productive. However favorable to this step the conditions may be that prevail in the child's muscular and nervous system and in the functioning of his glands, the new mode of function, the use of a hitherto unused organ or part of an organ means venture, and effort, and joy of enterprise. Anyone knows this who can remember learning to swim or to bicycle. But for the present this added achievement on the part of the child is attained only with the direct aid of the mother. The acting subject is not the child by himself, but the community of mother and child, the Primal-We in its entirety.

One notices over and over again that a child, if left alone, will only rarely and imperfectly increase his tension capacity. This is why neglected children are so poor in ability and in experience. But the Primal-We possesses a tension capacity that is at least as great as that of the most mature member of this community; mother and child together can endure at least as much as the mother alone, and of course considerably more than the child without the mother. We only have to think of the operations performed on small children. Whether ordeals of this kind are borne bravely or badly, whether they advance and develop the Primal-We or whether they destroy

it, depends primarily upon the adequacy of the mother's "nerves" and courage, her powers of endurance and tension capacity.

The outward visible means taken to accustom the child to the carrot purée should not be regarded as a maneuver to divert the child's attention. To say that the mother attracts the child's attention so that while he is smiling at her she can slip a spoonful of purée down his mouth "unawares," would be quite misleading. It would in fact be far more correct here to use the term "suggestion." The mother convinces the child by her friendly conduct and especially by her eyes that everything that is happening is for the good of both of them. It is as if the mother were saying "This is new to you, but try it, it won't hurt us, our We is not in danger." This is the first indication of the problem of leadership that we meet with in the Primal-We. Only when the confidence and inner understanding existing between the leader and the led is greater than the ordeal, can there be any productive achievement on the part of one or all of them. And in later life it is only when a similar understanding and confidence once more emerges, or in other words only when the character disposition that existed in the original We-state while it was still uncritical and unbroken, again acquires vitality, that one can use the terms suggestion or fascination. Suggestion, if understood in this sense, has the same significance within the Primal-We as authority has in the later forms of community. The person who tries to "work his will" on small children will get nowhere, that is, unless he shatters the original We; on the other hand the man who emerges as a leader through his powers

of suggestion will straightway have his small band following him with kindled enthusiasm. For this reason, too, the word "no" within the Primal-We should never assume the form: "You are not allowed to do that (but I am)"; it must always signify, "We are not allowed to do this."

And so, under the suggestive leadership of the educator, the children's progressive order has begun to evolve within the Primal-We. They take it as a matter of course that you cannot climb up on to the window ledge if you live three stories high, that you don't dip your finger in the inkpot, and that you eat the chocolate that Uncle has brought, after and not before, the midday meal. They learn to wait, not as a private (egocentric) duty but as something belonging to the We which is common to all its members. And the same applies to the inner structure of the group at this early childhood stage, and its division of labor. That parents know more than children (for instance, how to deal with an exposed electrical contact), that children can do a lot of things better than parents (for instance, crawling under tables and chairs) and that at certain critical moments one person must shout orders to the others (for instance, shout "stop" when a motor comes), all these are facts that belong to the natural order that exists in the Primal-We; they do not inflict feelings of inferiority on the one, nor the illusion of greatness on the other; they can be explained, if the case for discussion arises, but they work quite well without explanation because everyone sees they are sensible, and because they are part and parcel of life itself.

But directly varying grades appear, there appear, also,

varying possibilities. One can save the chocolate until after the meal, but it is quite conceivable also to eat it all up beforehand; again, one can take a long walk on foot, but there is always the possibility that the father may spare his child the exertion and take him on his shoulders. The character of the parents and the progress of order itself may often leave two divergent courses open. Again in its structure the Primal-We is not unequivocal and rigid. It is not determined, but gives both the individual and the group the right of freedom, choice and decision. The polarity of life here shows itself, first in the form of bifurcations or alternatives.*

Mother and child are out walking together. She has a piece of cake in her pocket, and they deliberate as to whether "we shall eat it now, for we are so tired, or whether we shall take it home to Father and Bobby?" Or, put into terms of character: is it better to heighten one's tension capacity or in this case to reduce it?

If the grown-ups are uncompromising and advocate every time a heightening of the tension capacity, the opposite decision will appear reprehensible and will come to be regarded as a breakdown, or even sin. In the reverse case a strong tension capacity will appear as an ideal, a more or

* Polarity and antithesis are inherent in life when it develops dialectically (cf. Jung, 21, p. 98). On the other hand ambivalence is a neurotic delusion (cf. 12, Vol. VII, p. 35).—If the polarity is worked out synthetically, differentiations arise between, for example, heat and cold, what is useful and harmful, what is allowed and not allowed, but the rejected possibilities still remain possible and can later be made use of under altered conditions. What was originally forbidden may later become permissible.—But if on the other hand a catathetical rigidity intervenes, discrimination is replaced by whole-hearted prohibition, by suppression. What is rejected can then never be experienced, even if it later becomes permissible.

less absurd one that can never be reached. There emerges a light and a dark path of life, perhaps even a light and a dark world. And there is no escape from the torment arising from feelings of wrongdoing and guilt and secrecy.* But if both paths are shown to be possible, though utterly different and of varying merit that alters with the circumstance, the child will learn to increase his tension capacity (he is perfectly capable of waiting till next day for the piece of cake), but at the same time he will learn the pleasure of spontaneous enjoyment (it is so good to eat the cake up at once). Both capacities are developed, and the child learns how to deal with his capacities and requirements on his own free responsibility.

* In the dreams and phantasies of children and adults (just as in sagas and poems) there are snakes, swine and dragons, or fearful sea-monsters that represent the "forbidden indulgence," and also eagles, doves or magical winged figures that appear as symbols for the victory over the "lower" appetites. These archetypes, it is true, first reach their fullest manifestation when rendered intelligible in their threatening and terrifying aspects by the consequences of the We-collapse. There is no doubt, however, that their origin dates back to times long before the collapse of the We. How far they have already taken shape in the collective inheritance, as C. G. Jung claims (21, p. 54), or how far they are established individually by each person, it is impossible to decide at the present stage of investigation. In the psychoanalytical terminology of the Freudians, the effort to increase the tension capacity, and the symbol of the bird, corresponds to the "reality principle," while the lowered tension capacity, and the snake, correspond to the "pleasure principle" (12, Vol. V, p. 409).

4. GROWTH IN THE PRIMAL-WE (INNER FACTORS)

A GROWING CHILD HAS TO ADJUST HIMSELF NOT ONLY TO the circumstances of his environment (the outer dialectic) but also to the facts of his physical existence (the inner dialectic). Whether a boy or girl, whether of Germanic, Slav, Jewish or mixed nationality, whether he or she is born strong or delicate, nervous or robust, starts life with some definite weakness in the one or the other organ or is handicapped by special hereditary predispositions—these are all factors determining the “inborn” problems of the inner dialectic.

Closer examination, however, shows that the human subject's adjustment to his organism has invariably a previous history which leads back to the same problem but at a less advanced stage. Let us assume a child comes into the world with a very delicate gastro-intestinal tract. He has trouble with nutrition, an “inborn” condition to which he has to adjust himself. But before this condition arose, say in the second month of prenatal life, the developing embryo had to reckon with the fact that the third germinal layer was perhaps more weakly constituted than the two others. Had it (as subject) been able at this stage to compensate for this disturbance (of the object), there would presumably have arisen a remarkable development of the third germinal layer and the organs it forms, and by the time he was born the child might

even have suffered from a reverse form of organic maladjustment.* But supposing there is no such adjustment before birth, the question arises whether compensation could be achieved during subsequent growth. Whether such "regulation" does or does not take place during the course of human development beyond doubt depends upon the degree of vital intensity, or expressed in other words, upon the amount of tension capacity and productivity displayed.

Accordingly man inherits on the one hand certain exigencies (the needs of metabolism and the predisposition toward a specific form development), and on the other, the means to fulfill these needs (organs and organic functions). But limitations are inherited also; Europeans cannot stand the tropical sun, while Negroes find it impossible to live in Greenland. Nevertheless man can adjust himself productively to these limitations. A white man can, by devising clever inventions (such as tropical uniform), compensate for the lack of dark pigment in his skin (a synthetic dialectic), or he can shun the tropical sun (a catathetic dialectic). But the How just as much as the If, the style of courage even more than the degree of courage, is inherited as a tendency in the organic means. In fact the attributes that come first and foremost under consideration here are those we call racial characteristics.* These characteristics are also means, but of a kind

* Compare Alfred Adler's concept of over-compensation (1), also his doctrine of organ inferiority (17).

* Ferdinand Clauss would seem justified when he distinguishes between races not by any difference in their attributes or "talents," but by the different style in which even the same attributes and talents will operate. He says: "A Viking from the north and a Bedouin from the desert may both possess the same degree of courage, but each has an entirely different way of being

which changes slowly and which sometimes it is quite impossible to change because of the individual's development and the acquired characteristics he has inherited. Yet they too can be strengthened or weakened, compensated, enhanced or undermined by education and self-education.

It must be emphasized very strongly that, in contrast to the hereditary character of all these means and exigencies, personal goals are not hereditary (any more than are values and more particularly value-bearers). Everyone must eat; the need for nourishment is hereditary; the actual manner in which a man procures himself food may be conditioned historically, sociologically and racially; but whether a man seeks nourishment egocentrically, that is to say, for himself alone, or whether, motivated by the We, he does so for his group, is a question of personal development. The value-bearer for which a man desires his values is not determined by heredity, but by education.

To the adolescent the growth of his organs is no longer an individual achievement; there is no question here of a productive choice of goal, but of the necessities of growth and form development to which he must adapt himself whether he will or no. Even if the human development of form is fixed by an almost entirely determined system of phylogenetic and racial laws, the degree of the organism's delicacy, nervous perception or sensibility can be modified, which means it can also be trained.

brave; they have namely a different style of courage. The law of specification operates not in the degree of the attribute "courage," but in the style of courage." (6, pp. 17-18).

The more finely a child is organized, the better perception will he have of the changes of his environment, the greater care must he take in adjusting himself to them, and the greater the likelihood that later he will comprehend and resolve the intricately interwoven problems of existence. At the same time this very same sensitive awareness implies a greater capacity for suffering. With a child of this kind a few seemingly harmless remarks may cause far-reaching disturbances of his inner dialectic, evoking anxieties and tormenting conflicts on the borderline of consciousness. A slight tension between parents can cause torture to a sensitive child, while it may not even exist for a sturdier one. For this reason the only right way of handling differently constituted children is to treat them differently, according to their varying sensibilities. An admonishment that may have the effect of encouraging one child, can inflict a deep wound or mean discouragement to another.*

The growth of the organs and organic systems in their relation to one another is no longer confined entirely to the sphere of the inner dialectic. Extraordinarily deep changes can be evoked by external influences and especially by the systematic encroachment of education. Even the supply of a certain food, and more particularly the support of some given activity, will hamper or advance the development of single organic functions. Whether a child grows up on a farm among natural surroundings, or in a city tenement, whether

* A vivid description of this ontogenetically causal, but phylogenetically purposive, process of form development has been given by Hans Driesch (8, pp. 44 foll.).

he is given more meat to eat, or more fruit and vegetables, whether he can have all the strenuous physical exercise he wants, or has to sit quiet for the greater part of the day, these are determining factors which direct the growth of the organism into a definite channel, and which give the inner equilibrium of the organic system a certain accent; though this accent, it is true, endures only until new surroundings impress a new accent.

However, consideration must always be paid to the fact that no one organ ever gives an isolated response to direct beneficial or harmful action, but that all external influences change the organism always as a whole. For instance if anyone desired to exercise the muscles of his right arm alone, he would not merely be strengthening these muscles, but would begin to slacken or overstrain his other organs. The dialectical "answer" to the use of one group of muscles does not come from this same group of muscles, but from the whole of the living organism, as it were from the very center of the subject; for a new equilibrium has to be set up from this center to cope with the additional strain placed upon the one organ. A wound to the foot causes not only the foot but the entire body to resort to measures that promote healing. The blood distribution changes throughout the whole organism so that the formation of pus or scar tissue may take place.

This capacity for compensation, so far as we can judge today, is guaranteed by three organic systems, that in turn form between themselves a compensatory system. This is the central and peripheral nervous systems, the sympathetic nervous system together with the solar plexus, and the system of

endocrine glands which through inner secretions (hormones) exercises such far-reaching influence over the growth and functioning of all the organs.* At the present it is impossible to give a detailed and vivid picture of the activity of these three systems or even of their parts. In the educational sphere we must still content ourselves with observing them in their totality and with adopting measures to ensure the desired result, without being able to decide which isolated organ it is that we have influenced.

The whole of these regulating apparatus we shall include under the non-committal term "Regulatorium." It constitutes (to a certain extent as a continuation of the "predisposition") an essential part of the reaction-basis. Subordinate to the changes of the inner dialectic, it sets against them barriers which are the more rigid, the more crassly the separate functions of the glands or the nerves have developed. And, like every other organ in the organism as a whole, it proves at once a means and also a limit in the subject's adjustment to his environment.

The educator's task consists of developing a child's regulatorium in such a way that the child as subject can rule over his own regulatorium, and not conversely become the object of this working system. All that we call self-control, self-conquest or self-discipline belongs to the orbit of this problem. The allegation of unconquerable impulses, physical necessities of nature or inherited character traits must be also mentioned here.

* A survey of the present state of gland research is given by Otto Klingenberg (24).

A twelve-year-old boy, Herbert L., the eldest of the four children of an elementary schoolmaster, used to make life practically unbearable to himself and those around by the sheer violence of his outbreaks of temper. The father also possessed a violent temper, but had it under control except for occasional instances of backsliding. The grandfather, whom the child remembered, had been feared far and wide for his temper. The schoolmaster's other children had developed in the opposite direction, being timid, negligent or indifferent. There was no sign of this violent temper in them.*

Herbert naturally pleaded heredity. He said the temper came over him like a fit; that he knew quite well he was doing harm, but that he was absolutely unable to control himself. He felt as though he were mad or drunk, and it was not until he had done every sort of mischief, broken up the china, struck his brothers and sisters, and torn clothing to rags, that he would come to his senses and feel any relief; though he found it unpleasant to have put his family to so much trouble again. The mother's report was that he had been a self-willed child "from his first days," and that when he was only 9 or 10 months old he could throw such a rage over some trifle as to terrify all present. One day, when he was three years old, he refused to go to bed, and when his father tried to force him, he yelled himself into a kind of con-

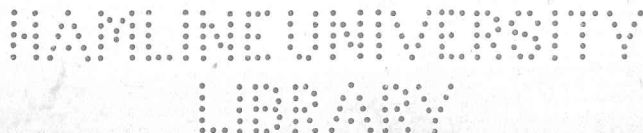
* In view of the boy's age, the example of Herbert L. does not really come into the "early childhood" period under discussion. Seeing, however, that it corresponds in its essential features to the occurrences of the early period, the advantages of belonging to the more advanced age—keener powers of investigation and insight—may be enlisted here in the understanding of the early period.

vulsion, starting to throw things about in such a blind rage that the parents called a doctor. The doctor prescribed bromide (!) and "hesitated to say whether the child was responsible" for his outbursts of rage.

We may assume here the presence of a particular predisposition operating through the marked and easily stimulated activity of an inner secretory (suprarenal?) gland. The organism is flooded with poisons which produce a kind of intoxication or frenzy. And to give full vent to its fit of rage is the only way in which the organism can at that moment rid itself of these poisons. Was the child not right to state his inherent disposition and to regard himself as the innocent victim of heredity?

Take another family in which roughly a third of them inherit a deformity of the right hand. And again another where night-blindness is inherited, and in yet another a disease of the blood. All these human beings have to organize their life with the utmost prudence and care, to discover ways of compensating their weakness; and if they succeed in this, in many respects they will outstrip their average fellowmen. Why should not the same be true of the violent-tempered child?

An alcohol-addict can, by an effort of will, hold out against drunkenness for a long time, or he can intentionally increase it and succumb to it almost before he has begun to drink. In exactly the same way Herbert can increase his rage; he can sink himself in it and yield unresistingly, or he can confront it and see it through with clenched fists until the storm has spent itself unavailingly. Anyone looking at him straight in the eyes at the decisive moment, would be able to see him hesitat-

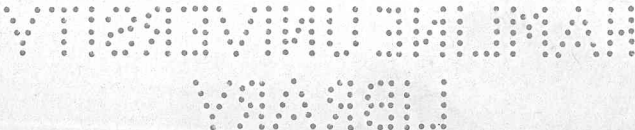


ing between surrendering to his rage, the equivalent of renouncing responsibility, and making a conscious stand against it, the equivalent of assuming responsibility. If the child feels at this moment that the adults are against him, he will surrender himself to his anger, for he has learned that this is the only weapon by which he can triumph over his educators. He makes himself an object of his regulatorium to escape being made an object of the adults. If he feels the grown-ups are friends, his anger is superfluous, to make a stand against it is the obvious course, and while he clenches his fists and twists his mouth, his eyes are already laughing at this childish nonsense. The fit passes and no harm has been done.*

A single victory won by the subject over his regulatorium signifies a change, it is true, of the reaction basis, but not an immediate and final conquest over these compulsory reactions. That requires a long and patient training, one which will call again and again for the educator's help, and which will require the more effort of the child, the more unresistingly he has till then submitted to the "natural laws" of his regulatorium.

We observe that the separate reactions, needs and modes of behavior are very largely, but not finally, conditioned by the individuality of the organism; in just the same way behavior patterns may guide a person's subject life into certain definite prescribed channels, so that the subject more or less

* The account of this episode, in which the child as subject, his rage and his educator form as it were a triangle, may be compared with similar notes made by F. W. Förster, who makes the educator a superior (and hence ineffective) mentor, cuts out the external dialectic and expects everything from the inner-dialectical self-education of the child (10, especially pp. 68-73).



loses his freedom, but he never sinks entirely to the level of a lifeless piece of machinery.

In all these cases the so-called vicious circle is operating. The child knows that the rage that comes over him is due to encroachment on his free will (usually on the part of the adults). He feels himself injured still further in his capacity as subject by this coercion (which touches his inner being), and the more he feels himself injured, the more jealously will he watch over his freedom, and the more furiously object to all external encroachment. But the more furious he becomes, the more bound will he become by an inner encroachment, namely the coercion of his affects.

The educational cure—for that is what is required here—would consist of restoring to the child his freedom as subject toward his own regulatorium. This problem is not always solvable. The vicious circle may have been operating too long and the reaction-basis grown too rigid. (Compare for instance certain cases of exophthalmic goiter.) The psychiatrist must then get in touch with the doctor. But even when the doctor has accomplished his purpose, there remains much work for the psychiatrist to do. If the thyroid gland functions better after being treated with rays or undergoing some chemical change, the patient cannot orientate himself immediately to his new condition. A new equilibrium of the reaction-basis has to be acquired, and the domination of the subject over this equilibrium gradually established by means of the manifold lessons of actual and inner experience. In every case this reformation of the reaction-basis is a task for the psychiatrist.

5. THE COLLAPSE OF THE WE (EGOCENTRICITY AND RIGIDITY)

BERNHARD T., A HEALTHY CHILD OF A YEAR AND A HALF, grew up under the watchful eye of his mother. The father worked in an office all day, the mother looked after the small apartment and the child. She had few friends or relations, hardly ever went out and regulated her daily life by a comfortable routine to which she closely adhered.

One could not say that the child was spoiled. He would play quietly in the room while she worked in the kitchen, and hardly ever demanded anything outside the daily routine. Yet he was easily upset by any break in the routine. One day, two elderly women, both relations of the mother, came to lunch. Bernhard was fed usually at 12 o'clock and then put to bed, while the mother ate. However, a different arrangement was made that day because of the visit, and Bernhard was fed while the women were sitting at table, the mother naturally continuing her conversation with them.

Bernhard began to cry plaintively and after a few minutes refused to take any food whatsoever. The mother did everything she could think of, but her attempts were unusually clumsy, for she was loath to give her guests the impression that she did not know how to bring up her child properly. The child grew more and more excited, till the mother lost all patience and began to threaten the child in earnest, and

ended by giving him a good slap. Bernhard was then put to bed without any lunch. From that moment he distrusted all strangers, even postmen and milkmen. He used to run to his mother and clasp her tightly as soon as he heard even the doorbell ring. This behavior was the more striking since previously the child had scarcely shown any signs of shyness. He had never before borne people or animals any grudge.*

The following months further difficulties occurred which revealed plainly the significance of this development. Bernhard became obstinate, timid, impatient and exacting.

The Primal-We had been broken. The child had learnt from experience that at times the mother would do things completely at variance to the We, that is to the community of mother and child. Apparently there had been similar disturbances before, though of lesser intensity. The visit, however, of the two women had brought matters to a head. The child had to learn something which, put into adult language, runs like this: "One cannot rely upon one's mother. She be-

* Does man come into the world a good or a bad living creature? Alfred Adler has been wont always to describe the "community feeling" as "inborn" (2, p. 3). Sigmund Freud on the other hand confounds primitiveness with egocentricity and thus comes to the conclusion that the newborn are egoistic (12, Vol. VII, p. 143). When Anna Freud makes this assertion it sounds peculiarly grotesque (11, pp. 69-70). She speaks of a being who, resembling an animal, lacks independence and is intolerable socially, and whose "original egoism must be restricted through love towards a definite person." If Charlotte Bühler and also Jean Piaget speak similarly of the original egocentricity of the infant, this is due to an illusion to which these researchers must fall victim despite their thoroughness and experience. Their object of research was the individual. In him they fail to recognize the We-state, the importance of which would not have escaped them had they taken the collective (the We) for their starting-point (cf. 4, pp. 7 and 14; 29, p. 55). C. G. Jung approaches this question differently from the first. For him the collective unconscious takes the place of the primal We, and the conscious individual the place of awakening egocentricity (21, p. 91 foll.).

trays our joint community. She allies herself with strangers and leaves her child in the lurch. However small one may be, one must look after oneself." This was the ruin of the We and the discovery of the You, and the I; the first step forward toward an objective ego-discovery had been led astray by anxiety for the ego.

It is one of the difficult and unavoidable problems belonging to our present cultural development that every child experiences anxiety and fright at the onset of individuality, that is to say of the ego-discovery mentioned above. Ego-discovery is synonymous with a tearing-loose or—even worse—with being cut off from the original-We; it causes a wound which cuts to the very quick and endangers the vital nerve. The later and the more gently this ego-discovery takes place, the less far-reaching are the changes in the child's character structure; but so far as we can tell from observation there are no very great variations in this respect within the compass of our Germanic-Latin-Slav culture. In bourgeois circles the We-collapse occurs earlier than among the peasants and the proletariat; sensitive children are affected by it more strongly than robust children; yet the catastrophic consequences do not differ very greatly.

The theory of the We-collapse bears a certain similarity with the old trauma theory which played a large part in the beginning of psychoanalytical research; and actually the retrospective observance (made in analysis) generally reveals a "primal scene" in which the collapse of the We occurs as a single dramatic event. Yet closer examination leads us always beyond this single traumatic occurrence to a protracted "trau-

matic situation" or to a whole number of similar wounding that together cause the collapse of the We. The outcome, however, of these manifold occurrences is a simple state, namely the fracture of the We.

From now onward, this person's character carries a raw place where, when touched, he will respond all his life with a "catastrophe reaction," * that is, be hypersensitive, unless he succeeds in the illusion of complete immunity to feeling through the "feigning-death reflex." To one person this raw place is "being laughed at," to another "being treated unfairly," and to a third perhaps "being misunderstood." But it is always a case of injury through other persons. The "malignity of objects," and the misfortune that may come through inanimate things is only indirectly experienced as a wound, and in very extreme cases. A small child is never wounded by objects; he rejects things with which his experience has been bad, but he allows himself to be reconciled to them again quite soon. The irrevocable collapse of the We takes place always between persons.

We talk of a man being terrorstruck, and we know that a rabbit is "paralyzed" by the gaze of a snake. Biology as well as psychology is acquainted with the "feigning-death reflex." With human beings this catathetical refusal assumes extremely varied forms. The swoon which renders a man in-

* It is interesting to compare how Kurt Goldstein explains this conception (9, p. 15). It is a process which operates in the biological field just as much as in the cultural, and must doubtlessly be regarded as method for preserving life, even though its subsequent effects are extremely detrimental to life. We can best describe its phenomenal aspect if we say a rigidity sets in, which makes all psychic processes tend to become inflexible, stereotyped; the child will appear anxious and obstinate; he has become "psycho-sclerotic."

sensible when suffering mental or physical torture reveals the life-preserving significance of this procedure; but a candidate's incapacity to think when confronted by a much-feared examiner shows the untoward consequences that can arise from this original attempt at self-preservation.

Thus today for most persons the beginning of ego-discovery means simultaneously the beginning of an inner rigidity (in other periods of culture the danger zones lay elsewhere and hence also the psychic freezing-points). So for our time and age it is true to say that individualism is generally synonymous with a rigid ego-discovery or, as we should express it, with egocentricity. The one unalterable value-bearer is then the Ego.

Formerly individualism as a concept merely meant that the individual was ready to assume responsibility for his own actions and his own destiny; today egocentricity means that while the individual must of course bear the consequences of his acts, he both performs the acts and bears the consequences purely for the sake of his own private advantage.*

In the study of character the egocentric attitude is most easily understood if regarded as a perpetual, unyielding, compulsory (even though often unconscious) fight against something insupportable and horrible, namely the repetition

* In content the fundamental principles of dialectic characterology are "egocentricity" and the We-state, and in form "rigidity" (psycho-sclerosis) and "aliveness" (productivity). It is significant of the demands civilization makes upon us today, that egocentricity is unfailingly connected with rigidity and the We-state with aliveness. At the time of the Reformation one was alive if one freed oneself from the ossified forms of the Primal-We (the character's feudal fetters). Today the problem has advanced a full stage further, at least in Northern and Central Europe.

of those early wounds of childhood. Everything that happens afterward, every mode of conduct, habit and development, is instilled by this main condition or we might even call it the primal fear, of ever having to be torn asunder again so cruelly.

Let no one imagine this definition of the experiences of childhood to be exaggerated; it is hardly possible to choose strong enough words. Again and again in the character analyses of adults or even in the anxiety dreams and fever phantasies of children we come up against the after-effects of the horror that we all have experienced once—the horror of being alone. The objective step which the child makes toward ego-discovery should have brought him at the same time nearer the objective Ripening-We. "Mother is occupied with others beside me. She feeds them also." The We as the value-bearer would then have grown, the We-state have emerged from its original form and passed over to its later, riper form;—yet in this way the experience of individualism, of ego-discovery and of the assumption of personal responsibility would have been lost. To leap straight from the Primal-We to the Ripening-We, or, what would come to the same thing, to learn the lesson of individualism without becoming egocentrically rigid and without a collapse of the We, appears even a theoretic impossibility. It seems impossible in practice to avoid directly experiencing the calamity of the We-collapse. We can only seek as far as possible to soften its effects and render it favorable to later development.

But, one might object, the child feels no hostility toward his mother; on the contrary, he clings to her tightly now, for

the first time. He wants at all costs to preserve the jeopardized We. This is correct, but it only goes to show that actually the value-bearer has changed. A We which has once encountered danger from within, has lost its original innocence. It is no longer the Primal-We, and it can only be restored gradually through conscious realization and the determination to accept suffering. But it is then the Ripening-We of adulthood.

For the moment, however, the child can do no more than take a first helpless step. He clings to his mother, even though in doing so he is no longer innocently serving the We, but looking after his own well-being. Anxiously he seeks to avoid everything that may recall the terrifying experience he has had of being betrayed. It would probably be correct to say that all his former experiences, sad as well as gay, have been approached from the angle of the We. We cry because the food is too hot; we laugh because Father plays with us; we splash about in the bath. Always the We signifies the original group as a Whole. The first experience of the I emerging, an I still quite unfamiliar and blurred, was the experience of the collapsing-We.*

But the birth of the ego only begins here. One attempts immediately to check it. A new state comes into existence, which tries to rescue from the old We all there is left to be rescued, and nevertheless must needs yoke what is rescued to the service of the new ego; but this state constitutes only a stage along the road of ego-discovery. Sooner or later it must

* Georg Kerschensteiner approximately terms everything here called ego-centricity, "character," and in contrast thereto he designates "instinctiveness," individuality. He does not see how completely the latter is a part of the former, nor does he recognize any concept to tally with the We-state (cf. 23).

be superseded by other stages which throw the egocentricity into crasser relief. Frequently, however, ego-discovery does not cease until the thirteenth or fourteenth year, although the ripening, deliberate We may have begun to emerge in the same person during the tenth or twelfth year. As in every organic development, the dialectic phases overlap. Every youth of fifteen gives evidence of character traits that originated in the Primal-We period; most of his abilities are being used in the service of the ego, it is true, but simultaneously there are certain traits operating already which belong to the Ripening-We of a growing man.

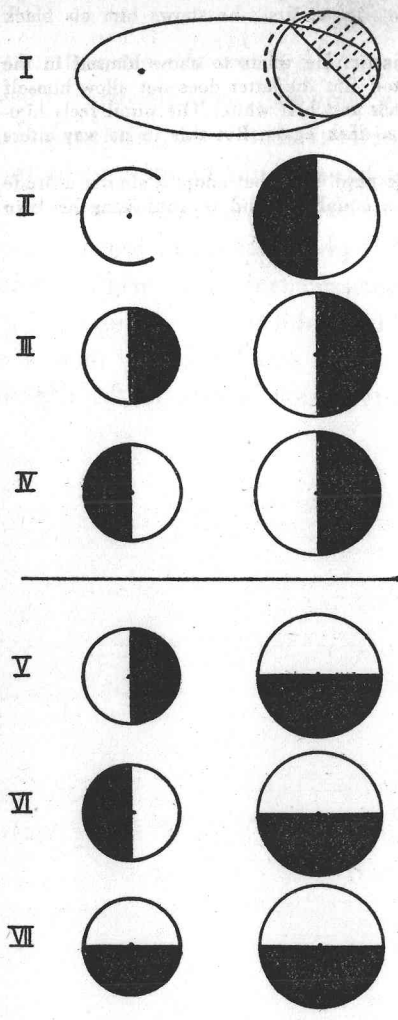


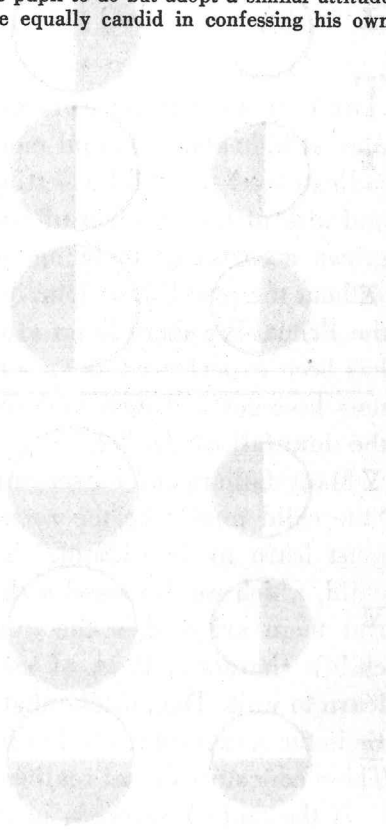
FIG. 2. CHILD GUIDANCE.

- I. The so-called Primal-We is best symbolized by an ellipse. The two points of focus are the two subjects (mother and child), while the common periphery signifies the common interests and their common adjustment to their environment.
- II. The We-collapse has occurred. The ellipse has been broken by force of the mother's latent egocentricity. It may be that in a burst of impatience she has repelled the child's demonstrations of tenderness. The child has discovered that the mother is not a part of the We, but an independent You. And to the child this You appears as something dark, an almost hostile force. So the child, like a circle that has not yet closed, stands at first defenseless and open toward the other circle.
- III. The child now makes himself independent; defensively and defiantly, perhaps even hypocritically, he turns his new dark side toward the adult. The adult's mood has changed in the meantime, and is again one of benevolence toward the child.
- IV. The child allows himself to be influenced, and gives evidence likewise of friendliness and compatibility. Both turn their bright sides toward the other. One might almost imagine the ellipse of the Primal-We to have been restored. But closer scrutiny reveals that they are adapting themselves to one another as two disguised egoists.
- V. The child is bigger now and is proving a difficult character. He is in the hands of a new educator, an educational therapist. The latter differs from earlier educators in that he makes no secret of his own faults, nor of his own

objectivity. The pupil rebels against him at first; he shows him his black side.

VI. But soon the pupil waxes enthusiastic. He wants to show himself in the brightest light possible to the educator. But the latter does not allow himself to be deceived. He remains half black and half white. The pupil feels himself betrayed, and would like to turn dark again. But this in no way alters the calm attitude of the educator.

VII. Finally there is nothing left for the pupil to do but adopt a similar attitude to that of the educator. He must be equally candid in confessing his own good and bad qualities.



6. UNCONSCIOUS POLICY (BEHAVIOUR, HABITS AND REACTION-BASIS)

THE GAMES OF TEASE BETWEEN MOTHER AND CHILD, THEIR play at hide-and-peek, and mock-seriousness, contain the first indication of the child asserting his independence as subject, and also of the problem of being alone. Most children have grown accustomed to being left alone for some time past, without the problem of loneliness arising. In the kingdom of the Primal-We there is no aloneness. It is not until the ego has been experienced as an antithesis of the We, that loneliness becomes a danger and simultaneously a fresh proof of the downfall of the We.

Many fathers and nurses, and even some mothers, will say "the child must take the rough with the smooth in life. He must learn to do without." The mistake of pampering the child, which we discussed a short time back, is thus avoided. But there arises then the opposite error of hardening the child's character. It is, of course, true that the child must learn to wait. The mistake that causes the hardening does not lie in the statement itself, but in the tone in which it is uttered. These educators do not realize what they are about.

If the mother succeeds in leaving the child alone against his will, goes into the kitchen and comes back again after ten minutes with his lunch all ready prepared, their game of tease has an important sequel. It is true the child put up a

resistance and was pained by his mother's behavior, so strange and "hostile to the We." He may even have cried. But his mother did not grow angry. Very friendlily and quietly she told him that she must go to fetch his food. With her voice and her expression she affirmed unequivocally her loyalty to their community. Nevertheless her departure was felt to be a denial of the We-subject, and hence a betrayal. Yet not a complete betrayal. Should one trust that reassuring look in her eye more than the evidence of one's own eyes which said "she has gone"? Was it perhaps possible that she had gone away without breaking up the We? The child is unable to arrive at any clear understanding. His tension capacity is not yet sufficient. He cannot yet recognize in his mother's absence the contribution of service to the We. His tension capacity is, however, already sufficiently great for him not to forget the oath of fidelity that lay in her eyes.

Amidst all this uncertainty his mother returns. That decides everything. His meal is there, the We assumes gigantic proportions in the foreground, and his mother's temporary absence was after all nothing worse than the teasing habit his bricks had of falling down when they were being made into a house, or his mother's laughing way of disappearing when she played "hide-and-seek" behind her apron.

His tension capacity has grown quite substantially. In future all kinds of unpleasantnesses will be borne in the consciousness that, when all is said and done, the world-order merits confidence. The first grain of the seed of religious education has taken root in the character of the child. But ego-discovery has also started, for the effort of endurance no

longer concerns the We, but falls on the child alone as an individual subject, the child in contrast to the mother.

A two-year-old little girl, Erna M., had lived so far almost entirely in the innocent and trustful state of original We-ness. One day her grandmother fell ill and the mother had to spend several nights nursing her. Meanwhile a distant relative took the child off to stay with her.

Erna was most upset by this change. She kept on asking questions and crying. Her aunt found her behavior "naughty" and explained to the child that unless she was good she would never return to her mother. These misguided and egocentric tactics apparently set a vicious circle operating. The child was uneasy because she missed her mother, and now she learnt that, the greater her uneasiness, the longer she would have to be without her mother. Her tension capacity was insufficient; the child fell into a catathesis. She renounced her objective, namely, her mother, and for the first time found herself, as an I, in complete loneliness. The presence of the strange aunt made no difference.

That evening for the first time in her life the child could not go to sleep. She was afraid of the animals which she thought she heard under her bed. The aunt felt vexed at her failure in the capacity of a mentor; probably too she felt something approaching a bad conscience. At any rate it is to be imagined that her efforts that night were neither very friendly nor very skillful. Her own report (very cautiously given) showed later that finally she had either struck or threatened to strike the child. What happened that night afterward, is not known.

The mother noticed that the child exhibited a curious mixture of joy, astonishment and apprehensiveness, when they met again. However, she attributed no importance to it. It was not until some weeks later, when the grandmother was again rather poorly, that the child started to scream at night. And from then onward these attacks of night terror grew more frequent. Three years later the child, now aged five, told of a dream which fairly frequently seemed to precede the attacks of terror: She is sitting quite alone on a small island in the middle of the sea. No land is visible. Not a soul is there. The sky is black and the waves come up higher and higher. The isolation of the ego could scarcely be described more pungently than in this picture.

Another time the discovery of a small, almost featherless bird which had fallen from the nest, brought on an attack of terror. The mother was telling her how at first the birds are dependent on their parents because they cannot yet fly, and how they must die if they fall out of their nests. Not until she had finished this account did she notice that the child had turned deathly pale. There were beads of sweat on her brow and her hands and feet were trembling.

Whenever Erna's later conduct betrayed difficulties of character, the trouble could always be traced back to this formula: ". . . lest I fall out of the nest." She would cling to her mother and behave in a most excited manner whenever her mother wanted to go away. She fought obstinately against being sent away to relations for a few days. To her the Kindergarten was sheer torture, while she simply would not hear of beginning school soon. Any measure that involved

separation from her mother obviously appeared to her as designed to make her "fall out of the nest"; and she fought against it with every means at her disposal.

A regular war thus broke out between parents and child. A good deal of naughtiness and obstinacy, but also a certain amount of affectionate behavior and cajolery came to be cultivated by the child for reasons of "policy." The final resource which, however, was so costly as to be carefully avoided by mother and child, consisted in the fit of terror. This whole policy was unconscious on the part of the child, and nevertheless, its every detail was fraught with meaning and consequence. It was also compulsory, so that no amount of wise encouragement or promise, nor yet threats and punishments, could put an end to this "fight for the nest."

The break-up of the original-We, coming too early and too suddenly, had transformed the child's We-ward attitude into an egocentric attitude. Its goal was now: "Mother is to stay with me," and the value-bearer was no longer the We but the I. For the sequel of this axiom was this:—"or else I must die like the sparrow which fell out of the nest."

Thus arises, as it were, the constitutional law which governs the development of character. It forms the center-point of all subsequent changes in the reaction basis. Any refinements and improvements that may be added to the rules of conduct must be subservient to this fundamental law. Any immediate change is moreover impossible, because then the individual must needs "die of fright." The fundamental law and all its additional clauses are rigid. They work automatically and the child behaves as she must behave. She

cannot do otherwise. In order to keep intact her free subject-life in its entirety, she has had to sacrifice a part of her freedom as subject. She is behaving unconsciously and under the pressure of a colossal inner burden—as a nation will let itself be yoked to a system of military and territorial service for the sake of preserving its freedom of existence.

The manner or style in which the unconscious policy is construed may be partly explained by the external situation, by the adults' behavior and the particular sphere in which the battle is being fought out. The first question here is whether the upbringing has been too severe or too soft, causing either hardening and intimidation or pampering and spoiling. That pampering produces likewise a "rigid" form of character, should not be difficult to realize, despite the apparent (and purely verbal) contradiction. Yet on the other hand the inner policy depends for its development on the child's resources and conditions at that particular time. A robust child will become more active and aggressive, a delicate child more passive and lackadaisical. The differences of sex, family, class and race will of course make themselves felt also.

The sum of these determinants we designate reaction-basis or basis of valuation. Expressed pictorially, we are considering the basis whence the subject reacts to the objects, or, what is the same thing, the material out of which he builds his values and through which, at the same time, his implicit attitude becomes defined. Yet the reaction-basis is not a part of the subject. Valuation does not proceed from the reaction-basis as some self-evident (mechanical) event. This basis pro-

vides the storehouse for the physical and psychic resources which enable the subject to comprehend the problems that lie before him, to choose his goals and to take action. Every new perception, every new viewpoint and especially every success or failure enlarges the dimensions of this basis, and changes its form. The dialectic process by which the subject comes to terms with his objects accordingly effects a steadily increasing expansion, differentiation and complication of this reaction basis. And through the inner dialectic, through reflection, phantasy and dreams, it is transformed, unified and deepened.

In a certain sense the reaction basis can also be described as the "memory of the individual," even perhaps as the "memory of the race." Yet this is advisable only so far as the notion of memory be extended beyond the sphere of those images capable of entering consciousness. It must be made to include the whole sum of personal experiences (even the very earliest and the prenatal) and the huge wealth of racial experience (at least in its organic forms, capacities, inclinations and dispositions). Put briefly, memory is, then, the collection of means and potentialities, of the "inner things" that are awakened, modified and enhanced by "outer things." *

In the case of Erna M. the reaction-basis had been changed both in quality and principle through her experience with her aunt. And actually this change from now onward operates as compulsorily as any natural law. The value-bearer is no longer the We but the ego; and her entire mode of behavior has become rigid. For the present the reaction basis

* Cf. C. G. Jung's remarks on the collective unconscious (21, pp. 45 foll.).

can only be changed by the refinement and enrichment of its existing elements (its resources) and not by any modification of its fundamentally egocentric attitude.

The girl has since acted on the principle that "mother must remain with me." That is not a decision taken consciously by the child, nor an oath she has sworn to herself, nor yet even a rule the mother had impressed upon her. It is not a positive thought at all, but a determinant for the future conduct of the child, like all the other determinants a child "learns" in the course of its life. One must not take hold of live coals, one must not run in front of a moving car, and one must not take lumps of sugar out of the kitchen without asking.* But in two respects the new character law differs from all previously mentioned determinants of the reaction basis. In the first place intercourse with the grown-ups had hitherto been perfectly harmless. Both mother and aunt appeared to be good friends. Now it had suddenly been proved that they were capable of behaving like dangerous enemies. They are still just as indispensable and all-powerful (they have the effect of giants in the realm of unconscious images); but whereas formerly they were bright and friendly, now they appear dark and threatening (expressed in the language of moods and dreams, it is as if the white giants had suddenly changed into black giants). It is not a case, therefore, of a new experience being added to previous experiences, but of the previous experiences being denied by a new experience.

* That human conduct is not determined, nor character traits formed, by outbursts of energy or unconscious impulses warring with one another (as Freud assumes), but by unconscious "laws" or "maxims" (as Kant says) has been particularly emphasized recently by Karl Girgensohn (cf. 14, p. 325).

Hence the question arises whether the same disillusion may not invade adjacent territories. (All adults are regarded with mistrust.)

The second difference is closely bound up with the first. Since personal experiences are no longer to be relied upon, the adjustment of the subject to objects immediately becomes fraught with danger. All the means used to serve this end can suddenly become means used to frustrate it. A mode of conduct which has hitherto helped the subject to have the whip hand over objects, may perhaps suddenly give the objects the whip hand over the subject. The child may not be conscious of this fact, yet it is significantly proved in the new viewpoint of the subject. Former courage has been replaced by obvious discouragement. The former advance has turned into retreat. For the first time the subject adopts a fundamentally negative attitude. The former sequence of syntheses has been broken by a catathesis.

All these factors that determine the reaction basis we call "behavior-habits" and we mean thereby all imperatives, which, without the knowledge of their bearer, rule as compulsorily and inexorably as if produced by training. It makes no difference whether we imagine some organic disturbance or split in the brain to accompany this inner law. The one important fact for us is that the behavior-habit always sets in as the result of a catathesis. By the very way a law of this kind operates, it deserves to be described as a clause of a constitutional law. It must be made to harmonize with the other determinants of the reaction-basis (namely the other clauses); it can be expanded and further developed through

additions to it within the realm of the inner dialectic, but it can never be got rid of entirely, that is, without a crisis involving the individual's whole subject-life. We may, therefore, also describe the behavior-habit as a "character law" or as a "clause of the inner constitutional law." *

All rigid character traits, habits and peculiarities may be regarded as behavior-habits. The decided repulsion children feel for certain people, for certain food and even certain activities is generally based on some such behavior-habit. Quite frequently a passing antagonism that is of a thoroughly synthetic nature is first transformed into a real catathesis, and hence into an inhibition, by the clumsiness of the educator. †

Directly a behavior-habit is violated, some strong emotion such as fear, excitement or anger is felt. Faced with the sanction "—or else you cannot remain a subject," the person is ready to renounce anything and everything, to make any sacrifice and every imaginable effort, simply and solely to escape this main danger. Thus man will (unconsciously) make himself the object of his own behavior-habits. He has limited

* Compare also the author's remarks on the subject of behavior-habits in other passages (37, p. 21, and 41, p. 50).

† This interpretation might be compared with the Grade Theory of Karl Bühler (5). He differentiates between instinct, training and intellect. The first he says is "rigid" (unalterable), the second "inert" (difficult to alter), the third "mobile" (productive). On the other hand we hold the opinion that all the actions of a newborn child, including the so-called reflexes, are at first mobile, adaptable and productive. Partial rigidity occurs later, caused by the collapse of the We and beginning of egocentricity, and may extend also to the intellect as well as to the emotions or the so-called instincts. The static appears to us to be a degeneration of the dynamic. Only in the crisis of later life is it possible once more to develop the qualities of adaptability and productivity to a more marked degree.

his own freedom as a subject in order not to lose it altogether.

The part of the reaction basis that is conditioned by the child's (tendentiously distorted and egocentrically rigidified) conception of the world we term the "ego-construction." This term covers the system of behavior-habits, the prejudices, appraisements and opinions, including self-esteem and the guiding image, as well as the corresponding habits and dispositions relative to his temperament, his requirements and abilities. This ego-construction is, therefore, a combination of inner egocentricity (the restrictions of the subject) and outer limitation of perception, interpretation and action; it is the individual making a system of the limits of his subject-life, of "narrow-mindedness," or of psychosclerosis, a state that requires special investigation in the case of every individual.

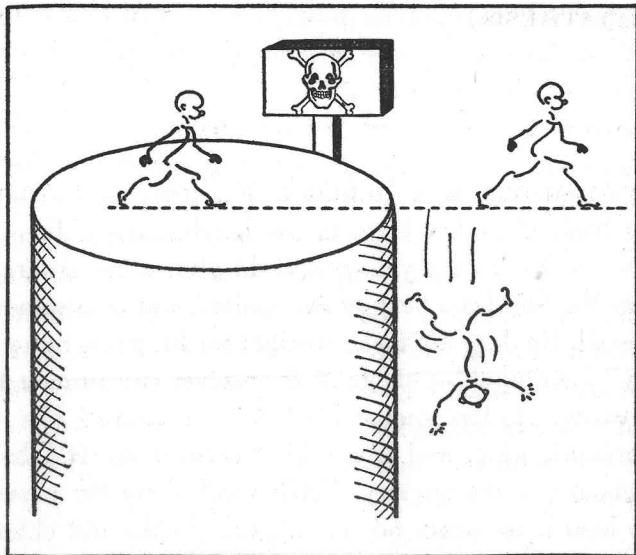


FIG. 3. THE BEHAVIOR-HABIT.

The young person moves within a circuit which is familiar to him and in which he feels safe, for example on the round platform of a cylinder. It is as if this familiar ground were surrounded on all sides by a precipice. On the edge of the precipice there stands a notice-board with the warning: "Whoever crosses this boundary will break his neck." The educator, however, is demanding that the child cross this boundary (although it was the educators themselves who originally set the boundary). They seem to the child to be demanding that he should go forward through empty space. Mentally he sees himself already falling headlong (this is his "anticipated fear"), and hence he cannot do what is expected of him.

7. SUBSTITUTE GROWTH (TENSION CAPACITY, CATATHESIS)

A FIVE-YEAR-OLD BOY, HEINRICH W., HAS BEEN STEALING pencils from the other boys in his Kindergarten. Investigation reveals that as the youngest child after three sisters, not only has the boy been very much spoiled, but also somewhat suppressed. He dare not make straight for his goals in a direct "manly" fashion. Also his goals themselves constitute a flight from reality. He has amassed a "treasure hoard" like some old Germanic king, and stores his treasures secretly behind his cupboard in the nursery. Yet beyond being the possessor of this hoard, he bears no resemblance to the old chieftain kings. In the face of any real difficulty all his courage and dare-devilry evaporate. He can endure no hardship, yet in his games he is the hero who kills dragons and rescues maidens. (His father has told him many of the old sagas and fairy tales, and over his bed hang pictures of Gudrun, Siegfried and Hagen.)

It is natural for this pampered youngster to shrink back and react catathetically whenever life demands of him something he has never learned, namely to stand fast in the face of difficulty. By his own confession, his outstanding behavior-habit is: "I must never attempt anything difficult, for I should be sure to fail, my sisters would laugh at me—and that would be unendurable."

In his unconscious the sisters operate as giants, who are bright and friendly enough, it is true, so long as they are not annoyed, but who turn into horrible black monsters directly they find their small brother (the dwarf) being in any way annoying or ridiculous. The child's entire attitude, not only his phantasies and dreams, but also his activities, his play and his work, corresponds to this "world image" created by his childish imagination. Yet the child himself knows nothing of the fundamentally egocentric disposition of his character or of its rigidity; still less does he know anything of the catastrophes which led to the formation of his behavior-habits. He accepts the after-effects and consequences as perfectly natural, and it would never occur to him that it was possible to behave otherwise. This restriction of his powers as subject points to a marked lessening of his tension capacity. Consequently he is extremely sensitive to hunger, thirst, cold, heat, as also to teasing and general unpleasantness.

But Henry has not only learned that it is impossible for him to oppose his sisters' prejudices openly, he has also learned how to assert his own will secretly against that of his enemies. He withdraws and apparently gives way to them, letting his enemies believe that they have achieved their goal and that he has turned object. Secretly, however, he remains subject. He does what he wants, and far from renouncing his goals, seeks merely to reach them another way, which is unseen and out of danger's reach. Instead of a conqueror, he becomes a thief. He follows his behavior-habit, he avoids all conflict with the enemy (catathesis) and yet reaches his goal (a cata-

thetical synthesis). A new productivity is thus at work, but its ways are negative and circuitous rather than direct and positive. The new syntheses move now in an unfruitful direction, remote from reality.

The boy's tension capacity is insufficient for him to wage open war against his sisters, yet sufficient to allow him to amass a secret treasure hoard and run the danger of discovery. It is easy to understand now how Henry became a thief. We can see too how the fact that this thief becomes in his own phantasy a Viking, that he tries at least in play to act the courage and scorn of death he lacks in reality, reveals the productive powers that are being atrophied through the curtailment of his tension capacity. But his inner development also bears the mark of faintheartedness. He never gets beyond egocentric daydreams and anxiety dreams; he grows outwardly cramped and inwardly toneless. All the dark emotions and thrilling presentiments belonging to his age remain beyond his reach. His growth and upbringing, as also his outer and inner dialectic, bear the permanent imprint of the behavior-habit that has been woven into his reaction-basis; and until an inner-revolution occurs, this fault in his constitutional law cannot be corrected.

In a synthetical development, too, negative experiences occur, but in the antithesis, where they form the transitional stage necessary to the realization of a productive step. In a catathetical development the negative experience, in so far as it comes from outside (concerns the object), represents the antithesis also, it is true, but the negative experience is now recognized from within (by the subject), and signifies, there-

fore, the catathesis, the negative conclusion of the triple process which it is no longer possible to solve synthetically.*

A boy on a walking tour comes to a stream. In as far as he is subject, his goal is to go on, and cross the stream. The stream as object prevents the attainment of the goal. It negates it. If the youth's tension capacity is sufficiently developed, he will seek for means to render the stream passable (some kind of bridge or ford). And if he is unsuccessful, he will change his goal, take another path—and continue his tour. The immediately superior goal he is pursuing on this tour—the recovery of his health maybe, or the enjoyment of nature—will then operate for him, if the lower goal of wandering in one particular direction is no longer attainable.

If on the other hand the youth's tension capacity is insufficient, he will renounce not merely his immediate goal of crossing to the other side of the stream, but all goals; he will give up walking altogether and every other form of activity. He subsides on the bank of the stream, or sadly returns home. One goal only is still operating for him, the very one which has just prevented him from striving any more for success; and that is the desire to avoid defeat, failure and useless effort, in short, everything that may put any further constraint on his subject-life. His goal is now to preserve what remaining freedom and power he has left after this defeat.

His goal pyramid has become rigid. The needs and emotions generated by his organism, the presentiments and phantasies emerging out of his unconscious are all stifled unless

* In "Let's Be Normal," the antithesis is described at first as a negative apperception, the synthesis as a positive experience, and the catathesis as a negative experience (37, Chap. 4).

they harmonize with his rigidified goals. The search for higher values ceases, and with it all purposiveness, desire and growth. All values are now subordinated to the one (unalterable) final and entirely negative value, which stipulates that the subject-life, already drastically reduced, must on no account suffer further encroachment, that therefore defeat and danger must be in future avoided.

This is the end of all forms of productivity that foster growth and the spirit of venture. The only sort left is that which helps to defend what already exists. Laments, accusations, reveries and phantasies exhaust whatever trace of synthetic power remains.

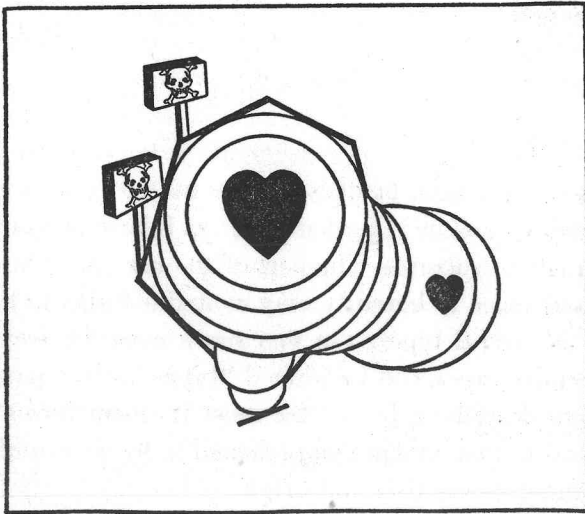


FIG. 4. THE SECONDARY HEART.

The source of life, the core of subject-existence, is portrayed here by a heart. The rings round the heart signify the character-development of the child. In certain places discouragements check this development like so many rigid barriers (corresponding to the warning-notices in Figure 3). The child then develops all the more strongly in the places which still stand open to him. He finds compensations. In particular the side representing the child's hobby becomes excessively developed. On this hypertrophied territory a "second heart" grows. From it there arises the enormous energy expended in this sphere, but also a serious peril; for if failure overtakes him in this sphere, the whole person collapses as though he no longer possessed a real and unendingly productive heart. He has surrendered himself entirely to the one thing (or the one person). He has made a God for himself out of something earthly.

8. CHILD TYPES (INTROVERSION AND EXTROVERSION)

THE TYPES WE SHALL DISCUSS IN THIS DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS of character cannot be regarded either as inborn or as unalterable character structures. The part of the regulatorium which owes its existence to heredity may contribute also to the furtherance of useful types. (In this sense even the two sexes, and especially races, can be termed "types".) Our particular object is to describe a few of the most frequent forms of behavior, and to make them comprehensible by an examination of their inner connection and origin.

If the process of adjustment between subject and object, and hence the development of the whole of life, takes dialectical channels, then polar opposites must everywhere be evident in human character. Yet these apparently contradictory character traits are not mutually exclusive; when one trait appears particularly prominent, we still find the opposite trait active, though in a repressed and probably stunted form; and we must be prepared for the latter to emerge into the foreground at any given time. This would explain many changes of character which otherwise appear incomprehensible, and many ambivalences—the apparently simultaneous operation of opposite drives—in short much of the discord of human life. A particularly defiant child may once have been a particularly obedient child, and later he may again

grow compliant; defiance and obedience can however also appear simultaneously in the same character. The opposite viewpoints a subject adopts—while serving the same goal—may replace one another, but they may also become fused, according to the different conditions prevailing in the outer world.

What is true of individual character traits is also true of character types (for these types are nothing else than frequently occurring characteristics in the reaction-basis). The type comprises a system of attributes, that is to say the goals and limits of a personality, but it does not denote its core, or its ultimate inner essence. Hence the subject can change the type of his goals and limits by a new viewpoint (possible only during a crisis). We know men who behave in a cowardly fashion; but we do not know any cowards. "Henricus mendax, sed non est Henricus": Henry lies, but the word "lie" does not designate completely the subject Henry. After every predicate it is possible to say: "Sed non est Henricus." Because of this, no educator nor judge should ever permit himself to pass a final judgment on a man. We can recognize here how the method of boundary research which arose out of dialectical characterology reverts to the "Nonic principle," that is the foundation of all dialectic science.* "Sed non est . . ." We never come to the end. Life goes on, "from the greater to the lesser error."

The theory of types best known in Germany at the moment is that which contrasts the schizothymic and the cyclothymic

* Compare the author's further remarks on the Nonic Principle (37, Chap. 28 and 41, Chap. 4).

types of character. The difference between the two, and also the presence of mixed forms, is said to be due to peculiarities in the endocrine glands, or, as we would say, in the regulatorium. The truthfulness of this interpretation cannot be doubted; we must emphasize however that here again there is no question of the character's being determined for the rest of life. One man has at his disposal means which suggest to him a "cyclothymic" conduct in his adjustment to the outer world, and another will tend to cultivate schizothymic means; but the goals to be served by these means, are as yet undetermined. The man's values and value-bearer, the essential signposts to his character, will become determined gradually in the dialectic of his development.*

Thus neither the child's constitution nor his environment is typical, but the relation between the two. Using therefore the dialectical method of investigation into character, one finds two mutually opposed possibilities which to a certain extent represent the two starting points of every character development. A child may be well or ill adapted physically (according to whether he is strong or delicate or ultra-

* In dialectical characterology there has already been the differentiation between the more highly strung (sensitive) and the blunter (insensitive) organisms. If we compare this distinction with that made by Kretschmer (26) we find that the more sensitively a child's regulatorium is constituted, the more he will tend to the schizothymic type of behavior. The individual traits however which Kretschmer attributes to his types would be dialectically interpreted as originating historically from the encounter of the child with his surroundings, without the child's "constitution" being regarded as the sole decisive influence. An extremely sensitive child, if placed in cultivated and objective surroundings, will develop quite gaily and actively as a cycloid. And a blunter individual, who should be a pycnic physically and a cyclothymic psychically, will nevertheless turn out a schizoid under permanently unfavorable external circumstances—for example, if his family are drunkards.

sensitive) to his surroundings (which may be rough or refined). In the first case his adjustment will tend to follow an active course. The child will try to master his surroundings, and external dialectical processes will play the chief part in the development of his character. In the second case, the child's behavior will be more passive. He will withdraw as far as possible from the outer world which he senses as too rough, and will try to digest in his inner self the painful conflicts he experiences everywhere. The imagination of past and future adjustments, or inner dialectical processes, will very early fill the child's life instead of real conflicts, or an external dialectic. Quiet and remote, a child of this type inclines toward dreaminess or contemplativeness, and seeks to subdue the external world "from afar."

This contrast, often noticeable in the first months of the child's life, is inadequately and erroneously depicted by Kretschmer's definition. It corresponds, however, exactly to the differentiation introduced by C. G. Jung to this branch of science under the names "Extrovert" and "Introvert." *

Yet it is only a question of degree. The extraverted child looks outward on the world round him. To him it is vitally important to do something, say build a tower; his true life lies in coming to practical terms with immediate actualities. Yet indirectly, and as though of secondary importance, the child recognizes the world of imagination, and fairy tales and abstract ideas as also belonging to him, but not as part of his "true" life. The direction of his training is outward; yet there is no behavior-habit operating to forbid his build-

* 19 and 22.

ing up an inner world. Nor is this inner world totally non-existent. It is only that the development of practical abilities obscures its significance.

Since, however, in such cases the neglect of the inner dialectic can easily lead to defeats, there is always the danger of these reopening the wound in the child's character (the scar of the *We-collapse*), and of a behavior-habit ensuing that will completely outlaw the inner life. All feeling will be forbidden, all inward listening regarded as dangerous to life, and hence "impossible"; the phenomenon of dreams, phantasies, presentiments or desires will arouse fear or anger, because it contradicts inner constitutional laws. For the first time the extraverted type becomes rigid and determined, and from now onward compulsorily rejects all emotional life, artistic imagination and often even the world of scientific thought also, as poisonous to life.

Similarly the introverted child at the outset is not inimical to the outer world. No initial behavior-habit forbids him, for instance, from building something with his blocks. The child builds; but it does not occur to him to impose his will on the blocks, and to erect as high or elaborate a tower as he possibly can; instead he endeavors to externalize an inner image that has grown vital in his solitary dreams. For this child the building of the tower is not the solution of a technical problem, but is in the nature of a symbolical rite; it "is" perhaps a sorry performance, but it "signifies" something great. It signifies the act of a king—look, the king has now a castle from which he can rule the world both wisely and well!—an act which means protection and security from

all the anxieties and troubles that threaten the life of sensitive children.

But the more a child develops his inner life only, the more likely is he to experience nothing but disillusion and defeat in his outer life. Hitherto he has behaved with caution and reserve in his dealings with the rough outer world; but if in his contact with other children and adults, or even with animals, he has continually had experiences (and the more sensitive the child, the more will he suffer from them), the original wound that caused the egocentric inflexibility will once more be opened. For the first time a behavior-habit arises which determines the type of the child. Activity with the external world is forbidden; and therefore he seeks all the more zealously to find compensation for the half of life he has lost in the half of life that is still allowed. Not only has the child now turned introspective; he has expressly turned his back on the outer world.

Individual psychology has been falsely accused of running to a foolish optimism culminating in the assertion that everything is possible to all men. This was not true even in the case of Adler. And the subsequent development of individual psychology along the line of dialectical characterology leads actually to results which attest the opposite, though without giving way to pedagogical pessimism. Whoever has been introverted for the first five or six years of his life has built up for himself an inner world which he will never lose again. His later development may turn him into a man of action, that is an extraverted character, or he may once more shift the accent of his life after thirty years of extroversion from

the outer to the inner dialectic. For him the door to art, philosophy and religion has never shut from the earliest years of his childhood. The way back to the creative sources of life remains open to him; and however much he has familiarized himself with his external life, it still is never his "true" life. On the other hand, a person who has lived his first years as an extravert, may be brought by the force of some fate to adopt a completely introverted attitude later. He may become a philosopher, an artist or a theologian. The way back to life's creative sources will remain always difficult and essentially strange, and cannot ultimately be anything more to him than a detour that assists him to come to terms with everyday realities and to solve practical problems.

For instance, everyone can learn to get along with animals. Even if behavior-habits stand in the way of this activity, some form of education or therapeutic treatment, or perhaps a crisis, will bring the goal within reach. Even a scholar remote from the world can, if forced by necessity, learn to handle horses or cows. In this sense everything is possible to all men. But a man's dealings with animals when he is thirty, if learned from necessity or as a hobby, are something utterly different from what they would be had he grown up with animals on his father's farm and accepted them as a matter of course, as part of life itself. In development there is no retrogressive growth. What has been neglected can never be completely and entirely made good; nor can anything that has once been learned be altogether forgotten. And if a man first learns at twenty what he should have learned at ten, it is not the same thing he learns, but something different.

Nevertheless the types that arise in this way—types produced by education, ability or resources—will succeed in negotiating, or not, only certain intermediary stages of life's development.* A woman who is too introverted to find a partner, will not know maternity. Nor is there any gainsaying this development once she has reached fifty. But the next highest aims which maternity serves, such as the furtherance of life and prevention of degeneration, can operate equally well as goals by which to live for the childless woman of fifty, and the resources she has evolved within herself in the long years she has lived apart from the world can be employed, if she emerges into productivity, in the service of the new goals.

That these types of subjects become more and more mixed during the course of development will scarcely astonish the investigator who thinks dialectically. The changing conditions of life necessitate continually fresh viewpoints, fresh training and fresh changes in the attitude of the subject. The subject is too strongly dependent on the object to be able to pursue his original attitude undeterred. Only limits organically determined by the object, as for instance blindness and deafness, remain by nature unchanged.

* Cf. E. Spranger's "Forms of Life" (34). He considers here typical modes of adjustment and adaptation between the individual and the cultural environment of today. There is, however, no evidence of dialectic, vicious circle, rigidity and crisis.

9. PAMPERED CHILDREN (STARS AND HOME-CHILDREN)

IT BELONGS TO THE NONIC PRINCIPLE OF OUR INVESTIGATIONS that we do not inquire so much into the characteristics themselves as into their limits. We investigate patience, aptitude or courage far less than we do the point where patience ends, the conditions that turn aptitude into its opposite, and the heaviness of the strain that courage can endure. It is the "edges" of subject-existence that interest us. This boundary research always leads back of necessity from the faults of the pupil to the faults of the educator, or more exactly to the faults of education, namely the interaction between the adults and the children. One cannot simply say that the faulty development of the pupil is due to a fault on the part of the educator. The character of the adult may be sound, and that of the child also, and yet they may fit so badly together that their interaction evokes disorder.

Closer observation shows that there are two opposite errors into which the relationship between the older and younger generation can fall as it develops. Either the upbringing is too hard for the child's sensitive feelings—and then we speak of "hardening"—or it is too soft, the child perhaps being robuster than the educators imagine—then it is a case of "pampering." Hardening results in "hard" characters (Caesars and dullards) while pampering produces "spoiled" char-

acters (stars and home-children). Of course both errors can occur together, or intersect one another in a variety of ways.

The father may be too indulgent and the mother too severe; the treatment at home may be too soft, and at school too hard; but the worst consequences are when the same educator is so much the prey of his own moods (his so-called temperament) that he is alternately over-indulgent and over-severe with his pupils.

But there is still another way in which proper interaction can be upset in education, and again in two opposite directions. The inner equilibrium existing between child and adult, which should do justice to the individuality of each, can be shifted in favor of the one or the other. If the influence, the individuality or the "power" of the pupil prevail, the child's goals will dominate the whole course of development. The child successfully asserts his personal characteristics; not only are his objectively justified wishes made law, but his spurious wishes, his moods and trifling humors. In this way active, demanding and imperious characters are formed (stars and Caesars). On the other hand if the influence, the individuality or the "power" of the adult prevail, the child's own particular nature may not develop at all, or if it does, only in a negative sense (as character defect). The adult dominates the field with his private views and characteristics; the child must needs adopt a passive, and apparently unassuming and reserved form of life. In this way passive types are formed (home-children and dullards).

One scarcely need add that this differentiation should likewise never be made without reservation. Most children, and

most adults too, are active and exacting in one sphere, and reserved and compliant in the other. Here once more we inquire as to the limits. How far does the active attitude extend, under what conditions does it change and become the reverse attitude, and at what point does still another kind of activity (usually more primitive) emerge, often in times of extreme distress?

The two pairs of opposites, on the one hand hard and soft, on the other active and passive, produce four typical modes of behavior. They contain all the logical possibilities conducive to the child developing a wrongful attitude to his surroundings. We thus arrive at a complete tabulation of the wrong relations possible between a child and his human environment. The relations and forms of development, however, which are vital, objective or without error are not touched upon in this survey. As we have already pointed out, we are considering a Nonic doctrine of types, arrived at by a purely hercological method; in other words, forms of egocentricity only fall within the designations of home-children and stars, dullards and Caesars. The collapse of the We and the egocentric stiffen-

Table of Egocentric Types

<i>Pampered</i>		<i>Hardened</i>	
Active Stars:	§ 1. Wish fulfillment.	Caesars:	§ 1. Self-help.
	§ 2. Service demanded from others.		§ 2. Self-overestimation.
Passive Home-children:	§ 1. Wish fulfillment.	Dullards:	§ 1. Self-help.
	§ 2. Protection demanded from others.		§ 2. Self-underestimation.

ing of character are always presupposed conditions; hence for their content these types are best distinguished by the behavior habits which determine the typical character attitude under consideration.

I. The active pampered type we define as "stars" (corresponding roughly to the caricature of a film star or a prima donna). The purer the development of this type, the more early and thoroughly will the child have learned to win universal admiration, service and recognition. (He is far stronger than the educator.) Nevertheless sooner or later the We-collapse occurs. It is then of course the spoiled child who suffers most from all exceptions to the rule, and even the remote possibility of his being one day no longer spoiled evokes wild efforts of resistance. The Primal-We loses its innocence, and a self-defense is organized (unconsciously and compulsorily); egocentricity has begun. Very soon now the unconscious policy of the child forms itself into rigid behavior-habits.* For the star they run something as follows:

§ 1. My wishes must be fulfilled (since I am such a special person).

§ 2. I need do nothing myself; others must serve me (since I am such a special person).

Hertha P., aged seven, had always been a healthy and extremely lively child. She is unmistakably extraverted, and

* It is not to be wondered at that "soft" characters are also determined by "rigid" behavior-habits. The softness appertains to a special mode of contact with the outer world; with a remorseless severity, however, this mode of contact is declared to be the only possible one: the behavior-habit reinforcing the softness is hard.

plays day-in day-out with the other children on the street. Games of imagination, fairy tales, dolls, and also any work requiring reflection, give her scant pleasure. At this point it cannot be decided whether behavior-habits forbid a turning inwards; sooner or later however such prohibitions must come into force, since the development here must lead to defeats. And Hertha is exceedingly sensitive to defeat. She has a brother and a sister, both considerably older. She is consistently spoiled by them and by her parents. And since she has no cause to complain of life, her conduct, general expression and way of talking is so gay and happy that she compels everyone's goodwill and friendliness. She is a star. But once more this circle is a vicious circle. Meeting with friendly treatment on all sides, she smiles at everyone. And since she smiles at everyone, everyone is friendly. But in this way she fails to learn one thing, and that is to endure unpleasantness, to do things she does not like doing, and to accept defeat, without which there can be no real success.

In the Kindergarten things continued to go quite well. The child's tension-capacity with regard to inanimate objects proved fairly good—provided that the instructress at the Kindergarten did not stint her recognition and praise. With the beginning of school, however, the catastrophe came. No longer was her tension-capacity sufficient, for Hertha was now one among many, and the mistress was not to be beguiled by her gay and candid nature.

The children were told to draw a page full of circles. Hertha completed hers at once. The teacher, however, found her

performance very mediocre and set her the same task over again. Hertha felt deeply injured. Defiantly she laid down her pencil, and when the teacher encouraged her in a friendly way she began to weep bitterly. But she did not attain her goal; the teacher was not gullible. From that moment she hated school like death. She struggled against everything connected with school, against the teacher, the children and the work. At home too she adopted a combative attitude, and would not eat, wash or go to sleep when she should. She became a nay-sayer of the active kind. Once she tore up a fairy-tale book that belonged to her older sister. Her self-esteem had sunk so low that she could recover it only through destruction and crime. The road to a-social conduct and criminality seemed to open up; the sunny star threatened to turn into a raging Caesar.

Expert consultation brought timely help. A therapist took her for a few afternoons for treatment, and she achieved easily what the teacher (either because of the size of her class, or because of her mistaken views) could not achieve; she made Hertha regain her joy in doing things, in playing and painting and finally even in writing. The decline into a-sociality was avoided. Hertha has since proved a good pupil, though certainly an ambitious one. She is still seriously affected by defeats, but her work leaves nothing to be desired. Often she achieves quite outstanding successes. Particularly in arithmetic Hertha has outstripped easily the rest of her competitors. (Arithmetic and mathematics were the weak subjects of the older brother and sister.) She is still half a star, but half of her adjustment is already objective.

All stars at first pursue their way radiantly and successfully, conscious of triumph. On all sides they meet with admirers and helpers; they are children "whom no one can be cross with." Directly, however, their somewhat short tension-capacity is overstrained, their glory subsides. The star form of character collapses and changes to one of the three other forms.

II. The passive spoiled type is called "home-child" (the little one who stays at home by the hearth and dare not go out into the world). These children have learned that the world which lies ahead of them is angry, threatening and unconquerable. The educator in charge here was himself too anxious to allow the child to be exposed to even the slightest danger. He took the child under his protection, yet for this very reason could not do justice to the child's system of living; inevitably therefore the betrayal, the We-collapse, occurred early. The child learned two lessons, both of which soon assumed the form of behavior-habits.

§ 1. I must not suffer any privation; therefore my wishes must be fulfilled (seeing how weak and delicate I am).

§ 2. I myself can achieve nothing, therefore others must look after me (seeing how weak and delicate I am).

Clara B. is eleven years old. She had been always a delicate child, and on this account watched over by her parents rather too anxiously. However, she was active enough in her own small familiar circle. She had one brother, but he was eight years old, so that she grew up practically as an only child. She seldom met children of her own age, for she had been

forbidden "on medical advice" (!) to visit a Kindergarten, "for fear of infection"(!)

So long as she was together with her parents, brothers, grandparents and aunts, she played happily and cleverly with her dolls. Frequently she would make the grown-ups burst out laughing with her wise, elderly observations. She could also draw quite clever pictures. She was musical and "showed very great promise." Only toward strangers Clara was becoming increasingly shy. She did not like going on visits, refused to do any small shopping errands, and was very unhappy if she had to go away with her parents.

Here again, as one would expect with the beginning of school, came the beginning of catastrophe. The ego-discovery of the child had long since passed its first stages, which various childish illnesses had caused to be more egocentric than objective. To make a sensation, and be the center-point of interest, to be nurtured and protected, were almost identical processes to this small girl. But, like every other pampered child, Clara had discovered by early experience that there were some people who did not take part in pampering her. A bitter rift destroyed the world image of her early childhood. Out of the original: "We are friends," sprang the contrasting theme: "The others are not friends, but . . ." But what are they then? My enemies or my servants? Black giants or black dwarfs?

Had disillusionment prevailed at that time, the a-social determinant, "They are my enemies," might have gained dominance. But the parents were far too weak for any such behavior-habit to have defined itself. The disintegration of the

We into "I" and "The others" which faced her was all that remained of the initial disappointment. But if the others who confront the child cease to operate as subjects and become objects, without the child losing her courage for the subject-life, namely without her surrendering any of her claims, then these newly discovered "Others" are not perceived as enemies, but merely as servants. And in actual fact the parents did everything imaginable to confirm this (unconscious) opinion of the child.

The child's relationship to her environment thus became basically defined. During the years that followed, roughly from her third to sixth years, the active, demanding modes of conduct already indicated developed, though they were naturally restricted by the carefulness with which she was protected from unaccustomed and "dangerous" situations. Hence it was only her own family that she pressed into her service. When in contact with strangers the active attempt at conquest was replaced by passive evasion. Herein lies the difference between Clara B. and Hertha P. previously described. But there is a further difference of a constitutional kind which must not be overlooked, namely, that Clara is considerably more sensitive than Hertha. Her tension-capacity remained smaller, and her certainty of victory less, but her aspirations to power waxed all the greater (as compensation for the greater uncertainty).

The beginning of school found Clara totally unprepared for the new tasks that lay before her. She found it equally impossible to sit still, to learn or to get along with the other children. She had gone to school full of expectation, and her

parents, too, hoped that she would prove a model pupil. Instead she met with complete failure. Clara, however, did not adopt any active course of defending herself against threatening defeat. She did not attempt to become master of the situation through solid work or even through defiance. She did not refuse either to go to school, nor did she once complain of her unexpected adversity. But in a quiet, depressed way she did what was desired of her, or more correctly, "she acted as though she were doing it." She sat perfectly well-behaved in her seat, gazing at her spelling book, and moving her lips as though she were reading. Or she would make strokes as though she were writing. But her goal was neither writing nor reading; it was to attract the attention of the teacher.

Yet it is difficult to achieve such a goal by merely passive means. Clara had to have patience. Her tension-capacity had to increase, but always on the negative side. The work at school became an increasing torment to her. Her repeated failures depressed her more and more, till finally success came to her in a form which, though she had certainly not consciously sought it, proceeded naturally out of her conduct. The child's unconscious policy had brought her victory.

One day the teacher sat down by Clara and began to give her friendly encouragement. Clara looked up at her sorrowfully and submissively. She performed to the last detail all that the teacher told her. She showed complete willingness—and failed utterly. With mixed feelings of sympathy and horror the teacher observed the child's helpless attempts to write.

"Clara is my special problem," she said later to the mother.

"In future I shall devote a quarter of an hour every day specially to her." The cleverest diplomat could not have desired more complete success. The formula that had helped here may be summed up in the phrase, "Through suffering to victory." As a behavior-habit it runs something like this, "The others are my servants, at least when I am ill."

But since the success was purely catathetical, since it was a case merely of attracting the teacher's attention and not of actual achievement at school, it naturally led to a vicious circle which heightened at once the subjective victory and the objective defeat. The further the class advanced, the further behind remained Clara, the more had the teacher to devote herself to her, and the more willing was Clara that this should be so, which means the more passively and weak-mindedly did she submit to being helped.

Whoever wants to maneuver a child of this kind out of his passive attitude will not gain his end by giving him ordinary coaching. It is not a question of imparting knowledge to the child, but of increasing his activity. And this is not done by perpetual writing and arithmetic exercises, but by hardening the child's courage generally against failure.

It was not until a young girl came for this purpose to Clara's home that the over-narrow limits of the child's activity were successfully extended. This girl did not allow herself to be made a servant of for Clara's foibles, but with the exercise of unflinching good-humor and patience she tried by working with the child to break up the latter's behavior-habits. That this meant overcoming violent opposition in the form of apathy or

anxiety, goes without saying. But in about four weeks' time there had been a successful enough readjustment for Clara—without quite giving up her egocentricity—to change over even at school to an active mode of behavior.

10. HARDENED CHILDREN (CAESARS AND DULLARDS)

- I. The active hardened type is called the "Caesar" type (corresponding not so much to Gaius Julius Caesar, as to the somewhat caricature-characters of the late Roman Caesars). This type can be said to evolve in response to two opposite errors in education. Both the exacting type of educator, the nagger who is always challenging and criticizing, and the inadequate or even totally inefficient type, hampered by reasons of health or absence, evoke the same character attitude in the pupil. The intimidated and depressed child, like the neglected child, learns at an early stage that the adults are not his friends. Instead he learns that if one wants to achieve anything, one must do it on one's own, secretly, or come out into the open and fight for it. The collapse of the We is regarded as a matter of course. Should the psychic or physical strength of the child now prevail, an active, hardened character arises; the adults appear to him as black dwarfs, opponents whom one can soon finish off. Should the educator's power prevail, the passive hardened type arises, of which we shall speak soon. To him the adults are "black giants."

The Caesars will, according to circumstances, tend to develop habits of stealth and craftiness, or of defiance and dare-devilry. They incline either to roundabout, diplomatic

methods or to swift, imperious action. They stand in continuous jeopardy of a-social or even criminal malpractices; but they can also develop into successful leaders. Once again, however, the main point here is whether and when the logic of life will succeed in changing the individual's fundamental disposition from the egocentric attitude it has now become into a We-inspired attitude.

The rigid behavior-habits of these children are as follows:

- § 1. I must help myself (for all the others are my enemies).
- § 2. I can help myself (for I am stronger than the others).

Heinz D. is nine years old. He is the illegitimate child of a working woman who married a post office official four years back. Until then Heinz had been with foster parents, who worried very little about him. Shy, mistrustful and uncared-for, he entered the parental home after the marriage of his mother. It was a long time before his new father, a peaceful, friendly man, could make anything of the boy. Even now Heinz cannot look adults straight in the face. He talks fast and in a low voice, as if he would rather not be understood; he generally plays alone, but is a good enough pupil, especially in arithmetic and athletics. Free composition, whether oral or writing, he finds difficult.

Heinz has a habit of carefully and parsimoniously hiding away all his possessions in secret corners. His mother thinks that sometimes he purloins her sugar and cakes; however he never lets himself be caught.

Undoubtedly Heinz is introverted. His activity bears marked

a-social traits; the behavior-habit "the others are my enemies" may be detected in his every gesture. The child's tension capacity is considerable. He works diligently at school, and shows himself patient and adaptable when it comes to solving really involved problems. But he avoids frankness, just as he avoids any sort of harmless play with the other boys or any easy talk with adults. Recently he has begun to lie. For no reason at all he tells of strange facts which he says he has observed. A character analysis shows that through these stories on the one hand he seeks contact with his fellow beings, but on the other wants to maintain a hostile distance. He wants to play with his school-fellows, but not to entrust his secrets to them. And so this lying is really an advance over his previous silence. Heinz is on the way to become a Caesar.

The analysis naturally led to the boy's putting up a violent struggle of self-defense against the education-therapist. The behavior habit "you are my enemy!" stood crassly revealed. But when the therapist gave the boy a friendly explanation of the true cause of his animosities and fears, after one violent outburst of rage the behavior-habit finally loosened its hold. It now amounted more or less to this: "Other men are my enemies, but at times I can regard a few of them as my allies." * How far the boy can be brought into line socially depends chiefly on whether the persons in authority (the therapist, teachers, parents and relations) properly understand his a-social conduct. The more they succeed in treating

* From the psycho-analytical angle: the negative transference has turned to a positive one, but detachment from the therapist has not yet been achieved (12, Vol. 6, p. 53).

him as an independent member of the community, despite his reserve and even his habit of lying, the more thoroughly will this correction of his behavior habits succeed. But the worse the experiences he undergoes with the adults, the more rigidly will the behavior-habit become reinforced.

II. The passive hardened type we call dullards (though the awkwardness manifested is often as much psychic as physical, or it may denote insensibility). These children feel themselves subjected by people and things. Not only have they learned that every other person is their enemy, but also that the enemy is stronger than they are. Therefore not only must they renounce the fulfillment of their wishes, but the wishes themselves, unless they want to continue in a perpetual state of deprivation. And so they train themselves early to insensibility and absence of desire. They lead a dull, apathetic existence, apparently showing neither objectivity nor egocentricity, neither goodwill, ambition, nor even ill will. The beginning of this character structure is always martyrdom, for only dire need makes a person renounce his vitality. The most bitter disappointments imaginable must have been suffered first, in spite of the best intentions, probably, of those around. Presumably no one was aware of the child's helpless search for life's possibilities and for joy; they noticed only the result, the child's reserve, or perhaps his dullness. They may have hoped still to salvage something by praise or blame, without ever realizing that they would thereby only immerse the child still deeper in his unconscious distress. The collapse of the We and its consequences are more crassly discernible in

this case than in the previous. The behavior habits are as follows:—

- § 1. I can only have what I procure for myself (for the others are my enemies).
- § 2. I must renounce most things, for there is little I can procure for myself (the others being stronger than I).

Anna A. is thirteen years old, the youngest of the seven children of a factory worker. Her brothers and sisters are all "gifted" beyond the average. One died of tuberculosis, another is in a sanatorium. Anna herself has apparently never interested herself in the outside world. She does not care for playing with toys or with other children. Yet she learned to walk and talk at the proper time. When she came to school she was completely passive. The teacher was quite unsuccessful in awakening any kind of interest in her. She was insensitive to blame and punishment. She occupied herself as little with her work as with anything else. She merely gazed about the room indifferently, smiling occasionally if the children quarreled or anything exciting occurred.

Curative treatment by an education-therapist three times a week proved fruitless. A longer stay however at a Children's Home was successful and produced an explanation of the case. Until then there had still been some doubt as to whether a mild form of imbecility might be at the bottom of the girl's strange conduct. But it was now shown that she was more sensitive and possibly more gifted than all her brothers and sisters. However it took the Superintendent six weeks to solve the riddle.

During the Easter holidays most of the children left the Home. Anna remained, for she had only just come; and also a ten-year-old boy, whose behavior was likewise extremely passive. Thus by chance there was complete quiet in the rooms of the Home. The Superintendent would often use this time to play the piano. Anna would then come and sit quietly and shyly by the instrument, and after a few days her face and bearing showed that she was gradually losing herself in the music—at least so long as she thought herself unobserved. But immediately the Superintendent looked toward her, the dull, indifferent expression that she usually displayed would again take possession of her features. The Superintendent now tried deliberately to provide the child with occasions when she could busy herself with gentle and childish duties quite unobserved, and without any compulsion from outside. In this way the thirteen-year-old girl began to play with dolls. Most movingly she cherished a cat that had had kittens, and also looked after the plants in the garden. It was striking how she preferred the feebler forms of growth.

All these interests, the skill and carefulness she now displayed, had been buried deep within her. Now slowly they came to light—but only so long as no one observed her. If she noticed but the slightest trace of observation or of intention on the part of the adults, she would fall back into her old passivity and remain dull and uninterested again for days.

Obviously her behavior-habit was: "All men are my enemies. I can only come to terms with reality when I am alone."

But at home Anna had lived together with her parents and four brothers and sisters in a living room, a bedroom and a

kitchen. She had never actually been alone for even an hour. Yet her sensitiveness (probably due to the physical exhaustion of the mother during pregnancy) exposed her as if she were being flayed to the noise and rowdy quarreling of her brothers and sisters.

The oppression from which she suffered thus continued its uninterrupted course. From the beginning Anna had had to turn aside from the outer world. At first there was rigid introversion. But since all opportunity, and particularly the necessary quietude for her to build up an active inner world were lacking, even introversion came to be forbidden by a behavior-habit.

- § 1. Don't occupy yourself with outer things, or you will be laughed at, because the others are much stronger than you (introversion).
- § 2. Don't occupy yourself with inner things, or you will be laughed at, for no one does that (extra-version).
- § 3. The others are your enemies. But you cannot escape them (the behavior-habit of the dullard).

All three behavior-habits aimed at preserving the ego; to do this, however, they had increasingly to restrict the ego.

It was at the Children's Home that Anna first experienced, to her great astonishment, that people existed who "occupied themselves with inner things." Yet not only was a great deal of time required before the child could begin to go ahead and come to terms first with inner reality, and then with outer reality; a way also had to be found that would rescue her from her strong inner inhibitions. Repeatedly anxiety dreams

occurred in which a roaring lion overturned the piano, or in which a bear tore up the garden. Such images were warning indications of the consequences of the unending disappointments the child had suffered in its earliest years. Parents and brothers and sisters had destroyed all the tenderness and the aliveness that was wanting to come to birth within her. The lion and the bear were operating as "warning posts" to guard the behavior-habits.* The Superintendent, however, succeeded over and over again in encouraging the child without the latter's perceiving her intention.

What was so striking was that Anna felt great longing to return home. The healthier she became the greater the longing. Yet every attempt at rapprochement ended in failure. Sunday evening she would usually return to the Home in a state of profound distraction and disappointment. Nevertheless after a few weeks she would urge for a further visit. It was not until considerably later, when it was already possible to talk confidently about these things to Anna, that it was divulged that her "home" appeared to her as "ideal" or, as the report of the Superintendent put it as a "good middle-class" home. Anna forgot completely the realities of proletarian existence, and went home hoping every time that she would find there what she wanted, namely quiet, spacious room, a piano, flowers and a restful, understanding mother. The Primal-We was making itself felt in the form of a longing none the less ardent for being sentimental and divorced from reality.

Not until the Superintendent had spoken to the child a

* Cf. Chapter 15.

number of times and fully explained the contrast between what actually was, and what should have been, did this seductive day-dreaming vanish. Anna became gradually a very purposeful and egoistic little fighter. "To be at the mercy of others" for her became synonymous with "being poor"; "to have quiet" and "to be able to develop oneself" synonymous with "being rich." The Superintendent of the Home knew that such cases can only be brought out of their egocentricity by the experience of man's common destiny as a member of the We. But Anna's newly grown courage was not straightway that of a fighter for the We, but the egocentric courage of an a-social "exploiter of the exploited." The true crisis of her life, namely the transition to the We-state, still lay before her.

PART II

SCHOOL PERIOD

11. UPWARD GROWTH (CIRCULUS VITIOSUS AND CIRCULUS VIRTUOSUS)

THE PRINCIPLE PHASES OF DIALECTICAL DEVELOPMENT ARE thesis, antithesis and synthesis. If we accept the original We-ness as the thesis, we see it contradicted by the antithesis of egocentricity. The beginning (affirmation) of egocentricity is the We-collapse (the denial of the Primal-We). For a period however thesis and antithesis have a joint existence; but as the thesis weakens, the antithesis grows stronger. But before the latter gains complete mastery it is usual for a second break or collapse to occur; then antithesis and thesis become meaningfully united in a new third phase, namely the synthesis. The negation has been negated, the denial withdrawn, not however through a return to the original thesis, but by passing over to a unified point of view found on a higher level. From this higher point of view the contradiction between thesis and antithesis appears to lose its constraint. While it is true that the thesis as well as the antithesis changes its structure, the essence of both merges into the synthesis. Of the original We-ness there remains the We as value-bearer—the childishness that marked this form of life (suggestibility, pre-logical thinking, etc.) disappears; of the egocentricity there remains individual responsibility, but rigidity ceases, and along with it the ego as value-bearer. The synthesis signifies a Ripening We-ness. It is characterized by the personal responsibility of

the individual for the whole; now the value-bearer is the We, and productive aliveness once more supersedes rigidity. The I, however, remains contained in the We; the two have a mutual relationship which is the right one.

In the perverted form of dialectic, synthesis is replaced by catathesis. Here the antithesis (negation of the thesis) is not denied, but perpetuated. Synthesis can be described as negation of the negation; catathesis, on the contrary, as affirmation of the negation. In place of the synthetical formula, "Yes—no—however," now appears the catathetical formula, "Yes—no—then not." The psychological essence of catathesis is rigidity (psychosclerosis), the intrusion of dead, mechanical products into the vital behavior of the subject. In every case of catathesis the subject's value-life is constricted, and that of the object enhanced. A catathetical development begins with the collapse of the We.

For our observation it suffices to regard the development of a child of school age (actually an extremely manifold process) as one uninterrupted series of answers through which, half consciously and half unconsciously, he finds an explanation of his environment. In unfavorable cases catatheses occur at this stage, which compulsorily result in vicious circles. A child may come a cropper over an addition sum. He undergoes the experience of being a bad reckoner. By reason of this experience he feels aversion or fear when he comes up against the next sum. And because of these unfavorable conditions, the second attempt also ends in failure.

Let us now think of the educator involved also in this catathetical development. He will do his very utmost to check the

vicious circle, but will be unsuccessful as long as he fails to recognize the real characterological connection. His failures will force him either to regard himself as a bad teacher, or the child as a bad pupil. In either case the action he takes will produce even more unfavorable results by reason of this catathetical attitude. He will be impatient, perhaps indifferent, or even desperate. His lack of success will appear even more patent, while he clings more tenaciously than ever to his erroneous opinions. As a pedagogue he deteriorates steadily. The first vicious circle operates in the pupil; the second in the teacher. A third involves them both, and gradually goads them into a crisis; the teacher grows still rougher, the intimidation increases, the tension-capacity lessens, and the work becomes still poorer. Or, alternatively, the teacher becomes more and more indifferent, the child more and more negligent. The work falls off because the teacher's interest wanes, and vice versa.

However, not only a catathetical dialectic, but also a synthetical, produces these triple circles. If the pupil masters the problem, he learns not only the solution of that particular sum, but that he is generally able to overcome a difficulty by devoting to it his powers as a subject. His reaction-basis thereby receives a far sounder training, his tension-capacity grows, and the conditions for a solution of further problems become more favorable. The educator watching this process may look upon himself as a good educator or upon his pupil as a gifted scholar. In either case he will approach further educational problems in a spirit of confidence and interest, his methods will give evidence of his care and sympathy, and

hence produce better results, strengthening even further the educator's faith in himself and his pupil. Yet neither of them can progress as single individuals. Through the influence the one has on the other, the relationship between them also becomes more inspired with the We-spirit; the one encourages the other. The more progress the pupil makes, the more successful will the teacher be in imparting to him the material of learning, and the better able will be the pupil also to assimilate it.

What we have pointed out with regard to mastering the material of learning in school, is equally true for the problems of character development.

For the educator it is of vital importance that, in the process of his pupil's adjustment to his surroundings, as many syntheses as possible be formed, and as many catatheses as possible be avoided. If, however, a vicious circle is already in operation, he must direct his whole effort at transforming the catathetical basic attitude once more into a synthetical attitude.

If we consider now this general educational problem in its concrete application to single phases of character development, there arise the following three stages.

At the first stage it is a question of the growing child familiarizing himself with contemporary culture, appropriating to himself the material results of culture at its existing state of development, and of absorbing the rules of corporate human life. This process we will describe as "upward growth." It is already plain that the success or failure of this growth will depend upon the degree to which the child develops his tension-

capacity. The greater the tension-capacity, that is, the capacity for bearing strain, the more effortless will be the success of upward growth.

But alongside this upward growth into the material of existing culture, another process is going on, working, as it were, in the opposite direction. In terms of character this process could be described as a transition from the original and unconscious We-ness to a conscious individual responsibility, namely self-realization. The better a person learns to know and to master his environment, the greater will be the danger of his subordinating it to his own private goals. The more his potentialities and means grow, the more values he can realize, the more clearly will he himself become his sole value-bearer. Hand in hand with upward growth there develops self-realization, and with it unfortunately its rigid form, namely egocentricity. How crassly and exclusively egocentricity may later dominate the character, will depend on the individual personal destiny; never, however, will it be entirely absent.

The second stage may be described as the crisis, and, as has already been said, the preliminary and subsequent influences of this crisis often affect the first and third stages for years, even decades. Schematically however one can regard it as being a particularly critical year (occurring toward the end of puberty).

The process of upward growth has then reached a stage where the subject is no longer essentially a learning, but already an evaluating and criticizing being. Hitherto the absorption of knowledge has dominated. Now the adoption of a point of view dominates, and with the adoption of a viewpoint,

naturally its modification, overthrow and reconstruction. Upward growth changes here suddenly into outward growth. The new generation has reached the level of the preceding one—or should have done; it drops into line and the new march forward begins.

Simultaneously, however, the reaction-basis of the individual reveals in its structure the high point of egocentricity. Only the completely independent subject is able to adopt an entirely new attitude to all that has gone before; but it is through this same independent adoption of an attitude that isolation is suddenly transformed into the opposite. For whoever adopts a point of view assumes responsibility—objective self-realization is here successful. And whoever assumes responsibility, is experiencing himself in connection with his environment, the past and the future; an experience that lies far outside his own individual life. The ego as value-bearer proves its insufficiency, the egocentric pyramid of values collapses. Ego-construction disappears; man renounces his particular happiness, very often in a crisis that lies but a hair's breadth from suicide. But simultaneously a We reveals itself, an ever growing We, as the bearer of values. The tension-capacity that had for a moment shrunk to nothing, recovers with force. The means acquired during the period of upward growth are now enlisted in the service of We-inspired goals, and outward growth, involving responsible participation in the world's affairs, comes more or less to signify the devotion of the individual to the community as a whole. Out of the crisis emerges maturity or outward growth.

But a maturing individual who examines his goals and

rejects or develops them further, who enlists his capabilities in the service of an ever growing We, must include among his goals the education of the next generation. Thus the circle completes itself. The process of outward growth creates the educator, and it is the educator's business to see that the coming generation shall in their upward growth reach his, the educator's, cultural level, and grow up through the crises of adolescence beyond the existing level. The goal of education is to dispense with the educator.

12. LEARNING (ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE AND ADOPTING A STANDPOINT)

THE PROBLEM OF UPWARD GROWTH IS TWOFOLD. FIRST IT IS a question of every growing individual's (without exception, the proletarian included) acquiring the knowledge and capacities that belong roughly to the average of existing culture. In the space of a few years he has to appropriate to himself what it has taken humanity thousands of years of effort to acquire. That is, he must *learn*. The concept of learning however again presents two aspects.

First the one learning has to adapt what he has learned to his own purposes; he has to make a meaningful selection from the material of knowledge and from the kinds of ability expected of him; he has to acquire first the rudiments and then the fine points and particularities, and according to his own personal tasks and destiny he must make this or that cultural field his principal study.

Secondly, learning signifies also the adaption of the individual to the outer world. In his selection of material for study, this need has already made itself felt, and it finds its plainest expression in the choice of a profession. But not only the question of a person becoming a practical worker or a theoretician, or the possibility of his combining both, has to be decided during the period of upward growth. Whether his approach to life shall be more active or more passive, more

productive or only reproductive, and particularly whether it shall be more objective or more egocentric, has also to be decided. For this attitude to his surroundings must gradually be "learned." Here however we meet with the second problem of upward growth, which we have designated "self-realization."

It is now no longer a question of the subject's adjusting himself to the material or tasks which confront him as objects. Here it is a question of the individual subject's finding its place in the community of the remaining subjects. Whether he shall cling anxiously to the original attitude of "unconscious We-ness" or whether it breaks to pieces, whether defiant opposition against adults takes its place, or the calm independence of a maturing person, all this is decided now during the child's early destiny, and affects the course of his life for decades to come.

It is only when these two problems mutually qualify one another, on the one hand the problem of acquiring learning and ability, and on the other that of adopting a standpoint for or against one's fellowmen, that together they engender upward growth into culture. Only the individual who grasps this mutual dependence, the furthering and hindering of the one process by the other, can do justice to the problems of education.

Two boys of ten, Paul F. and Karl E. who lived in the same house and attended the same class at school, wished to own a bicycle more than anything else in the world. If anyone ever allowed them to handle a bicycle, their excitement and interest knew no bounds. At first they dared to touch it only as

something sacred—then they began to work the bell and the brake, and at last came the great day when they could actually ride the machine a short way.

Till now it had been a case of pure learning, an upward growth into existing civilization through acquiring familiarity with certain technical arrangements. From now onward “educative” forces came into play which disturbed the one lad and helped the other. (Any judge of persons would of course have been able to recognize such influences at work by the way in which each boy seized the bicycle.) But before pursuing this subject further, we will attempt to present what followed as though it were a schematic abstraction, divorced from the adult viewpoint.

The boys would have tried in any case to learn to ride the bicycle. The difficulty lay only in the fact that on an adult’s bicycle (and only such came into consideration) their legs could not reach from the saddle to the pedals. They had to try again and again until they learned at last to balance themselves either in front of the saddle, or behind it, or even alongside it, and to grip the handlebars and control the bicycle by standing on the pedals.

Let us assume this problem to be solved after a few weeks. By then they would have reached their chief goal operating hitherto as final goal, namely, the ability to ride a bicycle; and it would be evident immediately that this goal of theirs could only be a means for serving the next higher goals (Infinality). Very likely the boys will apply their newly won skill to racing other boys—in which case their riding turns to sport; or they will use it to reach some outlying bathing-pool,

in which case it becomes a means of transport. In either case their goal-pyramids had to be further developed. The question also of the value-bearer assumes new forms: shall one boy only ride, shall they take turns, or can they both find room on the bicycle? Shall they allow this or that friend to ride with them, or shall they lend the bicycle to all their favorite classmates? These are all questions necessitating a further shaping of the child's character, and their decision rests of course largely upon earlier experience as well as upon present circumstances.

Even in this schematic analysis it may be seen how every fresh solution of a problem, every standpoint adopted by the subject, immediately gives rise to new situations and necessitates new attitudes. The adjustment between subject and object, in this case between child and bicycle, may be compared to an unending conversation. Moreover, every synthesis is so created that while it remains in the goal-direction of the subject, it has such regard for the object, and represents such far-reaching adaption of the subject's behavior to the conditions posed by the object, that we may describe it as reciprocal penetration.

When the boy can ride perfectly, he reaches his goal; he can ride as fast and as much as he wants. This success makes him happy; he undergoes the experience of being an unrestricted subject. But he attains this goal only so long as he subjects himself obediently to all natural laws that operate by force of the particular construction of the bicycle. Gravity, the balance of a static and its transformation into the dynamic of forward motion, speed, the friction and weighting of the

cycle by the human body, these are numberless problems pertaining to natural science that must here find practical solution. Only he who (consciously or unconsciously) can reckon with the natural laws involved, can hope gradually to avail himself of them so that they no longer have mastery over him, but he over them, so that with their aid he can attain his goal. He must adapt himself to them in order to be able to exploit them.

Following along this tack it would appear merely a case of a living subject and an inanimate object coming to terms. And the further question of the one subject coming to terms with other subjects would not appear until the individual had to decide in whose service he should employ his newly won skill. Actually, however, no such division of the two processes occurs in reality. From the start the question "for whom" and even "against whom" plays a part in learning and practice.

Paul was an active, dexterous lad, inclined at times to insolence and even defiance. Karl, on the contrary, was more passive, somewhat awkward, obedient and quiet. Paul's mother allowed her children a great deal of freedom. If anything, her mistake lay in bothering too little about their upbringing. Karl's mother fussed over him. He was her only child, and she never willingly let him out of her sight. So he became a home-child.

Owing to these "social" circumstances bicycling signifies something totally different to the two boys. For Paul it is a widening of an already extensive sphere of activity, a step in a development that has been going on uninterruptedly for years. Failure in this direction can therefore mean nothing more to him than a short setback, an interesting difficulty

soon to be overcome by further effort. On the other hand for Karl bicycling means an initial onslaught on the ramparts built around him by material solicitude and tutelage. The first ride round the nearest block amounts for him to a revolutionary act of defiant opposition to his mother, and failure would banish him for another long period to the protective custody of his nursery.

Karl's mother forbade both children most sternly to have anything to do with the bicycle. Karl wanted to obey her. On Paul, however, the prohibition had no effect whatsoever. He merely shrugged his shoulders and walked away. Paul's mother encouraged both children alike to learn to bicycle. Paul took this as a matter of course, and it caused no change in his behavior. On Karl, however, it had so shattering and confusing an effect that he was loath ever to go near this "queer woman" again.

Both boys finally learned to bicycle—Paul very quickly and like a game, Karl after long and devious effort, and only through his friends' unceasing help and insistence. In the case of both, the tension-capacity became increased and the reaction-basis enriched. But Paul in addition had a good conscience. His sole problem lay in negotiating the crowded crossings. Permissions and prohibitions, defiance and obedience, scarcely played a role in his inner life; he was aware only of the "right" and the "wrong" way of riding. So he complied without opposition to the traffic rules, which he studied down to the smallest detail and regarded for a time as the epitome of political wisdom. Karl on the other hand suffered always from a bad conscience. For him this phase

of development was bound up with the torture of an estrangement from his mother. At night he suffered from anxiety-dreams, the traffic cops appearing as enemies waiting to pass the sentence on him he deserved. The idea of "right" or "wrong" in the sense of traffic regulations did not exist for him, only the idea of "good" and "evil." And it goes without saying that everything he did in connection with bicycles was "evil." He never learned the traffic regulation signals, and, even now, some six years later, when the red and green lights change he has the uncomfortable feeling of a "bad conscience."

Thus the same process, in this case learning to ride a bicycle, may represent entirely different phases of upward growth for different children, and have an entirely different significance, since it may mean advance or regression, a softening or a sharpening of inner conflicts. What appears beneficial from the point of view of growth, may be harmful from the point of view of education, and vice versa. It is the pedagogue's business to induce by clear vision and appropriate measures the synthesis of growth and education. All that can be said in general terms is this: Upward growth is achieved the more thoroughly and the more extensively, the more objectively and naturally the original-We changes by mutual agreement of teacher and pupil (consenting upward growth resulting from increasing order). And the more unfavorable will its course be, the earlier the process of outward growth sets in in the form of opposing syntheses, or even catatheses. The full responsibility for this is borne by the educator.

13. PLAY (STIMULUS-HUNGER, PRODUCTIVITY)

THE CHILD DIFFERS FROM THE ADULT FIRST OF ALL IN HIS FAR shorter tension-capacity. He cannot wait for the satisfaction of his needs and wishes. His subject-life seems threatened when his nourishment, warmth, sleep, or other need is not promptly assured. The reason is the paucity of his own means of succor. His reaction-basis is so meager that, failing direct satisfaction, he must seek compensation indirectly. The hungry child is unhappy; he cries, and only with difficulty and for a few moments stops crying. The hungry adult also feels ill at ease, yet can fulfill other tasks for hours at a time despite his hunger. He can "carry on."

There is an objective reason for the child's short tension-capacity—not only his instability of mood but also the swift changes in his physical state. The vicious cycle between bodily function and character is with children very marked. Hence nothing harms a child's character more than a long and painful illness. Indeed, any bodily discomfort reduces the tension-capacity. Fatigue and hunger spoil for the child his best-loved toy-shop. We all know that the teething-age may well call for soothing methods in regard to character.

But so long as the child's subject-life does not suffer and his tension-capacity is sufficient, his attitude to his environment is one we will call "playing." We must straightway emphasize, however, that this "play" is not yet distinct from

a contrasted "seriousness." The primitive play of the child is utterly serious. It earns its name also by contrast with the adult's "work." This first play of childhood is characterized by the fact that its every detail yields a joy equal to the joy of the whole. There is as yet none of that "worth-the-price" attitude to unpleasant means necessary to a pleasant end.

When the unpleasant means stand in the foreground and the pleasant end remains distant, we speak of work; and work presupposes the extended tension-capacity of the adult. We can, of course, think of many intermediate and connected features of a child's serious play and an adult's serious work. The work-play rhythm of the school-child may well be regarded as the "normal" transition. But at this stage, play is no longer so serious as that of a little child, nor is work yet so serious as that of an adult. This is because the school-child has left the Primal-We far behind, yet has still to find his place in the ripening We of adult life. He has lost the care-free self-sufficiency of the little child, but has still to shoulder the full responsibility of the adult. And so he is less serious than either.

In the earnest play of the little child is seen human subject-existence in its purest form; and there are three properties of subjective-life which are here supremely significant. The first is stimulus-hunger.* The healthy child wants to play; he wants to get busy—to be a subject and have objects. Whether, as in the first few months, he merely lies still and turns his eyes

* One should compare the role this concept plays in psychoanalysis. There the attribute is an enigmatical property of a libido species, here a direct token of subject-life.

about or, later, handles and fumbles with his toy-animals, he is adjusting himself to reality. The dialectic process between subject and object, which we call life, is thus fully active when the subject as such is still not in question. In this state there is no object that seriously denies the child's subject-life, for otherwise play would end and need begin. Anything not necessary for the child's fleeting purposes has no interest for him whatever. There are enough things to occupy him; so the irrelevant ones remain unheeded.

But the moment that, for any reason, a dearth of objects occurs, the child is unhappy. The bad temper and unbearable-ness of so many children is due to stimulus-hunger—or, as we should call it here, play-hunger—and lack of means to appease it. It is the same unhappiness the prisoner feels at being prevented from coming to terms with the world. Provide that child with freedom of movement and suitable scope for activity, then his "bad character" will vanish, and he will be gay and agreeable.

Stimulus-hunger, the subject's yearning for objects, his joy in the subjective penetration of the world, is the foundation, not only of serious play, but of all serious explorations of reality. What we call life-instinct or activation has herein the same source as has all we call desire, joy or happiness.

The second feature, which logically emerges from stimulus-hunger, is the increase or building up of the subject's activity, and in form can be described as a change-over from quantity to quality.

Two-year-old Lotte W. has acquired a box of blocks. Her father wants to teach her to build a tower. But she is interested

only in making the biggest block of all stand up on its narrowest edge. She keeps on trying and at length makes it stand up. So she is happy. But she is not in the least impressed by Father's tower. Some days later she places all the blocks around her on the floor, and, after repeating this game again and again with increasing patience, she one day builds up some of the blocks into a sort of house. The first achievement, erecting separate blocks, had to be properly learned and repeated constantly until it became an everyday affair before this quantitative performance could acquire qualitative status. The individual blocks might already have arranged themselves in some sort of order by accident. That was not noticed. It was "a house" that must suddenly and intentionally arise. The new quality of achievement, namely building a house, became in the following weeks the only content of this game.*

The stimulus-hunger leads here to a quantitative discarding of the newly acquired ability, which gradually loses its stimulus through use. The subject finds new stimulus (that is, a new object) in a new quality of achievement to which former achievements now serve only as means. This transition to a new quality, with old ends used as new means, is productivity.

Productivity is the third feature, after stimulus-hunger and logical construction, revealed in children's play as a primal property of life. For the child new goals are ever emerging. He does not merely invent new means to present ends; over and above those ends his play discloses ever new possibilities for the infinal teleology of life. Let no one complain because

* Compare what Charlotte Bühler has to say on the "work-production" of children of two and three (4, p. 97).

children essentially imitate their elders. When building a house, a child may certainly take as his model the grown-ups' houses, real ones or built in play; but for him it is entirely novel to think that he himself can suddenly make a house—a perfectly different house from theirs. And this thought is as new and productive as it would be for an architect to find himself making dwellings with material and methods hitherto unknown.

But even in the serious play of little children tension-capacity is not wholly lacking. If the object thwart their intentions slightly, this can be borne. Just audible are the distant tones of work. But however short, as yet, be the tension-capacity, it already suffices to meet those little material obstructions. The house falls down, the child laughs and cries "Bang" and begins to rebuild it. The feud between matter and human purposiveness has not yet really begun. Peace and trust still reign. Hence the harmless frustration works but as banter—a banter that certainly says No, yet still does not directly challenge the constant Yes. This Yes, this peace-treaty between child and world, is implicit in all real play. The threat to peace, however, does not come from matter. Against material encounters, the child has various defenses. Even in the event of a misfortune such as slightly burning himself, he is soon comforted. No, it is the human world that shatters our primal peace.

14. COMPREHENSION (BUILDING UP THE REACTION-BASIS)

IN THE SPHERE OF UPWARD GROWTH THERE IS AN INCLINATION to lay more emphasis on the material, the objects which seem to one to present the same appearance to every schoolchild, than on the subjects who differ so profoundly from one another both in their approach to the material and in their adjustment to it. If two children learn the same lesson, what they learn is entirely different.

If we identify ourselves with the object, with the material that has to be learned, the case is more or less as follows: Thirty children, all six years of age and all with profoundly different family backgrounds and temperaments, are sitting in class with their exercise books in front of them, learning to write figures. The teacher is (presumably) not interested in the kind of reaction-basis onto which this new achievement is being grafted, whether the process is willing or unwilling, easy or difficult, productive or receptive. He does not even care whether the motive be fear of punishment or intense personal interest, so long as the children can finally write all the figures from One to Ten at his command correctly.

Here the children are simply being made the object of the teacher. They are not allowed to be independent subjects, to take their own independent stand toward objects, namely the figures. They may only do as they are told, that is paint figures

in their books—that and nothing else. They must work as automatons, thirty automatons all constructed alike, and yet their differences are unlimited, down to the very way in which they set about their mechanical game.

It is quite impossible for children to discard their subject-life. They have to solve their problem productively, or not at all. After the lesson a small girl remarks: "But that was a lovely lesson! Three is a jolly lady, always turning and dancing—and Five is a cross creature shaking her head. But One is straight and pointed at the top, oh so strict, just like our teacher. . . ." And so her story goes on, eagerly, without pause. Her writing practice has been as great an experience to her as a journey to a strange and distant land. And her pages are full of extremely irregular, but most affectionately painted rows of figures, many more than her teacher demanded.

Another girl says: "Oh, the horrid figures, they are so boring. I'd rather paint houses and animals with great long legs—you know, the kind that run so fast, and are so happy because they can go so fast. . . ." Then she too launches into an eager, fantastic tale. Her writing book contains only a few rows of figures, badly and carelessly formed.

We observe how the external dialectic, the solving of the imposed task here pursues a course that is dependent on the inner dialectic, the inner attitude adopted by the subject toward the object. If the child's attitude be positive or synthetic, then the productive blending of the new experience of, for instance, the character Three, with the other parts of the reaction-basis, finds immediate expression in the adoption of countless new synthetic standpoints. Thus the Three gives the

optical impression of merging into a "fat woman," while the actual experience of writing with the hand assumes here the form of a "fat lady dancing." The inner and the outer dialectics are mutually enriched. The child is, as we say, perfectly at home with the whole thing. More than that, she has entered into the thing, and has received the thing into herself. The writing of the Three is now an experience—it has in fact become the experience of a jolly woman, which one willingly repeats at every opportunity. This step forward in upward growth has been successfully accomplished.

The other child restricts the external dialectic as far as possible. The little she writes she does unwillingly. In this case the inner dialectic has a negative dependence only on external events. The relationship between the two is catathetical. Hence day-dreams, divorced from reality, exhaust any positive result of the hour's lesson. The girl would prefer to draw or run about. The compulsion to sit still evokes envious thoughts of wild, free animals. The contrast between her inner and outer worlds inhibits her from making either an inner or outer adjustment to reality. The figures stay unlearned, and the day-dreams restricted to fugitive and unproductive memories. The child is not at home with her work. She learns nothing. Her upward growth at this point receives a setback. The tension-capacity, instead of increasing, is lessened, and there is a danger of her losing all pleasure in learning.

The task of teaching therefore lies in a synthetic alliance of the pupil's outer and inner dialectical processes. But an absolutely indispensable condition is that the child have an awake subject-life, an alive presence of mind; so often the

child's attention is gained by violent coercion—he “takes notice” for fear of punishment. The child must be allowed to take up a free and joyous attitude to objects. No one should gainsay him his vitality. Whoever lowers him to the level of an automaton, destroys his capacity to learn.

All good educators have known this from the beginning, and it has always been their effort to make the material “come alive” as far as is humanly possible. And the transition to instructional work from instructional teaching has the same aim in view. The Montessori method is probably the best thing we have at present along these lines for smaller children, and the Dalton system for older boys and girls. Yet the success and failure of all these experiments does not depend only on the soundness of the system as a character-trainer. It depends far more on the teacher's aliveness as subject. Not the school needs to be reformed, but the teaching profession. The stereotyped, uncomprehending type of “professional” teaching, that aims primarily at maintaining personal authority, must be replaced by an alive co-operation with the class—or all reforms in the methods of instruction will remain unavailing. An egocentric teacher will always use reward and punishment as a final means of instruction. Only he who believes in the We can make headway without intimidating or pampering his pupils.

15. INHIBITIONS (FEAR OF FAILURE AS FEAR OF PERSONS)

WE HAVE ALREADY SHOWN HOW, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE unity of every human reaction-basis, there is a mutual dependence between one's relation to other people and one's relation to the physical world or the material of learning, while, on the other hand, in every reaction-basis, behavior-habits forbid certain "dangerous" modes of behavior. From our insight into these two truths we may already see the theoretical probability that, under certain circumstances, behavior-habits can also make thinking difficult or impossible, and presumably always when the fear of another person becomes, through a behavior-habit, entangled with the problem of learning. Such a behavior-habit could be expressed somewhat thus: "I dare not make a mistake, or my father will become my enemy, and then I shall perish."

Practical experience thoroughly confirms this assumption. In all cases where one speaks of a "thought-inhibition," careful character-analysis shows a behavior-habit or system of behavior-habits which operates in the sense already indicated and can be made to disappear through suitable remedial education. These thought-inhibitions are accordingly shown to be psychogenic properties of the character (acquired through psychic experiences), which must be fundamentally distinguished from bodily conditioned incapacity for thought

(feeble-mindedness).* The feeble-minded can at the best of times become trained like animals. His subjectivity is so limited in its choice of goals through lack or inferiority of organic means—nerve-tracks, glands, etc.—that an improvement, and then only in exceptional cases, can be achieved only by timely ray treatment of the glands or by the supply of appropriate remedies. Psychogenic thought-inhibition very often arises in connection with moderate degrees of feeble-mindedness. But it occurs also in innumerable cases where there is no organic defect, and it is probably safe to say that there is hardly a human being whose reaction-basis displays no behavior-habit which occasionally operates as a thought-inhibition. In difficult cases the psychogenic thought-inhibition can become so strong as to stimulate true feeble-mindedness. Much patience is then needed to discern the difference. In a doubtful case one should at the outset always treat such children as thought-inhibited, not as feeble-minded. No damage can then be done. And the success of remedial education is often enough the only proof that the case was merely one of thought-inhibition.

A ten-year-old schoolboy, Karl P., tackles a sum in arithmetic which seems rather hard for him. He has to divide a four-figure number by another of two figures. So long as his tension-capacity suffices, he will proceed attentively with his calculations, though under rather a strain. Over and over again he gives proof that he is indeed a vital subject. The right question then comes into the child's head at the right moment—

* An easy exposition of this difference is to be found in the author's essay, "The Stupid Child" (47).

“Now then, how many times does six go into thirty-two?” And more wonderful still, the answer emerges as well—“Five times and two over.” One would expect the strain of excitement to lessen with the calm and successful course the sum was taking. Yet it is rather the opposite that seems to occur. The child becomes increasingly worried and suddenly comes to the question—“How many times does 7 go into 59?” This has been Karl’s weak point since his first year at school. He knows that, if he goes wrong here, the whole sum will be wrong; he also knows that he always does go wrong when dealing with a seven. The danger seems immense. The sum can be solved only if he need not divide by seven, but here is seven again, and his courage fails him. Tears are in his eyes, and he begins drawing shapes on a piece of paper. Meanwhile he forgets the “2-over” which he wanted to keep in his head; and this means he must start all over again.

When a traveler on a high mountain comes to a dangerous place, he does his best to go forward carefully step by step. His purpose is to go forward, and the avoidance of danger is simply the necessary condition of achieving that purpose. But if he suddenly meets a “warning-post” on which may be seen the picture of a fallen mountaineer and an inscription announcing that here on a certain date So-and-so broke his neck—then his courage fails him. What was just now but a condition, namely safety, is now the governing purpose, and the former goal, progress, loses its meaning. The values can now be expressed—“The chief thing is to escape from the perilous position. Whether escape means advancing or retreating is of no importance.”

Before the traveler sees the warning-post his tension-capacity suffices to overcome the danger. Afterward, it shrinks nearly to nothing. Anxiety takes control, and it becomes essentially less likely that he will get away without mishap. Indeed the danger, which the traveler thinks he sees, may first arise through the fear he has of it. The more timorous his movements, the more his knees shake together, the more probably will that occur which makes his knees shake. The downfall, which his imagination anticipates, is thereby perforce brought about. Here operates the catathetical vicious circle which is always present with a restricted tension-capacity.

Karl P. has often declared that he can never learn the seven-times-table. "Not till he dies," as he puts it, will he, before all else, understand how 7 times 8 make 56. The warning-post is in this case the behavior-habit—"Don't you dare try to multiply or divide by seven, or else . . ." It is obvious that every fresh failure provoked by the behavior-habit reinforces the rigidity and persistence of its operation. The external catatheses make the reaction-basis more and more unfavorable; they induce catatheses in the inner dialectic. For instance, instead of the behavior-habit, "Do no arithmetic involving seven," the behavior pattern might become, "Do no arithmetic at all!" The more unfavorable the formation of the reaction-basis, the greater naturally the lack of success. This sort of vicious circle, almost without exception, underlies the state of affairs we describe as "thought-inhibition." *

* J. B. Watson gives a very similar description of how anxieties arise; but he makes this automatism the formative principle of all mental life, while we see it merely as the principle of disturbance, lack of vitality, and illness (36a, p. 34).

But one important factor is still lacking for a clear insight into the situation and for overcoming the thought-inhibition by remedial education. We do not know what Karl P. is ultimately afraid of. What are the ill-effects of his failure in arithmetic which strike such deep fear into him that an error in multiplication is almost as bad as being executed? For technical reasons it is generally very hard with children to determine exactly the early history of their behavior-habits. With adults success is far easier through dream-analysis and "free association." It was possible, however, in this case for the objective to be approximately attained.

The child's father was a bank official who set great store by swift and exact reckoning. He began early to set his only offspring little problems. On these occasions he was wont to say: "Now let's see if you're a swell guy or just a poor bum," and when the child went wrong, he had (according to the mother's account) a jeering and tormenting way of underlining and exaggerating the failure. The mother then took the youngster under her protection and tried to convince the father that one should not make such big demands upon so small and frail a child. Karl listened to this discussion and, without really understanding it, drew therefrom practical conclusions in the interests of his ego-preservation.

As so often the case, there was here a combination of fear inspired by the father and of pampering by the mother, and each influence augmented the other. The child responded naturally with flight from the father, which was tantamount to flight in face of defeat and flight from arithmetic. He chose the way back to the mother, which meant the way back to

security, childishness, the illusory Primal-We, and egocentric "superiority." Father, arithmetic, defeat and scolding belonged to the danger-zone. They became blended in a sort of anxiety-image, which played a great part in the child's night-dreams and febrile phantasies. A mocking giant, like a fearsome nutcracker, gobbled up all the children in the world. But when Karl awoke from these dreams, screaming and sweating, the mother came and sat down on his bed to comfort him.

In his first year at school Karl had two successive teachers. The first seems to have been rather clever and also indulgent. For Karl he represents the "mother-side." He confirms the impression that there are some good people about, namely those who find nothing wrong with the extremely short tension-capacity of the pampered child.* But the second teacher was strict, and thoroughly clumsy too. He brought it about that Karl learned arithmetic with great anxiety and trouble. And the change from one teacher to the other seems to be mixed up with the "seven." Perhaps the first problem set by the second teacher was "What is seven times seven?"

An additional factor may be that reckoning with seven does in fact present special difficulties to all children. But the typical operation of a warning-post demands special explanation; and we can safely conclude from the child's behavior that a new and overpowering danger looms up in association with the number seven.

Now we can formulate, with approximate completeness, the

* It is noteworthy that the psychoanalysts make precisely the same observations but necessarily misinterpret them on account of their theory of "libido." How gravely the utility of observations, correct in themselves, is degraded by misinterpretation is shown especially in the case of Anna Freud (11).

determinants in the child's reaction-basis with reference to arithmetic. The terms of the behavior-habit are as follows:

1. The world is a nasty place. There are hostile powers, which mercilessly overwhelm us the moment we commit the slightest fault (Nutcracker).

2. I must cling either to Mother or to people who are as kind as she. If I am in danger I must cry; for Mother comes when she hears me cry (mirage of the Primal-We).

3. I cannot do arithmetic. When Seven turns up I am lost. The giant Nutcracker will get me—if Mother doesn't save me (warning-post).

It stands to reason that inhibitions of this kind condemn to failure every repetition and memorization task, and every attempt at coaching on the part of the teacher. Where there is no obstructive behavior-habit, a single effort is enough to surmount the obstacle in a synthetical way and dispose of the gap in knowledge. But where a behavior-habit is operating, that gap becomes even larger. Whoever cannot multiply, does not learn division either. He may become quite a good mathematician by the less direct way of concrete images; but everywhere, even in logarithmic calculations, the gap will be noticeable which began with the seven-times-table.

The means whereby remedial education can overcome thought-inhibitions of this kind shall be set forth later. Suffice it to point out here that the cause of the failure lies, not in the dealing with figures, but with the father. Only he who can banish the fear of the Nutcracker, a fear the child himself does not understand and of which at times he is not even conscious—can also overcome reckoning inhibitions.

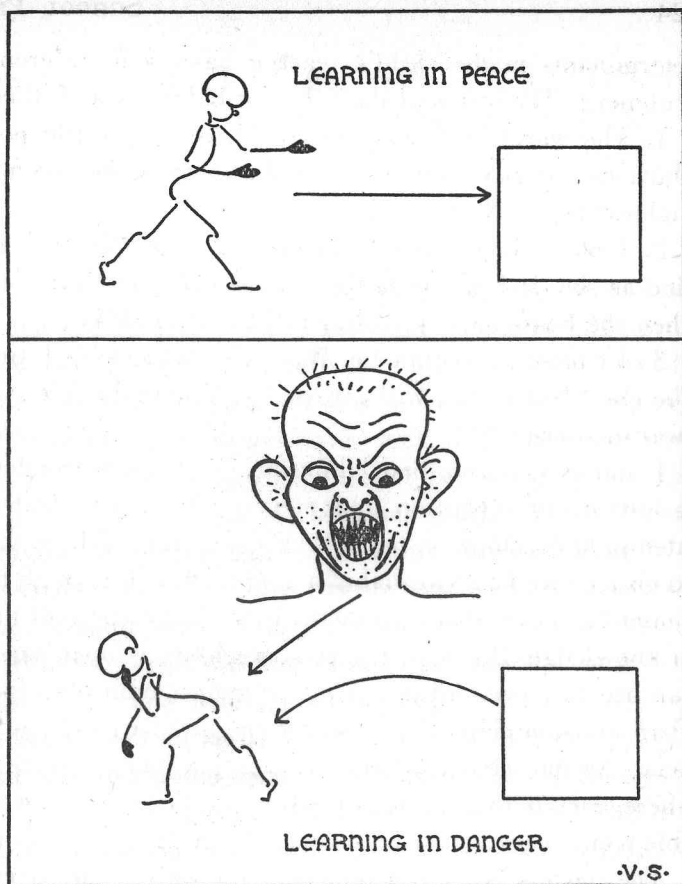


FIG. 5. THE BLACK GIANT (GOLIATH?).

The adjustment between Subject and Object should take place directly, as already indicated in Figure 1. But the educator now intervenes with excessive praise or blame. The latter especially disturbs the child's adjustment to the material of learning. He no longer learns in order to know something, but in order to escape censure. Everything that is done is done in respect of the "black giant," and every failure, instead of constituting an objective problem of improvement, becomes the anxious question, "How am I now to escape the black giant?"

16. INTERESTS (DEFLECTED FINALIZATION AND PREDISPOSITION)

THERE IS NO SUBJECT-EXISTENCE APART FROM A LIVING ORGANISM. The organism however is an object of the outside world and is subordinate to the laws of nature. Hence every subject is obliged to reckon with the laws of nature unless he wishes to perish. This fact gives rise to necessities of life which make themselves felt subjectively as needs. The fact of metabolism produces the need for food requirements, the fact of metamorphosis (growth, old age and death) produces the sex need. And we have already noticed how it is characteristic of these needs that they are at first forced upon the individual from without (as causal) and are then gradually acknowledged by the subject (as final). That which operates as final phylogenetically, has a causal effect on the ontogenesis and only slowly and partially becomes ontogenetically final. Out of the "I must" comes an "I will."

Similarly in man's corporate life social necessities, valuations, morals, customs and laws develop which at first influence the individual causally from without, but are gradually more or less accepted into his own system of values. Both processes, the admission of the phylogenetic "needs" and of the social "valuations" are important parts of upward growth. But this growth into and alignment with existing social facts can assume very varied forms. There is a far greater number

of possibilities in this sphere than in the adjustment to the needs.

A recognition or denial of cultural values, participation in the world of music or musical indifference, interest in politics, religion, the nation or the class struggle or aloofness from such issues, in short the choice of a point of view and of a personal, private valuation is influenced by a series of biological, sociological and characterological facts, and realized through the adoption of continually new, and yet interdependent standpoints, so that the story of the development of these interests is practically identical with that of the character itself. But everything we designate interest has its origin in the formula that here is a necessity of life which must be satisfied if the subject-existence is not to suffer direct or indirect harm. A child who has an extremely nervous mother is scolded whenever he makes a noise. It is soon evident that the child has an interest in being quiet (or also in being rowdy). And this interest may assume the rigid form of a behavior-habit: "Be quiet (or rowdy) or else you will suffer for it." It is the preliminary and usually faulty steps of ego-discovery that give interests their direction. "Thus are my surroundings, thus stand I in relation to them, consequently thus must I behave." Such is the unconscious pattern of this association.

But not only negative interests arise to aid self-preservation in the form of prohibitions; positive activities and faculties also develop in this way. A child who finds he has several brothers and sisters to compete against, may develop the tendency to seize all he can for himself in the way of food and toys, and even other articles. He has an interest in hoarding, that

may assume also the rigidity of a behavior-habit.

Another child, a girl, comes second after a very sturdy brother. In physical strength she is hopelessly inferior to the older child. But it is soon evident that the stronger one of the two does not like learning, and that he is consequently weak at all his school work. The smaller one seizes upon this opportunity (without being clear as to the meaning of her policy) and trains the very faculties that her brother neglects. She interests herself in the alphabet and in figures, she learns to read entirely by herself, and in a short time has outstripped her brother in this field, as he naturally interests himself less and less in the things his sister can do better than he. Thus the decision that one day she shall study, while he takes up agriculture or engineering, is not the outcome so much of any inborn aptitude, as of a training, a fostering of certain interests which have arisen in turn under the service of egocentric superiority.

Thus the same "interest," say in reading, can in point of character have two quite different sources with two different children. With one it may spring directly from the original hunger for life. The subject seeks to absorb as much of the "world" as he can, and reading is a practical means to that end. There is no question as yet of ego-preservation. On the other hand another child has long since learnt that he must acquire a good reputation with those around him. His interest is not to absorb as much of the world as possible, but merely to do what pleases the grown-ups, and in serving this policy reading proves a valuable expedient.*

* Compare what Kurt Lewin says about interests and "quasi-needs." In spite

Both children thus practice their new accomplishment with a great deal of diligence. But the first child still possesses the unbroken and productive zeal of direct vitality. Failure may cause him to reflect, but cannot hinder his joy in learning. On the contrary, the task of overcoming obstacles lends this "serious game" an added attraction. The tension-capacity increases from day to day, and the child searches for ever harder problems against which to pit his powers. The other child will on the contrary be worried and depressed by every failure. Hence the impatience and the embarrassment that becomes more apparent with each reverse. Mistrust in his own ability increases, as the tasks before him grow harder. His efforts and diligence grow, but with them his anxiety and impatience. Failures multiply, and the tension-capacity becomes shorter.

The first child is moving in a *circulus virtuosus*, the second in a *circulus vitiosus*. The first has a direct (objective), the second only an indirect (egocentric) interest in learning. The first passes as being gifted and thoughtless, the second as "certainly not gifted, but exceedingly conscientious."

It is not only from competition with brothers and sisters, schoolfellows or even adults, that the special cultivation of indirect or direct interests arises; within the sphere of the individual character itself the person's totality of interests may cause special weakness in one direction to be compensated by special strength in another. We talk then of compensation and over-compensation. The above mentioned "strong"

of much agreement with us in his observations, he arrives at results which appear almost mechanistic. The reason is probably due to the fact that he wishes to avoid the notion of the subject (28, pp. 51 and 88).

elder brother gradually abandons his interest in school work because his sister beats him in that direction all along the line. In its stead he develops a great interest in rowdiness, rough manners and boxing feats. His defeats in school must somehow be compensated, or else he would feel "inferior." So he gradually becomes the chieftain of a small robber band that looks upon all learning and civilization with the utmost scorn as "women's slop." Club-law alone reigns in this circle. The one who annoys the teachers most enjoys the greatest fame, and the one who receives the hardest punishment from his parents without complaining is regarded as the bravest hero. These boys' interests are taking a plainly a-social course, not by reason of any predisposition, but merely because no other opportunity remains for them to compensate their "minus," namely their poor achievements in school, by a "plus," namely by deeds of heroism.

The many shifts and changes through which every character has to pass in the course of development cause most direct interests to be turned aside and used in the service of other purposes; their "finality is deflected," so that they are transformed into indirect interests. And actually this process will be the more crass, the more egocentric the integral attitude of the person, and the more rigid his behavior-habits. Hence the original faculties with which we say a person is gifted gradually disappear, and are replaced (in favorable cases) by egocentric training, diligence, carefulness and conscientiousness. But when the behavior-habits, or in other words, the consequences of pampering and hardening fail to corrupt the original interests, then the so-called gifts remain, namely, the

direct productive comprehension of the world, the penetration of objects by the subject, and their transformation and enlistment in the service of new tasks and goals.

Yet even two children who have grown up in entirely similar conditions will respond to similar duties in a completely different manner. It must not be forgotten that brothers or sisters have always a socially different standing one from another on account of the one being older and stronger than the other. There is no escaping the questions of superiority and competition, even in the case of twins. But even apart from these distinctions, there are still the differences of the reaction-basis to be considered, which go far in determining the behavior of children and adults.

Every answer that the outer world gives to a question of life must realize a potentiality already existing in the individual's inner being (that is, it must touch the depths of his reaction-basis). Whoever grasps the meaning of a mathematical proposition, grows a little further into the outer world; he understands better and has a better command over actual objects than before. But simultaneously he grows within as well. The "perception-form" of space has revealed its secret to him. And this perception-form is an essential part of inner reality, or, if one will, of the human capacity which lies concealed as a mass of potentialities in the reaction-basis.

The introvert who, as it were, burrows into his inner self, using the outer world merely as his tool, will find there the truth and life (unless he goes astray) that the extravert, who explores the outer world, and uses his inner self merely as a tool, will find outside (provided he too does not lose his way).

But not only abstract forms, such as the structural laws of space and time, and logical connections, such as causality and finality must be "awakened," or as Plato says "remembered," within the inner being of the growing person. Other far more concrete connections similarly become experiences within the inner self through external happenings. Thus the lost original We later becomes vital again in the crises of egocentricity; laboriously man has to learn to love again. But more than this, man must one day realize again that he lives in order to die, and that his death is no private egocentric affair of his own, but that every life—today just as in the Primal-We—finds its meaning in exhausting itself and at the same time fulfilling itself in the service of a We. This insight into the meaning of life is conveyed to every individual from outside—it is even forced upon him—but it will be neither apprehended nor realized unless a resolute, unequivocal "Yes" gives a glad, irresistible response from within to the call of life (which is the call of death).

To prepare the young for this inner awakening, to teach them to love, to struggle, to be capable of devotion and to die, this is the task of all education; and this task means that the personal inner life, the spiritual reality in each individual must be awakened and brought to expression. The outer and inner dialectics must mutually further one another, or else there arise one-sided characters who can do much to poison the world.

But everyone speaks in his own language, namely in the language of the We to which he belongs by blood. Hence the blood-We, the family, kin and race to which he belongs, is at

first the only educator that can accomplish this goal. All education in a "foreign tongue" must fail. The inner world does not come alive unless appealed to in its own appropriate style, manner and native rhythm. The outer dialectic must follow a course which corresponds to the potentialities, tendencies and disposition of the inner dialectic. An Indian child brought up in Oxford remains fundamentally unalive in spite of every adaption, because neither Shakespeare's dramas nor the boat races between the Light and Dark Blues touch his inmost chords. And immigrants to America, for instance, become superficial and unproductive unless they succeed in creating over there an environment that corresponds in style, melody and rhythm to their old native land. Only the We that is inherited, one's native land and mode of life, can educate in the real sense of the word, that is, only they can have an awakening, creative effect.

17. GROUP FORMATION (DIALECTIC BETWEEN THE EGO AND THE WE)

A YOUNG TEACHER AND FIVE HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS ARE CROSSING a bay in a sailing boat. They are on their way from the railway station to the school; it is the last day of the holidays. The master is not very popular; moreover few of them are returning to work willingly—they still have the holiday feeling in their veins and their mood is aggressive rather than peaceful. The boys' attitude betrays far more mockery and rebellion than comradeship and discipline. Soon there are three groups formed; two boys against the three others, and teacher standing alone. He reads and behaves as though he noticed nothing. The oldest boy leans idly over the tiller, the others have left their seats and are clustered whispering and tittering together.

Thus no one notices the cloud that has crept up over the woods, and the sharp gust that fills the sail is totally unexpected. The boy steering pulls the rudder round and shouts to the teacher, "Slacken the sheets." The boat has almost heeled over, the sails flap a moment in the wind, then the boat rights itself again. Frightened, the boys look at one another; it was a wonder no one had gone overboard. The sky and water are pitch black, there is a lashing rain and the wind is blowing in fitful gusts. They all know now that they have a long hour of very heavy work ahead of them, and will pull

through only if every single one of them carries out like lightning the orders from the man at the tiller. Each has long since resumed his seat; the master is steering; all dissent and dissatisfaction have been forgotten. Each does his duty, knowing that boat and crew are equal to the danger.

They make slow, difficult tacks against unsteady winds, but soon they are infected with a mood which would have been impossible ten minutes earlier. Whenever the boat goes about they all give a shout of joy; the united efforts of their six heads and the united skill of their twelve hands have given every single one of them a feeling of gladness. An hour later they walk ashore wet through and tired; but they have grown together to a "We."

There is no life and no development of the individual; this idealistic dream has been shattered. Man is a community being, a "political animal." All development and all education is accomplished in corporate life, but the dialectic of the corporate life does not occur between the I and the You (as Feuerbach still seems to maintain), nor between the I and Mankind (as many researchers still claim today); it occurs between the individual and the group. The group is just as much in evidence as the individual. Its conduct, its response to the behavior of each member, its standpoint toward the outer and the inner world is an actual tangible experience. The individual's counterpart is not therefore another individual, nor is it an abstract concept either (like the notion of class, or class-consciousness in Marxism), nor again a mythical inward power, like the nation or the national spirit (of which we shall speak later); it is the group of mutually dependent persons—

the family, the school class including the teacher, the rambling club with their leader, or even the crew on the sailing boat.

All questions of order and disorder, of authority and independence, of discipline and lack of discipline, can only be understood aright if one first grasps this dialectic between the I and the We. For the purposes of our investigation it makes no difference whether we are considering a blood-related group like the family, or an officially ordained community, as for instance a school-class, or some spontaneous group formation such as emerges from a political or religious movement, or finally whether we have in mind the emergency community which organizes itself in moments of sudden danger—in every case the characterological problems of order, authority and discipline present the same aspect.

Here again the fundamental distinction lies in the contrast between vitality and death, between productivity and sclerosis, between adaptability and rigidity, or what amounts to the same thing for us—between We-ness and egocentricity.

For group psychology a new and vitally important problem arises, namely that of distinguishing between the “right” group and the “wrong” group. There is the question to which We the individual belongs, how long he should remain faithful to his group, even when the group is deteriorating, when and how he should look for a new We when the old is lost to him, and above all what is to happen when he belongs simultaneously to two groups (say a religious and a political) who have crossed swords with one another.* But in this present survey, where the issue is growth and education, we may for the

* Compare Volume IV of “Applied Characterology” (40).

present presuppose the group to be a given unit within which the individual has to adjust himself and for whose further development he is responsible.

This group, which moves visibly and tangibly outside in the world, is the counterpart of the actual experience of the "We" within the character, the growth and development of this experience corresponding exactly to the external group life. The more doubtful and questionable the behavior of the group—as in the case of a family at odds with itself—the feebler will be the development of the "We" in the child's inner being, and the further removed from reality. It often remains so feeble and unreal that it only agitates the person from time to time like some longing of the imagination. All he knows is that there is something within him waiting for what does not exist without, and it will depend upon his general disposition whether he says that no such thing can exist in reality, and hence all We-ness is romantic nonsense, or that it should be realizable at some future date and that We-ness is merely an ethical challenge or a Utopian dream—but in neither case a reality.

But the more vitally the group impresses itself on its members, the more strongly will the inner We develop, the more naturally will it be recognized once again as a value-bearer, and the more favorable will be even the We-estranged, egocentric phases of development.* Therefore the question of character formation is essentially a question of group forma-

* In the language of dream symbols egocentricity, the inner Ego, appears usually in the form of snakes and dragons, representing the pleasure-desire; while We-ness, the Inner-We, assumes the form of marriage tokens, lions, eagles or doves.

tion, and all the other questions—even that of instruction and work at school—can only be decided when this main question has been decided.

Let us face the fact that schools in their existing form, and the higher schools are the worst offenders, have managed to split their classes up into nothing but a series of individual pairs of teacher and pupil. If the teacher has thirty boys of the seventh grade in his class, then, to be precise, he must lead a thirty-fold existence, since every pupil exists in relation to him and him alone. A transverse relationship between pupils is forbidden. Thus psychologically the situation that arises may be compared with that in a prison chapel. Each prisoner is separated from his neighbor by a wall; his field of vision is restricted and tubular, and allows him to see nothing but the man in the pulpit. This is individual instruction. No wonder the teachers object to giving fifty such individual lessons in one hour's lesson, and say: "An individual treatment of the pupils is not possible with the size of the classes today." The hitherto existing form of instruction is doomed, for it excludes from the outset all mass instruction.

Salvation should lie in instruction by group-work but at present this is meeting with difficulties on all sides, from the teacher, the pupils, the authorities and the parents. No one knows exactly "how it is done," and the majority of practical attempts have led to such chaos that the remedy has had again to be sought in strong discipline and a new version of the prison chapel. In isolated cases however they have led to the fanatical allegiance of all to one, to a kind of school kingdom after the type of the Old Germanic military constitution. For

this their King's sake, and because he commands it, they are prepared to do everything. And his disfavor is synonymous with death. In this way pupils and teacher remain stuck in an Illusory-We. They have so to speak never emerged from the beginning of the Middle Ages.—It is today given only to a very few teachers to organize objective group-work. It will be the task of characterology to grasp the inner significance of this possibility and so to transform it from an exceptional instance of genius into a natural capability of every teacher.

And actually it has already become evident that the primary condition for the success of this new instruction is nothing more nor less than the conversion of the entire teaching profession (or their majority) from the egocentric to the We-ward attitude. Not only must every single teacher rise superior to the philosophy of individualism, he must also overcome the unconscious egocentricity of his ostensibly social or national or Christian attitude. He must himself join in the general process of Becoming. And this teacher reform (which might gradually cause a revolution of the school, of work and of culture) will at first be shipwrecked on the rigidity of all egocentric persons, their fear for the New, and their occupation with authority and the safety of their own person.

But there is another difficulty too, namely that of accustoming children to this form of work from their earliest days. Hitherto, in conformity with the fundamental attitude underlying the individualistic age, not only the school but the kindergarten, the play-centers and the parental home have aimed unconsciously and as a matter of course at educating the child to individual achievement, to the comparison of his achieve-

ments with those of others, and hence to ambition and competition. The contrary was the exception. Games and country expeditions were frowned upon by the strict pedagogue. They were acquiesced in because of the "physical training" they afforded. But everything testifying to group life and a community was necessarily regarded as sinister and suspect because such teachers feared the apparently uncontrolled productivity of the group, and considered it lawless in so far as they were ignorant of its laws. In striking contrast to this stood the collective devotion so unhesitatingly demanded and given to the people and fatherland, and the glad enthusiasm experienced by well-conducted groups and their members. Eloquent testimony of this is to be found in military marches and parades, in the ambition harbored by every soldier that his regiment or company shall make a brave show, and even in the local patriotism of rifle associations. Generally this is a case of remnants of the original-We. The transition to a Ripening-We is realized today by the educational world at large to be the only solution; but the paths to it are still badly made, and badly blocked, both inwardly as concerns the educators and outwardly as concerns State educational administration. The youth itself has advanced furthest. Growth has developed faster than education, and threatens to deteriorate unless the external forms and objectives are found which it needs for its stay, support and content.

18. DISORDER (EXCESSIVELY STRICT OR WEAK ORDER)

LET US IMAGINE TWO PARALLEL CLASSES, COMPOSED OF BOYS of about thirteen years of age. It makes no difference whether they are in a public or a private school. A change in the teaching staff has necessitated an alteration in the timetable for these classes that is really thoroughly inconvenient. Both the principal and the class teachers are aware of the hardship they are imposing on the boys, but there is no alternative.

I. In the first class "order" rules; a rigid, almost mechanical obedience to orders has long since been regarded as the guiding principle. Ostensibly there is only one will, namely that of the teacher, and its complement, namely the will of the class with its groups, cliques and individuals, is subjected unconditionally to the will of the teacher by reward and punishment, rigid authority and rigid discipline.

This despot now appears before the subjects with his new ordinance. He dictates the timetable, then remarks in a benevolent tone: "You won't like this, boys, but you must set your teeth to it; the Principal has ordered it. Now show your powers of endurance." During the dictation a gloomy depression comes over the pupils. Their free afternoons have been cut into, and the most difficult lessons all crowded together. It is unendurable. Does it have to be like this? It's a pretty low trick. The powers that be can't have bothered

their heads very much or they could have turned out something better.

United in anger, the boys exchange black looks. The most discontented of them, a great big lout, makes a queer gesture with his arms. The teacher knows exactly what is coming; he pounces like a hawk on the lad and cries: "I forbid any criticism! In this class orders must be obeyed!" His voice says plainly that there are going to be no half-measures. With threatening looks he curbs the discontented class.

But every pressure produces a counter-pressure; so the pressure must grow, and with it the counter-pressure. The vicious cycle between teacher and class quickly screws up the tension. A groan comes right from the back—the teacher turns a censorious eye in that direction. But now there is also a row going on in front—on the left. One feels that someone there is making faces, and that the others can hardly contain themselves. The master swings round: "I forbid you . . ."—but while he is restoring quiet in the front left corner, someone at the right back utters a loud distinct "Moo." "Who was that?" Excited as though they were watching a Spanish bull-fight, the class watches to see the despot rout his enemies. The enemy however is invisible, and at least as powerful as he; its name is rebellion.

What the master could not achieve and really had no wish to achieve, namely that his pupils should know the cohesion of a group, he has accomplished against his will. The pupils now confront him as one hostile united front, true, stolid and invincible, like a living wall. The inner We, the

true educator and molder of character, the capacity for devotion and for suffering injury and want for a common goal—this living, spontaneous order, ready discipline and heroic courage the teacher has evoked in his pupils, but against his will, unsuspectingly, by a foolish coincidence.

This We is negative; in effect it is destructive and remains fundamentally unfruitful. But it is a We, and as such stronger than any I, even the I of the teacher, who produced it. It is a fortress of the We before which he prowls up and down like a ravening animal who finds the building strange, its doors bolted and its living strength invincible.

From the angle of depth psychology and the inner dialectic of the pupils, the unifying principle at work soon becomes evident. In all of them a figure which they have carried within them since their earliest childhood has come alive: the black giant is there in flesh and blood, threatening them. Again and again each of them has had actual outer and inner experience of him: outwardly in the father's stern looks, the teacher's hard voice and the principal's immovable expression; black giants which, however, were effective outwardly only because they found their complement and their answer inwardly in the child, in the experience of total insignificance and spiritual annihilation. The feeling of guilt and impotence within (the black dwarf) superior power and severity without (the black giant)—these are the rigid, unalterable phases of the catathetical dialectic, which never permit of a productive solution.

So long as each child feels that the black giant is threatening him alone, he will respond automatically with the

death-feigning reflex. The light of the intellect is dimmed, feeling is cut off, all that remains is a tractable machine without a will of its own; it is purely automatic obedience. (That this machine will never accomplish anything productive is a matter of indifference to its driver.) But if the whole class of one accord has the same experience, if the black giant produces in all of them the same mood there arises a fellowship of destiny in spite of all egocentric isolation. This We is a counter-We. Its goals are not productive; it does not work for but against; nevertheless it is a We, despite its negativeness. It will disintegrate as soon as the adversary disappears. Even when fighting in self-defense it will hardly ever go further than negative measures, sabotage and strikes; it will not grow to anything greater, but at the same time it is undefeatable.

Supposing the master finally calls the principal, what good does it do? The black giant fetches in the yet blacker chief giant to help him, but the inward state of battle will remain the same, for only its external course can alter. One pupil may be expelled, or some compromise made, or the negative-We may disintegrate in the course of time. Whatever happens, the educational issue has not been solved; it will come to a head again in the next ordeal even more acutely.

The appeal to the black giants is no educative measure; for a time it may procure a rigid semblance of order, which sooner or later must turn to disorder, secret hostility and decay. Automatic obedience is necessarily egocentric; it allows only Caesars and dullards to exist.

II. In the next class a different state of affairs prevails. Here "friendship" is the rule; the relation between teacher and pupils is ostensibly that of good comrades. They discuss things in common on equal terms, and are obedient to reason. So the teacher hopes now to obtain the class's consent to even this new and unpopular timetable by means of a majority vote. He makes a speech something in the style of a parliamentary Finance Minister. He explains the necessities, discusses all the solutions which have been proved impracticable, and comes to the conclusion that: "There is no alternative and you must consent to these inconvenient taxes; you must take on yourselves this burden, which I would have spared you only too willingly."

But the boys do not see eye to eye with him. They begin to shout and complain. The teacher says: "Yes, I know it is bad, but it must be."—"Couldn't one perhaps . . ." and a new proposal is made; or "no, I know of something better. . . ." A dozen suggestions, thirty fresh possibilities, numberless Ifs and Buts—until no one knows what it is all about. "Quiet!"—"Don't shout so, you don't understand it at all. . . ." No one listens to the other; to overthrow the timetable with noise and destruction appears now their main object.

The teacher sees his whole system fall to the ground. Only for as long as he could satisfy the egocentric aims of each individual or, expressed in terms of the inner being, as long as he could be the white giant to each one of them, was he good friends with them all. But this We was a false We, a substitute community that existed only in so far as he

protected each individual from a repetition of his personal We-collapse by his friendly attitude, and his white color. The first real demand made on them for devotion or sacrifice naturally met with crass refusal, for it meant that the white giant was leaving his white dwarfs in the lurch. It would have spelled treason, the white color turning to black—it would have signified a recurrence of the We-collapse, and catastrophe overtaking them. A too weak system of order had created only stars and Home-children; it had hindered a development of the tension-capacity and thus all approach to the Ripening-We.

But there still seems one way out. In a low sad voice the master says: "Boys, you know I mean well by you. Do you know me so little? Would I have imposed this timetable on you if there had been any alternative?" These tactics seem to work; the class grows quieter. The giant again appears white and the dwarfs too. Perhaps they can make the sacrifice and so spare the giant's grief. But—and the same depth-psychological process is at work in every boy's mind—if he is really a giant, he must be able to do the impossible. The head of the class stands up and says very politely: "Please, sir, we simply can't go on like this. If you could only get the Principal to see it. Let us send a delegation. We will promise to be twice as diligent if the afternoon classes are dropped. Yes, but . . ." And once again the parleying starts, or in other words each one makes an ego-centric's attempt to squeeze something for his beloved ego; and already it is impossible for anyone to understand what even he himself is saying.

It is all the same whether this parleying goes on for two hours, or two weeks. From the educational point of view the situation is lost; finally, too, the black giant must emerge and supplant the white one. The teacher may perhaps alter his tactics. He may call in the director to assist him. Whatever he does, the children have the experience of the white giant failing them, and of the black giant replacing him. Educational experiment No. 2 has lapsed back into Experiment No. 1. This weak system of order is unrealizable. It proves to be disorder, since it cannot produce a tension-capacity capable of bearing any strain; so it reverts to the strict system of order, which proved itself to be disorder.

The question now arises whether a better order is to be found through the study of character and groups, or, to put it more accurately, whether we can grasp that essence of vital order which always manages somehow to survive in spite of the excesses of severity and indulgence, and once having grasped it, whether we can protect it from deterioration and increase its effectiveness. It is, however, evident from what we have already said that the question of vital order falls into the two sub-questions of vital authority and vital discipline.

19. AUTHORITY (INNER RIPENING THROUGH OUTER NEED)

NOW LET US IMAGINE A THIRD PARALLEL CLASS. HERE AGAIN the teacher has to impart the news of the unwelcome timetable to his fifty pupils. However the order prevailing in this class has never been either too strict or too weak; it is a "vital" order. The teacher is neither the embodiment of the black giant representing inflexible external authority, nor yet of the white giant representing an obedient custodian of the child's self-will. This class is neither a training-ground for Caesars and dullards, nor for weak stars and Home-children. Here the external order of the class is used instead to deepen the internal order existing in the boys' characters; and this steadily increasing inner order is employed in turn for the continual adapting of the outer order to the demands placed on it by reality. Thus order grows simultaneously without and within.

Nevertheless the teacher is not certain whether he will succeed this time in finding a productive solution to his problem; but there is no doubt that he must try to make of this ordeal a means of ripening the We-spirit and increasing the tension-capacity.

He is more worried and serious than his wont when he enters the class; the pupils notice that something unusual is in the air and suspect some big battle to be brewing. "Well, now we are in for it, and haven't even ourselves to blame for

the mess," says the teacher. "Two masters have suddenly been transferred. For the present there is no one to take their place, and we must help ourselves as best we can with an emergency arrangement." Who is this We with whom he is identifying himself? Who must help themselves? He means the We of the class that has to adapt itself to the timetable; but also he means the We of the teaching staff that has been forced to draw up this unfavorable timetable. A decisive fact here emerges, namely that the leader of the class belongs to two different groups, the class and the teaching staff, and that these two groups in their entirety form the school.

"The timetable looks about as bad as it possibly can. What would you say to our having two or three hours every morning and every afternoon? It would mean no free time left, and the homework hours being cut down." Gloomily but resolutely he and the class look at each other—very much as if they had lost a battle together. Retreat all along the line—shorten objectives, but never lose courage; such, roughly, is the mood of this group. There is no trace yet of any distinction drawn between teacher and pupils.

"Will it go on for long?" asks one boy. "It will surely have to be for some days," says another. The master continues his information, not however like a minister addressing Parliament, but like a general speaking to his officers. He knows the war situation, and the need of the moment, and he sees the task that arises out of this need. His officers only have to discuss the way of solving this task.

"Tomorrow the Principal goes to the Ministry; but they have already written to him that he will have to wait at least

half a year for new teachers. Germany has one debt after another, the Government must economize, and we must see how we can best come through." Now the class has become part of the school. The teaching staff and the pupils have the same burden to bear. It is imposed from above; there is no money to pay the teachers. They visualize the Principal sitting in the Ministry with some of the deputies; the Minister is there too, one can almost hear him saying: "It's no good, we must economize." From where is the pressure coming? Has the master a grudge against his class? Certainly not. Does the Principal want to plague the school? Certainly not. Does the Minister want to annoy the directors? Certainly not. The Minister is the most care-ridden of them all.

"Then we will have to manage somehow," says the head of the class. "What exactly is this timetable?" asks another. "It is really bad, but not quite so bad as I made out just now," answers the master, "but you are quite right. We will first write it down and look at it closely, and then consider how we can arrange it. What we cannot do is to alter the timetable. So the only question is how best to get down to it."

He then dictates it. Suddenly someone says: "Why, that's not half so bad." "It could be worse, but it is quite bad enough," says the master. "Oh well, we'll get along with it all right," says another. The teacher however warns them: "Don't imagine it is going to be too easy." Then the class comes alive, as if they had suddenly shed a heavy burden. A boy stands up and shouts excitedly: "Do you think we can't do it, sir? Don't you trust us then? We're not boys in the Fourth grade." The

others then join in too. "Yes, he's right! We're not boys of nine, of course we can do it!"

The teacher looks at them searchingly: "Yes? So you have left the Fourth grade? You really can put up with something? Could you win the battle of Leuthen?" Then humor gets the better of him. "Frederick the King won the battle of Leuthen against all the rules of the art of war; we will get the better of this timetable by applying all the rules of education. Forward, then! to the breach!"

How did this teacher win his battle? He approached it from the right front, and thus everything was settled from the start. He did not set himself against his class like the autocratic master in the first example, nor on the side of the class and against the school authorities and their timetable, like the friendship-pedagogue in the second example.

The circumstances in this case of adversity form a triangle. The pupils are the first point of the triangle; their conscious interest lies in making life as easy as they can. The school authorities who drew up the timetable are the second point; their goal is to adapt the school system to the economic position of the State. And the teacher is the third point; his goal is to adapt the pupils to the position of the school; not however in the sense of rigid subjection, but in the sense of an enhanced aliveness. This enhancement of the inner aliveness and adaptability of every single pupil and the solidifying of the inner order of the class is however not merely a goal of the teacher's, but also the true goal of the pupils (even though as yet an unconscious one). Beneath the conscious and semi-

conscious layers of egocentric upward-growth (learning to know and exploit the outer world for one's own beloved ego) there lies ready within them a far deeper and more vital, but as yet unconscious layer in which higher goals and deeper experiences slumber. From this layer comes the individual's desire to devote himself to his group, his community and his nation. And not until the means and goals, the opportunities for experience, the capacities and standards of value dormant in this deeper stratum come alive in the boys, will they have reached their (so far unconscious) goal and have grown up.

This true but at present unconscious goal of the pupils is simultaneously the true but fully conscious goal of the teacher. Consequently the teacher has a deeper and wider knowledge of the true nature of his pupils and their group. He embodies the spirit of their We, which it is true has always been alive within them, but of which they themselves are not yet aware. They thus experience their teacher, his bearing, his words and deeds as a revelation of their own nature; they are always recognizing themselves afresh in him, and especially when he expects something of them which they alone would have refused to do. The thesis is: "I do not wish this," the antithesis: "The teacher wishes it," the synthesis: "But I wish to do it myself; the teacher has merely put it in my mind."

The teacher thus becomes an awakener to consciousness, the molder and sculptor of the deeper structure of character in his pupils, into which he does not only pour content, supplying them with material which they can then dispose of in either an egocentric or a We-ward manner (according to their

personal development); he also shapes the actual course of the development. He evokes once more in the inner being of the egocentric children the We as a value-bearer; he cultivates it and advances its growth by a process of tests, and takes care lest this We be again destroyed by too severe an ordeal, by We-collapse and betrayal.

All this, however, is only possible to the teacher inasmuch as he belongs simultaneously to another second group of persons, namely the teaching body. And this second group has conscious, living connection to the larger community of which the pupils too (still unconsciously) form a part, namely the people. The teacher directly experiences the people's need, vividly incorporated for him in the need of the teaching profession. This very experience enables him to make the children feel what is now at stake.

The question—who is the oppressor, who is the black giant?—is the decisive question. With both previously mentioned masters the pupils could not escape the impression that the black giant was immediately confronting them. The egocentric form of their reaction-basis reaffirmed itself.—Whenever one wants to enjoy oneself the black giant appears and changes one's joy to sorrow.—It is otherwise in this third example. Neither the master, nor the director, nor the Minister of Culture appears as a black giant, nor is there a white giant anywhere about either. Life is difficult, the need is great, and the individual is entirely unable to cope with it. But the meaningful co-operation of teachers and pupils, of authorities and schools, of State and people, willingness to sacrifice and steadfastness in danger, make possible a solution of the problem.

The class has now a deeper experience of the We than before. At first the We meant only the teacher and pupils, then it meant the teaching profession and schoolchildren generally, and now it means the Ministry and the school administration. A breath of the storms of destiny agitating the country has penetrated to this class. They feel the sails straining, the boat keeling over to one side, they feel the common danger and the firm hand on the rudder, little wonder that every order is carried out like lightning. The psychological state of affairs prevailing in this school class is now very similar to that in the sailing boat. Again they experience the Group, this time more deeply than before; and the force at work educating, molding the group and giving a We-form to the character structure of every individual, is the common need.

This then is the living authority possessed by an educator who directly and productively experiences within himself not only the existing We of his pupils, but the wider We of his people, toward which his pupils have to grow. He is the author, creator and evoker of the deeper lying values in the children's character, but only because and in so far as the growing problems in the outer world of reality demand this maturing and this co-operation of the new generation. The teacher's authorship and productivity (which must replace the rigid, egocentric authority that is either too hard or too weak) is after all nothing else than the great unerring authority of reality which, in the form of educational wisdom, is here brought to bear on the question of children and rendered effective in the sphere of character. The more purely and vitally

the educator's personality reflects the challenge of life—like light in a spectrum—revealing the character-forming tasks and problems, implicit therein, the greater the authority of that personality.

20. DISCIPLINE (REWARD AND PUNISHMENT IN EDUCATION)

THE ERRORS IN GROUP LIFE, JUST AS THE ERRORS IN INDIVIDUAL education, may lie in two opposite directions; they may be too hard or too weak. If the order of the group is too hard, the effect of the leader on his following must be that of too rigid an authority. In the inner life of his pupils he is then mirrored as a black giant. There is no one greater than he; he is felt to be absolute. A distinction is no longer made between him and the living We which he represents or should represent; the full measure of his errors and pitiful weaknesses—and like every egocentric person, he has them in abundance—is charged to the We, to the Good Cause or the Idea. For this reason even the greatest and most living idea of all—that of Christian love—appears brutal and loveless to the pupils, as some black giant, if its representative behaves in a brutal and loveless fashion. The children then learn only egocentric fear, egocentric feeling of guilt and egocentric remorse, instead of love, courage and the joy of sacrifice. The steps they take to defend themselves against him will be obedient or defiant (according to the proportion of their powers), but always rigid and unvital. His measures will always finally aim at encouraging the rigid egos through praise or oppressing them through punishment. Rigid group order necessarily leads by way of rigid authority to rigid discipline.

But reward and punishment, when inflicted in virtue of

dead laws or the—no less dead—despotism of a tyrant, can at the best of times only force those receiving the praise and punishment to a subtler adjustment of their modes of behavior and habits. The behavior-habits are supplemented and enriched, but they nevertheless remain egocentric and rigid; no way of softening an individual's sclerotic ego-preservation can be found along such lines. "Breaking the pupil's self-will" only means "Driving the pupil out of his active attitude of a Star or a Caesar into the passive attitude of a Home-child or a dullard." Punishment cannot inspire a liar with the courage to tell the truth but only with the fear of further punishments. Such discouragement must of necessity induce still more sly evasions and even subtler forms of dishonesty. The child learns to obtain his egocentric goals by giving an ostensibly "true" but really imperceptibly colored version of things and so to achieve egocentric success without having to resort to really gross lies. Fear engenders diplomacy. The very things that ought to be opposed, the child's egocentricity, lack of courage, rigidity and unaliveness, are in this way inevitably encouraged.*

But neither can genuine character-building result from praise, or the rewarding and inciting of ambition, if such methods are practiced for reasons of rigid group order or rigid authority. The pupil who achieves something through ambition, achieves less than nothing. He may learn rules of grammar and lists of words, but it is the I he is learning, not

* Compare Goethe's words to Eckermann, the 12th of March, 1828, and also R. M. Rilke's description of good and bad education (Volume IV of his "Works," pp. 211-232).

the We. He will make use of his knowledge and ability to gain some advantage over his classfellows; he will barter respect for himself and rise above the shoulders of the weaker ones. With its dead system of reward and punishment rigid discipline can only cultivate egocentric characters; as a method of education it is a crime against the people and the individual.

But, one may object, it is rare to meet with such a crass form of discipline. The question here, however, is to distinguish between wrong and right principles. In practice we shall always find the poison of rigid authority watered down and mixed up with other principles, but its effect is none the less deadly therefore. The majority of educators and culture-mongers are not even able to distinguish this poison from health-giving foods, that is to say, the rigid form of authority from the productive, and rigid discipline from vital discipline. Yet on many occasions this difference is so plain it might have been revealed by fire-ordeal. Let us imagine the autocratic teacher has, without knowing it, a big hole in his trousers, and that his shirt is sticking out half a foot. If he feels his authority damaged by this incident even in the slightest degree, then that which he names authority is in reality merely his egocentric compulsion to superiority and the personal compensation of his own personal sense of inferiority. On the other hand if he exerts a living authorship, he will laughingly transform the situation into an occasion whereby the We receives further emphasis and the bond of fidelity between leader and followers is strengthened. Authority which is vulnerable, which feels itself attacked and has to defend itself, is always a proof

of its own opposite. Every teacher who says: "My authority demands that I should . . ." is admitting that he is still totally lacking in the necessary conditions for character-building, namely, vital authority and vital discipline.

Exactly the same applies, with reversed labels, for any group order, leadership and discipline that is too weak. Under the hard system of order, the goal of the egocentric leader prevailed without regard to the vital individuality of the led. Under the weak system, the average egocentric goal of all the members prevails without regard to the vital individuality of the We incorporated in the leader. In this case the leader becomes not merely the apparent leader, the protector and spokesman of the ego; he becomes a ruling-slave. His association with the We, and knowledge of the deeper significance of this We, are as ineffectual as they were with the hard leader and the hard group order. Unlike the previously mentioned master, however, he does not press his followers into the service of his ego; on the contrary he places himself in their service, that is, in the service of their egocentricity (so that he shall remain leader at all costs). His activity is limited to protecting and encouraging the behavior-habits and egocentric goals of his people; he becomes their spokesman in the outer world so that he can drive bargains for their egos without danger or sacrifice, and he becomes their Justice of the Peace so that he shall smooth and settle their conflicting demands. So long as he is successful he appears to each individual as a white giant, an absolute embodiment of the True, the Good and the Beautiful. In him they see the guarantee for the preservation of their own ego.

Weak authority, the would-be bond of friendship between leader and led, thus proves itself just as dangerous a poison as the hard authority of which we spoke earlier. For the methods with which this white giant has to work are limited to a methodical training of egocentricity. A teacher of this kind will only be able to extract work from his pupil when he has made it clear to him that the work will bring him, the pupil, some egocentric advantage, or that its omission will endanger his egocentric goals. With weak discipline, reward and punishment are replaced by persuasion and the demonstration of benefit and harm. The very worst excess committed under this system is, however, when reference is made to the egocentric benefits the pupil will derive from the favor or "love" of his teacher. "Even if you have no desire to write this essay, you should make the sacrifice for my sake." This phrase reveals the weak form of wrong, egocentric education as certainly as the expression "for the sake of my authority . . ." betrays the hard form. It is rather touching to observe the frequency and the good faith with which such phrases are used, but it is terrible to know that they are always and without exception a sign of the poison that undermines character, and that is here spreading from one generation to the next.

Achievement, adventure and sacrifice first acquire character-building value in the service of the We, of the living group, the living state and living people, and never in the service of an individual, even if he be the most magnificent person alive.

A child who does his homework for his mother's sake, is serving his own pampered ego, since he cannot do without the praise and tenderness of his mother—who is equally pam-

pered and equally egocentric. When a class is quiet only insofar as the teacher complies with some request of theirs, the bargain between ego and ego is as plain as daylight. And when the ego premiums have to be increased (which will very soon be the case) when the parleying begins—"How much was promised exactly?"—"How much must be conceded?"—"How far have the contracts already been fulfilled?" It becomes clear how shamefully an in-itself-perhaps-legal practice is being misapplied in the service of egocentricity. The vicious circle is operating; the demands grow, the performance drops off and the promises have to be increased. Finally, however, this system is wrecked by its own absurdity. The educator is driven to despair because, for all his "authority-free" methods, the tension-capacity grows ever shorter and the egocentricity ever greater. Nothing remains but for him to pass over to the opposite extreme, namely, the hardest discipline imaginable. So authority-free education knows only one measure, namely, the exclusion of "unfit" pupils from the community; or, in other words, a radical breach of faith on the part of the educator toward his pupil. With remorseless compulsion the white giant changes finally to a black giant.

The only productive, vital way of character-building is to allow a dialectical interaction between pupil and educator. Then fresh impetus is continually being given to the steady growth of order within the group; the educator's attitude changes and matures with the ever maturing and changing order of the group. His living authority becomes genuine authorship; he is the mediator, pointing out the tasks that life places before the We. In the egos he awakens the We, and in the We

the creating forces which alone are able to solve these life tasks. In the face of the egocentric demands and oppositions of individuals he advocates their own living goal, namely, their service to the We. And in the face of the group egoism of a We that is becoming rigid, he advocates the living significance of this group, namely their service toward the next higher We. Through this interaction there is an outer growth of the pyramids of goals and means pertaining to practical life, and an inner growth of the pyramids of conscious meaningful interpretation and responsibility with regard to the texture of our existence.

All living discipline becomes in fact remedial education through the actual dialectical interaction between external authority, which inflicts its hard, remorseless demands (the educating necessity of life) and internal authority which is emerging from darkness into light, but is afraid of becoming conscious as of some unknown danger (the overcoming of inhibitions, the growth and evolution of character). It is extremely important that there should be an absolute separation of these two authorities. Even when the same educator has simultaneously to advocate in dealing with his pupil both the outer necessities and the interests belonging to inward maturing, he must take the greatest care to distinguish between the two. For instance, the outer authority may be some existing law, a school regulation, the school curriculum or the statute of a youth organization. One should submit to this necessity, not by denying one's will submissively like a slave, but freely and awarely, with steadily growing courage. This necessity however entails a deeper insight into the real connection of

groups and in the end into the historical position of the State. But a clear recognition of the errors committed by groups and the various trades and professions, by the State and civilization, the quiet adoption of a standpoint with regard to these errors, and the supplementing of egocentric rebellion by We-inspired co-operation for improvement—in short, all growth outward beyond the ego, and every growth upward into the Ripening-We, comes under the province of living discipline.

Burdens, punishments, the threat of injury and remorseless necessity in the world outside, will now no longer appear to be the handiwork of some almighty despot or black giant, but the meaningful accompanying phenomena of a situation fraught with destiny. The educator points to these consequences, as he has always pointed to the problems and other connections of reality. He is not even the author of the punishments; at the worst of times he only carries them out. Life itself, the logic of reality and the historic situation must be identified beyond doubt as the punishing authority.

Reward and kindness also do not ensue from the arbitrariness or the favor of the educator, but spring of necessity from the relations between the I and the We, between the pupil and the group. This discipline is not weak, for the whole seriousness and weight and responsibility of our existence is incorporated in it; there can be no talk of a white giant. But it is not hard either, for neither rigidity nor unkindness nor egocentricity find expression in it, but only aliveness, We-ness and productivity.

A rambling club composed of boys aged from ten to twelve years decided to put all the money they could collect for an

expedition into a joint cashbox. Klaus B., aged twelve, was given twelve cents by his parents. But he puts only ten cents in the box, and spends the two cents he has kept back buying sweets on the way.

The children notice this and call for disciplinary measures. "Why doesn't Klaus wholeheartedly join in too?" asks the leader. "He has kept a sixth back for himself. Why is he afraid of trusting us with these last two cents? Anyone can see he does not altogether trust us. What is at the bottom of this mistrust? How can one help him?" Soon it comes out that he has older brothers and sisters who often take his things away from him. He has learned that he must always safeguard himself against breach of faith. His behavior-habit is: "Look out, you are being cheated."

"Yes, quite right, he's always like that," his friends say. He himself laughs and says rather embarrassedly: "I'm right, though, one is generally deceived." "Very good," decides the teacher, "we must inspire Klaus with more confidence; we must show him he can rely on us. Until we all feel quite united, the suspicious ones must safeguard themselves, and keep a sixth back for emergencies. Do you agree?" "Agreed," the others reply. The leader hands back to Klaus the sweets he confiscated. But Klaus says, "I don't want them any more." And when the keeper of the purse does the accounts in the evening, he finds five cents too much in the box. For in the meantime other outsiders too have decided to trust their companions. They have advanced a step forward toward the We and toward their own selves.

PART III

ADOLESCENCE

21. LESSER CRISES BETWEEN UPWARD AND OUTWARD GROWTH

CHILDHOOD CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS WHICH ARE LOGICALLY separate in spite of manifold intersection. Though very unequal in duration, the first and shorter part is scarcely less important than the second and much longer part. In terms of characterology the first part, comprising early childhood or a primitive age, is characterized by an original We-ness. It is ended by the We-collapse which occurs sometimes suddenly and sometimes slowly, so that with some children the change takes place in their second year, with others in their third or even fourth year.

Now begins that second part of childhood which we call "upward growth." It is characterized by the child's adaptation to the—more or less—egocentric world around him. He adopts usually at the beginning of this period a predominantly egocentric or a predominantly We-ward attitude according to the caliber and nature (that is, the rigidity and type) of his character. The child will then develop further in the direction he has taken; he acquires as much knowledge and ability as is available to him, or as much as he needs for the fulfillment of his personal life.

In early childhood, the process of growing is all important; in the period of upward growth, education is foremost. It cannot, however, be emphasized too strongly that education is

meant here more in the sense of an assimilation than of a conquest of existing material. What has become, will be "handed on" as tradition; and tradition in content is composed of knowledge, capabilities, forms of life and in particular man's fundamentally egocentric attitude, that hardened individualism which is white-washed by an ostensibly We-inspired morality. The true meaning of individualism, however, namely ego-discovery, a clear estimation of one's own personality and the adoption of a definite attitude toward historical circumstances, does not become the supreme problem until the next stage of character development. For the time being, vital ego-discovery is replaced by rigid ego-construction.

Ego-discovery thrives only when it occurs simultaneously with We-discovery. Whoever really experiences his ego and comes to realize himself, will at the same time and just as vividly be experiencing the We; he will come to realize also the group, the family, the people and the State. This process however lasts for many years in our culture. In favorable cases it will be completed roughly during the seven years from fourteen to twenty-one; but often the most important stages are not completed until the thirtieth and fortieth year. This part of development we designate maturing or outward growth, and the period of time it occupies we speak of as youth.

In childhood the essence of development lies in upward growth. When occasional indications of outward growth and the beginning of ego-discovery do occur, these are subordinated as means to the governing purpose. In the period of youth, the dominating purpose that emerges is maturing or outward growth and a complete ego-discovery that is simul-

taneously a We-discovery; and any upward growth that has still to be accomplished, sinks now to the level of means. Much remains yet to be learned and practiced, but the actual absorption of knowledge and capabilities loses its importance; the question of the values and value-bearer governing the character, on the other hand, becomes increasingly urgent. And finally the culminating question to which development leads is this: Where is this whole of which I am a part, and what is its nature? Where shall I find, and how shall I form, an external We to correspond with my inner We-ness? And how must this inner We-ness develop so that it shall do justice to the tasks of the outer We?

It is the earlier and generally critical phases of this problem, beginning with the breakdown of the Original We and continuing through the crises of adolescence, that lay a more or less unfavorable foundation for the main period of development. It may be safely asserted that the more severe the "betrayal" between child and adults experienced in the early years of life, and the more egocentric in consequence the course followed in childhood, the more wearisome and dangerous must the crises prove through which egocentric man has to pass before he attains to the Ripening-We.

The beginning of "adolescence" is not only culturally and sociologically conditioned. We may say, it is true, that the more material there is to be mastered in the period of upward growth, the later will outward growth begin. This fact however appears to be of secondary importance even though it is not entirely negligible in effect. A high-school girl will, for instance, mature later than the "daughter at home." The

higher the level of a nation's culture, the later does adolescence seem to set in.

Of more importance is the pedagogical influence which consciously or unconsciously prolongs the childish attitude or, may be, shortens it by what is known as "forcing" the child. Yet the fluctuations that arise thus amount seldom to more than three or four years.

The essential condition to character maturity lies in the biological field. It belongs to the sphere of growth, and is to be found in the phylogenetically determined sexual maturity of the individual. In spite of sociologically and pedagogically conditioned deviations from the norm, it is on an average at the fourteenth year (in Europe) that there occurs the crescendo of the whole of life's forces with profoundest effects on the sexual domain. It matters not whether the individual be well or ill prepared—the stormy period of development sets in, most often at a time that seems particularly inopportune for the pupil's career or the educator's plans for him. Here the ultimately purposive phylogenetic extension of means manifests itself in ontogenetic causation, that is to say, as a problem suddenly presented to the individual "from outside." The adolescent has now to marshal the new opportunities and means of experience into a significant coherence that for the time being appears quite inappropriate to the extension that is taking place. His goal-pyramid must grow; new values emerge, and the value-bearer which has hitherto either been limited to the Ego or has still contained traces of the original We must expand into a riper We, for instance the group, or the love-pair, or his egocentric attitude will become so rigidified

as to force him, for a long time to come, into channels that are antagonistic to life.

Three tasks arise in the preparation for adolescence. The first consists of the above mentioned problem of the value-bearer. The more egocentric the young person entering puberty, the more difficult will be the course of his development. The second task touches the child's attitude toward pleasure. The shorter the tension-capacity, the less can the young person wait for satisfaction of his needs, the more hastily and recklessly will he lay hold of what he wants, and the more childish the form the wish-fulfillment will take. The third task concerns courage to face the New. Here it is a question of how far the child's confidence in himself, in his fellowmen and in life has developed, of whether he accepts or rejects life's new claims, allurements and dangers, whether he faces up to his own maturity, or shrinks from it.

That these three sub-problems are closely related to one another, goes without saying. The more rigid the egocentricity, the slighter will be the courage, and the less the tension-capacity. Yet the interdependence of the three determinants—the value-bearer, tension-capacity and courage—is by no means mechanically fixed. Considerable tension-capacity will frequently exist alongside rigid egocentricity (especially with Caesars), or very slight courage alongside a fairly well-preserved sense of the We (though this, it is true, generally turns out to be a left-over of the Primal-We). In the centuries following the Renaissance outward growth and ego-discovery were synonymous with maturing. To us today, however, to make adolescence synonymous with maturing seems wrong.

Puberty and the expanding or outward growth of individual personality, as also the assumption of individual responsibility, are to us but steps, a partial maturing, in an essentially larger process. The culmination of our development lies in its contribution to the Ripening-We, that is, in decisions and crises that generally have to be faced some decades after puberty. But the less satisfactorily the problems of puberty are solved, the more difficult will it prove later to participate in the tasks that belong to the Ripening-We. The lesser crises of puberty are preliminary and preparatory to the big final maturing-crisis of character. The small educational crises of childhood are preliminary and preparatory to the lesser crises of puberty. And so when we inquire into the nature of the value-bearer, tension-capacity and courage of a boy of twelve, we raise the question simultaneously of the probable course of the crises of puberty, and hence of the preparation that is being made for the greater character-crisis of later life. To a certain extent puberty is the first crucial test that reveals the success or failure of the educational efforts that have been made.

Once the three main determinants of the reaction-basis of a boy of twelve have been fairly plainly recognized, it is possible to forecast the adjustment he will make to his newly awakening sexuality. Naturally, however, many particularities of temperament and health, and many racial and family characteristics, are here left out of account; but whether the lesser crises of puberty will take a favorable or unfavorable turn, whether they conduce to Ripening-We-ness, or will still further crystallize the egocentric attitude, are questions of which the

answer may not only be foretold, but also modified at the last moment by curative educational methods.

What is going to awaken in the character's unconscious strata, as the adolescent's potentiality for ardent desire, for discovering a partner and for union becomes more and more evident? Will that We emerge once more as a new possibility, or will the ego claim rigid supremacy? And if the We does return to power, will it retain the old obsolete forms of the Primal-We? Will it be an Illusory-We, or can it develop into the Ripening-We? In terms of depth-psychology the first question may be put like this: How is the subject's attitude toward the partner (as the one nearest to him in the whole world) qualified by his value-bearer, tension-capacity and courage; how rigid is this attitude and how far is it capable of development?

The second question is this: How can happiness, the striving for new goals and the satisfaction of new wishes, be incorporated in the existing structure of goals, values and wishes? Will this purposefulness be subordinated to the ego, so that the potentiality for happiness degenerates into egocentric gratification and search for enjoyment? or will the carefulness inspired by egocentric anxiety prevent the growth of the goal-pyramid, and cause the new happiness to appear destructive, "evil" and perilous?; or will the ego be made subservient to the new goals, so that the individual grow beyond himself, and his happiness accrue to the benefit of neither the I nor the You, but the We?—Egocentric striving for pleasure, egocentric fear of pleasure and of happiness (between which no distinction is made), or a We-inspired longing for happiness—these are the three attitudes a young person can

take in the face of his new capacity for experience. And the choice between these three ways is again conditioned by the value-bearer, tension-capacity and degree of courage.

Or, to put it more simply, first, what stand does the young person take toward the I and the We, and secondly, what stand does he take toward pleasure and happiness?—If his stand is egocentric, he will only know pleasure; this pleasure he may accept or be afraid of. If his stand is We-inspired, he will seek not pleasure but happiness; but he will only find it if his We-ness develops gradually into a capacity for the Ripening-We.*

* Psychoanalysis has restricted itself exclusively to the theory of an egocentric striving for pleasure. The capacity for the We and its possibilities for happiness have not entered the field of psychoanalytical research.

22. DIVERSION INTO SEXUAL EGO-CONSTRUCTION

A FIRST PART, A SORT OF PRELUDE TO THE SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT, especially in regard to intellect and character, still belongs to the period of upward growth. But here already it is possible for false views, diverted purposes and unvital attitudes to arise, which make the transition to outward or maturing growth difficult, indeed nearly impossible. This unfavorable preparation in the sexual sphere is in many cases not noticed before adolescence. It is not supposed to matter how a child of ten imagines marriage, and whether he has learned to feel the relation between man and woman as war or peace, as purity or smut; and in fact such views have little weight as regards the actual behavior of the lad of ten, or as regards his progress at school. As soon, however, as the ripening body begins, unasked, to make the problem of sexuality assume the central point of life, the adolescent's destiny will for many years hence be conditioned by the favorable or unfavorable preparation of his sexual attitude.

If the educators hold the opinion that everything erotic, at least for children, must be presented as "smutty," or if they simply think it is in fact smutty, then the child must absorb this view of it. Where upward growth is a conforming process the child adopts the educator's attitude and similarly feels the erotic as smut. The beginning of adolescence, bringing with

it general erotic imaginings, feelings and phantasies, must then be felt as the outbreak of a flood of smut and guilt. That which should evoke an enrichment and deepening of life, a strengthened courage of the subject-life and finally the assumption of personal responsibility, leads in such cases to loneliness, depression and self-reproach. The feeling of inferiority gains strength, and the tension-capacity becomes shorter.

When, however, upward growth is dissenting, that is, un-conforming, the child likewise takes it for granted that everything sexual is smutty. But he does not enter the fight against smut on the side of the adults; he allies himself with smut and takes up the fight against them. Whether upward growth be a conforming or an un-conforming process is not, of course, first determined in the attitude to things sexual. The issue has long been decided; and as it is noticeable in washing, dressing and undressing, playing, and eating, so will it appear finally in the sexual sphere as well.

The little rebel gladly uses expressions which get on the nerves of those about him. At the moment it is all the same to him what subject the words refer to; but he soon notices that it is the sexual phrases in particular which are most useful for making the adults embarrassed. From this pugnacious attitude and not, as the psychoanalysts believe, from an immediate satisfaction of the libido, springs the obstinate interest of the child in erotic objects. What looks like sexuality is here doing service as a weapon. Get rid of the child's attitude of hostility, and his "sexual interest" will disappear.

Yet in this manner not only a technique of words may be

evolved but of actions; also there can be a development of sexual play, leading at an early age to onanism and affording the child a gratification which, without that technique, could not have occurred. Henceforth self-indulgence plays a fatal part in the sexual development. The child very soon learns to compensate every minus incurred, for example, at school by a plus obtained from satisfaction in the sphere of sex. These short-circuits lead to a dangerous shortening of the tension-capacity, so that a vicious circle develops, much as follows:— Because the child can endure no unpleasantness, he consoles himself with the sexual short-circuit; and because he has learned so to console himself, he cannot learn to endure anything unpleasant.*

Almost more unfavorable, however, for the formation of the later love-life are the conceptions the child has acquired of the power-relations between love-partners or married couples. The child often imagines copulation as tantamount to murder. Birth is pictured as a phantastic affair of superlative cruelty. And indeed these things assume just as terrifying a form for boys as for girls. But the cause lies, not in this or that piece of information or observation, but in the whole development of the child's reaction-basis. In such cases one finds an underlying "fear of the world," founded upon early disillusionments. The "fear of love" forms then merely the

* Onanism in early childhood often arises in other ways, such as irritation due to uncleanliness of the genitals, clumsy washing, or seduction. But it soon disappears if faults in education do not place it in the foreground of interest. If it remain, it has already become impacted in the above-mentioned vicious circle. To threaten the child with punishment or with ensuing illness often leads to yet another specific vicious circle: he learns that pleasure is sin; sin leads to a sense of guilt, and this minus can be resolved only by a repetition of the sin.

inevitable attitude the child adopts to the prospect of one day having to entrust himself unreservedly, body and soul, to a partner.

He whose character has as foundation the behavior-habit, "Protect yourself against your neighbor; he is your enemy," must necessarily feel that the opposite demand, "Love your neighbor," or simply, "Give way to your neighbor," is an outrage, the performance of which is comparable to a world catastrophe. The dire pictures he imagines are merely the sanctions or threats—the "warning-posts"—with which the early-acquired behavior-habit is defended in face of the demands of life. The more the individual's development urges his approach to a new We, the more strongly must the behavior-habit of isolation become inwardly emphasized. Outward growth then comes either not at all, or much later and in a devious way. The normal road, which leads through the You-discovery to ego-discovery—that is, to the collapse of the ego-construction—and so makes a transition possible to the Ripening-We, this normal road becomes impassable on account of the behavior-habits we have described.

Kurt V., a boy of fourteen, cannot concern himself enough with looking at sexual pictures and constructing sexual phantasies. He imagines the relationship between man and woman as extremely degrading for both; and as he is not well acquainted with anatomical distinctions, he is always confusing excremental and sexual events. He delights or bores his school friends with endless descriptions of the sort of "obscenities" he claims to have overheard in station-latrines or yards.

His school-performance and also his behavior in class and

in the sports-club to which he belongs have rapidly deteriorated. He was till now a fair scholar, quietly fulfilling his tasks; he has now become forgetful, slack and perverse. Hitherto an unobtrusive and friendly companion, he now keeps aloof from the others and prefers to seek alliance with two or three outsiders who are known as "disreputable characters."

Kurt is the only son of a widow, in whose character anxiety, sentimentality, and lasciviousness predominate. At first she pampered her child thoroughly, then gradually began to train him to "manliness." She has ostensibly given him extensive enlightenment and still draws his attention, apparently objectively but really from her own need of sensation, to every erotic representation she can discover.

Thus from the first the boy became reared to a lascivious and evasive sort of sexuality. And as soon as his own adolescence began, he followed still further, and of his own momentum, the course which his mother had shown him. So he went to greater lengths than his mother held desirable or even possible. But he never learned the true sexual problem, the encounter with the other sex, the experience of ardent desire, and happiness and pain, and especially the assumption of responsibility for the beloved one. He exhausted himself in picturing sly adventures and never dared to address or even look at an actual girl.

All sorts of notions which sprang out of his perverted phantasy necessarily entered his ego-construction. It became one of his goals to collect different women of various races in a sort of harem. Or else he wanted to "hire" himself out as slave in the houses of rich ladies in several countries. No

wonder that these constructions made the ego-discovery, the discovery of his real place in the real world, even harder than it was already. There was no question of an objective attitude to the world around him, for he was indeed quite incapable of quietly observing and exploring that world. He saw everywhere only secret and interesting suggestions of perversions and vices, to be treasured for later verification.

Only if his ego-construction, inimical to reality, and its attendant and distorted world-conception, were to collapse in a shattering climax, could the process of maturing commence. And this climax did actually take place.

One day a teacher discovered some naughty drawings which Kurt had left in a copy-book. There followed a sort of tribunal in the school. And Kurt, as if awakened from oppressive dreams, had suddenly to experience reality as something very different from what it had seemed till now. Here were demands made upon his conduct; he was expected to show consideration for his comrades and for the order ruling their corporate life—or else he had the option of clearing out. The crisis involved not him alone, but his mother too. Both received a profound shock. They had to take note of themselves and once again orientate themselves to reality.

Work and responsibility for the future came now into the center of life. Kurt became diligent and peaceful. He had taken the first small step toward growing up. The slaves from China and India now interested him less than Latin grammar. In consequence of his anxiety and pamperedness he was ready to make any sacrifice to get rid of the disapproval of the school. But it was soon evident that this was not merely a case of re-

action from an overstrained condition, but also a turning toward reality. For after some months Kurt discovered something he had never before thought possible—a feeling of affection for a girl of his locality, an attachment which quite simply “got” him, without any sentimental and excessive phantasies accompanying it. He was now in love like other youngsters, and could proceed upon the arduous way of his development on almost equal footing with his fellows.

23. DIVERSION INTO SEXUAL ADVENTURE

THE INTIMIDATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD operate in puberty as "fear of a partner." He who has learned never to trust any of his fellowmen completely, even under pain of death, will be constrained to more or less strange circumventions by the problems and needs of puberty. To himself his behavior will of course appear perfectly natural. He cannot be otherwise than he is, and is astonished that others can manage differently. The "star" seeks to conquer by his ingratiating friendliness and the "Caesar" by his lordly air of victory. Both place the partner in their service and lower him to the level of object to their wishes. The "Home-child" appears to make himself an object, and his partner the subject; in reality, however, the partner is exploited as his contact-person and ruling-slave. Lastly, the "dullard" experiences nothing at all in his outer life, and very little in his inner life. He has not been sidetracked by "fear of a partner," but brought to a complete standstill.

When a young person embarks upon an early training in erotic adventure in an active and apparently courageous spirit, he often gives the impression of possessing a particularly strong "drive," even a special "capacity for love." But that is a delusion. His behavior is not determined by an exaggerated libido, but by behavior-habits grafted on to the reaction-basis at an early age. And, here as elsewhere, these character de-

terminants are entirely negative. They act as limits or prohibitions which only a severe crisis can overcome and transform into capacities.

In such people every trait of longing and tenderness, everything that could lead to a fusion of the I and the You into the We, is forbidden by their behavior-habits. On the other hand imperious, exultant tendencies are emphasized and exercised for the sake of an egocentric acquisition of power, so that very soon the type of the youthful Don Juan emerges. The goal of one youth will be to achieve the greatest possible number of conquests, that of another to bring his one sexual partner into the most complete subjection possible. And since public opinion is wont to overestimate the value of such "triumphs," since, too, a physical achievement of pleasure is thrown in as well, as it were (although the more crude the egocentricity of the Don Juan or the Messalina has become, the less will be the sensual enjoyment), it is little wonder that among young people there arises a kind of sporting competition in "affairs of the heart." Only after many a long year and day, and many a disillusionment and crisis, will it become clear that the question of love never even arises in such cases, but that the purposefulness of the originally We-ward physical functions is merely being deflected in the service of an ego which never dares trust the partner. Sexually the person is of the Caesar type.

Despite his seeming courage, lust for enterprise and ever recurring opportunities for experience, this kind of "artist at love" is in the long run barred from all true experience. His behavior-habit is: "Dominate the other person or she will

dominate you." An unconquerable distrust and cold egoism underlie all his modes of conduct, even when he appears to be displaying understanding, empathy, perhaps even self-sacrifice. These seemingly We-ward means belong in reality to the technique of waylaying one's fellowmen for one's own egocentric purposes. And a considerable knowledge of human nature and natural conviction of feeling are required on the side of the partner in order to distinguish between the appearance of love and the real thing itself, particularly as one often finds the two combined.

So long as the personal happiness of the Don Juan in question is the only goal, the partner must indubitably be lowered to the level of an object. But even when the happiness of both partners is the goal, it is still possible for the individual Ego to remain the value-bearer in which case the attitude is as follows: "I will make you happy, and I myself will be happy at making you happy—but only I, and no one else, must enjoy this happiness." How much of this subtle egocentricity is still existent in love, can only be decided when it comes to the point of having to renounce the partnership out of love for the partner.

The young person who loves truly must strive for the actual happiness of his partner. He must keep away from her if this be necessary, and even separate from her if he perceive he might otherwise cause her harm. In fact the love relationship between young people affords a greater opportunity for self-training in renunciation, resignation and a comprehension of life's necessities than any other relationship between the sexes. Between fifteen and twenty-five everyone should learn

to love through learning the art of understanding, considerateness and waiting. But as long as love is taken to mean the exploitation of the other sex for personal gratification—instead of the development of a new, conscious and responsible We—so long will patience, considerateness and understanding be looked upon as inferior, even morbid qualities, and “love-sport” be regarded as the ideal occupation.

That an earliest possible sexual relationship and, if this is not possible, onanism, is often advocated as even medically desirable, goes to show how far public opinion has lost all understanding for the development of the I into the We. Actually, however, a medical prescription of this kind is a professional error which does more harm than an appendicitis operation performed with septic instruments.

Konrad M. was an eleventh grade student in a provincial town. He was looked upon as a mediocre pupil who nevertheless passed quietly and regularly from one grade to another. His father was a country schoolmaster, who was greatly set on his son's studying law and, if possible, embarking on a government career. Konrad kept on good terms of friendship with the sons of the local “bigwigs” among his classmates. When in the tenth grade he had fallen in love, as was the fashion in this small town, with some of the girls of the private school. It was soon evident that he was both more active and possessed more “temperament” than his friends. This enhanced his reputation at his own school but diminished his popularity with the girls' school. Exaggerated stories about him went around, and when the wife of the leading county judge gave her daughter a birthday party, Konrad was not

invited. He bore this blow with apparent equanimity; and his friend, the son of this same judge, translated the slight into terms of praise by remarking: "They daren't turn the bloodthirsty tiger loose among the lambs, who would adore to be devoured."

Konrad was thus compelled by the outer world to take a line which coincided entirely with his inner tendency. He felt fundamentally ill at ease with his well-brought-up classmates because he was always doing the wrong thing, cutting potatoes with a knife and forgetting to raise his hat to ladies.

After puberty his love of action increased enormously. And since there was as little outlet for it in school as socially, this led to a quick development of his relations with the other sex. The choice of the "love object" was naturally conditioned by the feeling of social inferiority. In his dreams Konrad honored the beautiful young wife of the mayor with his attentions, and in reality his "instinct" drove him to a robust and somewhat slatternly servant girl.* It was not long, however, before in reality as well as in phantasy his "instinct goal" found as tangible a form as was possible under the strained social circumstances. The girl pupils rejected him because he "wanted too much," or, as he himself put it, because he was "braver than the others." The servant girl however felt by no means compromised by his forwardness. She gave him more than he would have dared to ask for, and after a few weeks all the seniors of the school (for in the meantime he

* We may compare Freud's emphasis on the contrast between the Madonna and the wanton (12, Vol. 5, p. 1 f.) and Spranger's distinction between Eros and sex (27).

had been promoted) knew that he was having a regular love affair with her and that sooner or later he would become a father.

No one will claim that there is any love in such a relationship. And even the sensuality or temperament by which one seeks to excuse such deviation is obviously merely a means used in the service of egocentric superiority. How right Konrad was in his choice of means, was consequently proved. For officially, it is true, everyone was profoundly shocked, but when it came to the point of the school authorities starting an inquiry, there was every evidence that in the meantime several ladies in the same social set had had relations with Konrad. The inquiry was broken off, Konrad remained in the senior grade, the servant girl disappeared from the town, even the social boycott was dropped in the course of time, and all that remained was the legend of Konrad's being a great Casanova and a regular demon in character.

A dialectic analysis of character would ascribe to him the "Caesar" type rather than that of the "star." It would recognize his relatively long tension-capacity and his activity, and on these grounds predict an externally successful life. But first and foremost it would emphasize the indisputably egocentric rigidity of his goal-pyramid and would hence reckon with the operation of a vicious circle and an ultimate crisis.

For the time being, however, Konrad had "luck." Thanks to the egocentric attitude of his fellowmen, he escaped once again the danger threatening him, and thus developed further in the direction in which he had started. It was not until many years later, after many external successes, that his rigidity

became so extreme and his tension-capacity so restricted that the crisis broke over his head. His egocentric view of life collapsed only during the course of a very unhappy marriage, so that at about the age of thirty he entered upon the maturity or outward growth upon which he might have embarked as a high-school senior.

If in the senior grade at school he had encountered an educator experienced in character analysis, the trouble might have developed then into a crisis; his egocentric positiveness would have been shattered, and more vital goals would have emerged behind his Caesarist goals, that have now been proved valueless. The We would have been experienced at the outset between Konrad and his adviser; his confidence in his fellowmen would have grown; the black giant (which existed ultimately for him in every woman) would have been transformed into the white giant; and finally both giants would have disappeared. Konrad would have discovered his fellowmen, the You, the loveliness of others and his own capacity for love, at seventeen instead of at thirty; and his life would have followed an entirely different course.

24. DEVIATION THROUGH ILLUSORY WE-CONSTRUCTION

LOTTE M., THE ELDEST OF FOUR CHILDREN, IS THE DAUGHTER of a principal of a public school. At home she has always enjoyed a life of active and varied intellectual interests, but one in which the narrow limits of petty bourgeois snobbery were adhered to almost imperceptibly, especially by the mother.

In a circle of young language and classics students recent works of prose and poetry used to be read aloud, her father taking the chair. There Lotte, when about fifteen, made the acquaintance of a student with whom she fell in love at first sight. The truth of this fact did not dawn on her all at once. She only felt glad whenever she saw him, and had an open, unaffected admiration for his intelligence and temperament. But the mother began to pass ironical remarks, and at last went so far as to say that "brats in love shouldn't take part in these evening readings."

This made the girl aware for the first time that she loved the young man. But at the same moment she saw with horror that this love was looked upon by her family as something rather ridiculous, even objectionable. Until then very little egocentricity had developed in her. The original-We had been fairly strongly preserved, as is often the case when a warm-hearted, clever educator like her father carries the responsibility. And yet it was impossible now for this We, obvious

and reasonable though it was, to remain intact, for her father too had taken a stand against Lotte's young love. He did not poke fun at her or show any sign of displeasure, it is true; he merely remarked, "it is better for you not to see him for a bit." The girl stood alone against a hostile world. And this isolation was all the greater since she dared give the object of her affections no indication of her inner crisis. She was alone, and for good or ill had to find herself; her ego-discovery suddenly entered upon a critical stage.

All the existing benefits of her upward growth—the cultured form of life found in an academic family, the standard of knowledge acquired in the eleventh grade of a high school, and above all the courage and considerable tension-capacity usually engendered by a reasonable and affectionate upbringing—now became means for the solving of her great new problem, namely that of coming to terms with her existing environment.

For the first time in her life the young girl dared to criticize her father. It became clear to her that in some things his behavior was bound to be unfree, uncomprehending. And the many hard reproaches that had long been accumulating against her mother suddenly all became part of one and the same comprehensive picture. The girl sensed now the *We* that could be achieved between man and woman, and she saw that no such *We* existed between her father and mother. And so she became obsessed by a thought which hitherto she had always rejected with indignation, namely that her parents were unhappily married.

Her criticism of her environment, her independent stand

toward the human beings and human relationships in immediate proximity to her, led her at once to take passionate part in the struggles and sufferings which she discovered on all sides around her. She saw now too, that her mother loved a musician, who occasionally played duets with her but preserved a shy and respectful distance. She saw how in the case of her young married cousin happiness and sorrow counterbalanced one another; wherever she turned her eyes, she saw the unhappiness of the human race. And there was no friend with whom she could discuss this new and difficult world. She had to thrash it all out alone as best she could through sleepless nights. The young man she loved had taken the father's hint and kept away. And, bereft of guidance and help, the young girl came in the course of a year to the precocious and somewhat fanatical opinion that the world could not possibly remain as it was. It needed fundamentally changing. And to her it seemed indisputable that everyone who was unhappy, and particularly herself, ought to put a hand to the plow. Thereupon she began to read Upton Sinclair, and soon the Communist Manifesto (which she could only half understand) had become her gospel.

Her father was deeply unhappy. Not all his educational experience could help him to understand what his daughter was going through. He certainly expected some kind of "storm and stress" period, but thought it would pass off with Eichen-dorff, the young Goethe and, at the worst, Georg Büchner * (much the same as it had with him). But that his daughter should fail to be satisfied with reading books and writing

* Admirer of the French Revolution. TR.

poems, and should want in all seriousness to join the "Red Eagle," pretty nigh broke the heart of this old admirer of Bismarck.

He was an educator. Yet he only understood upward growth; he wanted young people to grow up into his own (Bismarckian) culture, his own views and conception of duty. Of outward or maturing growth, which constitutes the more important part of education, he knew practically nothing. He did not comprehend that youth has to take up an independent position toward the past and the present, and that the only way for them to assume personal responsibility is by learning from their own errors and their own crises. And much as his children had to thank him for the first half of their development, in the second half he obstructed their growth. Through his anxious concern which he found it impossible to conceal, and through his occasional outbursts of bitterness, he drove them much further into active opposition than was necessary for such objective young people. Whether they would or no, his faults were repeated in them; and the same rigidity and unaliveness that marked his (egocentric) conservatism, they were forced to imitate in their (egocentric) opposition.

In the case of Kurt V. upward growth is a conforming process, outward growth also. Mother and son pursue the same path. Both live in almost equal seclusion from the world, and they even undergo jointly the crisis that breaks with the approach of reality. With Konrad M. the process of upward growth is unconforming. He does the contrary of what is expected in his environment, and perseveres in this attitude until

a later minor crisis forces him to grow outward, and induces an adaptation to reality. On the other hand Lotte M.'s development is at first a conforming process in an unusually alive environment; and not until she is left in the lurch and misunderstood, does she go over to the opposition. She possesses a greater degree of courage, of tension-capacity and We-ness than either of the other two; one has even the impression of this young girl's being more imbued with the We-spirit than her parents. Obviously she has till now been honoring the white giant in the person of her father. For a short time he turns into the black giant; then she begins to understand him as a human being.

Within the family community Lotte M. has come successfully through a lesser crisis; but at the same time her horizon has naturally been extended. She recognizes clearly and objectively enough how both she and her parents participate in the problems and destinies of the world at large. Yet this world she is no longer able to judge objectively. This is where she lacks a leader. She gropes as in the dark, seeking an orientation—and without knowing it is, for the second time, misunderstood and left in the lurch by her father. Thus chance decides her choice; outwardly, the chance that in the year 1929 the historical situation provided her with only two alternative world pictures, namely the national-socialist and the communist, and inwardly, the chance of her own personal crisis, which has undermined her former sense of authority and belief in the white giant, and transformed the latter into hatred of the black giant. The black giant is now to her the embodi-

ment of all authority; she becomes a breaker of images, an iconoclast, toward the symbols of her unconscious inner world.

She is now forced to take the steep road of privation through the antithesis of her own being, through a period of self-estrangement; nor can it be certain yet whether and when she will ever find an outer-We able to promote the further development of her inner We-ness. Nevertheless her Ego is not excessively rigid, and her courage is sufficient to see her through future crises. One might therefore prognosticate a favorable outcome in her case. But if her father had possessed adequate understanding, or if she herself had met with some sensible adviser or intelligent friend, or been accepted as a member in some alive young group, her maturing crisis would have resulted in a steady, even if slightly devious progression. The black giant as well as the white would have been unmasked; her opposition to the errors of the past would not have blinded her to their qualities, and an earlier, surer synthesis would have been formed between the New that fights the errors of the past, and the Old that incorporates its qualities.

25. CRISIS OF THE ILLUSORY RIPENING-WE

THE MORE ERRORS THE ADULT COMMITS THROUGH OVER-indulgence, the closer will appear the bond of relationship between him and his charge. But, as already stated, the fear of change and of new problems is then intensified until the child is forced to make the educator serve his ends, since there is no other way of preserving the existing situation. Such a situation however grows more lifeless every year. The bond between mother and child should, speaking figuratively, be lengthened every year by a yard, so that the ten-year-old is roughly kept on a line of ten yards, and the twenty-year-old on one twice as long. But in cases of pampering the line remains about five yards in length even when the child has already reached fifteen; his independence corresponds roughly to that of a child of five. And while on the one hand the mother keeps anxious watch over her child, "because the little one is still so dependent on her," on the other hand the child necessarily tries to tie his mother to him because he has no confidence yet in his own performance and consequently is entirely dependent on his mother's ready servitude. If his mother wants to go out or even go away, the child is overcome by fear or anger. He does not want to be left alone.

In difficult cases a too close relationship between the child and educator leads later to neurotic conditions on the side of the child, such as fits of terror by night, convulsions of crying,

digestion trouble, headaches and especially bed-wetting. Naturally other things as well contribute to these childish defects, but pampering is one of the most frequent and important causes that come here into consideration. Such nervous attacks generally signify that the adult is expected to bestir himself on behalf of the child, and that at the same time he is unequal to his task. The behavior-habit at work is as follows: "However much the others bother their heads about me, they can't do me full justice by a long shot. I am not only the most unhappy but the most important person on earth." A crasser form of unconscious tyranny could scarcely be imagined.

In less severe cases one notices only the child's extreme shyness, or his disinclination to make an independent adjustment to the external world. This kind of localized pampering is to be found in institutions, school classes and youth groups, just as much as within the family circle. Within the accustomed circle the spoiled child or lad is active and relatively courageous, often even exacting and tyrannical. But directly the time comes for him to step forward into a larger circle, and on his own initiative attack fresh problems that have found no schematic solution within his accustomed circle, he suddenly grows uncertain, and either shrinks back or plunges forward in senseless irritation, makes mistakes and betrays his ill state of preparation for this larger circle. Thus members of a youth group holding definite philosophical or political views easily become fanatical and unjust toward groups holding other views. And thus many a youth whose capabilities have developed brilliantly at some private school in the country, collapses entirely when he has to leave his secluded "home of

learning" for the rough world of reality. So, too, must all pampered children collapse the day they fail to find support at home.

Many a young person will stand up for his political or religious convictions as long as he feels that his family would approve of his attitude. But directly he has to do something that estranges him inwardly from his family, he grows helpless and uncertain. He has not learned to stand alone; he too is a pampered child, however bravely he may have been felling his enemies till now "for the sake of his own people." He will never become the leader of his own people for he can never force them to adopt a fresh standpoint against their (probably outdated) convictions. His good conscience and his power of action are dependent upon the public opinion of "his own people." He has remained stuck in the Primal-We; he is conservative from lack of courage.

Now not the slightest objection could be raised against this persistence in an original tradition, if such an attitude stood in harmony with the external situation, with the economic, social and cultural realities. But it is not because external conditions require it, but merely because his inner pamperedness and lack of independence demand it, that this type of person behaves in a conservative fashion. And the fact that this same person usually acts the revolutionary within his own family circle, proves that this attitude is ultimately based on a character inhibition. He probably makes fun of his parents' backwardness, criticizing them scornfully from his superior level, while in his contacts with the outer world he most obstinately opposes all progress and revolutionary opinion.

The secret discord that ensues from an (egocentric) cleaving to the parental home and an (equally egocentric) inner estrangement from it, is symptomatic of this psychic attitude, found so frequently among adolescents. And then some occasion or another brings the previously concealed egocentricity into broad daylight. The collapse of the original-We may have taken place as far back as the third year and yet have remained unnoticed from without until the fifteenth or eighteenth year. The apparently good and guileless youth then suddenly proves difficult, unapproachable and anti-social. And the more intensively this appearance of the We has been maintained, the more will the young person have been pampered and the less will he have learnt in the meantime to stand alone and adopt a standpoint on his own responsibility, and the more violently in consequence will the crisis of outward growth set in.

Otto G., a "gifted" youth of seventeen and a half, just through his finals at school, is to go on to a University to study law. At his father's wish he chooses Geneva for his first semester. He is the elder of two brothers, and has till now lived with his parents in a North German town. His father owns a fairly large business. In his home town Otto is regarded as an independent, clever, enterprising lad. His parents used to give him a great deal of freedom. Outside his schoolwork he was interested in sport, rambling expeditions and youth organizations, and everyone naturally expected him to cope easily with student life.

From Geneva he wrote numerous and rather long letters that dealt more with the theoretical questions of sociology and

philosophy than his everyday life. It was not until the following semester, when he was in Berlin, that he confessed to a distant relative that he had spent the whole semester in Geneva like a hermit. He had made no contacts with either individual students or with any organization. All his free time he had spent in solitary walks or in sitting around in cafés, doing nothing. He no longer had courage enough for longer expeditions.

On the erotic plane and also on the political plane the hopes and plans he entertained in Switzerland were confined to somewhat fantastic spheres. He had hoped to meet a girl student who would "thoroughly suit him," and together with her he wanted to acquaint himself with the various currents of social policy in order to identify himself as quickly and wholeheartedly as possible with some organization holding a definite "world creed." Neither hope had been fulfilled. He met no girl student who suited him. To him the young ladies were "either too elegant or too old-maidish." Nor did he find any organization to join. The Socialists seemed so "uncultured," and the Christian Fellowship, whose meetings he sometimes attended, "too tame."

This incapacity for adjustment to new circumstances and for any synthetical solution of the fresh problems that life brought is a certain indication of the rigid egocentricity that must have remained concealed till now in his reaction-basis despite all his seeming objectivity. His extraversion has turned out to be merely secondary; it reverted to the original introversion immediately his egocentric goal proved unrealizable by existing methods. Until then Otto G. had been a mix-

ture of star and Caesar; now he became something midway between a Home-child and a dullard. (This is a case of "repression" in Jung's sense of the word.) Ego-discovery, implying an objective attitude toward reality, failed, and in its stead flourished a catathetical ego-construction.

The lonelier he felt, the more he lost hope. Soon he could no longer summon up the courage to form any new friendships at all, because all he expected was further disillusionment. And the more he withdrew from people, the more critical did he become of their faults, and the more did he suffer from the general frailty of the dwellers on earth. And the more he suffered, the more did his courage sink, and the less capable did he become of ever knowing anyone.

This vicious circle drove him into such a complete solitude that during the last few weeks of the semester he exchanged words with no one except his landlady and the waiter in the café.—During the summer vacation he went on long walking tours in the German Mittelgebirge, but did not emerge once from his solitariness. Even in Berlin he did not find the contacts which he now desired more than ever. The same relative to whom he had already confessed his difficulties was the first person to persuade him to train himself to "suffer human frailty." And not till many months had passed did Otto begin to recognize his own weaknesses as well as those of others. Simultaneously his interests underwent a transformation. He now asked himself what was the source of these weaknesses, and how they could be redressed. His former dreams of redeeming the world were replaced now by the desire to over-

come obvious wrongs through practical co-operation. He joined a politico-cultural student group and soon was as active, interested and productive as formerly. He had at least made the first steps toward the Ripening-We.

26. CRISIS OF THE ILLUSORY PRIMAL-WE

THE CHILD WHO LEARNS FROM EARLY EXPERIENCE TO RELY on adult assistance, is in danger of becoming spoiled. And the child who learns that adults are prone to leave him in the lurch or use him hardly, is in danger of becoming intimidated or hardened. But the child who knows from experience that certain adults—for example the mother—will help and protect him, while others—for example the father—will plague him by all manner of obligations and tasks, will be spoiled and yet terrified of reality at one and the same time. His behavior-habit is not: "The others are my servants," nor: "The others are my enemies," but: "The others are my enemies except for the few who protect and serve me."

The more the child is aware of hostility, and the more he has been intimidated, the more violently will he cling to the few friends to whom he can look for help. The distinction between the large outer circle inspiring fear, and the small intimate circle inspiring a feeling of well-being, is very much more obvious here than in the previously cited cases. Before, it was a question of general environment, of the difference, let us say, between middle-class family life on the one hand and public institutions (school, university, business or office) on the other. Now we have to consider the kind of child who has not this sense of general well-being at home, and lives in such a tense state of anxiety that he places complete trust in only a

few chosen persons. This (unconscious) suzerainty can, of course, gradually be transferred from the mother or grandmother to an instructress, a clergyman, a doctor or anyone in a superior position.* It is still however confined to a single personality.

Again the sudden change of the child's dependence into tyranny is a much more abrupt process than in the previous case. The child needs his mother, he subordinates himself to her. But since he needs her, he can feel secure only as long as he can be positive that the mother will never do anything to displease her child. And so she is systematically disarmed, though without conscious intent, and pressed into the child's service. The means used in such instances are either "love" (the longing to be with the other is so great that separation is unbearable), or illness (the child is too weak to let the mother leave him) or animosity (the child is up to so many tricks that the mother can never relax her attention).

Many educators and psychologists find remarkable difficulty in comprehending this change from a positive to a negative connection. They harp on the external facts, and hold that a demonstration of hostility must always signify the reverse of a demonstration of love. But they forget that the child's attitude has in this instance passed merely from the thesis to the antithesis (in the sense of the "secondary" dialectic), without any synthesis being formed, so that there can be no mention of the child having actually changed. The child remains

* This transference of an unconscious estimation, expectation, or demand from one person to another was first properly recognized by Sigmund Freud. That he interpreted it wrongly because of his libido theory, does not detract from the merit of his service (12, Vol. 6, p. 53).

where he was, in a catathetical position. He needs the mother as means to an end, namely, the maintenance of his own ego-centric security. And when he can no longer wield friendly sway over her, he adopts other ways. The results a child will then achieve through negative productivity are quite astounding. And the vicious circle which starts operating between the mother and child rapidly intensifies and confirms their "dual neurosis."

Irma W. is sixteen years old, the eldest of three sisters. Her mother has been dead five years. During that time she has managed her father's house as best she can. Occasionally an aunt would come along to see after domestic arrangements. The father is a minor official in some municipal offices, a pampered, sentimental, but exceedingly exacting man. So long as his daughter waits on him and plays up to him, he is quite touchingly anxious to see to her well-being. But directly she shows even the slightest motion of independence, he falls into a rage, accuses her of ingratitude and disobedience and forces her into compliance, if need be through severe punishment. Here the Enemy, who embodies the dangers and hardships of life, and the Friend, the protector against these hardships, are to be found in one and the same person. On the one hand the father inspires fright, on the other he is over-indulgent; he intimidates and spoils his children; he is the white and the black giant combined.

The foregoing explains why Irma could not join her friends in any kind of expedition or amusement. It explains too how the aversion she felt from independent decisions and even from the process of her own outward growth had developed

not only out of her obedience to her father but out of her own apprehensiveness. Her conception of the world could not be more gloomy. She has no faith whatsoever in her ability to cope with the bad, outside world. She would rather stay at home all her life and run her father's house. But she has no faith in his goodwill either, and would willingly avoid him also.

At first the opinion might appear justified that though Irma was certainly some years behind her age, apart from this childishness her adjustment to her family circle was objective and sound. But such a view takes only the outward appearance of facts into consideration. Closer examination will show that here too there has long been a dialectic effort between a developing ego and a decaying We to reach some kind of working agreement. That the process should have proved so crass in this instance, is due to the special apprehensiveness of the Ego, and its consequent intentness on security. And for the same reason the girl's very unawareness—the screen to her egocentric policy—has been put to specially good effect.

For some years past Irma has been living a kind of double life, though she would never have confessed it to herself, nor would anyone else have suspected it. Since she belongs to the introverted type, this second life is only to be found in her inner self, in her imagination. Since, too, she is very passive and spoiled—a Home-child—its content will be passive and pleasant. All the activity of which she is still capable is exhausted in productively building up these phantasies, and the more her fear of reality increases, the more uncontrolled becomes her inner life, from sheer need of compensation.

Ever since her eleventh or twelfth year Irma has fostered masochistic phantasies that have taken complete hold of her and form the real content of her existence. She imagines that she has committed some error through negligence, and that her father or even a teacher (who resembles the father) is punishing her for it in some utterly fantastic and odd way.

As soon as she is alone, she sinks back into these exciting day-dreams. And seeing that every form of activity brings her disappointment or at least the fear of disappointment, she withdraws more and more from all activity. Her only contact with the outside world is by way of her father; he is, as we say, her contact-person. Even in her association with her sisters, her words and deeds are always orientated by the point of view of "what her father would say to it." The predominance of the contact-person prevents her from making any objective adjustment to the world; and since no adjustment is made to the world, she remains dependent on her contact-person.—Her masked ego has outwardly preserved the appearance of a Primal-We, and inwardly constructed an apparent (and entirely false) private-We. Both are ego-constructions whose aim it is to prevent by catathetical methods the individual's outward growth and hence all objective ego-discovery.

The only way of helping this girl would be to get her away from her family. As this is impossible one must wait until her inner conflict leads to a catastrophe, and there is already every indication of one approaching. It is safe to predict that Irma will become increasingly sunk in day-dreams and introverted. Less and less will she be able to carry out her father's wishes. Indeed he has already much about which to find fault with

her (his chief complaint being that he cannot show her off at his colleague's houses). But the manner in which he expresses his dissatisfaction is altogether different from what Irma would have wished. He becomes sullen and indifferent in a clumsy, offensive way, and finally breaks out into loud and rude complaint. Of the subtle, lascivious methods of punishment with which Irma has been intoxicating herself in her day-dreams, there is not the slightest trace in reality.—What will happen, however, when her father, till now her sole contact-person, also proves unsuited for the role?—The result must be utter despair, and a collapse of her existing ego-construction.

One must wait until this moment occurs and then be ready to intervene with the right child guidance methods. Care must be taken to prevent the therapist from becoming in turn the contact-person, and also that the egocentric Illusory-We shall be replaced by a Ripening-We within, say, a group of girls of the same age.

This youthful dependence on a contact-person, thrown here into such crass relief, one finds over and over again in a somewhat submerged, adulterated form and bound up with other kinds of egocentricity. With almost every adolescent the need for leadership, objective though it usually is in origin, degenerates into such dependence at times.

The leader is made a "ruling-slave." He is expected to rule, which means primarily that he is expected to assume responsibility. But he must rule as the young person wants him to. Or else he will be dethroned. He is a slave who has received instructions to rule his master (namely, the young person).

27. CRASS EGO-CONSTRUCTION AND ITS CRISIS

IN BOTH FOREGOING CASES THE CHILD'S UPWARD GROWTH into his cultural environment has been substantially checked because his ego-discovery has had to assume a veiled and, as it were, indirect form. The one child (Otto G.) remained completely stuck in a primitive Illusory-We; the other (Irma W.) preserved this Illusory-We only in relation to her one contact-person, and consequently shrank all the more violently from growing up into the outer world. In both cases an ego-construction took place that rested on a self-deception, since it had to hide behind the appearance of a childish We-ness.

There are other cases, however, in which the ego-construction is plainly recognizable, and the transition to outward growth therefore necessarily starts under exceedingly unfavorable circumstances. Into this category fall not only the children of a plainly anti-social type, but also those who appear to get along very well with their surrounding world, but whose own ego is ultimately operating as value-bearer.

Such a person may learn quickly and profitably, but solely in order to gain recognition, success or power. He may consort in an apparently objective and charitable fashion with his fellowmen, but only in order to reach his goals more quickly. Very often his tension-capacity acquires considerable strength. There are many natural leaders of men who are

often ready to risk high stakes, even their lives. They can intoxicate themselves and others with their We-inspired words; they regard themselves as being entirely objective. Only as their development urges them forward does it start a vicious circle operating which reveals clearly their fundamentally egocentric attitude. There follows a collapse, usually rapid and complete, of the individual's self-deception, his fascination for others and the whole egocentric construction of his reaction-basis. In such cases outward growth begins generally after the ego-crisis. The more crudely egocentricity has been cultivated from the start, the more meager will the previous stage have been which with other people stretches far back into childhood (and the more will it have been confined to ego-construction and the less will it have contributed to objective ego-discovery).

The more active such a person is, the more his courage and tension-capacity have increased, the more will he be compelled to press others into the service of his egocentric goals; but the more dissatisfied will he also be with all his successes since fundamentally he is seeking a totally different working agreement with life. Like everyone else he needs the outer world (an object) in order to experience in it his own subject-existence, his own contribution. Yet all the difficulties and experiences which he accepts never endanger seriously his subject life; for the core of his subject-life he has long since placed beyond the reach of danger. His main behavior-habit guards him as stoutly as any impenetrable fortress. And the more intense the external struggles become, the less opportunity is he afforded for exposing himself to that selfsame

danger which he regarded with such profound terror in early childhood, the danger, namely, of entrusting his own feelings to a fellow person.

Yet so long as this life task remains unfulfilled, the period of outward growth cannot even begin. Experience and knowledge will accumulate in abundance, but at even thirty or forty, this man will still remain an immature and fundamentally inexperienced boy in spite of his eventful life. The emptiness and falseness of the goals he has chosen are affirmed by his increasing fits of depression and feeling of loneliness, sometimes also by states of anxiety. The crisis, however, does not occur until his own egocentric attitude itself evokes inner contradictions.

For many years Konrad Z. was the well known and greatly admired leader of a political rambling club. In the various exhortations and speeches that he addressed to his group whenever differences of opinion arose, and in his diary notes too, he used to claim that he had placed himself wholeheartedly in the service of the good cause. And in fact he did sacrifice much time and energy to his comrades. But he never became intimate with any one of them. He shared their worries, let them tell him their troubles, gave them clever advice—and remained inwardly lonely. Presumably he had never known the need of unbosoming himself to anyone, nor the capacity for it either. Over his bed hung a picture of Frederick the Great, portraying almost with the exaggeration of a caricature the monarch's severity and loneliness. And in the diary this senior schoolboy kept, there occurred this passage: "For those who are leaders by nature (Caesar, Frederick, Napoleon) and

apparently for me too, men are no more than the bricks and mortar with which one has to build. We think in nations and generations. The individual is something secondary— Hence one is oneself secondary. To work for the good of the whole is all that matters.”

This renunciation of individualism should rouse suspicion in that it implies at the same time a renunciation of the community, that is to say, the primary kinship between man and man. This school student has never experienced a *We* (except as an infant). And therefore, “the whole” for which he apparently desires to sacrifice himself, will remain only an abstract idea, in the same way as the individual is known to him only as an abstract idea. Yet of the actual force shaping his life he remains completely ignorant. It operates behind his thoughts and deeds, without penetrating his consciousness: namely the Subject, now in danger of being stifled by his egocentric behavior-habits.

The crisis came when there arose the question of whether the group should be sacrificed to the leader, or the leader to the group. Through his allegiance to a political youth organization, Konrad had long since found a definite groove for his opinions. His comrades however took little interest in these views. And when a rowing club was started by the school, they were unanimously in favor of their entire group’s joining the new organization. They naturally proposed Konrad as leader of the rowing club. Yet by the regulations only a member holding other political views could be elected as President. Konrad was therefore confronted with the question either of having to renounce the leadership and allowing his group to merge with

the rowing club—which would doubtless have been to the interest of his comrades and also the rest of the students—or of continuing to lead his group in competition against the rowing club—which would save him the leadership but would force his “subjects” to refrain from rowing for the time being.

Konrad chose the second alternative, but the method he used was a cloak which further disguised the egoism of his leadership. He persuaded his followers that it was impossible for them to join a club whose regulations restricted their freedom of conscience. He spoke of thought being stifled, and of limits being set to free self-determination. His comrades allowed themselves to be talked over and boycotted the rowing club. It soon became clear however that neither organization could flourish along these lines, and Konrad came to see more and more clearly that he had in truth been acting for egocentric reasons. The course he now took did him apparent credit, but again it finally sprang from his efforts to attain general esteem. He resigned from the leadership of his organization, declaring he no longer wished to stand in the way of the others’ advantage, that he would live from now on in solitude and “friendlessness.” The air he adopted of a heroic martyr at first won him the increased admiration of his comrades. Soon however the new sport of rowing and their studies so absorbed the boys’ minds that the lonely sufferer could no longer attract sufficient attention. His egocentric policy was failing him, and his efforts to regain his lost authority had finally the very reverse effect. He went gloomily about, speaking to no one, and had to be addressed three times before he would answer the teacher.

Complete listlessness and loss of interest was the result. As Konrad himself expressed it later, he was living "at random." He slept and ate because it was the custom to do so, and not because he saw any necessity for it. At this stage, egocentric values lose all their significance and also the old value-bearer, namely the "constructed ego." Many weeks, even months, may pass before a new standard of values begins to operate. This will happen as soon as the subject-existence or, one could also say, as soon as life itself, becomes imperiled from an angle which has always been previously protected by an egocentric system of values.

With Konrad Z. this happened on the second Whitsun holiday. It was the first time he had ever been alone on such a day. His classmates had gone off on a journey, his family on some expedition. On the preceding days, too, he had been very lonely, but a kind of dullness or stupor had blinded him to his state. On this particular Whit-Monday he felt freezing cold from early morning onward, though the sun was shining quite warmly. During the afternoon he wandered, lonely and sad, through the parks. There he met a troupe of young boy scouts. And suddenly he saw something in these lads of ten or eleven that he had never noticed before, and it completely shattered him. He sat down on a seat and cried for the first time for five or six years. The next day he got in touch with an educational adviser, and soon a thorough explanation had been found for his inner state.

The critical moment when he awoke to spontaneous aliveness from out of the lumber of his broken-down ego-construction, was already past. His first simple expression of life,

namely his fit of crying, remained, it is true, for a long time the only sign of vitality; but it was not long before Konrad found in his joint work with the adviser a straight answer to his problem. He had to wait till there arose from his inner self as subject the compulsion to take this or that course. Anything else could only lead once more to egocentric compensations.

What had moved him so profoundly about these scouts was undoubtedly their corporate experience. Konrad now recognized to his surprise that, notwithstanding his years of activity in various youth organizations, he had never really been touched by a joint experience. And he began to study his schoolmates with a view to the individual inner destiny of each. He discovered that these "ciphers," as he had formerly regarded them, were actually exceedingly varied in character, all pursuing different paths. And he shortly found two or three whose natures obviously had some affinity with his own. These fellows he approached, rather diffidently at first, "like an eighth grade boy at a dancing class," but he soon noticed that in him they saw neither the former leader of the rambling club, nor a novice just starting on a new life, but treated him just like a living person, like one of themselves.—This broke the spell. He awoke in his vital inner being; his inner *We*-ness ripened quickly and found expression in the outer *We*; and this *We*, the new group, grew, developed and matured in step with its members' inner maturing, which it compelled by its external obligations.

28. PATRIARCHAL EGO-CONSTRUCTION AND ITS CRISIS

THE ILL RESULTS OF THE PARTIAL CRISIS THAT LEADS TO OUTWARD growth depend on the seriousness of the symptoms of the crisis, that is, on the degree to which the attitude of nonconforming has festered during upward growth into antithesis (namely nay-saying and unsociability). The earlier and the more completely a child adopts a hostile attitude toward grown-ups, or shrinks away from them, the greater is the danger that later, during adolescence, he will not make the transition to the Growing-We. The difficulties that arise then may be rightly construed as the consequences of an unobjective preparation, and hence as an error in education.

But at the same time there are many whose development earns their educators' approval, or, we might say, essentially conforms to their environment, who achieve a seemingly objective transition from the original-We to a kind of independence and ego-discovery, and who notwithstanding become involved sooner or later in a crisis. They appeared healthy, well-adjusted, clever persons, they fitted into their circle—but their circle did not fit into reality. Or, to put it differently, their ego-construction and world conception tallied perfectly well with the ego-construction and world conception of their immediate environment, but rigid egocentric behavior-habits were at work which perforce collapsed when the need came

for a truer, more fundamental adaptation to reality. In such cases we can, if we wish, speak of group behavior-habits, group blindness or even of collective neuroses; it is moreover obvious that here the group in its role of educator cannot be held responsible for the error in education which it commits. And yet this error is avenged so cruelly on the children that it should be the community's duty at large to liquidate as far as possible, these secluded "group microcosms," or at least to refuse them the rank of a school organization.

The following examples illustrating these errors in education belong naturally to a later age, since such errors are not usually avenged until many years afterward.

A young woman, Maria L., now aged twenty-eight, grew up in a small village in the middle of Germany as the second daughter of a prosperous peasant. Coming between an older sister and two younger brothers, she passed the earliest years of her childhood in entirely favorable circumstances. In the freedom of the village life which she shared with numerous other village children she could adapt herself to the primitive demands of corporate life without undue discouragement. The father was held in unconditional authority. An able, just and peaceful man, to the children he seemed also perfect enough to be infallible.

The mother, though capable and solid too, was at times harassed and nervous, and contributed a slightly pessimistic note to the atmosphere of the children's life. Fear of ghosts and fear of death, the latter assuming the guise of a rag-and-bone-man, played a certain part in Maria's childhood. But infinitely more important was the clear, almost geometric sys-

tem of universal order that her father embodied for her in company with the policeman, the teacher, the parson, the Kaiser and God. This was Maria's earliest childhood's memory: "The harvest wagons, loaded high, are making their way along the village street to the barns. A boy has climbed up on to a plank sticking out behind one of the wagons. Her father gives him a friendly warning to look out and not break the plank." The overtones in this picture signify roughly: "The world is in order. All we have to do is to take care not to disturb this order."

It is only to be expected that such a child will assimilate the cultural achievements and social relations of her environment with a rapidly growing tension-capacity. She will be a "gifted" child. It might be taken for granted too that her values would be constructed in conformity with the values of her milieu, and that her value-bearer would be not the ego, but the We. In fact we have here a highly developed version of the original We-ward attitude. The question is whether any egocentric behavior-habits at all have entered the reaction-basis. But even such an apparently favorable character development cannot be without its dark side.

"Evil" meant for her at first only external misfortune—illness, death, failure of the crops and bad harvest weather. These were powers which even Father had no command over. But soon other powers were added. There were a dozen factory workers in this village who were dependent for their livelihood on the small textile industry of the neighboring town. When a strike broke out among the workers in these factories, the entire population of the village, the farmers, farm-

laborers and day-laborers, with their parson at the head, took unanimous exception to this "attack against universal order." All the village children who had grown up conforming to their parents' standards of value, could see in the strikers only the enemies of order, of the State, or even of God; indeed the more the rigidity and egocentricity of these children's characters had been cultivated, the more severe were their judgments. Whether a child passed a positive or a negative judgment on the strikers accordingly depended on whether he was on good or bad terms with his parents. But whether the negative judgment took the form of flaming condemnation or merely of human pity, and the positive judgment the form of heartfelt admiration or merely friendly approval of the strikers, depended on the violence or mildness of the struggles already fought out between the children and the grown-ups.

It was obvious therefore that Maria had to condemn the strike. But one would have expected her to pass a mild judgment and show some human sympathy for the "mistaken" workers. There was however another factor right outside the political sphere also qualifying the child's "political standpoint." Her elder sister, Karla, then eleven years old, was looked upon as the good-for-nothing one of the family. She was dishonest, given to raiding her mother's cupboards and playing stupid pranks, was in perpetual opposition to the order of the house and afforded as it were a test case of the un-conforming attitude toward tradition. Karla was friendly with the children of the factory workers on strike, though the farmers' children who thought anything of themselves were not supposed to associate with them. For this reason Karla

wholeheartedly championed the strikers and once even provoked her usually so peaceful father into a frenzy of rage by her chance remarks about "the exploiters of the poor and sweated labor." Maria harbored no doubts about Karla's mode of behavior being fundamentally "evil." In her she observed a power which could disturb the order of the world, and that meant primarily her father's peace and kindness. The strike must therefore surely be worse than lying and stealing. For her father would punish lying and stealing with great severity, it is true, but in an ultimately benevolent and just spirit. The strike was the only thing that could upset his composure.—The father was the white giant, and the strike, the class struggle, appeared "evil" to her, or the "incarnation of evil," namely the black giant; the white giant however was the weaker of the two. This was the underlying motive of the deep, though fully unconscious, pessimism of this woman who had appeared to answer life so thoroughly in the affirmative; namely that the dark powers which disturb the shining order of the universe, ultimately win the day.

The practical side of her life presented scarcely any difficulty to Maria L. She learned everything that a future well-to-do farmer's wife is expected to learn, interested herself for a time in the theater and music, spent half a year in Switzerland after finishing at the girls' boarding school in the neighboring town, and then became engaged to a young farmer with whom she had become acquainted in the vicinity of her home.

Even the question of partnership was solved without critical developments. She was able to preserve, without any confusion of spirit, the patriarchal views with which she had

grown up, and could look down with ironic or pitying contempt on the "emancipated" young girls who, to her thinking, did not understand what love was. She was quiet, reliable, and had learned how to wait. And when she met the man whom she thought the right one for her, after a certain amount of hesitation she made a bee line for him, refusing to be diverted from her purpose by either the doubts of her pessimistic mother or the jealousy of her father, who had been an invalid practically since the war. She behaved in as un-neurotic a fashion as anyone could wish—and yet in her character a rigid and egocentric complex of behavior-habits lay concealed which some years later must evoke a character crisis.

Her psychic robustness was of the "pre-critical" kind. Her We-ness showed still the naïve forms of the immature child. She did not know what was good and what bad from any hard-won experience of her own, or from any conscious hard-won philosophy of life; she knew it only from the tradition to which she conformed, that is to say which she had adopted uncritically and effortlessly. For this reason everything that supported or preserved the existing order of country life appeared to her "good," and everything that threatened to change it, "bad." That this order might itself be obsolete and in need of improvement, would have appeared to her a "bad," and hence unthinkable, thought.

Her husband was a capable, ambitious landed proprietor who had gone ahead rapidly in the first post-war years and after the revolution. He took over a large estate from a relative, and it seemed as though both he and his young wife had found the sphere of action that best suited them. But then lean

years came, with bad harvests, slumps and credit crises. The landowner had to choose between dismissing some of his old established farm hands who lived on his land with their families and going into bankruptcy himself like so many of his neighbors. At first Maria took the heroic point of view that it was better to perish oneself than to expose one's people to misery. Yet she had only to look at the neighboring estates to see that "dying a hero's death at one's post" brought no advantage whatsoever to the workers. The successor would cold-bloodedly enforce the very measures which the former landowner had shunned taking. There were no longer any means available for bringing agricultural methods up to date, and thereby avoiding the dismissal of numerous workpeople.

Maria and her husband, who on this point thought exactly as she did, were thus forced to take steps which they themselves regarded as "evil." Nor did it avail them much to push the immediate blame on others. They might say, as so many others in the same position said, that the whole wretched trouble was due entirely to the Socialists or the Jews, but they nevertheless had a bad conscience. And when it came to Maria's having to endure the gaze of their dismissed workers one Sunday after another, she noticed to her own horror that she could no longer summon the courage to be seen in church. Now the crisis broke. At first there were fits of depression accompanied by sleeplessness and states of anxiety; soon the housework began to suffer also; and since her husband did not understand her, let alone was able to help her, it seemed to her that with his robust, capable efficiency he was devoid of conscience, and at times she even regarded him as to blame for the whole trag-

edy. Now, at the age of twenty-nine, this woman first entered upon the period of outward growth which starts usually before puberty. The original-We broke down; her fellowmen appeared to her indifferent, even hostile; life had no more meaning, nor gave any foundation for a fresh start.

That her religious values should have lost their significance simultaneously with the patriarchal order of life, is understandable if one remembers that in this kind of original We-state, the different spheres of value still exist unseparated alongside one another. In this reaction-basis, the temporal and spiritual realms are still identical; when belief in the one goes, belief in the other is also impossible.

Not only her original We-ness with its value-bearer, the family, collapsed like a house of cards, but also the concealed ego-construction, with its outstanding behavior-habit of: "I am a good person, for I do what is right."

Hitherto Maria had believed that in the hands of good people life must always lead to harmony, well-being and joy. Now she perceived that often it turns into a fight of all against all, and that economic crises do not arise out of the ill will of individuals, but out of the sociological necessities derived from the moral life of the individual. Her previous achievements along the road of ego-discovery had been mere ego-construction. They were necessarily mistaken, for behind them lay a mistaken world-construction, a mistaken philosophy of life, namely the unconscious belief in the white and black giants. It was now additionally hard for her to embark on a new, objective ego-discovery because it had simultaneously become necessary for her to search for new perspectives in her eco-

conomic and cultural backgrounds.

The subsequent development of this crisis does not belong to the sphere of our present investigation. Let it suffice here to state that faulty upward growth, namely the continuation of a traditional and inadequate conception of the world, must result in a considerable delay and a critical aggravation of outward growth, and that no amount of apparent health and objectivity will exempt anyone from the duty of objectively arriving at an objective comprehension of his own ego, and that means primarily of his real position as an individual in relation to the economic and social facts of the present. Whoever allows himself to be deceived on this point and clings to obsolete truths that have become untrue, is as surely heading for an ego-crisis as he who has consistently fought all tradition and rejected its content of truth.

29. CRISIS OF THE INDIVIDUALISTIC EGO-CONSTRUCTION

IN THE FOREGOING CASE THE ILLUSORY WORLD, WHICH LIKE every illusion proved too rigid and ultimately egocentric, rested on a good, old-established tradition, to which the only objection one could raise was that it was outmoded. Far more frequent are the cases where the tradition operating is entirely "modern," so that it is precisely its "up-to-dateness" with which one has to find fault. One realizes then how the sign of our times lies in the death struggle of the individualism or, expressed in characterological terms, of the egocentricity which regards life as a struggle of all against all, and whose chief behavior-habit is consequently: "Look after your own interests, for all the others are your competitors."

A child who develops in conformity with this type of "modern" environment adopts a partially dissenting attitude at a very early stage. If all are against all, the child copying his father must pit his powers against his father too.—And here again there is no personal blame to be attached to the educated group in question. They hand on the world-picture which they themselves hold; nor is it within their power to correct their world-picture, for then they would perforce be annihilated by the only reality they admit. That realities can be fundamentally changed, is beyond the imagination of such circles, for their egocentric group behavior-habits prevent such thought.

—This is another instance where the general community should endeavor to restrict as far as possible the use of a rigid group world-picture as an educational factor. Otherwise the rigidity and the egocentricity of group behavior-habits increase with every generation. For the vicious circle operating here can only bring calamity to millions of people, though it is true a change of such group behavior-habits would involve a complete change in the existing philosophy and structure of life, and in occupational work.

Karl O. is the youngest of four children. His father is an official in a large city administration office, ostensibly a very modern and freethinking character, playing an influential part in political and cultural organizations, but at home somewhat the despot. The mother is pious, and looks down rather scornfully on all her husband's activities. She is proud of her children and is very keen to protect them against their father's one-sided influence.

Karl's earliest childhood memory was as follows: "I am standing, aged about three, on the edge of a fountain in front of our house. Mother is sitting with the grandparents on the balcony and I know she can see me. But though I have been forbidden to climb on to the fountain, I remain standing there and feel a hero." He is living in an opposition to his mother that is still almost entirely playful, and knows perfectly well that his naughtiness will win him more admiration than blame.

His line of conduct later on at school, and even at the university, is precisely the same. He is perpetually in opposition, has a passion for doing the forbidden thing, but never transgresses the limits to such an extent as to risk losing the admira-

tion and recognition of his "legislators." The "best day of his life" is the day he has been given a severe lecture by the principal of his school. With Karl as leader the boys of the tenth grade contrived by really a witty prank to make a public laughing stock of an unpopular teacher. The culprits were punished by an hour's confinement, but the principal took Karl aside and said to him: "Of course I must punish you, but I know I cannot damp either your youthful exuberance or your enthusiasm for the Right." What Karl is wanting is recognition by those in power, and he seeks to gain this by doing the very thing those in power would enjoy doing themselves, if they did not lack the courage. To a certain extent he is the spokesman of the inner opposition which so many rulers harbor within themselves. He is a star working with the methods of a Caesar.

His position as youngest in the family and the unusual contrast between his parents compelled him prematurely in this direction. His tension-capacity was by no means inconsiderable. He would occasionally perform really daring feats; but the value for which he was striving was totally antagonistic to life. His one aim was to be a "spectacular success"—he wanted to be laughed at, admired, even feared. He did not mind in the least if other values were impaired or benefited in the process. He himself was the exclusive value-bearer. The more difficulties he encountered in this direction, the more adroit he became at devising his rules of living; and as a high-school senior, he enjoyed the general reputation of being a gifted but dangerous artist at life, to whom the door to success stood open.

Learning was no trouble to him. He quickly acquired all the knowledge and ability to be gained from his environment. But he used them only to consolidate his personal value.

If we want to size up his character attitude in terms of its behavior-habits we find its constitution to be something like this:

1. I must always win recognition and attention, or I shall be crushed by my competitors (the customary behavior-habit of the youngest child, and significant of the "star").

2. If I am not admired for the good I do, I must be admired for the bad I do; but on no account will I go unnoticed (a behavior-habit of the "Caesar" type).

3. I must not do wrong to the extent of earning real punishment or even contempt, for at all costs I need recognition (the behavior-habit that deflects the purposiveness of "Caesar" means to "star" ends).

It is easy to predict how Karl, given such a character-structure as this, will seek to cope with his life tasks. As previously indicated, the difficulties he met with at school and later in his profession—he took up philology—were few. That he was socially greatly in request, goes without saying, even if he were seldom capable of being a good comrade and never a faithful friend. He was therefore fundamentally lonely, but he ably concealed his loneliness by an unbroken series of social successes.

As a love-partner also at first he experienced one easy triumph after another with scarcely a break. Directly, however, a relationship turned intimate, he shrank from the responsibility. For him a "lovely woman" amounted, on his own con-

fession, to "exactly as much as a lovely buttonhole." Here the same educational error was operating which had harmfully diverted his upward growth and had essentially impeded his outward growth.—As, however, the problem of partnership was continually finding apparent solution through his apparent successes, a crisis was prevented from arising on this field. It was only when his outward growth to social maturity demanded that he adopt some specific standpoint, that Karl O. found himself encompassed by difficulties from which there was no retreat. And here once more, as in the previous example, the social crisis (or, more exactly, the individual character-crisis in the social sphere from which it sprang) quickly spread to other spheres which had remained hitherto apparently "healthy."

The original-We had been so completely lost to Karl O. at such an early age, that he retained no image whatsoever of a We-ward corporate life, and scarcely knew the longing for it. The atmosphere of his parents' house had evoked in all its members so complete a "personal atomism" and unconcerned egocentricity that the reverse attitude—for instance the comradeship that exists in war or political struggle—was beyond comprehension and belief. And yet Karl was no more fitted to go through life as a detached atom than anyone else.

He was sent as assistant master to a boys' college where political feeling ran very high. Not only the teachers, but the parents and pupils also, were divided into two camps of thought, both in their politics and their views of life. In accordance with his behavior-habits Karl O. tried to stand well with both sides and impress both parties. He perceived at once

the weaknesses and mistakes of both and in his clever way set about to play them off against each other. Yet he was not capable of taking any standpoint of his own, since he did not want to queer his pitch with either party. But whereas he had formerly found this attitude most successful, he was now for the first time dismissed by both sides with mistrust and contempt. He was in fact left isolated, not as one who stands above party interests but as one who is suppressed and opposed by both sides. This shattered the first law that governed his inner constitution. They left him alone without bothering about him. He was without authority or influence, and his behavior had brought him to the very situation which it was calculated to prevent.

Here again we see that ego-construction, with its behavior-habits and rigid values, is at best compatible only with the circumstances of childhood. For behavior-habits presuppose a definite world such as is to be found in a family only and not in the outside world. And the more urgently life has demanded a liberation from all egocentricity and the adoption of a new We-ward attitude by way of objective ego-discovery, the more strident will have become the dissonance between the persisting ego-construction and the claims of life.

The vicious circle which, to be exact, had been operating from early childhood, was now working more obviously. The means that had at first most adequately accomplished their purpose, now achieved the very opposite of their purpose. Karl O. was faced by the choice either of having to regard his life a failure and committing suicide, or of renouncing his existing goals and replacing them by other goals.

He was twenty-seven when the crisis reached this climax, and it was some years till he found a solution. But the errors responsible for this protraction of his adolescence to the length of a suicide crisis must be traced back to his early childhood. If the child could have been made to pass through his egocentricity at an early age with at least some indication of a ripening We-ness, his development in puberty would have followed another course. He would not then have entirely shunned all responsibility in his relations with the other sex, nor entered upon the frivolous game of sex conquests, but would have started on the process of self-knowledge and self-discovery such as is essential for the development of the Ripening-We. But here his education had failed, both on the side of his parents and on that of the school. They were content to think that an outstanding school record and good average behavior of itself constituted a success. In fact they even encouraged the youth's egocentricity by prophesying for him—from the angle of the parents' own ego-construction—a brilliant future. Nobody had grasped the fact that this growing character was becoming so involved in rigid ego-constructions, that later he would only be able to emerge to a Ripening-We by a crisis that would convulse his character to the verge of self-destruction.

30. CRISIS OF CLASS-STRUGGLE EGO-CONSTRUCTION

IT IS OFTEN MAINTAINED THAT ANOTHER PSYCHOLOGY AND another characterology should be applied to the proletariat than to the middle-classes. Our experience is now sufficient for us to assert that the basic dialectic form of original We-ness, of rigid ego-construction, critical ego-discovery and Ripening We-ness, is operating in every class of population in the European-American cultural domain. The individual contents of the reaction-basis of course differ enormously, especially in respect to the Illusory-We that generally continues as a remnant of the original-We. The middle-class child for instance says: "We have airships," and has his own country in mind, or perhaps the "civilized world." But he includes himself too, however egocentric he may have become. The proletarian child, on the other hand, thinks (or feels, even if the words he uses at the moment convey the opposite meaning): "Those rich people all have airships, while we have to fight before we can have them." This is the group behavior-habit of class struggle which is to be found in practically every proletarian child, even when a "petit-bourgeois ideology," with its sports clubs and garden suburbs, has been established in consciousness as the final goal. To a certain extent the Illusory-We of the family has here been inflated to the semblance of an Illusory-We. Such comfortable optimism, however, is completely punc-

tured by economic crises and unemployment; and the behavior-habit of class struggle (which is usually entirely egocentric) becomes operative. Herein lies the characterological cause of all revolutionary risings.*

But the young proletarian with his egocentric behavior-habits is heading for a crisis just as much as the young bourgeois. One day all his egocentric hopes and demands and struggles will collapse also, and he too will have to perceive that not his ego, but the Ripening-We alone, is the proper bearer of life's values. To the protest that the conception and actual experience of solidarity is of essential assistance to the proletarian in the transition to a ripe We-ness, we would reply that experience so far scarcely confirms this supposition. It is possible that the original-We is often preserved longer in the proletariat than in the big civilized cities, perhaps almost as long as in a rural population; but one can speak of a mature person only when this original-We has passed over into the Ripening-We. And here again ego-discovery and We-discovery are preliminaries to this transition which no one can pass through without some form of disillusionment, rigid ego-construction and breakdown.

Berthold B. is the eldest son of an uneducated workman. He has had six brothers and sisters, two of whom are dead. Two others are consumptive. Berthold himself used to be very delicate, but after puberty he grew so much stronger that he is now able to play football and cycle with the best of his more robust colleagues.

* Günther Dehn (7), Otto Rühle (31) and Hildegard Hetzer (16) have all contributed valuable material to this theme.

His father played a small but honorable part in the labor movement. The children became acquainted at an early age with the notions of discipline and solidarity, not merely as names but as actual experience. Frequently they knew really hard times as the result of strikes and lockouts. Berthold can remember his father one day bringing home a fugitive who had to hide from the police. He describes the temper of this incident as exciting and "thundery," but nevertheless strong and resolute. The solid front of the family and also of the neighbors proved unflinching.

But Berthold's earliest childhood memory shows a quite different complexion. As a boy of four he was standing in front of a Kindergarten. Another child wanted to snatch his breakfast away from him. In his distress he struck at him wildly, his roughness earning him reproaches from the instructress that he considered unjust.

Berthold himself interpreted this memory as indicating class-struggle; but it was soon shown to have a wider significance. For in his childhood he had learned not only that a front of workers must stand united against a front of capitalists, but also that in the pauses between fights the individual worker has to defend himself, his position and his comfort, against the attacks of his comrades in destiny. He found that at home his father, mother, brothers and sisters made all kinds of demands on him, that at school the boys would attack and chaff one another, and that even in the sports club there were quarrels and intrigues—in short that at all times and on all occasions he must stand up for his own interests, or else go short. To the growing lad life appeared not only a fight be-

tween two classes, but simultaneously a fight of all against all. The original-We had been completely shattered. The ego must defend itself by every conceivable means. Such is the purport of this first childhood memory.

At about school-leaving age Berthold experienced his first conflicts. For he had to decide whether he should attempt to exploit the solidarity, the organization and occurrences of political struggle for the purposes of his own ego, or whether he wanted to place himself in the service of whichever cause he considered the true one.

At home he could assert his position as the eldest best by copying his father's quiet, solid mode of living. He therefore schooled himself to be efficient and dependable. He knew what to do in every emergency, always lent his shoulder to the wheel, and thus became almost indispensable to his acquaintances and friends. But behind this apparently We-ward attitude lurked the first behavior-habit of his character: "Life is a fight of all against all"—and his general friendliness and readiness to help were only the means by which he had learned to win this fight. At school, too, he passed as being industrious, moderately gifted and, above all, a good sensible comrade.

In view of his past record he was by common consent speedily promoted after he left school to a leading position in the youth group of the party to which his father belonged. He was made one of the five committee officials.

But not long after he had been raised up among the rulers, he noticed that they had a different way of thinking and living from the "rank and file" of association members. They allowed themselves to be swayed by "political" points of view,

which could at the best be described as group politics, if not actually as personal politics. Unhesitatingly they used privileges detrimental to the group as a whole; and by mutual confession agreed that as a leader one needs a higher standpoint, a wider horizon, a more comfortable life and more expensive amusements than the "rank and file" in one's keeping.

At first Berthold was aghast. For a time he thought of overthrowing the committee and introducing another, more Spartan force. Soon, however, the arguments of his new colleagues began to convince him. He perceived that there must always be an "aristocracy of leaders" and he even felt flattered, as he laughingly confessed later during a character analysis, to be described along with the other committee members by the underlings as a "red tape official."

And so the decision had been made. He did not subordinate himself to the service of the cause, but pressed the cause into his own personal service. Despite all the efficiency, the honesty, the staunch party feeling and the solidarity he had developed on the external side of his character, his conduct was ultimately determined by the original behavior-habit which had been concealed to a certain extent in his inner character, and which asserted that life was a fight of all against all. He himself did not notice he was exploiting his We-ward behavior in the service of his fundamentally egocentric attitude. He believed quite honestly in the privileges of an "aristocracy of leaders," and had no conception whatsoever that by his betrayal of the community he was merely replying to the betrayal which he himself had suffered years before at the hands of the community.

It was not until a long time after that the crisis started which

led finally to the collapse of his unconscious egocentricity and opened to him the door to a riper and more conscious We.

The thieves' community of the five officials came to grief at last when two of them tried to extend their lordly privileges to such extreme limits that the other three had to intervene against them (not from any motive of We-ness, or for the good name of the cause, but from an egocentric fear of a catastrophe which might land them in the Courts). For the two eldest wanted to supplement the committee meetings by exercising their privileges in an oriental manner with the girl whom they had enlisted as "secretary." But this would have been punishable in the bourgeois courts of justice as seduction of a minor; and so the egocentric fear that the one side felt at the egocentric demands of the other finally made it compulsory to call a members' meeting. The disciplinary sentence that was passed on all five officials not only by their underlings but also by their immediate superiors, put an end to their glory and checked for the time being their promotion within the party, the honor they desired above all else.

It is true that this punishment was only the beginning of the crisis. Berthold needed about another four years before he could find a way through his depressions and tendency to nihilistic vandalism toward ego-discovery and a more or less We-ward attitude. His companions in fate required even longer, and some of them would perhaps never attain maturity.

However much the given characterological facts may vary with every adolescent, it may be asserted that within our cultural circle no one, be he of proletarian, bourgeois or aristocratic origin, can avoid the critical road that leads from the

original-We through the neurotic ego to the Ripening-We. But the danger of a check at an immature, more or less egocentric stage, however much it may have the appearance of an original or even a ripening We-ness, is practically the same for all classes, professions and character-types. And to this dialectical law of development can be traced the idleness, the self-seeking and the deceit which so often appear in the relations between leaders and led.

PART IV

CHILD GUIDANCE

31. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

IN RESPECT OF CHARACTER, CHILD GUIDANCE SIGNIFIES THE therapeutic education of difficult children. Though when we say a child is difficult to bring up we do not mean, as some do, that he is impeded by any organic defect, such as blindness, deafness, dumbness, deformity or feeble-mindedness, but that he has some central difficulty obstructing character development, which we are accustomed to describe as discouragement, timidity, withdrawal from life, or as defiance, lust for power and anti-social conduct.

A deaf and dumb child is harder to educate than a healthy one; but in his case the problem is merely to educate him in such a way that despite his organic disadvantage no character deviations shall arise. Here the child guidance treatment has a physical basis; we could call it physical therapeutic education. The more pronounced the physical impediment, the greater is the danger of faulty character development; hence the upbringing of such children demands, even in our sense of the word, very considerable child guidance ability, but for the sole and immediate purpose of preventing and avoiding an imminent danger. In practice, nevertheless, most physically impeded children give evidence also of character difficulties. More than likely their earliest educators were not fully competent for their task. And so very soon there are inhibitions to be removed, faulty developments to be rectified, and dis-

orders to be straightened out. This very genuine child guidance work in the domain of character does not, however, arise only in the case of physically impeded children, but with countless others as well.

Character impediments to education are a very widespread evil. And when all the characteristics or symptoms that attend it are enumerated, it must be admitted that in our cultural world of today scarcely a child grows up who should not at one time or another be reckoned as a difficult child. Hence the dividing line between education and therapeutic education (or child guidance) is extremely fluid. Scarcely any practical distinction can be drawn between continuing the education of those already set in a vital direction, and the re-education and reinstatement of those who have deviated into unvital by-paths. It is not a question merely of malady, but of crises of maturity which beset every person once.—There are naturally some children with whom the need for therapeutic education is so preponderant that “normal” education must yield place to it. In our following survey, however, we shall discuss not merely these difficult cases; for it is our purpose to describe all the activities of child guidance on the field of character, including the simple, though often persistent, cases of deviation which crop up at one time or another in every education.

The enumeration of the above mentioned characteristics or symptoms that mark the difficult child may give the impression that only severe cases come under consideration; yet every one of these traits may appear in a form so isolated and mild that it fits entirely into the make-up of a “normal” or, to express it more exactly, an “average” child. And from the

practical point of view it is precisely these milder forms that are the more important, because their treatment is easy and their timely cure can avert a great deal of unhappiness, distress and useless expenditure of energy. The symptoms are roughly as follows:—with the hard, active type (the Caesars): defiance, obstinacy, arrogance, dogmatism of opinion, imperiousness, inability to subordinate oneself, negativism, destructive mania, cruelty, desire to torment, malicious pleasure at another's misfortune, hard-heartedness, lack of feeling, lack of understanding and lack of consideration. With the weak active type (the Stars): vanity, desire to please, desire for fame, place-hunting, exhibitionism, dissimulation, bragging, lying, stealing, slandering, flattering, exaggerating, hypersensitivity, irritability, making inordinate claims. With the weak passive type (the Home-children): complaining, plainiveness, timidity, effeminacy, sensitivity to pain, lack of vigor and lack of enterprise, lack of ideas and notions, helplessness, perplexedness and complete dependence on others. With the hard passive type (the dullards): nay-saying, awkwardness, uninterestedness, insensibility, thoughtlessness, apathy, lack of initiative, indifference and aimlessness.* In addition there are certain childish defects which are likely to occur with all four types and also their mixed forms—as, for instance, sudden rages, states of anxiety, stuttering, bed-wetting, thought-inhibitions, bad memory and poor powers of concentration.

A whole number of these symptoms reappear in the severe neuroses of children and adults. This means that the dividing

* For further discussion of the four types see "Let's Be Normal" (37), Chap. 8, and Chapters 8 and 10 of this book.

line between therapeutic education and psychotherapy is just as fluid as that between education and therapeutic education. We would merely say here, speaking in broad terms that are far too schematic to be applicable in practice, that therapeutic education covers all the cases where merely a general state of discouragement and rigidity is involved, or, as we say, "psychosclerosis," which shall be discussed later; while psychotherapy embraces all the cases where general discouragement and rigidity has already advanced a stage further, and led to a kind of self-boycott, self-injury or self-laceration. But in no case should an attempt be made to define the boundary by age distinctions. There are child neuroses that fall entirely into the province of psychotherapy; and there are people of forty and fifty who are cases for therapeutic education.

This signifies that no sharp line can be drawn between medical psychotherapy and lay treatment by an educational therapist. Furthermore, even a doctor, if he is to be able to deal successfully with his difficult cases, usually needs to draw on the assistance of other experts (whom he is fond of disparaging as laity). Gymnastics, massage, games, sport and co-operative work, the art of breathing, meditation and contemplation are such important factors of healing that they must be regarded as almost indispensable for all severe cases. Yet the nerve doctor cannot be simultaneously a masseur, a gymnastic instructor, an expert on breathing and a yogi. In the same way he cannot usually do without a specialist for internal diseases and an endocrinologist. Moreover for a profound comprehension of depth psychology—on which every-

thing here depends—philosophers and theologians are generally far better suited than doctors, whose previous scientific training spoils them often altogether for the study of the psychology of the Unconscious. On the other hand no one should attempt the study of depth psychology if he has not already an exact knowledge and some experience of glandular disturbances, cerebral diseases and endogenous psychoses.

Who, then, is fitted to be an educational therapist, and who a psychotherapist?—To give an exact answer, one would have to reply “No one.” For no one person can fulfill all the requirements here formulated. But life itself, outstripping our individualistic perplexities, finds a very simple answer to this seemingly so difficult question. The solution of the riddle lies in the formation of psychotherapeutic groups. The practice has already grown more and more frequent within the last decades of man and wife jointly practicing this profession. Many patients have been treated by the one for a time, and then by the other; and when such a couple have practiced therapy in the country at a Home or sanatorium, while the complications and difficulties of family life have been brought into prominence so also have its healing effects.

The more these connections have been comprehended and exhausted in the service of therapy the better have been the results. And a thorough course of depth-psychological treatment has come to be quite spontaneously accompanied by exercises in meditation and gymnastics, both of which practices have never been entirely absent in sanatoriums and have now attained—owing especially to the researches of C. G. Jung and I. H. Schultz—unique importance. Although the orthodox

psychoanalysts are firmly set against the idea, it is now quite general for psychotherapy to follow the trend of natural development, and to become a group affair. Those in need of help, as well as the helpers, come forward in groups; and the question of whether a layman or a doctor, an educational therapist or a psychotherapist shall do the work, solves itself, for in an organically working group a particular person will always soon be found for a particular piece of work.

It is important, though, that there shall be at least one therapist in the group who has been thoroughly trained in depth psychology, that is to say one who has himself undergone analysis. To the stipulation that the therapist should himself have been analyzed, there should be only extremely rare exceptions, in the case, for instance, of unusual maturity after a life of hardship, and of unusual proofs of practical success. Further, the therapeutic group must have a doctor who has been thoroughly trained in psychiatry, neurology and internal diseases, and above all in endocrinology. In addition it should have, as already stated, a gym instructress, an expert on breath-control, an experienced masseur, a nutritional expert and, if possible, a graphologist also.

It is, however, of supreme importance that this group form a vital unity, which means that, from the point of view of the often mentioned Ripening-We, new tasks and new experiences shall promote continually the mutual progress and organic development of the community.* That leadership is a

* A fuller account of the Ripening-We is to be found in "Character, the Individual and the Group" (40, Chap. 4 and 29).

necessary condition to such growth, is self-evident. But directly the authority becomes rigid or directly even the productivity of the group is limited in the main to one or two persons, the others sink to the level of unvital followers; the "transference-manuevers" on the side of the patients explode the *We*, their cure fails and the circle disintegrates.—The worst horrors imaginable arising from this rigid patriarchy are to be found in our gymnastic schools, our schools for breath-control and our therapy schools of today—even in the best of them.

The more one succeeds in treating also the patients in groups and in bringing them to share in the common life of the circle, and the more individual influence is restricted to a few special interviews, the nearer the work approaches therapeutic education. On the other hand the greater the use made of separate interviews and the more the individual patients, still split up as separate entities and incapable of contact, are confronted by a closed group of helpers, the more does the work deserve the name of psychotherapy.

Having said this we need scarcely emphasize that these efforts are always directed at the person as a whole, or, to be exact, not so much really at him as at whole groups of persons. It is not our concern to remedy sleeplessness here, and writing cramp there, or perhaps some anxiety-image. Besides the cures of such symptoms are only permanently successful as we know (we might add, fortunately so) when they occur as accompanying phenomena in a fundamental readjustment of the character. Not the psychic life alone should receive treatment, nor the body alone, but the whole person. And only if

he himself becomes radically changed can we say that his character, which includes both psychic and physical functions, has changed.

The experience, however, of the last decades should have amply demonstrated that such character changes are possible, and that the doctrine of the immutable determination of inherited character is merely a pessimistic myth conceived in the brains of those who lack courage and fear responsibility. The reasons and the limits also of this capacity for change will have to be discussed theoretically in full; suffice it for the moment to remark that character defects should always be regarded as very largely development-crises or as faulty developments, and that an after-development is, therefore, a practical possibility. It only fails as a rule when engaged upon without any special compulsion, merely through persuasion, or for moral purposes. The most important condition to all character change, and hence also for all therapeutic education and all psychotherapy, is need. Until a state of need arises that makes it completely impossible for a man to continue in his present form, a genuine and fundamental character change should not be expected of him. Hence a subsequent maturing and a reorientation that affects the whole person appear always in the form of psychic breakdowns and even of severe physical suffering.

The dynamic of the cure presupposes a field of operation with three effective factors: first, the patient who wishes to be cured (the suffering factor); secondly, the source of the burden or unhappiness (the factor creating the suffering); and thirdly, the helper, who should not be identical with either

(the mediating factor). Therefore the question of therapeutic education and of psychotherapy arises only when the helper does not simultaneously have to be the admonishing authority, and when on the other hand the patient and the helper can confront one another as two persons. For this reason self-education does not belong to this province.—But there is another important point also; the result of the cure is never a restoration of the earlier state, a *restitutio ad integrum*, but a rejoining of the road at a more advanced stage.

As already indicated, the educational therapist need not be a doctor; nor is it important for him to know anything of surgery. But of psychiatry he should know much, of endocrinology a certain amount, and of neurology he should at least know the rudiments thoroughly. And for the very reason that he must be continually developing himself in his work, and has moreover often to deal indirectly with severe neurotics in the persons of his pupils' parents, it is essential he should have gained the profoundest knowledge of all human weaknesses, inhibitions, derailments and maladies, right down to severe psychoses.

32. NURSERY-SCHOOL THERAPY

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD GIRL, GERTRUDE D., WAS BROUGHT TO AN educational advisory bureau by her mother. The chief complaint was that Gertrude could not be left alone. If Gertrude was playing by her mother's side of an afternoon, the mother could not even leave the room to go into the kitchen for a few minutes. The child was also hyper-sensitive in the presence of strangers. She would cling to her mother, half in terror and half in affection, and would only let go when the strangers had left. Throughout the consultation, also, this same attitude was displayed.

Gertrude was an only child, and according to her mother was physically healthy but mentally very highly strung. The father was a minor official working all day long in the office and devoting a great deal of his free time, especially on Sundays, to his small daughter. The family was a healthy one, both parents coming from country stock of the small farmer class. Only the maternal grandmother was "nervous," silent, and often melancholy, yet inclined to violent emotional out-breaks.

According to the mother's version, Gertrude was clearly spoiled by her father. The mother said she herself made every effort to compensate for this fault in upbringing through her own attitude. But her attempts had been without success. She could give no certain indication of how the trouble first arose;

she could only say that it may have been after Gertrude visited her paternal grandfather, who had also spoiled her, that she became so extraordinarily exacting. Before then they had not noticed anything special about the child, but afterward it was evident she could no longer be left alone. Every attempt to leave her alone as formerly had ended in such an outcry and violent exhibition of terror that the grown-ups had had to give in.—On further questioning she reported too that since this time Gertrude had also now and then been wetting the bed again, though she had ceased this habit months before.

It was obviously a case of far too strong an attachment between mother and child. The child's relations to the things of the outer world, the external ego-object relation, however, had not been disturbed; for so long as she was with her mother, even if their contact existed only in the exchange of a few remarks, Gertrude would play with her dolls most ingeniously and patiently. She would be full of clever ideas and quaint notions, giving every reason to assume that the small patient's inner life—the relation between the ego and the Inner Object—had suffered no real restriction. The disturbance lay neither in the outer nor in the inner life of the child, but in the relation to her mother alone; only the ego-We relation had become pathological.

As soon as the child had to behave as an independent and responsible subject, she fell into a state of restlessness, anger or fear. Only when the mother lent her moral support, when the subject ceased to be the ego (the child) and became the We (the community of mother and child) did the child's imagination, productivity and joy of life emerge once more.

But this state of close attachment with the mother no longer corresponded with her age. Probably the earlier stage of development had never even occurred which would have exposed such marked dependence. For not only was the child making herself dependent on her mother, she was at the same time tyrannizing over her in an unbelievably fantastic manner. The disturbance of the ego-We relation found its expression in the mother having to assume all the responsibility and the disadvantages pertaining to subject-life, and the child claiming all the freedom and other advantages. The mother became essential to existence, the necessary condition to life, and on this account had to be ruthlessly subjected: and yet all this was merely to serve the child's ego-preservation. Her tender attachment to her mother was of a completely ego-centric nature; and the anxiety she displayed whenever the mother went off, was anxiety over her own subject that was in jeopardy. The insufficient independence of the child and her total lack of self-confidence corresponded with the ruthless exploitation of the mother and the shifting of all responsibility and the consequences of her actions on to the shoulders of this "ruling-slave." This ruling-slave, although subservient to the child, has to rule and bear responsibility; he appears in the child's imagination and dreams, as also in myths and fairy tales, as the kind-hearted white hero, as the unfailingly friendly and all-powerful mother of God, or as we put it shortly, as the "white giant." *

* The psychoanalysis of Freud, and in its wake the depth psychology of Jung, emphasizes the mother-attachment of the child as if it were a hindrance to development. Then the fear of life and the inclination to withdraw (ultimately to the mother's womb) comes right into the front rank of educational therapeutic

Gertrude had unconsciously and compulsorily subordinated her entire conduct to a significant and logical policy of life. Her mother she utilized as a "white giant"; she neither would nor could free herself from her; she avoided all independent adjustment to reality in order to avoid the evil fate that awaits everyone, namely the interaction of active performance and a passive bearing of the consequences. Gertrude was spoiled; she had taken on, as we say, the character form of a "Home-child." Her capacity for enduring personal failures was extremely small, and so her whole conduct was aimed at avoiding at all costs that dangerous state when one has to surrender one's will to others, and bear the consequences—in short, be a passive subject. We do not know when or through what painful experience this fear of "having to face unhappiness" first rooted itself so firmly in her character. It may have been the grandmother's departure, and the lack of the extreme comfort and spoiling she had come to love; again it may have been the perpetual contrast between the attitude of her father, who fulfilled her every whim, and the vain attempts of the mother to counterbalance the effects of this pampering. In all probability both these factors—her one brief experience and also the perpetual conflict in the circumstances of her upbringing—had

observation (12, Vol. VI, pp. 252 f. and 366, p. 66). Alfred Adler on the other hand emphasizes the child's will to power and his subordination of his mother to his ends. Then the exploitation of the child's feelings as a means of dominating the mother appears as the most important feature of the case (3a, pp. 32 f.). Heyer points out that the child's character can only be understood through the character of the mother (16a, pp. 87 ff.). Dialectical characterology tries to weld these different points of view into a meaningful whole. To do this it must go back to the characteristic feature of all life, namely, the relation between the organism and its surroundings, which it attempts to grasp by the concept of the subject-object relationship (37, pp. 152 ff.).

been instrumental, besides other factors which would have escaped general notice.

The child guidance problem at all events consisted of making the child independent, that is to say, in detaching her from the white giant. There was, however, the unavoidable period of transition to be gone through, when the white giant would turn temporarily into the black giant. That the mother was not up to this task, had already been demonstrated. And there was another important factor, which could not possibly be achieved between the parents and their only child, namely, the formation of a *We* that would accord to the child's age. Thus the most obvious course was to place Gertrude in a child guidance nursery school. The mother was soon convinced of the necessity of this step. The father also gave his consent when it was explained to him that his daughter would otherwise never attain the school standard she was due to reach in two years' time. The parents declared they had made up their minds to face the critical aspects of the transition and a possible aggravation of all the "symptoms," including bed-wetting (quite likely because they had no conception of their violence); so it was possible to start the cure in accordance with all the approved rules.

Gertrude went to a nursery-school teacher thoroughly grounded in child guidance methods, and who conducted a group of six or seven difficult children of preparatory school age after the principles of the Montessori method. Her mother took her along one morning, handed her over to the instructress and then, according to arrangement, disappeared after a short farewell. Gertrude was at first fairly contented, for the new

Aunt showed her most friendly attention. She showed her the room with the small furniture and all the practical things in it; she helped her into her indoor shoes and working apron; and she even brought her a pretty box of cylinders shaped like weights. But once the instructress had shown her how to take the cylinders out and how to fit them in again, she gave her a friendly nod and went off. Then a feeling of unutterable loneliness came over Gertrude. She sat terrified on her small chair, entirely unable at first to grasp what was expected of her. The most important law of her child life, that her mother or a motherly woman must always be with her looking after her, had been most shamefully violated. In fact in this strange room it was obviously the principle that every child should come to terms with the things of reality on his own responsibility. For the instructress would only come and speak to each of them for a few moments. Then she would sit down in the corner and do no more.*

At the next table, quite close to Gertrude, sat a five-year-old boy, busily running his finger over some enormous letters of the alphabet cut out of brown paper. Some more children further off were tying and untying bows or drawing some gay design. Right in front of her, near the Aunt, two little girls were quarreling over a long pole, but no one paid any attention. Everyone was an independent little person on his own.

All this could not fail to provoke Gertrude even to the point of revolt, for it was in fundamental contradiction to her entire conception of life. For a time it looked as if she would respond to such unheard-of claims as were being laid on her by yells

* Maria Montessori, "Psychology of Auto-education" (28a).

and struggles, perhaps even by a convulsion of terror. She began to weep aloud; but the instructress merely cast her a friendly look from her end of the room and did not stir. Gertrude's tears became so pitiful that they would have broken the heart of her mother or any other white giant. But the instructress, very friendly and very quiet, kept her seat. And thus there came to pass the most terrifying experience Gertrude had ever known. This friendly Aunt who sat over there in the corner and who would, her mother had assured her, look after her completely, this white giantess was turning now into something else, something too horrible for words. She had turned from a white giantess to a black giantess.

Very rarely had Gertrude met a black giant, only a few times in the dim days of her earliest childhood, when thoughts had no clear form and even images were practically indistinguishable. She no longer had any knowledge of it, nor any tangible memory; but the horrible feeling of utter powerlessness and the stifling sensation of extreme despair assumed now the very same forms they had formerly taken in Gertrude's half-awakened senses.

The instructress noticed carefully how at first Gertrude's crying increased and had a wild and challenging, almost pugnacious note, and how then it quickly subsided; noticed too the expression of deep, immeasurable anxiety in her eyes, the child's withdrawal into herself and her soft pitiful whimpering. For more than an hour Gertrude hardly dared stir.— It is of course plain that at such moments one needs all the far-sighted knowledge and inner maturity of child guidance training to avoid a false step. The person who at this moment

weakly tries to encourage, or even console the child, will actually destroy the bridge to recovery that is already almost crossed; and he who sternly or unfeelingly leaves the child to himself, will push him into an abyss of utter despair from which escape is rare. Both errors are a sin to the child's character building.

The educational therapist held her ground; she remained warm and friendly; she grasped what was going on in Gertrude's inner life, gave her a serious, confident look, but did not move from her seat. But when Gertrude at last raised her eyes in a shy despairing look she met the clear warm glance of this motherly woman, who knew very well how she was now being mirrored in Gertrude's soul as the bad black giantess.

Then came the pause for rest, and afterward all the children collected in a ring with small banners and glasses of water in their hands. The seven separate children have turned into a group, a vital We; and even the troublesome outsiders who had been quarreling over the pole, ran joyfully to join the circle. The music was most enticing; but Gertrude stood firm; she continued to sit on her small chair, just as motionless as the Aunt had previously sat in her corner. They let her be. And even when the pause came for lunch, and the children were chattering and eating, Gertrude still did not budge an inch.

Her inner fear of the black giant, however, seemed to subside considerably in the course of the day, and only occasionally reappeared later. But for a long time to come, the fight to gain supremacy over the ruling-slave was obviously deter-

mining the child's behavior. It was a "passive strike." She did nothing, took no part in anything, and was obviously desiring to be the sole object of somebody's attention. But the other children did not bother their heads about her; and each morning, with the same unflinching friendliness, the instructress would give her some object or other and show her how it could be used. Obstinate Gertrude continued her strike. Her mother, however, was slowly beginning to despair, for at home the child was becoming unmanageably trying and tyrannical; bed-wetting was a frequent occurrence; in fact Gertrude's mood was generally exceedingly unpleasant.

The first work now was to encourage the parents so that they should not lose patience. Again and again the inner connection of the situation as a whole had to be explained to them, until once more they would comprehend that the method being used was the right one. But again and again, owing to their own character difficulties, they would betray the united front in process of formation around the child. The father would spoil the child more than ever, while the mother would make her moral reservations. Both hesitated to readjust themselves inwardly. At last however there was a sign of progress. The black giant had been inwardly overcome. The instructress was altogether too unsuitable a personification of the Satanic principle; she was far more suited to the role of a madonna. Yet she would not suffer herself to be misused as a white giantess either. So Gertrude had to grow accustomed to the fact that she could neither subordinate this Aunt to her ends, nor fear her as some evil devil. She was forced to perceive gradually, whether she would or no, that it is possible to live with an

adult person in a friendly manner and on equal terms, without being either waited on or annihilated by him. Thereby was the road to inner independence cleared. Yet the first expression of her new subject-life took, as one would expect, a very negative form.

One day a child ran past Gertrude's seat to fetch a box of blocks. And then, for the first time in her life, Gertrude did something entirely arbitrary and entirely wicked. She tripped the child up with her foot. The lad fell on his nose, making it bleed, and set up a terrible howling.

The instructress rose to her feet, and Gertrude ducked her head as though she expected a blow.—This moment decided her fate for a long time to come. Had she received the blow, she would have sunk back in her former attitude. The black giant would have resumed his reign of terror in the depths of the child's character, and the old game between the child and her educators, with the old fears and strategies, would have started all over again. Here weakness and complete toleration would have evoked the opposite character defect, namely an egocentric presumptuousness on the part of the child.—And yet what educator today would not have sinned at this moment against the child's soul?

The instructress did not feel herself able to cope with her task. As she admitted later, she knew perfectly well she had to make a mistake. It flashed through her mind that the small boy who had come a cropper was now in less danger than the little girl; so she picked him up with exaggerated exclamations of sympathy and loud cries of horror. The youngster thereupon yelled louder than ever; he clung convulsively to

the instructress; he turned, as we say, into a "Home-child." But this pampering was a necessary part of the picture; its subsequent correction was a later problem.

As regards Gertrude, however, this method of procedure fully achieved its purpose. She was absolutely terrified, and when she saw the blood, began to cry also from the shock. The instructress bore the lad off to the wash-basin and started to wash him. Gertrude stood by as white as a sheet. Then she was given the job of continually holding a small cloth under the running water; she did this most eagerly, at last summoning up the courage to ask shyly, "Must he die now?"—The instructress answered seriously, "I hope we shall still be able to save him." (Here once more she consciously perpetrated an educational error vis-à-vis the youngster as a way of solving her child guidance problem with Gertrude.)

It was soon plain that the youngster had come to no harm. They had all escaped with a good fright. They were once again back in their seats; the small boy had quieted down, and the rest of the children were already absorbed in their work. Only Gertrude still looked up timorously and anxiously at the instructress; she felt certain she was to be punished. But instead she met again her friendly glance, and then the instructress remarked aloud, with a warm note in her voice, "Have you noticed how careful one has to be? It doesn't do to kick out at children, or an accident is sure to happen. It is just the same with flowers and animals and tumblers; one can't kick them either. We have now all learned this very thoroughly."

She knew that this salutary lesson would be ineffectual if

inner distress and despair were to resume their destructive sway. But she let it be known that this incident was now closed and that peace now reigned completely.—Gertrude gazed at her uncomprehendingly. Apparently the black giant was changing once again into the white giant; yet this new white giant showed no eagerness to spoil her or to indulge her wishes. So there was nothing for the child to do but grasp the fact that adults are not always black or white giants, but that their relationship toward children can be friendly and quiet, and yet steadfast with a straightforward objectivity. And now for the first time the I-You relation (namely, the relation of the child to the educator) lost its dominating role. And in a like degree the I-It, namely the Ego-Object relation,—that is to say, the relation of the child to the material of learning encouragingly—acquired an independent significance.

Without realizing what she was doing she took a few cylinders out of their box. Then her own action frightened her (for she had thereby violated the inner law of her obstinacy and anxiety). Again ten minutes passed. Then she took a few more cylinders out. Meanwhile she looked shyly round to see if anyone was noticing her. The slightest praise or mark of attention would have probably frightened her back into her old passivity. But no one was bothering about her. The I-You relation, that for Gertrude had been the source of the trouble, was firmly relegated to second place in this room; and the I-It (Ego-Object) relation, the joy in work and respect for material, definitely occupied first place.

That very same day Gertrude was eagerly and carefully putting her wooden cylinders back into their box, taking them

out again and putting them back once more.

As far as the nursery school was concerned, Gertrude was healed. But her readjustment at home took much longer. In the meantime the mother had also experienced something of what it means to bring up a child. Her capacity to understand the child had grown considerably during these difficult weeks. Before she had seen things only from the child's angle—and then she had spoiled her; or she had seen things only from her own angle—and then she had been too severe. Now she noticed for the first time that the importance lies always in the relation between one person and another or between the person and the thing. This standpoint helped her to contemplate far more calmly the hundred and one difficulties and moments of tension which the day brings with it. Her inner perspective increased, and with it her calmness of spirit, while her inner attachment to the child gained in depth, the more she succeeded in freeing herself from the superficial ties that bound them. Expressed in terms of character: the mother too was now slowly emerging from the Primal-We, or more exactly from the illusory Primal-We, in which she had remained behind with her child. And the more adult she herself became, the better was she able to bring the child up.—After three months the bed-wetting also had stopped.

There can be no victory over educational difficulties unless simultaneously the educators gain in maturity and deepen in character. For the difficulties of the child mirror the difficulties of the adults. The We is sick, the educating group is plainly defective; and unless the group changes, the child also cannot prosper.

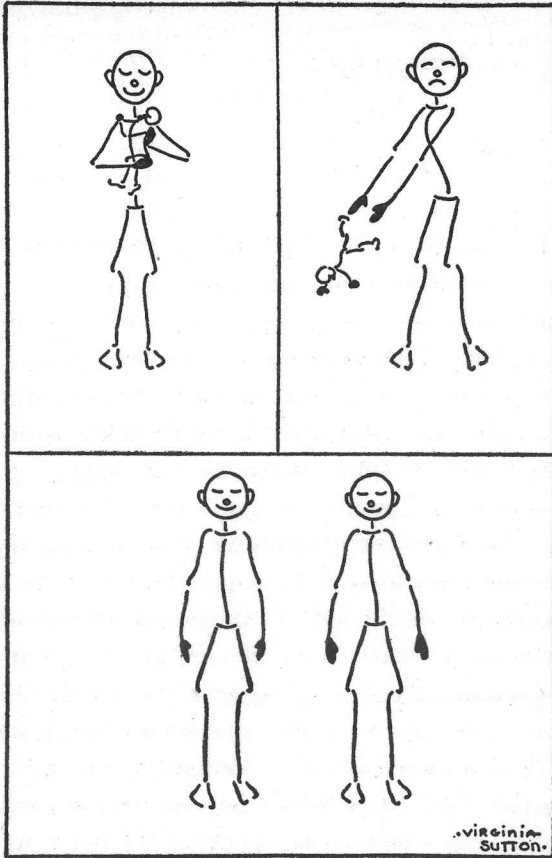


FIG. 6. THE RULING-SLAVE.

The child has learned fallaciously that the adult must attend to him, and that without this unflinching attention it is impossible to live. He feels so small and weak that the preliminary condition to all vital activity is: ". . . but only if you will carry me on your arm." This leads to the constant threat: "If you drop me, I am lost. I shall then die, as you will see." This barrier of anxiety must be overcome by practical experience. The child then learns that he is an independent organism enjoying equal rights with the adult by whose side he stands, and is capable of going his own way.

33. PLAY THERAPY

ERWIN B. WAS SUFFERING FROM NIGHT TERROR, THE SO-called *pavor nocturnus*. He was nearly six, the only son of a higher official; for the past two years he had had a small sister whom he appeared to love most devotedly. In his ordinary conduct he was unusually exacting and overbearing, and most unbearable. He was always getting into trouble at the nursery school, particularly with regard to his smaller playmates whom he would hold in ruthless subjection. At home it was his preference for nay-saying that was most outstanding. Every rule and request would at first be opposed, but then carried out if there were any likelihood of punishment or noticeable loss of influence or prestige. With the servant girl and with his mother especially there was continual bickering. The father forcibly asserted his authority, and would brook no opposition; and Erwin avoided him as long as he could.

The mother first brought the boy along for treatment on account of his night terrors. His general dogmatic, unbearable behavior she mentioned incidentally as somewhat extraordinary, for she could not understand how the same person could behave so vehemently by day and so helplessly by night. That the assertiveness, the character-mask of the Caesar, could only be a compensation for and a security against powerlessness and helplessness, was as yet beyond her comprehension. She accepted it theoretically as a fact, but could take no practical

steps about it; for the simple prescription of encouraging the child until he no longer found it necessary to act the ruler, seemed at first sheer nonsense to her. Nor was it yet clear what form the encouragement should take; but that it was to be sought in the sphere of the I-We relation, could be deduced from the facts of the case.

Because of his unpleasant nature Erwin was not on fundamentally good terms with anyone. Within the family he experienced hardly anything but reproof and reprimand; at the best he would be told, "But you've been a good boy today; if only you were so always!" To Erwin, however, these words merely meant, "Today you have subordinated your will, today you have renounced your own life. Why can't you do that every day?" It had become beyond the boy's capacity to find by himself the right attitude to adults and to the We, one in which he could allow others to live and could himself come into his own; and the adults, instead of bridging the gap that lay between him and a vital We, pushed him back further and further into egocentricity. Even toward the older children the only relationship Erwin knew was that of master and servant. Either he subjected others to himself, or was subjected by them. There was only one child to whom he was always unquestionably superior, one who could not run away from him and against whom he needed no defenses; and that was his small sister whom he apparently loved. On closer observation, however, the mother had become convinced that he loved her as a despot loves his most valuable slave.

The encouragement he needed was actually an experience of the We. Erwin was a "We-cripple"; he lacked courage for

community life, for direct co-operation and the renunciation of personal superiority and despotic force. Directly he came up against people he needed to safeguard himself. He had to command, or say No; to say Yes, he lacked the necessary confidence. So that it was little wonder that at night-time, "when the watchmen sleep," he should feel especially insecure. As soon as he could no longer count on his awake consciousness to help him to retain complete mastery of the situation, he was invaded by the fear of falling a prey to the ever-watchful foe. The great Caesar now felt small and defenseless. Some sort of black giant, a kind of dragon as it turned out later, would threaten him from the corners of his night nursery. And in his distress the six-year-old boy would begin to cry and yell like an ailing infant in arms.

The first session threw light only on the inner situation. It was clear that a We would have to be established; but it was clear too there was an imminent danger of pampering. Even the friendliness of the educational psychologist was to this masterful young creature no more than the homage a vassal prince would have paid to a great monarch of old. For the second interview it was decided to play with the big animals that stood about the room; the mother however was not to be present, ostensibly because she had something else to see to, but in reality because her presence would have noticeably aggravated the child's struggle for power and prestige.

All who try to work with difficult children along child guidance lines should fix up a real playroom. A big room is needed with a few strong bits of furniture, and the floor should be clean and spacious so that several people can lie

about on it without inconvenience. A certain amount of material is necessary, very much as Maria Montessori devised, only, if possible, stronger and more unbreakable. Most important of all is it to have—quite against the principle of the Montessori method—a number of large animals, for instance a horse as high as a table, though not a rocking-horse; an elephant on which one can ride; a few enormous teddy-bears, and cows, hippopotami, crocodiles, dogs, sheep, snakes, toads, fish, and all kinds of small animals down to baby frogs hardly bigger than a cent piece. That there should be a few building blocks too, goes without saying, but the essential thing is the animals.

In its bright sturdiness a world such as this can present to the adult an aspect that is no less real and actual for being timeless and fabulous and other-worldly. He will reject it with scorn if his attitude toward the outer world is clever and “practical”; and he will regard it with envy and longing if inwardly he goes through life as a seeker or dreamer. A child will feel at home immediately in this world, even though he has never seen it before. A distinction between the inner and outer world is not finally established until later. The younger the child, the more familiar will be to him the figures of myths and fairy tales, even though they may be the first time he has met them. For a time we had a great winged crocodile, a fabric animal nearly a yard long. The smaller children were frightened of it often at first, but very quickly became such firm friends with the fabulous creature that an entire zoo would not have compensated them for the loss of their beloved favorite. Sometimes the lesser anxiety-states of early child-

hood can be banished only by making the child familiar with such animals.

“What is within, is without.” The bad experiences a child undergoes in the world without will be echoed deep within him, where the myth world of bygone ages lies ready waiting in the form of countless dream potentialities. The worse the experiences in the world without, the more horrible are the images awakened within. Frequently there are children who have never heard anything bad about the devil or a Big Black Man, or even a chimney-sweep, and will yet wake up of a night shrieking for their mother because a hideous and grotesque black object with horns and long ears has grinned at them. It is not sufficient then to make peace with the outside world; it is imperative that peace be made with the inner anxiety-figures. Best of all is it when the one and same treatment purges simultaneously both the outer and inner situation. Yet for this a productive act is necessary, since the sense of hostility has to be not only overcome, but replaced by friendship, familiar intercourse and collaborated effort. And, implying as it does an extension of the outer and inner boundaries simultaneously, this important peace treaty is best achieved with young children by making them collaborate in play.

Valuable service can also be rendered by fairy tales, Punch-and-Judy shows and children's dramatic performances in costume. Drawing is often advocated also as an important occupation; for our purposes, however, the collaborated drawing of some dramatic picture is of far more practical use than individual drawings, which, like dreams and isolated ideas, do not usually do more than fitfully illuminate the child's

inner situation. Besides, the deeper one penetrates in these things, the more one finds the dividing line between the different forms of expression in child life disappearing. The lively telling of a fairy tale will turn often of its own accord into a mimed presentation. Nor does it really make much difference whether one plays with stuffed animals, lead soldiers or Punch-and-Judy figures. All that matters is the vital expression given to the child's inner life. And thus it may be accepted as a general rule that, in all child guidance efforts of this kind, the child himself shall be prompted whenever possible to make the decisions.

Let us suppose two animals are fighting with one another. Which will prove the stronger? What will happen to the weaker? Will the victory cause joy or grief? In such ways the child's mood should find as unhampered an expression as possible. If the child is too timid to play himself, the therapist must do the talking and acting for him; but he should then attempt to give the play a form portraying as far as possible the child's inner life; and to do this he must observe closely, as a portrait painter would, the expression in the child's eyes and the play of his features.

The very nature of these problems makes an unusual demand on the specific character of the therapist. In the best sense of the word, he must be able to "play." And that does not only mean that he must be productive and fertile in new ideas, and not inhibited from feeling perfectly at ease as a child's playmate; it means in addition that his inner approaches to the unconscious depths of character must be completely accessible. He should suffer from no such narrow-

mindedness as might cause him to say, "It is impossible for an elephant to sleep in the earth for ten long years without food"; nor must he suffer from such moral misapprehensions as might oblige him to condemn the young elephant who had buried his great-grandfather down in the center of the earth and left him to lie there for ten years; nor, thirdly, should he be bound to any egocentrically rigid conception of authority, or he will fail indubitably just at the most important moment of the game, when the small patient says to him, "And you are now that stupid, bad, wicked great-great-grandfather, and I am going to bury you deeper down still, and then I shall strike you dead, and after that I shall burn you, right down there in the middle of hell."—If he were to lose his understanding for the game at this point, all would be lost; for it is being played in deadly earnest, infinitely more so, even, than the average child's game (the seriousness of which is seldom grasped by adults).

If he now allows himself to be buried, and killed and burned, he can count on a great and shining resurrection afterward. Here again the black giant could be ultimately revealed in the depths of his being as a white giant. And the game of the child and the cure of a childish defect could become a spontaneous and intelligible expression of the great mystery of creation, the reconciliation of heaven and hell, of the service the Bad Darkness renders the purposes of Eternal Light. Supposing on the other hand the therapist had objected out of moral apprehensiveness, "For shame, Erwin, how can you be so horrid to me after I have been playing so nicely with you!" he would have destroyed, by his own doing and through an

egocentric sense of injury, the sublime role the child had unconsciously allotted to him. And instead of becoming, at least for a moment, Baldur, Dionysos, a Savior and a Sun God, he would have remained merely what he was, namely a Philistine. And he would have forced the child too, along his Philistine way, the way, that is, of egocentricity, rigidity and neurosis.

Gertrude's Ego-We relation had been healed through direct experience with people. The improvement of her Ego-Object relation was merely a consequent and accompanying phenomenon. Erwin B. likewise only suffered from a slight and indirect disturbance of his Ego-Object relation. After a few attempts he was successfully thinking out games which were quite uninhibited and dreamlike. They often tended to become superficial and trifling, but the less the therapist allowed this to disconcert him, the more serious became the forms assumed by the inner drama finding expression through this play. An indispensable assistance, and one that had not been available in Gertrude's case, were the animals, by means of which the game was enacted. As in all such cases, however, it appeared soon that the therapist had become, if one may put it so, the most important of all the animals. Even Erwin was an animal, but a kind of collective animal combining within himself all the qualities, the sufferings, the joys and the struggles of the rest of the animals. At first this animal community often came to tears and blows. Most frequently it was the elephant who usually (but not exclusively) typified Father and was set upon and bitten by the other animals, because of his overbearing ways, and "hidden away deep down under

the earth" below the sofa. Sometimes the small goose would die, her behavior exactly resembling that of Erwin's little sister. She had to learn to fly, would fall from the table to the ground, break her neck and then be buried under the carpet with infinite commiseration. But the best time was when the winged horse, the most beautiful of all the animals (who was, however, never given the name of Erwin, but that of Dietrich, after Erwin's uncle who served in the army), was alone with the old whale and an extremely ancient cow. Then these motherly animals would carry out the wonderful horse's every whim; the joy of this, however, never lasted very long, for the elephant would always turn up and brutally destroy the family peace.*

This unmistakable portrayal of Erwin's family life was the most essential thing gleaned from about ten really long play experiments which included numerous other episodes, misfortunes and heroic deeds as well, the deeper significance of which, however, could not be determined, if indeed it existed. One could say now that Erwin was complacently magnifying himself to the stature of the magnificent horse; he would thereby be expressing his lust for recognition in the Adlerian sense. One could also assert that he was identifying himself with his father by way of the much-admired uncle; for he lorded it over the female members of the family, the mother and the grandmother in particular, and probably the servant-girl and the aunt also. One should add, too, that in the game

* That the black giant as well as the white giant incorporates both paternal and maternal traits, should be clear to those versed in depth psychology. For the purposes of child guidance work, however, these undifferentiated symbols are usually adequate. Compare 16a, Chapters 7 and 8.

he was projecting his own pugnacious but fruitless behavior onto the father (in the sense of C. G. Jung), and that he made the elephant undergo exactly the same experiences as befell the horse. His death-wishes in regard to the sister were very plainly expressed. To any therapist schooled in depth psychology a whole series of further possible interpretations will present themselves; yet the more he is merely schooled and lacks profounder comprehension, the more difficult will it be for him to resist the temptation at this stage of intervening with some instructive or interpretative remark, or even with some simple direction. For instance, one might attempt to justify the fatherly elephant in some way or other, or to restrict the power of the winged horse. There are cases in which such tactics have quite a good effect. Yet one thereby obstructs the approach to the deeper levels of both one's own soul and the child's.

If the game is allowed to go its course, the child's attention will be absorbed gradually by totally different things. In Erwin's case, the elephant sank almost into oblivion beneath the sofa; the goose, too, under the carpet, being only rarely resurrected, was left peacefully lying there. The ancient old whale, on the other hand, became the person of importance. Sometimes it seemed to be very ill, other times it would be off once more on its endless distant journeyings, then it would have to be killed, and finally everything would become conglomerated into some sort of terrifying danger which threatened the whale and from which only the whale could rescue itself. Always at this moment, however, it would be "a long, long way off" again.

There could no longer be any doubt that this had to do with some vague memory concerning the birth of his little sister. The whale, which at first seemed to be the grandmother, had become the mother; perhaps it simply represented the motherly being who "might have done something to help" and "was so far away." The therapist drew the deduction that the mother had gone to a hospital for her confinement, that her stay there had been protracted, and that in the meantime Erwin had felt very isolated. Upon inquiry the parents confirmed this supposition. Now the complete absence of the father-elephant was also explained. At that time the father and mother had been badly estranged also. The confinement had been such a terrific psychic ordeal for the mother that she was on the verge of deciding for a divorce. She was feeling then utterly deserted and isolated.

It is not easy to decide whether Erwin directly experienced in himself this inner crisis of his parents' marriage through some Primal-We participation, as C. G. Jung would conjecture, or whether, in accordance with the Adlerian conception, he merely sensed his own abandonment and the loss of maternal protection as a catastrophe.* The only certainty is that the boy's anxiety-experiences here found anchorage, as was plainly proved in the further course of the game.

The therapist now decided to intervene for the first time. He said something like this: "Even if it really lasts a very long time, and is very hard to bear, everything is going to come all right in the end. I know for certain that the big whale

* The fateful alliance between parents and children is especially dwelt upon by F. G. Wickes, a pupil of Jung's (36b).

is coming back again, and then it will fetch the elephant along too, and then they will both be very glad and eat a lot of oranges together." But Erwin refuted this idea wildly, retorting, "No, they aren't going to eat any oranges! They are both a long, long, long way away!" The adult once more put the decision to him: "Well, what are we going to do then? We must do something so that everything shall come right again. What can we do about it?" Erwin gazed at the therapist with a mixture of scorn and terror. "No," he cried, "we mustn't do anything. The whale has gone away altogether!"

Whereupon the therapist, following up an inner trend of his own dream life, took upon himself the role of a supernatural power. He knew that it was now incumbent upon him to intervene in the destiny of the animals and the child, and hence in the fate of the family as well, like a priest in the name of a higher institution. In a low, solemn, slow voice he said, "You must call to the whale, you must go forth and search until you find him. Over the sea and over many mountains you must go; sometimes you will be afraid and sometimes glad; sometimes you will be frightened because you are alone, but in the end, when you have passed through danger and through distress, you will find him."—Erwin's resistance crumbled; open-mouthed, he asked: "Is that true?" And the answer he received was more like a call to battle: "It is true. Go forward on your way!"

Erwin took the flying horse in his hand—the first time that he had acknowledged his role—stood in the middle of the room and called out at the top of his voice: "Whale, Whale, come back!" Then away the horse flew into every niche and

corner, and for a moment it looked as though he were suddenly about to discover the whale. But the adult intervened. "No, it isn't as quick as that. First the horse must sweat by the heat of day and freeze by the cold of night; in the parched places he must thirst, and in the darkness he must be afraid; and then when he has learned to be afraid no longer, and can endure hunger and thirst and heat and cold, he will be able to cross the mountains that reach to the heavens and find the whale beyond them." Now the game became most laborious and realistic. Sometimes it resembled a North Pole expedition, sometimes a journey in a desert, and sometimes a fight with lusty street Arabs. But always the horse, now no longer able to fly, had to fight his way through alone. All magical charms had disappeared, and even the help of the whale and the elephant was no longer available. Finally, however, this horse, who was partly Erwin and partly the uncle in the army, and partly Hercules and partly Parsifal, had fulfilled honestly all the tasks his destiny had set him. Then, panting, he climbed up over the back of a large armchair, and behind lay the whale who was now simultaneously the Mother and the Grail, the Maiden and Mount Salvage.—The long game came to an end some four weeks after it had begun; during that time it had started afresh sixteen times, but each time a step forward had been made.

The night terrors were vanishing already during the second half of the treatment. The nay-saying and the imperiousness of the child had grown particularly violent toward the end of the play-experiments, but after a further six weeks they had completely disappeared. It is of note, however, that in the

meantime a very considerable readjustment on the part of the mother had been gained. Every play experiment was regularly followed up by a therapeutic discussion with her. Thus the conscious assimilation of the material acquired from the games with the child was a process that took place, not between the therapist and the child, but between the therapist and the mother. She was made to promise, it is true, to say and do nothing that would have any direct bearing on the games; even a systematic alteration of her behavior was not required of her (for such attempts nearly always end in failure). But the deeper insight into the inner connections of the child's life, and especially the clarification of her own and the father's standpoint, particularly as regards their son, induced a greater inner certainty, and so led also to greater peace, balance of mind and independence.—If one will, one can ascribe the greater part of the child's recovery to this maturing on the part of the mother; and it is a fact that there would have been no recovery if the mother had not matured. But on the other hand her maturing alone could not have brought about the child's inner pacification except as a very gradual process involving many crises. The right method in child guidance is to influence parents and child alike at the same time.

34. CONSULTATION WITH THE PARENTS

THE RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF PEOPLE TODAY IS TO A LARGE extent not determined objectively by any study of religion, but determined personally by egocentric behavior-habits. In such cases the importance lies much less in the religious beliefs or doubts that are entertained, than in the personal aims and goals being pursued through these beliefs and doubts. In no other province is the deflection of the final purpose so subtly disguised and so devastating. Religious instruction and all other forms of religious education are powerless against it since all they can do is to hand on the contents and methods of religion to the younger generation, but not the purposes and goals. The choice of goals and above all the question of the value-bearer (namely egocentricity or We-ness) are not determined until the character-crises of adolescence or of later life occur, and in this connection the religious method of preparation seems scarcely more beneficial (at least in our times) than other methods of preparation. The decisive point is whether the child meets with predominately egocentric or predominately We-minded adults.

To have the contents of religion—and this signifies fundamentally We-inspired contents—imparted by markedly egocentric persons is of course a particularly powerful deterrent. The high school senior whom we shall be discussing shortly used to maintain that the devil had invented religious education

in order to snatch as many souls as possible from God. He found that the instruction of today was an inspired system for finally alienating the student from the material of study; that Homer, Plato, Goethe and the Bible were amazingly living, attractive works to read, and that it was astonishing how thoroughly the teaching profession succeeded once and for all in rendering them distasteful to the growing generation.

This senior, Bruno C., was a gifted pupil with manifold interests. He had an older and a younger sister, both of whom went their conscientious but rather timid ways, the elder being already a social worker and the younger intending to become one. His father was chief engineer in a big concern of the Rhineland industrial area. The mother was quiet, industrious and retiring, and had, as Bruno unkindly put it, "never had a thought of her own all her life." Father, mother and daughters centered their lives in the work of the Evangelical Church. They held posts in the various church organizations and expended much time, energy and zeal in this activity.

After about his sixteenth year, Bruno made little progress at school. It became difficult for him to concentrate. All kinds of anxieties, doubts and minor perplexities so obsessed him that finally he was no longer fit to cope with his school-work. Exhortations and punishments were entirely ineffectual; if anything they aggravated the trouble. Finally the doctors and teachers decided that some "nervous trouble" must be the matter, and so the boy was sent along for treatment, and, what was more important still, the father came too.

The father considered himself a thoroughly sound man, solid, benevolent, intelligent and energetic. As he himself ex-

pressed it, he believed that he was "sound of body and soul." And actually the understanding he showed for his son's destiny and his immediate effort to do all he could to obtain assistance, whatever the sacrifice involved, betrayed a character fundamentally inclined toward kindness, responsibility and patriarchal authority. The very first joint conversation between father, son and therapist showed clearly enough where the trouble lay. The father knew everything, considered everything, saw to everything, and was in fact so friendly that no one could gainsay him. There was no choice left to the eighteen-year-old son, no decision and no responsibility. He had only to do always what he was asked.—"You are a baby and your father is your nurse. You struggle for your independence, but you are far too un-independent to have any confidence in your ability to achieve it." Such was the preliminary diagnosis of his state.

The father had in the meantime complained privately to the therapist of the decided lack of affection and "insubordination" of his offspring. But the educational therapist explained to him that he, the father, was driving his son into this unconscious defensive warfare through his own kind-hearted, but all-powerful authority. The chief engineer smiled indulgently. "That is one of these liberal educational ideas."—"It is ruining the character of your son. And you have the choice of altering your conduct, which entails a fundamental change in yourself, or of driving your son to disaster."—Thereupon the analysis of the father became all-important.

The interviews with the son very soon resulted in provisional success. The improvement, however, could only endure if the

father could be induced to change his attitude. And the son's state of jeopardy was so palpably attributable to the conduct, methods of upbringing and even the character of the father, that the latter perceived his dilemma and drew his deductions. He asserted as fervently as ever the rightness of his philosophy of life and conduct, but he was prepared to study seriously all objections put to him by the therapist.

The main objection was as follows: "As adults our knowledge of the developments of the future is at best only broad and general. Hence only to smaller children can we give any exact indication of the right path to pursue. With them we know what is right and what is wrong. But we do not know it with a lad of seventeen or eighteen. Therefore we should not meticulously prescribe to him the goals he ought to adopt. We should show him the frame into which he has to adapt himself, and also the ways and means that he can utilize. But the ends to which he puts them and the resolutions he makes are his affair." The engineer raised a counter-objection: "But that would destroy all authority!" The therapist replied, "The authority of the private individual is nothing but an illusion; it is an egocentric construction and a self-deception. As you see, it collapses hopelessly in the face of reality. Paternal authority, however vital and creative it be, is not nearly so sufficient as you imagine. Within your family you are, if one may say so, filling the role of a leader who has far exceeded his rights. The authority you hold should have passed long ago to higher institutions, to youth groups, the State, or—if you like to call it so—to creative life itself." "Don't you think," said the other hesitatingly, "that authority belongs not

to man but God?"—"Ultimately," the therapist assented, "all authority is received on trust from God. I take it, however, you say at least once a day 'Thy Will be done.' Might I ask you what you mean by that?"—The engineer became eager. "Of course that man has to subordinate himself to the dispensations of Providence."—"But does he have to prescribe to his children their opinions, their judgment of values, their philosophy of life? What justification have you of taking away from your son the responsibility for his own life?"—"But I am older. I have more experience and am therefore responsible for those under age."—"Yes, we are responsible," said the therapist, knowing full well that this was where the decisive issue lay, "and if we hinder those under age from coming of age, we have to bear the consequences of this egocentric presumptuousness or apprehensiveness. We have to experience the revolt of those under age, and face the fact of the revolt's assuming a form proportionately immature."

The engineer took up his gloves. "You demand then," he said, "that I should change my philosophy of life?"—"I make no demands at all. Only I must draw your attention to the fact that your son's trouble is a typical coming-of-age crisis, and that a father can help his children in such crises only if he himself undergoes a real and thoroughgoing readjustment. It is possible that such a readjustment will involve also a re-orientation of one's world views." "And my Christianity?" asked the other in almost a hostile tone of voice.—"Is there a single word in the Sermon on the Mount about exercising rigid human patronage? Haven't we already agreed over the

words: Thy Will be done? And what does Gethsemane mean if not, among other things, the renunciation of one's own beloved ego, one's own claims, opinions and prejudices?"—"But how would I look before my colleagues or in my factory, if I were suddenly to appear as a weakling or even a Socialist?"—"You do not need to appear either a weakling or a Socialist. You must only relax, for the sake of your own children, the views you have held hitherto and which were doubtless too rigid and too egocentric, and once more re-form them in the service of a living reality. What will come of them later, you can let the authority of a high institution decide."

So much was achieved substantially in the first interview. But for a fortnight it had to be thought over and talked over again and again before it penetrated the inner life of the chief engineer. And time and again it was only the fact of his son's distress and his own responsibility toward him, that forced the worried father to go through with this difficult and critical discussion. But his intelligence and honesty, and above all his dislike of half-measures and obscurities, helped him in a very short time to make essential progress. Before the third week was over the previous history of this "kind-hearted Caesar" could be calmly explored with very little opposition.

It appeared that the chief engineer had had to provide at a very early age for his mother and younger brothers and sisters in the place of his father who had died. He had sacrificed all his powers and time in the service of his family; but at the same time he had brooked no resistance. Nor had he found it necessary ever to put up with it, for he was by far the

cleverest at home. Thus an Illusory-We had been very largely preserved in him, leavened and fostered by a kind of god-like benevolence.

Even in the factory, where he soon enjoyed respect, his god-like attitude kept people at arm's length. His habitual expression of semi-compassionate, semi-ironic friendliness made his colleagues afraid of him, and proved most successful also with the managers. The technical manager in particular was like wax in his hands, actually because, as it turned out, he happened to have been brought up himself by a kind and completely superior father.

"Unless you descend from your god-like attitude and let your son stand on his own responsibility, your son will become at best the same kind of egocentric timid creature as this technical manager."—Such was the theoretic conclusion of this treatment. The practical conclusion however was that, after long wavering, the father underwent a profound readjustment. His We-ness increased considerably and with it the courage to give free rein to growing life. Consequently his son became completely restored, and remained so. But his wife and daughters, who found it impossible all at once to dispense with their Caesar, in turn became involved in somewhat serious crises. Altogether it took about two years till the family found themselves united once more on a new level, and restored to a previously quite unknown productivity.

Life is inexorable. It forces hundreds of thousands of fathers and mothers into parental crises through the character deviations of their children. And yet the egocentricity of the parents still succeeds in disguising their own egocentric de-

mands ("My will be done, or . . .") as an ideal charge ("We are the pillars of civilization, and we rule or . . ."). And, aware that their own views coincide with the view of "all reasonable people" and particularly with those of their own class interests, they prefer to throw the blame on heredity, or on the schools or cinemas, instead of feeling themselves co-responsible for the universal egocentricity poisoning both us and our children.

In very few cases so far has it been possible (and usually only by aid of character analysis) to straighten out the crises of parents sufficiently for them to be able to help their children subsequently by their own example.

35. INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT

I. OVERCOMING RESISTANCES

THE INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT OF CHILDREN WHO ARE DIFFICULT to bring up demands such an intensification and concentration of the therapeutic methods of child guidance that it might just as well be counted within the province of actual psychotherapy. The youth group and the parental environment are then dispensed with as far as possible as aids, their influence being merely indirectly turned to account and exploited. The direct relationship between therapist and child acquires on the other hand an infinitely greater significance; every word and gesture become important. The first part of the treatment, which consists of establishing a firmly knit We, is accordingly relatively simple; the second part, however, which consists of making the child independent within this We, is usually the more difficult.

The more the method of treatment approximates that of real psychotherapy, the more indispensable does it become for the educational therapist to be thoroughly trained in depth psychology. He must know how to interpret correctly dreams, phantasies, games and lies; however slight the indication, he must be able to guess at the hidden working of resistances, habits of escape, animosities, desires and longings, and he must be able to recognize the true state of facts from the child's silence as much as from his erroneous or inadequate state-

ments. That he must show no indignation over lies and spitefulness, goes without saying. Similarly, as we have already mentioned, he should not feel offended by the hate of his protégé, nor moved to sympathy by his burning adoration. In a certain sense, this form of therapeutic education actually demands a greater inner clarity, aliveness and experience than true psychotherapy, for to a large extent one has to dispense with words and the logical sequence of thought as a channel to understanding. Direct, immediate experience is all-important; it is not what the therapist says, but what he lives, that finally brings about the cure.

Berta D. is a girl of thirteen. Her behavior is lively and in appearance unembarrassed, and she obviously tries to make as "cute" an impression as possible. Her older sister reports that Berta has been an habitual thief for at least five years; further, that while at an educational establishment she intercepted and destroyed, whenever her turn came to tend to the post, a number of letters that she should have distributed among her schoolmates; that otherwise she is healthy and strong, good at learning and, wherever she goes, is recognized as a leader by the other children. Even in youth groups where the leadership has been already entrusted to someone else, she will immediately snatch the rule into her own hands, the official leader thereupon becoming her tool. Only very recently complaints had been made of her being an intruder and a spoil-sport as well.

Berta is the youngest of six. By description the four older brothers appeared an orderly enough type; they were already earning. The older sister, who gives an external impression of

being delicate, somewhat disconsolate and discouraged, has managed the house for the past twelve years, the mother having died ten years previously after a long illness. The father is a skilled worker and earns good money.* He lays great stress on orderliness in his family. Any irregularities which he notices he condemns; apart from this, he does not bother about the upbringing of his children.

He had already tried a number of remedies with regard to his troublesome daughter. When he first discovered her petty lying and thieving, he often used to beat her violently. But it was no use. The stealing did not cease; it only assumed more subtle forms. Then Berta would be locked up, and once she was even kept for several days on bread and water. But as that was no good either, on the parson's advice they took her to an educational establishment, which however returned her after six weeks as incurable. While there she had continued to steal, but had finally hit upon the plan of restoring at least some of the stolen things to the principal of the institute the next day. She would then receive whatever punishment they gave her with an apparent total lack of feeling, declaring she did not know how she came to steal, with the result that she would finally be let off corporal punishment. The heads of the establishment declared themselves unable to influence this strange and highly gifted child.

Even after her return home, Berta was still the old Berta. Her school work on the whole improved, but showed fluctuations; toward her schoolmates she showed rather greater reserve, even malice at times. But the thieving became worse.

* This was in 1926 when the economic conditions were good.

For a time the schoolmistress as well as the older sister believed that the lying had abated. But later it came to light that Berta had merely contrived to disguise the truth more skillfully than ever; in fact, her habit now was to say nothing at all, and to all questions she would reply with an indifferent, "I don't know." Finally the child welfare organization stepped in, after Berta had stolen a fairly large sum of money from a school-friend.

In this case, as in most others, the child guidance treatment began with a quiet discussion of the facts, and an exploration of the connections without any moral or legal judgment. Only once, toward the end of the first interview, the therapist allowed himself to be seduced by an old but erroneous habit of thought into asking Berta why she so continuously stole when it was obvious that she reaped more harm than benefit from it. To this question Berta gave the only suitable reply: "That I don't know. You should know that—what else have you studied it for!"—And she was perfectly in the right. For if she had been able to discern the real connections, the whole position would have been entirely different. It would then have been a case of an adult criminal, instead of a delinquent child. Without the disclosure of the unconscious laws, and consequently without depth-psychological inquiry, it was impossible to make further progress. It was therefore absurd to expect such insight from the child herself. Yet no less than ten inadequate educators had asked her this faulty question at least a hundred times all told.

What gave the opening now was not the misplaced question, but the open confession and the self-revelation expressed in

Berta's cheeky, almost arrogant, tone of voice. It was as if in her avowal of ignorance she had betrayed everything the therapist wanted to know. She showed herself an aggressive, cocksure individualist who treated every educator from the start as a dangerous enemy.

Whoever felt his dignity hurt by this attitude of the child, would have to join in the struggle for power, and by so doing would be dragged into the maze of pedagogical half-measures where all Berta's educators had hitherto met their defeat. There was no less a danger, however, of being amused at the smart, almost elegant repartee of this young fighter. But if one had been, she would have fired off a blinding volley of wit and histrionics that would have won her once again her ego-centric victory (she often tried this out in the course of treatment). Her half-conscious goal was always the same: she wanted to impress her educators, frighten, provoke and annoy them till she finally fanned their anger to a white heat; for she knew from repeated experience that the fight would then end in the tired confession, "I can't manage this child; my nerves are at an end. Let someone else crack their brains over her." In this way Berta had laid flat quite a dozen clever and energetic men in the course of time; she would provoke them into imposing one punishment after the other until after a few weeks the whole range of cruelties they could devise was exhausted.

The child guidance method consisted of translating the child's own attitude into words. One had to become, as it were, the mouthpiece of the child's Unconscious. One did not oppose the child, but entered into alliance with her; not, how-

ever, with her aggressive ego, which anyway is merely a mask, but with the child as a complete whole, as a living being to whom the aggressive ego is subservient as means. "You talk like this," said the educational therapist, "because you want to show me that you haven't an atom of respect for me."—"And I haven't either."—"There is no need for you to have. What is the good of your respect, when it could only be a fraud?"—"Exactly."—"On the contrary, you want to show me you can do as you like."—"And so I can."—She turned defiantly and looked out of the window.

She had been forced to show one of her most important trump cards. Word for word her behavior confirmed the interpretation the therapist had already put on it. He could now go one step further. He told her quite objectively and simply, as though speaking of a total stranger, that for a long time past, whenever she had come up against an adult, she had always found it necessary to concentrate on scoring a victory off him. In fact she could not do otherwise. Either she had to force him to laughter and admiration by her bold, witty ways, or she had to annoy him until he vented his rage on her and then in exasperation confessed his powerlessness. Her manifold experience had, in the course of time, so sharpened her wits that no one could manage her by these tactics any more. Her method was precisely that of an Indian, who, lashed to a stake, makes his enemies despair because he seems no longer to suffer pain. For to be totally unmoved by punishment gives one after all a weapon whereby to conquer one's tormentors. And yet when all was said and done, it was all a pretty costly proceeding and rather a poor business.

Berta went off in an explosion of laughter. She could not control herself for merriment; soon however it was evident that beside the underlying note of joy and relaxation accompanying this emotional outburst, there was a tension, almost convulsive in nature. Finally she threw herself on the floor and began to scrape the carpet with her boots as though she wanted to tear it.—The therapist proceeded to tell her in the same friendly tone that what he had told her must have been perfectly correct. One of the stratagems in her war with the grown-ups had been discovered and hence rendered useless; now she had to revert to an older stratagem, far more childish in aspect; as a substitute for the therapist whom she could not exactly knock out, she had started on the destruction of innocent objects. Instead of ruining the carpet, she might perhaps throw the vase from the table or smash up the lamp.

Berta got up; she was pale, and muttered almost inaudibly, "I'll throw the books at your head." The child's excitement indicated very plainly the serious decision now confronting her. If the therapist were to fail at this moment, everything would be lost for a long time. Obviously she felt that he saw through her more than anyone had before. She had confronted all her educators before as an unsolvable riddle; and she had felt safe in her inexplicableness and impenetrableness. The fact that she too did not understand herself, made no difference whatsoever to her immense superiority. Now however someone knew much more about her than she knew herself. He enlightened her as to her own conduct; and whatever she did, he would know it beforehand and would see through her intentions before they were even realized. Her impenetrableness

was a thing of the past, and with it her security. The enemy had penetrated into the fortress that she had considered impregnable. Yet this enemy did not behave in the least like an enemy. He remained friendly and peaceful, showed no superiority and no elation over his victory. The black giant that had been assuming more gigantic proportions than ever during the last few minutes, was perhaps not black after all, but white.—Already the moment seemed at hand when the child's pugnacious attitude would change over suddenly to unconditional subjection.

The therapist, however, now did something not perhaps altogether advisable since it may have savored of a faint hint of superiority. Pushing a tiny dictionary toward the girl, he said with undeterred friendliness, "If you are going to throw books at me, start off with the small ones first." What he was hoping of course was that a transition to humor might now prove possible, probably because he felt himself unable to cope any longer with the strained situation. But Berta was not going to give up yet. She said, "I have no intention of doing what you want always."—"Certainly not. Only do what you yourself want to do. Yet it is by no means true that the grown-ups are your enemies. You only pretend they are because at all costs you must fight them. And I expect you will be furious with me because I won't join in the fight. But it is boring to be always incessantly fighting, merely for the sake of proving one's superiority to everyone."

From now on Berta's behavior turned completely apathetic, and she scarcely listened to what was being said. Uncomprehension and uninterestedness were obviously her next

weapons of self-defense. She was therefore sent home with a few friendly words and told to come again the following day so that they could thrash out together whether or no the grown-ups were really her enemies.—In the evening her brother brought a note from her in which she had written, "You have been thoroughly duped about me. It is exactly the opposite of what you say. But you will never understand me, and therefore you are my enemy."—She had reverted again to her active attitude.

All efforts now had to be focused on changing the girl's hostile attitude to a friendly one, and on turning the aggressive Nay-sayer into a confederate and a Yea-sayer. In the first place a We had to be established, for only within this We could a We-inspired independence and a We-inspired assumption of responsibility befitting the child's age be gradually reached. Yet this could only be achieved if the utmost care was taken to avoid the unfriendliness she was so adept at provoking, and if she could thereby be made to experience the fact that all men are by no means mere heartless beasts of prey.

36. INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT

II. WE-BUILDING

BERTA CAME TO SEE THE THERAPIST FOR HALF-AN-HOUR four times a week. Outwardly the next interviews passed quietly. In content they consisted of repeating and jointly working out the train of ideas that had already been set in motion. A new note was however introduced in as far as Berta repeatedly tried to disparage her fellowmen, and especially her father, brothers and sisters and teacher, in the eyes of the therapist. She wanted to ascribe to them the blame for all her delinquencies and difficulties, and skillfully construed the facts to make it appear that she had been actually forced to steal and lie by the wrong way the adults had handled her. At other times she would make her heredity also responsible for her monstrous doings. The two opposite dangers into which child guidance thinking can fall, the shifting of the responsibility, namely, either onto heredity or onto environmental influence, were now alternately revealed. In fact once she blatantly declared, "It is only the wrong treatment I have received from my sister that has made me what I am. You know that just as much as I."

Whoever allowed himself, at this juncture, to be drawn into a quarrel over cause and effect, or even over guilt and sin, would have fallen a dupe to the patient's unconscious stratagem. He would have been dragged backward and forward

through a maze of resistances on a leading string of unending subtleties; and his subsequent efforts would have served, not his pedagogical purpose, but the child's want of recognition.

In child guidance the question is not, "Is it right what you are saying," but, "Why do you say what you say?" And the answer is easy, namely, "You say it in order not to have to change. But we do not want to find out where the blame for your faults lies; we only want to see how these faults can be improved." Berta naturally replied, "It is impossible to change my faults. There isn't anyone who can help me."—"Those are merely the words of one who is afraid to make any change in himself."—"I am not in the least afraid."—"No one willingly concedes that he has made a mistake; that you must admit."—"I never make a mistake!"—"Sure, one makes a mistake if one always behaves as though everyone were an enemy; for that simply is not true."—"Everybody is either my enemy or an idiot."—Her tone had become irritable. She was changing over to the offensive because once again her weapons of defense were exhausted. But the therapist said quietly: "The majority of people are neither your enemies nor idiots." Then her impatience broke all bounds.—"They are both! You are my enemy and you are an idiot in the bargain!"—"You say that now to make me angry. And if I became angry you would be right; I would be your enemy and an idiot. But it is all too plain that you make people angry only so as to prove yourself right. For if one became furious with you, you would be perfectly right—one would be a fool. And since that is so evident, it is really impossible for anyone to be angry with you."

"But the teachers, Mr. X. and Miss Y., and my father and all the rest of them, get simply furious with me."—"They too will find out now that you only do all this in order to get the better of them. And in the end the time may come when you yourself will notice this."—"I've known it for a long time but the others don't see it. I set about it much too cunningly; I know so exactly what to do to make them angry."

The therapeutic situation had again progressed an important step. A kind of thieves' community had sprung up between the child and the therapist. The united front of grown-ups which appeared to have been confronting the child as one giant enemy, was now dispersed. The "black giant," it is true, was not yet liquidated; but an important component of it, namely the person of the therapist, had become detached, and it was natural to expect this component to turn right away into a "white giant." Of necessity all the child's longing for a confederate, all her trust and affection, were suddenly bestowed on the therapist, in the forms, moreover, of a very early past. The "We" was in process of becoming; not, however, the new, vital We corresponding to a girl of thirteen, but the Primal-We that had once existed before the time of those severe crises in which the I-You distinction (the white dwarf and the black giant) emerged from out of the Primal-We.

It would therefore have been wrong to have entered into any such confederacy with her. It would merely have flattered the child's egocentric superiority at the expense of others, i. e., the black giant. The newly restored Primal-We would have failed; instead of it there would have arisen a false and egocentrically abused community.—This is a danger on which

very many educational therapists have shipwrecked. They rejoice over the child's confidence and gratitude, and think that their task is over when, "to please them," the child does everything they require of him. They fall a prey to the daemonic cunning of the child's egocentricity. Their error of "weakness" is, if possible, more harmful than the error of "severity" committed by the pedagogue who rules by the rod.—The preservation by the educator of an invariably objective attitude that is both warm and understanding, and will remain steadfast and invariable in that it is understanding, is the only possible thing that can help here.

The following conversation dealt with the ways and means employed by Berta to assert her superiority over grown-ups. Many small points of which no one had hitherto understood the significance proved now to have been secretly instrumental to her "desire for superiority." Even her interception of the letters was explained. Berta enjoyed a particularly strong sense of power over her schoolmates, and likewise over her teachers, when carrying in her pocket the letters for which the others were longingly waiting. It was soon clear that this was the significance also of the thefts. Berta stole because at the moment of the act she enjoyed a feeling of unlimited mastery both over the things stolen and the people she robbed. Afterward, however, she would be plunged from her superior level into the very reverse state by her fear of discovery (which in her mistaken egocentricity she experienced as "repentance"). But as she could find no other method of so rapidly procuring for herself a victory over her enemies, she reverted again and again to stealing, a habit to which she had

now grown accustomed even though by results it was proving an increasingly poor proposition.

Her conduct might now be exactly compared with that of a drinker. A man drinks when he feels depressed in order to be "on top" again; afterward he repents this attempt, because it induces only a sham, or mistaken superiority. His ostensible repentance amounts to a new feeling of "inferiority," and forces him—unless there are better means of compensation to hand—to make a fresh bid for superiority by a method long since proved to be faulty.—Berta was suffering from a kleptomania that was very closely related to dypsomania, gambling mania or morphinomania. In the cases, however, when she returned a portion of the stolen goods and contritely confessed her infamous misdoings, we see an unconscious attempt to turn a bad business deal, namely stealing, to a profitable end. For besides her triumph over a successful theft, she had now the triumph of the utter, baffled helplessness of the adults when they were confronted with the combined act and confession. They would thereupon evince a lamentable inclination to fluctuate between anger, indignation, emotion, sympathy and horror, which gave Berta an undefined but strong sensation of being a world wonder in miniature, a regular demon and a poor sick child all at once.

These connections would never have been illumined, had not a substantial part of Berta's resistance been previously broken down. For the courage necessary to confession and to a calm discussion of the various points comes only when one has discarded some of the anxious defense against one's fellowmen, and along with it the defense against truth and

life itself. This is another instance of how little is to be attained through force and punishment. Courage does not grow by negating, but by affirming the discouraged person. This affirmation, however, must be apprehended aright. For courage does not grow by pampering and spoiling a discouraged individual like a baby; it will grow only if the thirteen-year-old is taken as seriously, and allotted as much responsibility and independence, as befits his or her age. Between Berta and the therapist, however, this process had already taken place during the conversations. It was perhaps conveyed less by words or the actual content of what was said, than by the manner of speaking which had been open, honest, fresh, clear, serious, cheerful, without hesitation or appraisal or judgment or moralizing—in one word, vital.

To have discovered the meaning and real explanation of her "life-plan" caused this unmasked young thief numerous fits of merriment. Sometimes she would dance round the room like a thing released, crying out, "Yes, that's right. That is why I did it!" After a certain time, as was to be expected, fresh instances of violent resistance would occur.

Suddenly she turned silent and absent-minded, and had tears in her eyes. A dream she had related three days earlier gave the clue to this change. The dream was as follows: "I am playing with a young ox in a field. For a long time it is grand fun, though I am surprised it should be so. But suddenly the ox turns savage and knocks me over."—The therapist translated the dream as far as the situation demanded it. "You were afraid that I would betray you, because you had entered into too close a coalition with me." She nodded si-

lently and was again very close to tears. "Then I would be an ox!", said the therapist, "but why should I betray you? You think perhaps that I am in league with your father and sister. But some time you can tell your family yourself how it all pieces together. The better they understand, the better will it be for you. They will not think then any longer that you are a depraved creature, but will realize it is merely a case of errors, mistakes and discouragements, which should be put right as speedily as possible. All that matters is to find out how to put disorder right again." She laughed softly and said, "The ox wore spectacles too, just like you."

This side of her resistance was therewith overcome. But a new, more formidable side immediately emerged. Her sister had remarked, "Now that the therapist is bringing you to your senses, let's hope you'll grow more reasonable." Whereupon Berta was beside herself with rage. Once more she detected an attack of the black giant. No one should think, she said, that she would ever change; she wouldn't let herself be brought to reason. She would still show the grown-ups what a devil she was.—The therapist joyfully welcomed this new turning. For it threw light on an important part of the connection that had hitherto scarcely been touched upon in conversation, namely the rivalry with her elder sister.

The strongest affects were uppermost here. "I would rather go on stealing and be shut up in a penitentiary than allow my sister the fun of seeing me turn into a decent, well-behaved girl! Eat humble pie to her! I'd rather croak." While these fits of rage lasted it was in vain to tell her that after all her own life happiness was far more important to her than her

sister's opinion. For about a week the conversations centered round this hatred of the sister without any appreciable progress being made. At last, however, the decisive experience took place.

For the first time since the treatment started Berta stole again; she took a silver thimble out of her sister's workbasket. It was an heirloom from the grandmother and in the child's eyes embodied domestic authority. The therapist said to her, "What you would like is to be the mistress of the house yourself, as your grandmother and your mother were; and that is why you grudge your sister this position."—Berta gazed at him and then broke out into wild sobbing. "Yes! Of course! She shouldn't always be giving orders! And you too, you shouldn't always be sitting in your chair like that, as if you knew everything like God! I won't stand it! They can kill me for all I care, but I won't stand it!"

This was the crisis. The therapist was once more relieved of the role of the white giant and cast into that of the black giant. The world once more appeared pitch black, and all the hopes already forming were shattered. Everything depended now upon whether the therapist could keep faith with the despairing child. It was essential not to comply with her craving for spoiling and sympathy; it was most essential also not to comply with her desire to meet with opposition and blows and protests. Here again the only right attitude to adopt was that of an absolutely calm, very warm and very stanch kindness.

The therapist said, "You must decide for yourself. If your aim is to fight everyone who at one time or another gives you

orders or has something to say to you, you must always be on the lookout to see that no one is oppressing you or ordering you about. And indeed that would be an occupation to keep you busy the whole of your life. Your life would then consist of defending yourself, stealing, lying and hating other people. But if your aim is to develop your own powers, to find work that will bring you on, and recreation that will give you pleasure, there is no need for you to defend yourself; simply go to school and learn; take work and earn money; go to dances and find recreation; marry, bring up your children, and let the others think what they will."

"You are always giving me instructions; you just know everything, and never once make a mistake!"—"There are rules and regulations enough in life that one has to follow; but they are not imposed out of spite, in order to annoy us, but merely to help us on. Think of the regulation for keeping to the right side of the road. Are you humiliated by that?"—"No."—"All I am doing now is to make you proposals. Whether they are right, you yourself must decide. If you do not know whether they are, we must talk about it more fully. And if we make a mistake, we must rectify the error as soon as we notice it. There is no disgrace in having made a mistake."—"How I detest you!"—"Only because you are unwilling to take the responsibility upon yourself. You would like to put it on me, and I won't accept it. You have not grasped how independent you are and how much you hold your destiny in your own hands."—Berta grew very thoughtful; and then she said hesitatingly, "Will you be my friend?"

An acute danger lay in this question. If one had answered

"Yes," the decisive step leading to personal responsibility would once more have been delayed. The therapist gave a half-answer; "All sensible people help one another, and so shall we"—"You are a very unusual person!"

Despite the half-answer, Berta forsook her negative attitude and changed over to complete enthusiasm. But to imagine the problem of child guidance to be solved at this point, would be courting rude disillusionment. The last part of the treatment, the detachment of the child from the educator, or, to put it in other words, the inner ripening within the newly formed We, has still to be accomplished.

37. INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT

III. ATTAINMENT TO INDEPENDENCE

BERTA AT FIRST DID ALL THAT SHE THOUGHT CORRESPONDED with the wishes of the educational therapist. She did not steal any more, or lie, and became gradually more sociable at home. Even at school her rowdiness, that could at times be most unpleasant, gradually ceased. But this "improvement," quite generally noticeable, was all due, she loudly proclaimed, to her "most glorious man on earth."

This kind of attachment to the therapist is practically unavoidable in the treatment of the young. Sometimes it will be apparent from the start. Contained in it, however, are two opposed tendencies, both of which must be taken into full account. On the one hand, the child's strong affirmation, newly gained confidence and cheerful allegiance bespeaks a quite considerable increase of courage. On the other hand, however, the crudity of her affection and her absolute dependence on the person helping betrays still a great uncertainty. Such children are not yet capable of independently assuming the responsibility that belongs to their age. This becomes even more evident on the occasions when the authority of the therapist is played off against other authorities. Thus Berta let it be frequently understood that her teachers and relatives were most incompetent educators compared with "the most glorious of men." For no one except him had been able to help her.

That there are erotic traits mingled in with this enthusiasm goes without saying. It is inevitable, but it need cause no anxiety provided only that the therapist is himself in complete equilibrium in this respect. Anyone who out of lack of personal satisfaction responds to the violent adoration of such children with even the slightest feeling of sympathy, may indeed cause serious mischief. But he whose life is sufficiently balanced for him to remain unaffected by the semi-erotic tenderness of a semi-child, will find no special difficulty in these incidentals of educational leadership. Anything that really deserves the name of erotic in these displays of tenderness and adoration, must naturally be taken seriously. Attention should be drawn, though at not too early a stage, to this trend of the new We-inspired emotions. It should be called by its right name, and relegated in a friendly but firm way to a distant future.

With Berta, for instance, this subject had to be seriously thrashed out. During the discussion she would assert repeatedly, "I belong to you, and best of all I would like to marry you!" In reply the therapist would say patiently, almost humorously, "But I have a wife, and children too, who are nearly as old as you are. If you really wanted to come to us, you could at the most become one of our children." But Berta would have nothing to do with such alternatives and soon afterward, without realizing it, she betrayed the hidden significance of her apparently erotic emotional attitude. She said, pouting, "You are really quite horrid; you don't care for me a bit, or you would send away all the others. Then I should do everything for you, and all those women would not need to

talk to you." "All those women" were the wife and the secretary of the therapist. Berta had already shown a violent dislike to them. Her jealousy now emerged into the open. She wanted to be the one and only chosen, for only then did she believe she could place full confidence in the therapist and summon up courage to live. And when her demands were rebuffed, she said promptly, "Then I shall steal and lie again, much worse than I did before!"

This showed on what weak foundation the community between child and therapist rested, the inner relationship we call the "We." The adventurous forms it assumed in the child's phantasy were giving rise to impossible demands and also breeding inexpedient sensations. Tender affection, eroticism, perhaps sexuality too, and an overwhelming jealousy, were threatening to develop beyond all bounds. So far this new "We" was very far removed from the original-We, the early collapse of which had evoked the child's neuroses. But on the other hand it was obviously a case of the child of thirteen trying to creep and sink back into an early, blessed, carefree state, which, like Paradise Lost, had existed at the beginning of her development and still excited nostalgic longing. The images in which this longing manifested itself with Berta were unmistakable. She dreamed of a setting hen and envied the chicks that crept under her wing. And after a great deal of resistance she confessed once how she had imagined herself meeting the therapist in a wood just as a thunderstorm was coming on, and how he had allowed her to come under his coat.

This is a clear instance of how the retreat into the Primal-We will indefinitely merge over and over again into the

feminine need for someone to lean on. The tenderness is common to both these desires; but at one time they assume an infantile form and lead to a kind of infantilism, at another they will assume erotic forms and lead to a kind of sexual precocity. This is why, with some girls, especially of the hysterical type, infantile and precocious traits appear together.

The therapist's task at this stage, far from being a sort of "struggle against precocious eroticism," or even "a struggle against retreat into the Primal-We," is something completely positive and constructive; it is "the establishment of a Ripening-We, of an appropriate community between the child and the educator in which each has to assume the degree of responsibility, independence and discretion befitting his or her age."

In all such cases the vassal relationship is the most suitable. Just as in the Middle Ages the feudal system represented an organic development from the racial Primal-We, so in education this intermediary stage between total dependence and total independence needs to be carefully brought to its completion. If this intermediary stage is neglected, the end of the treatment may all too easily have the effect of a betrayal, or there may remain an enthusiastic attachment to the therapist which is likely to produce quite serious consequences.

There are two essential features of this "vassal stage," both of which are calculated to extend the therapeutic We and help adjustment to it. Berta was given a few small orders to carry out. She was "entrusted" with tasks that would before have seemed impossible to her. Until now her inner uncertainty had

forced her immediately to respond to every challenge and criticism with aggressive measures. She would unfailingly and automatically defend herself against even the smallest slight. But in the mutual discussions it was brought home to her time and again how senseless it is immediately to suspect a hostile attack in every chance utterance one hears. There is no actual need to defend oneself immediately, even supposing that for once the attack is real. One can listen perfectly calmly to the expression of a criticism or a doubt without feeling insulted.

The first important task imposed on her was accordingly laughingly to consent to being teased and challenged; not immediately to show fight, but to try instead to come to a friendly understanding with the apparent adversary. Naturally there were many failures at first. But gradually Berta made really good progress. It is true that every advance she made, she did only "for the sake of the most glorious person on earth"; her independence, her "ego-discovery," was as yet totally unaccomplished; the preliminary conditions to this final step, however, were becoming more favorable.

The second task was that Berta should accept into the joint We certain of her fellowmen whom she had hitherto looked upon as her rivals. These were two other children, also a girl of sixteen, who were all more or less in the same position as herself. Each wanted to be the first and only one, and to monopolize the therapist entirely for herself. This very necessary step had often been discussed before. For monetary reasons alone, the treatment had to come to an end; and it was difficult to see how any connection with the therapist could be

preserved unless a group was formed of equally privileged partners who would jointly organize a meeting.

At first Berta resisted this suggestion most firmly. She was always finding new expedients, and one day she said, "I will be your servant for life and see that you always have peace for your work." The therapist, however, replied, "You are again trying to turn me into what we call a ruling-slave. I must arrange and decide everything so that you are relieved of all responsibility. If everything goes well, you will outwardly thrive by my efforts and inwardly count on my gratitude. But if things go badly, I get all the blame while you bask in your obedient irresponsibility. Is that pure love or is there a little shirking mixed up with it too?"

Berta gave no answer, but said instead, "If you wanted me to cut my throat, I would do it."—"Then you would reap the praise for dying for love and I the responsibility for your stupidity."—"But what ought I to do?"—"Nothing in particular—only what is absolutely necessary and what you think right. How would it be to arrange a meeting with the others for next Saturday and then tell each other stories together?"

She gazed ahead of her disconsolately; her spirits seemed to need a little reviving. The therapist asked after her favorite subject, essay-writing; and a perfectly objective, lively conversation followed on various themes of essays. Berta's adjustment to the Object-world, both in respect to external things as also to inner images and desires, had never been seriously disturbed. At school she was now working quite cheerfully as an independent person and especially in her essay-writing she was learning more and more clearly that it is not a question of

doing one's utmost "for the teacher," or "for the therapist's sake," or even "for the sake of one's own pride," but that objective achievement is possible only if one thinks of the achievement itself, and not of the praise to be reaped thereby.

At the end of this discussion of objective work the therapist proposed once more a meeting with her rivals. And this time Berta agreed to it without opposition.—The first joint afternoon, however, proved a succession of embarrassments, and was only saved by the therapist's relating an exciting story at great length. But the next afternoon a week later passed off much better. The sixteen-year-old girl proposed that they should sing together, and after some hesitation Berta, as well as the two small children, consented to join in the singing. From that moment the spell was broken. Their adaptation to the group became better and better; and even if Berta still showed for some time an inclination to come forward and take the lead, she was able to curb it with increasing ease and keep it within the bounds of their common interest.

The We that was here in process of formation, was the Ripening-We. Each individual felt himself responsible for the whole; each tried to be productive in the service of the whole, and each learned gradually to withdraw and renounce his own proposals if the common cause demanded it.

Within the frame of the Ripening- or Maturing-We, the ego-discovery of each member progressed at a fairly even pace. The stage of vassalage was finished; and the more a We-inspired attitude, independent achievement and personal responsibility were accepted by each individual as a matter of course, the more calm and orderly became her outward bear-

ing in the other We-forms and groups to which she belonged. The Ego-We relationship now assumed a form corresponding to the children's age. The detachment from the therapist took place at the same time, without any special discussion being required further. Expressing it in terms of the psychology of the unconscious, the figures of the black and white giants simultaneously lost their efficiency; Berta lost her inclination to retreat into the Primal-We in proportion as she lost her inclination to score an egocentric triumph over her fellow-men. She no longer needed to fight for her superiority since she no longer counted on everyone's unqualified hostility. And since she no longer felt herself in danger of subjection, she found no further need to lie and steal and disturb the peace. Her egocentric weapons were discarded when the peace treaty of the We finally became part of her experience. The child guidance task was then accomplished.

38. REMEDIAL TEACHING

CHILDREN WHOSE MENTAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN IMPAIRED through physical defect, whether of the nerve or glandular system, require special education. Such cases come under the general term of "feeble-mindedness" (oligophrenia), and should be removed whenever possible to special institutes for both medical and pedagogical treatment. The really feeble-minded children must be carefully separated from children who are physically hampered but psychically still quite sane. The latter come within the scope of the homes for cripples and for the blind, and other similar institutes. A third type of child, to be distinguished from the two forementioned types, presents educational difficulties because of character drawbacks without accompanying feeble-mindedness. There belong here certain groups of children with hereditary drawbacks (generally with glandular disturbances of a lesser degree), and a very large number of cases of psychic neglect that are purely the victims of unfavorable family circumstances and economic distress.*

Finally there is a fourth type of child who is difficult to bring up on account of a thought-inhibition which is conditioned by character and often outwardly confounded with

* Epileptics and children with severe glandular disturbances (the so-called "severe psychopaths") are better housed among the feeble-minded than among difficult children, in the event of there being no special homes for them. Proper group forming is the basis of all child guidance treatment.

genuine feeble-mindedness. Actually, however, there is no organic disturbance with this type. Neither the glandular nor the nerve system is primarily impaired, and functional disturbances, if they appear as well, are merely due to lack of exercise or to "negative training." Physical impediments in the sense of organ inferiorities do, it is true, occur frequently with this type of child, but do not play nearly such a prominent part as with blind, deaf, lame or crippled children. Even the faulty development of character is only slightly noticeable, though it can never be altogether absent. It is common to portray the condition of this fourth group of children—which we shall describe shortly as "thought-inhibited"—by expressions which, fundamentally incorrect though they are, still play an important role in the school and family life of today; for instance, "ungifted, stupid, idiotic, indolent, lazy." It would be much truer to fact to talk of a child "lacking concentration, or interest, or attention, or productivity, or diligence."

There is no doubt of the possibilities with which a man is equipped at birth being exceedingly varied. The very expressions extraversion and introversion point to a fundamental distinction of this nature. The varying capacity of the individual sense organs as regards both their use and development, implies a second stratum of varying hereditary tendencies. Thus, as we know, one can speak of a Visual Type, an Aural Type or a Kinetic Type. Jung's classification into the thinking, feeling, sensitive and intuitive types should also be mentioned. Nor must it be overlooked that frequently the very lack of a sense organ may lead to an enhanced performance of the

relevant central organ. The musicians with ear trouble one so often hears of are an example of this.*

But of far greater importance for our child guidance work is the finding that as a whole the human organism may be coarsely or delicately constructed. There are usually two factors to be considered here, namely the original racial characteristics and the results of cultural breeding. In its simplest form this differentiation may be illustrated from corresponding phenomena of the animal world. There are, for instance, cart horses and race horses, wolf hounds of still a primitive nature and highly bred greyhounds. Similarly, on the one hand there are strong-boned, hard-fisted sons of the soil, and on the other intellectual aristocrats with slender limbs and delicately vibrating nerves. With the latter pathological degeneration almost invariably accompanies extreme giftedness, and with the former a dull persistence in the methods of yesterday goes with the healthy primitive strength of the soil. (This applies to those pale, quiet and often badly deviated children who are ill-treated by their companions and group leaders and yet in whom the noblest cultural soil is going painfully to wrack and ruin.)

Yet all forms of inheritance, the highest as much as the simplest, are never more than a means and an instrument serving this or that goal. A man's goals, however, which alone determine his value, are never due to heredity alone; they are also very largely conditioned by our pedagogical achievements or blunders.

With thought-inhibited children, whom we shall now dis-

* Compare Adler's doctrine of organ inferiority and its compensation (3b).

cuss, the equipment of hereditary means does not generally fall short of expectation in their particular milieu, but it is different. For instance, an introverted dreamer may grow up in the family of an energetic peasant. The father may say to his heir as Frederick the First said to his eldest son, "My son is a poet and a piper; he will undo all my work." Or a practical extravert is the child of a musing and thoughtful theologian. He cannot help appearing to the father as a materialist and a lost child of the world, even though he wants to use his machines wholeheartedly in the service of his people.

In other cases some special awkwardness, illness, social trouble, or discord or separation between the parents, and many other similar causes may lead to an early discouragement of the child. That the only boy among several girls, or the only girl among several boys, is especially exposed to such danger, has often been rightly stressed; and that the only child almost without exception is a difficult child to bring up, hardly needs to be stated. But these unfavorable circumstances do not always lead to thought-inhibition. Sometimes it is even the reverse. The child feels disregarded, he is afraid of the grown-ups, of life, of the black giant; and a readiness of mind, marked powers of attention and rapidity of thought are among the means of aggression which he now develops. The intelligence is then made to compensate for a minus on another field. And the educators, never suspecting such a connection, speak of "striking talents" and of "great hopes for the future." The sudden subsequent disappearance of these talents they are at a loss to understand; yet it ought to be evident to all that

a compensation will collapse if the feeling of inferiority becomes too strong.

There are very many cases in which the general uncertainty and discouragement of the child adopt the special form of a nervous thought-inhibition. The causes leading to this handicap may be illustrated as follows: The child as a living subject (S) adapts himself to the things of the outer world, that is to objects (O). But this process of learning is disturbed by the adults (A) who, as educators, interfere with the natural development, promoting it here and obstructing it there, praising this and blaming that. The more uncertain the child, the less direct and unembarrassed does the S-O relation become. Soon he will build bricks only to show Mother what he can do; he draws only to be praised; he paints letters of the alphabet only to escape censure; he makes efforts because he is afraid of the criticism of the adults. (1) The relation now operating is the S-A relation. The S-O relation is only serving the S-A as a means. The child is fundamentally indifferent as to whether the alphabet letters look nice or the sum is correct; his one and only aim is to avoid the educator's indignation or obtain his praise. The adult hopes by intervening to promote the child's intelligence; but he very rarely achieves his objective. Far more frequently he evokes "stupidity" or "lack of talent." Yet the child's stupidity as well as his cleverness is only a by-product; the real misfortune taking place is that the child is losing his direct and vital love for the things of the world.*

* Compare "Let's Be Normal" (37, Chap. 5) and Chap. 15 of this book.

But this same misfortune may arise in another way. For instance, a three-year-old child asks what causes the electric light suddenly to shine, when the switch on the wall is turned on. The father is elated by such technical interest; he explains at great length how the current runs through the wire, and how it is interrupted when one separates the wires. He makes a drawing of the electrical connections; but by now the child is asking whether horses eat pudding too.—All the father's high hopes are shattered. The child seems to him to lack concentration; he exhorts him to attend to what he is saying, but in vain.

The more frequent such instances, and the greater the father's impatience, the more the child will tend to cease asking questions, the more firmly the father will believe in his offspring's lack of interest or of talent, and the more strongly the child will cling to the conviction that he can never understand the things of the world. He believes in his own lack of talent, and is on the defensive against every fresh attempt to arouse his interest.

It should be so easy to find the right words for replying to the child's questions, so that for the moment he does not need to ask further. If this were done he would acquaint himself eagerly with the new ideas, and then when he came across the next thing that puzzled him in the outer world, he would begin to question further. When children ask too many questions, as when they ask too few, they are in danger of losing their original bright aliveness. The productive intelligence threatens already to become a "giftedness" cultivated in com-

pensation, or "ungiftedness" purposely constructed in defense.

Remedial teaching must set itself the task of suppressing the "interference" in the vital relation between the child and the object (S-O). The expression "interference" has become current as a radio term and it is in exactly this sense we use the word here. It must not be forgotten, however, that on the child's side the relation is a living one, and part of his subject-life, and that consequently its interference presupposes an inner change in the child's character.

So long as the child still knows how to play in the true sense of the word, he remains productive. The difference between play and earnest for him is that play represents the individual S-O relation, while earnest work, which to be exact is usually schoolwork, brings into expression the disturbed S-O relation, that is to say the intruding S-A relation. A child of this kind cannot answer when his teacher or father asks him what a third of nine is. Yet in play he knows exactly how many horsemen each boy gets, when there are nine horsemen and three boys. In play one is creative, and can count; at school one is untalented, and finds counting an impossibility.

The therapist, however, lies with the children on the floor. They are playing with lead soldiers, and small Eric is in charge of the store in the besieged fortress. He has twelve peas in a box—those represent twelve sacks of peas that have to last the defenders as long as possible. A council of war is held in the fortress; first the commandant reports on the strength of the garrison: three companies of a hundred men;

the head cook reports a daily requirement of one sack of peas for each company; how long can the fortress hold out? Anxiously the officers look to the storekeeper.—Outside they are being threatened by the enemy's guns; enemy aeroplanes are circling round the towers.—The allied army is approaching by sea to relieve them. The fleet makes two hundred and fifty knots a day; it is still twelve hundred and fifty knots distant from the coast; when will it land?—The admiral counts.—The storekeeper counts.—The fortress commandant counts.—Even the chief of the general staff counts.

Then the radio stations broadcast a wrong result. "The provisions will still last for seven days. On the sixth day the fleet lands."—But the enemy fixes his attack for the night between the fourth and fifth day. A spy had made a note of the figures—and counted correctly.

Here, instead of multiplication tables being learned, battles are being waged. There is no question of whether three times four make twelve, but of the fate of an army. Here one learns to count as one learns to fight. There is no father or teacher or black giant, threatening with words of praise or censure; it is the fate of an army that is at stake. The direct relation with reality is operating; all interference in the S-O adjustment is suppressed; the fear of figures vanishes; the superstition that "I am so bad at counting" is completely forgotten. One can do everything that is demanded when the army is at stake.

Next time, faced with a similar situation, the admiral studies that nautical almanac to see whether he cannot speed up his ships still more. The storekeeper makes inquiries about

food substitutes. He calculates how much food value is contained in a pound of sugar. The head-cook meditates on how long he can last out if he cuts down each portion by a quarter. And the fortress commandant weighs the plan of releasing a hundred and fifty prisoners. He works out how much time can thereby be gained.—And so books, pencils and exercise books are brought out to help, and the room is suddenly transformed into the commandant's staff room. Now this possibility is considered, now that. A fresh proposal is made, and more calculations are made. They grow more practiced, and take pleasure in puzzling out improved schemes of distribution.—Quite incidentally the storekeeper mentions that, for the first time in his life, his last arithmetic sums had been marked "Good."

Extra coaching lessons are nothing but a pitiable attempt to use outside aid to drag along a soldier who has fallen out of line until he can regain his place in the column. Remedial instruction, however, means teaching the soldier who has fallen back how to march properly. As soon as he has learned how to march, he does not need further assistance from outside; he will overtake the marching column by his own efforts. Coaching only imparts knowledge; hence it must be periodically repeated. In remedial instruction one does not acquire knowledge but the art of acquiring knowledge.

39. THE CHILD GUIDANCE GROUP

I. RESISTANCE AND ACTUALIZATION

THE MORE VARIED THE RELATIONSHIP UTILIZED IN THE HEALING process, the more favorable is the prospect of a speedy and thorough readjustment on the part of the patient. In actual psychotherapy the channels of contact are purposely lessened in number; in the classical instance they are reduced to the dual relation of doctor and patient, to which everything else is "transferred." Life then appears restricted to these two subjects; and the essential task of all psychotherapy is to accomplish the transition from egocentricity to We-ness in such a way that a provisional We, a "therapeutic We" is established which in a certain sense will still be extraneous to reality. The solution of this therapeutic We, its extension and incorporation in the manifold We-forms of daily life, forms the second and often hardest part of the cure.—On the other hand if it is possible from the first to bring the patient into contact with a group, a living We, as an expression of everyday reality, the first part of the cure is less of an isolated process; the "transference," it is true, is not altogether lacking, but it is less dangerous; and the second part of the cure, the incorporation of the patient in the natural life of the We, takes place almost as a matter of course.

In the following we shall describe a case where the group stands out emphatically as the decisive factor in the cure. The

“therapeutic We” which is formed between patient and therapist and arouses all the happiness and pain of “transference,” plays of course an important part here as well; but its effects were more unfavorable than favorable. One could almost say that this young person’s cure would have pursued a more favorable course if there had been less psychotherapy between patient and healer and more therapeutic education within the sphere of the group. But what makes this particular case so significant is not so much the full knowledge of all the details (acquired from working over the case later with the therapist) as the instructive mistake made by the therapist himself and which would have jeopardized the whole success of the treatment, had not the group intervened to help.

The individual in question is a neglected youth of fifteen, named Oscar. His mother did not bother about him except in his very early years, and then only spasmodically; no one knew what became of her later. The illegitimate child was first looked after and tended in a children’s clinic, and later on went to various homes of adoption where physically he was very well cared for; however, psychically he lacked—as the treatment later proved—the most important thing of all, namely love. There were even times when Oscar seemed to come in for some spoiling, but no real relation of confidence ever sprang up between him and his guardians.

When only five he was reported to be an obstinate, proud and opinionated child. A little later he began to bully the smaller children. There were complaints, too, of petty lying and stealing. His reserve and unapproachableness, however, in particular formed the keynote of every report.

At school Oscar advanced fairly well. He seemed gifted, and even interested at times. But if he took no pleasure in a subject, the teachers were incapable of instilling into him the slightest grain of knowledge. At school his non-social conduct was generally noticeable; later on he was often made the leader of various roving and robber bands. It is not surprising therefore if every Home and school tried to get rid of him as soon as possible.

His records tell of the number of systematic efforts made, sometimes with patience and kindness, sometimes with severity and the use of force, to bring the lad socially into line. But all these attempts failed and he was finally described as "in-corrigible." In addition he possessed such ingenuity, inventiveness, perseverance and courage that he promised to grow into as dangerous an enemy to the community if the treatment failed, as he would a useful member, not to say a first rate leader, if it succeeded.

Oscar came finally to a small Home which had been started by a young educational therapist with very scanty private means. There were about eight youths there, all of whose characters were "imperiled" by a non-social attitude. Most of them had been there about a year when Oscar came; only two had come a few months before.

This circumstance was especially important; for the question of how many outsiders, or how violent an outsider, a We is capable of carrying and absorbing into itself, depends chiefly on the firmness and uniformity of this We-combination. In this case the carrying capacity seems to have proved excellent—a fact ultimately due, it need scarcely be added, to the

We-spirit of their leader, namely the young therapist.

When Oscar came to the Home he followed a line that is almost invariably adopted in cases of this kind. Without being at all clear as to his actions, he examined first the circumstances of power in his milieu. With mechanical precision he detected who was stronger and who weaker than he. In addition he tried to find out the suitable attitude to take in this environment toward the stronger, whether it was better to make a show of submission or indifference, and in particular to what length one could go in the subjection of the weaker ones. This was the process of determining the limits to each person's egocentricity, or in other words the apparent adaptation an individualist invariably makes when he comes into contact with other individualists.

As far as the boys were concerned, Oscar soon saw where he was. He had had a great deal of experience in the most diverse institutes and homes, so that he was very soon able to find at least the outwardly correct tone to take. But he could not get along at all with the therapist. This young man, barely twenty-six years old, also with a good deal of sound experience behind him, was in addition a genuine leader of youth. Hence he knew perfectly well what was going on in Oscar's mind.

And his pedagogical method at the beginning was simply to express quite openly whatever he saw and knew. (This translation of actual, but usually still unconscious, processes into a language the child can understand, we term "Hermeneutics"; it is a process of "making conscious" which is suited to child guidance treatment.) *

* Compare Chapter 35, p. 286 of this book.

Thus the group leader remarked, "It is natural that you should not feel at home with us yet. There is a lot here that wants growing accustomed to. It seems also that you don't in the least know yet what to make of me." Oscar's only honest reply would have been, "Yes, that is so." But to say that would have placed him at the other's mercy too much. He preferred to fight a masked duel, and at all costs to start by asserting the contrary of what was said to him. And so he shrugged his shoulders and replied indifferently, "I don't know why you should think so. I feel quite at home here, and I know exactly what your game is." The therapist knew this indifference to be merely a mask. It concealed an effect which shortly afterward found most definite expression in conversation with his comrades. He declared quite openly that "this business here is all a lot of ridiculous nonsense. The whole home is lousy! And the old man is an idiot—I've hardly ever met such a blithering fool!" Here was displayed the uncertainty that the egocentric youth felt in his total disability to adapt himself to the more We-ward attitude of his new environment.

Life at the Home, pursuing its customary forms, was divided up between instruction, sport, games and land work. Whenever possible the group was emphasized as a whole, yet in a way which allowed its members to vouch for the fullness and variety of group life with their own personal individuality. This one was known as a good recounter of stories and amusing tales; that one was called upon for solo singing; a third was the expert for technical questions; a fourth knew all about gardening and the rearing of small animals. And so everyone came into his own, and his membership in the whole restricted

his freedom but slightly while it fostered his abilities and his special individuality. The fundamental idea was that a staunch comradeship should so weld the group into a genuine We that no one would become swallowed up as a part of the whole but that each could come forward as a responsible personality.

With his rules for living focused on self-preservation and personal superiority, it is easy to understand how impossible Oscar found it to feel at home in such a community. The laws of his inner constitution—what we call his behavior-habits—were roughly as follows:

1. All others are my enemies.
2. I must help myself.
3. At best the others can be merely useful to me as tools.
4. Hence I must take no one into my confidence.
5. Hence I must never indulge in soft feelings.

According to his social type, his egocentricity had assumed the "Caesarist" form.*

These facts were discovered without much difficulty by the educational therapist from the boy's previous record and his present attitude. He knew that to Oscar the group, and particularly he himself, must necessarily bear the aspect of a dangerous enemy trying to steal its way into the carefully guarded fortress of a human soul. The more successful its penetration into this fortress, the more antagonistic must Oscar's feelings be toward everything said and done in his new environment. It was inevitable the therapist should appear a black giant, the more so in fact, the better he understood his business. (So

* For the concept of the inner constitution, see "Let's Be Normal" (37, Chap. 6); for the actual types of egocentricity, see Chapters 9 and 10 of this book.

far the state of hostilities compares pretty closely with Berta's at the corresponding phase of treatment [Chapter 36]. Most child guidance cases [with the exception of the Home-child] have to go through this phase.)

Hence it was only to be expected that Oscar would put up a furious defense. The more plainly the futility of the defensive struggle which had hitherto filled his life became evident, and the more Oscar perceived how transparent were not only his demands for power, but also the feeling of loneliness and neglect lying behind them, the more must his present form of life appear to him useless and false. The struggle had become purposeless; and yet no other form of life existed for him, nor was it possible for one to present itself at a moment's notice. The former values had lost their value, and new values were not possible immediately; the collapse of his former Ego and the outbreak of an inner crisis were inevitable. Yet for the moment Oscar defended himself with very imaginable means against such a fate, escape it though he could not. It was now up to the therapist to keep a close watch on these "resistances."—One evening he said to Oscar that the young people who entered a group of this kind would always try at first to win themselves special esteem by either bragging, or cheek, or rough behavior; and if they were unsuccessful they very naturally became enraged. They would then make one final attempt to impress their companions through some act of destruction, say by breaking the window panes, or even by setting fire to the house. He, the therapist, would not be at all surprised if one day a similar thought occurred to Oscar. It would be a very comprehensible expression of a wrong habit

of life which had accompanied one from the outer world, and which could only be slowly replaced by something better.— This method of forecasting events, or “hermeneutics of the future,” is the best means of protecting the material things of a Home from the destructive tendencies of children. It is especially good for a principal of a home who has to be very economical to discuss fully beforehand all the possible forms the fight of despair between the Ego and the We may take; for by so doing the various tactics are so robbed of value that it is impossible afterward to use them seriously. Of course a prophylactic act of this kind will only prove successful if the therapist is completely free from moral inflexibilities and human pettiness. If he only acts the part of being generous, he will be seen through, and miserable failure will be a just punishment for his posturing.

Oscar assured the therapist that he had no thought whatsoever of setting the house on fire or of smashing the windows. He was entirely indifferent as to what happened to the house; and if anyone expected such acts of delinquency of him, he would be bitterly disillusioned.—The window panes were saved.

During the days that followed, however, Oscar gave plainer proof of his extremely unfriendly conduct. His comrades were already beginning to make coarse jests at his expense; they called him a “misanthrope” and a “death’s head,” none of which exactly improved Oscar’s mood. He withdrew himself whenever he could, and would sit sullenly in a corner, gazing inactively ahead of him. There was now the danger of his exchanging his active Caesar-like attitude for the passive dis-

couragement of the dullard. Thus again the therapist had to intervene.

One morning he mentioned to Oscar how very understandable his hostile and domineering attitude was. His early history, as set out in the records, gave indisputable proof that even as a small child Oscar had had to forego the quiet, warm affection that everyone really needs. All that he had learned instead was that he could not trust other people and must rely solely on himself. And so he had devised his own special method of despising and exploiting humanity. His courage just sufficed to make the others subservient to his ends, to organize them into robber bands and by their aid set himself up as a ruler. But it was not sufficient for genuine friendship, warm comradesly feelings or a living We.

Oscar contradicted this idea with an habitual shrug of the shoulders or disdainful smile. But this time the therapist went a step further. He translated the youth's present attitude also into clear words.—This "hermeneutics of the present," the so-called "actualization," is at once the most dangerous and the most efficacious means that child guidance has at its disposal. It is a kind of psychic surgery.

The therapist said to him something like this: "It is natural that you should say No; for the more my suppositions prove correct, the less do you dare agree with them. For instance if you were to say Yes, you would have to change your whole life, and you have not the least idea yet how to do that. You have as yet the most meager ideas of comradeship and trust, and above all of what we call a We. And the best thing you could do would be first to observe the We that exists here in

the Home, and to learn something of it every day. You should imagine yourself for the present a student of comradeship.”—He passed on then to general topics, and without addressing Oscar personally, spoke of the need for We-inspired corporate life. He said that the man did not live who did not ultimately long for friendship. Whoever refused to admit that, lacked merely the courage for complete honesty.—Oscar looked at him uncertainly, muttered some dissenting remark under his breath, and withdrew again to his corner.

When he said good-night in the evening, the leader of the Home indicated to Oscar that he might probably have some very unpleasant dream that night. But Oscar answered rudely, “What an absurd idea,” adding furiously in an undertone, “I sleep perfectly, and if I do dream, it is about idiots who try to educate other people.”—But the therapist had calculated rightly. The dream that night brought about the sudden change.

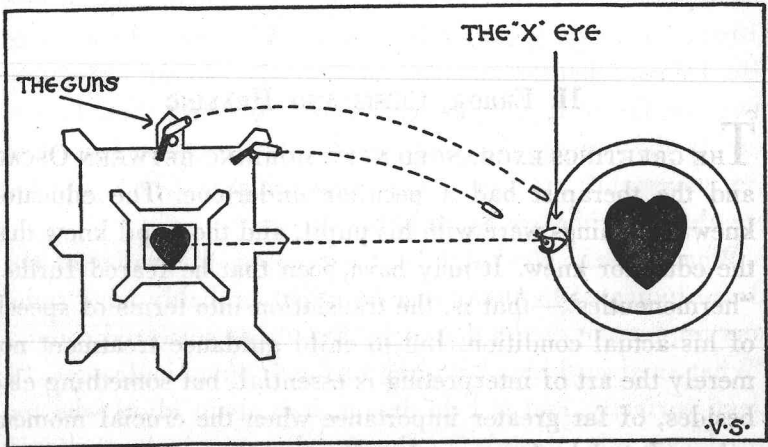


FIG. 7. THE X-RAY EYE.

The difficult child lives, as it were, in a fortress cut off from the outside world and is ready to defend himself against any importunate "friend" as much as against an enemy. Ultimately it is his heart he wishes to protect, which lies hidden in the cellars of his citadel; yet he himself does not know for what treasure he is fighting. He knows only that at all costs he must win. But the wise and loving eye of the therapist sees right through his walls. He perceives the hidden heart, and knows more about his pupil's fortress than the latter himself. His friendly words and his insight are at first received and fired at as though they constituted an attack with hand-grenades, but the therapist comprehends this misunderstanding and also the despairing resistance which comes from his "friend's reluctance." And so he can refrain from becoming impatient or disillusioned. He is able even to penetrate the fortress, although there is no opening in the walls for him. Suddenly the desperate commander of the fortress finds that the person he took to be his enemy is standing in the middle of the citadel, that he has discovered the heart there, and that he is not an enemy—but a friend.

40. THE CHILD GUIDANCE GROUP

II. ERROR, CRISIS AND HEALING

THE GREETINGS EXCHANGED NEXT MORNING BETWEEN OSCAR and the therapist had a peculiar undertone. The educator knew how things were with his pupil, and the pupil knew that the educator knew. It may have been that he feared further "hermeneutics"—that is, the translation into terms of speech of his actual condition. But to child guidance treatment not merely the art of interpreting is essential, but something else besides, of far greater importance when the crucial moment arises. It might be termed an inner chasteness, and is the understanding of the soul's nakedness.

Oscar looked uncertainly at the educator. It was all too obvious that he had slept badly and had had bad dreams. If the therapist had now resumed his hermeneutic methods, it would have been sheer and useless torture, and led merely to fresh defensive measures. But, realizing how his protégé looked, he ceased further attack. The fortress was conquered; the gates and walls had in the end proved useless as protection. All secrets had come to light, even the ultimate secret (that of a fundamentally antagonistic person's longing for a friend); and the enemy against whom Oscar had been defending himself had appeared unexpectedly in the middle of the citadel. But his aspect was not that of an enemy at all, but of a friend. As the thorn hedge surrounding the Sleeping Beauty's castle

turned into roses at the touch of her lover, so all the neglected boy's safeguards and weapons broke down ineffectively before the approach of the understanding friend.—Oscar no longer thought to fight and defend himself. But a new and better attitude was still undiscovered. The therapist looked him in the eyes for a fraction of a second with friendly understanding, and said that they would walk together that afternoon through the woods. Then the working day of the Home followed its customary routine.

Oscar had opened his gates. On the rampart of his heart now fluttered the colors of his new friend. For the first time for about twelve years, this fifteen-year-old boy again experienced a We. Hence it was not surprising if this We still contained forms that were childish and alien to life. As is usual in such cases, the We was bound up with a jealous claim for exclusiveness. This therapist was the only real person on earth; in comparison with him all the rest seemed rascals and rogues. And apparently only Oscar realized his value, just as only he, the educator, was able to grasp Oscar's true value.

But since the blissful happiness of their coming together sprang partly from all that desire for warmth and affection which is the natural corollary to the unlovedness of a child of three, the enthusiasm of this shy boy of fifteen now almost resembled the tender affection of a very small boy.—To talk of homosexuality here would be essentially to misunderstand the facts. Oscar had to resume the We at the point where he had lost it; * and the problem was merely to transfer this

* Psychoanalysis would speak here of "regressing" and of "acting" ("regredieren" und "agieren").

tender We of early childhood to the far stronger We of youthful comradeship. The question of an unnatural choice of "love-object" of the same sex does not even arise. It is not the currents of the libido which have to be diverted; it is the We, the relation between subject and subject, which has to be given a riper form.

The critical dream of that night, related by Oscar some weeks afterward, was something as follows: Oscar was sitting in a large elegant car. It was a Rolls-Royce, of the same type as one he had admired in some show-window. Suddenly he knew how to drive. The car responded faultlessly and Oscar drove away with a feeling of complete bliss. But soon the road became steep, the car began to run away with him, the brakes would not act, nor the steering-wheel. The road fell away more and more steeply, the speed of the car increased, and with it the dreamer's terror. A precipice yawned ahead of him, the road came to an end, the sea was below, and just as the car was crashing over Oscar woke up, panting and covered with perspiration.—The interpretation is simple as far as our present need goes. The childish wish for which the dreamer longs above all else is fulfilled; contrary to all expectation he receives the wonderful car as a gift; but this good fortune very soon turns to terrible misfortune. An agonizing disaster is the inevitable consequence of the gift. The desire has been awakened, and the fulfillment reached. It is years since Oscar has dared long for a friend; he has done his utmost to harden himself; but the talk with the leader of the Home has once more awakened the old tenderness and longing. And the person who can awaken the longing for friendship is already a

friend himself; the emergence of the desire into consciousness, and its fulfillment, are in this instance one and the same thing. The friend is there; the defensive struggle and the hardening process that has been going on all these years appear after all to have been superfluous. But the good fortune then changes to misfortune; the fulfillment of the wish leads to death. The friend is no friend after all. The wish fulfillment becomes a terrible warning. The dream says in the end, "Don't have any faith in the good fortune that is enticing you—it will lead to your ruin."

The therapist was not acquainted with the details of the dream, but he understood its significance. Wish-fulfillment and warning; the lure of venture, the call to devotion, the longing for the We; and the warning of betrayal, the tendency to flight, and the threat of terrible destruction—all these had made themselves felt that night. In his attitude, therefore, he emphasized only the We, and the tacit understanding of friendship. And by his actual attitude, which dispensed with all forms of aggression and refused to exploit his superiority in any way whatsoever, he set his seal on the newly formed We. Oscar did not feel that he was merely being seen through, but that he was also being understood. And during the walk through the wood he conquered the final hesitations which had expressed themselves so urgently as a dream. By the evening his doubts had disappeared. The main clause of Oscar's inner constitutional law had changed. His fundamental distrust of everyone was broken down, and all the conclusions and behavior-habits derived from the presupposition also had to change. But the new determining clause of his character was

not, say, that all men were his friends, or that one could, if one tried, find a number of friends in the world, but merely that "one person is my friend; all the rest I am indifferent to." The therapist had now been transferred from his role of the black giant to that of the white giant,* and the second part of the therapeutic education, namely the transference of the exclusive We into a general and permanent We, had to begin.

The next morning the therapist committed the error which lends such significance to this particular example. The healing factor was thereby shifted for a short but decisive period of time entirely to the group. Frequently errors of this kind do not arise from the pedagogical relationship, and are therefore not due to pedagogical inadequacy; they spring more often from other sources of human life, so that their recognition by the educator as much as by his friends and superiors is impeded. Such was the case here.

The leader of the Home was married, and his young wife felt (apparently with some justification) that the interests of married life were taking second place too much to the interests of the Home. That particular morning she expressed freely the dissatisfaction she felt over this. She said half jokingly and half sorrowfully that her husband was living in bigamy, and very often one did not know whether the Children's Home or she herself came first in his heart. He had to admit to himself and to her that he did not always do justice to his twofold obligations; and with the resolution to manage better in the future he went over to the Home.

On his way there he turned his thoughts to the day's work.

* Compare the corresponding process in Berta's case (Chapter 36).

But, as it became clear to him later, his mood was still entirely dominated by the twinge of conscience he felt with regard to his wife. His finer powers of perception as an educator, which he needed especially that day for dealing with Oscar, suffered thereby.

When he entered the Home, he felt happy; the problems of his marriage were forgotten, and he was entirely filled with the consciousness of the successful work he was doing in therapeutic education. So he set to work with apparently great zest;—not until later was he forced to recognize that this was not a genuine and natural mood, but one which corresponded to an egocentric compensation. His mistake a moment later could have been due only to the fact that his immediate goal was not to be of assistance to the lad, but to prove himself an outstanding educational therapist.

An excursion had been planned for the afternoon. Two boys only were to remain in the Home to do the odd jobs. According to the list which had been drawn up with scrupulous fairness, on this day Oscar and one other were to stay behind. But Oscar hoped that some change would be made in the list in favor of his special situation. He dared not mention the subject, however; it seemed to him rather unnecessary, too, for his new, great friend, this marvelous judge of men, must surely know what they both now needed.

Later, when light was thrown on the incident from a characterological angle, the therapist found it obvious that he ought to have spoken to Oscar. Whether he ought really to have consented to the exception, he was not sure; but in any case Oscar should have been given some intimation as to how to extend

his excessively childish and over-exacting We-feeling. Either he should have been told that an exception might be made this once, and that they must see to it that such exceptions were unnecessary in future; or the impossibility of any such exception should have been mentioned, and the boy made to experience the We of comradeship through friendly encouragement. But the leader of the Home did neither. He greeted Oscar very warmly. Everyone in the Home felt in high, almost bouncing spirits. The question of who was to stay behind in the afternoon was not even raised.

The afternoon came along. The boys got ready to march off; Oscar stood expectantly at the door; the leader of the Home gave him a cheerful good-by, and the small group moved off. Oscar remained behind, utterly annihilated.

He turned and went through the Home, looking carefully about him, without any idea yet as to what he should do. Subsequent character analysis, however, revealed that not only his new confidence and hope in life at this moment suffered complete extinction, but his old goals as well, his thirst for power, his ambition, his cruelty. He no longer believed in anything, no longer wanted anything; his sole aim now was to end his intolerable condition. To dissociate himself completely from all objects, to end every form of subject-existence, was all there remained for him to do. Oscar had to thank his robust health that he did not commit suicide at this point. For a short time he seems to have entertained the idea (if his later account is trustworthy); but then he thought it was not nearly enough. Suicide was too little. He thought also of setting the Home on fire; but it suddenly occurred to him that the leader

of the Home had already mentioned this eventuality, so that to set the house on fire would merely look as though he were carrying out someone else's suggestion. That again was not enough.

His eyes then fell on the curtains, the only things in the impecunious Home with any air of friendliness and comfort. The curtains were the property of the group; the boys had procured them themselves by a great deal of effort and self-denial; they were, somehow, the visible sign of comradeship and We-ness.

Suddenly Oscar's fury vented itself on these curtains. Snatching them down, he tore them into small pieces and trod them under foot as hard as he could. Then he relapsed into his gloomy brooding. He sat down in a corner and stared lifelessly ahead of him. His companion did not dare to address him; and when the group came home a couple of hours later, they found him still sitting in the same position.

As fate would have it the therapist did not enter the Home until five minutes later. But by then everything had happened. The boys, hungry and cheery, had trooped into the living room, seen the destruction, and instantly felt certain that "Oscar has done this." A moment later they were standing around him; but no one thought of striking him.—Oscar, judging the others by himself, waited for them to fall upon him with the fury of wild animals; and when the opposite occurred once again the direst confusion overtook him. The world, as he had conceived it, and all that he anticipated of it, suddenly collapsed. People were different from what he thought; he had completely miscalculated. Overcome with horror, and

helpless as a child, he sat there sobbing while a new comprehension dawned upon him, the others crowding around, looking at him. Then one of them found tongue for what they were all feeling. "Oscar, man, you're utterly crazy! Why, those are your curtains too! Haven't you grasped yet that you belong to us?—Now we shall have to see where we can dig up some new curtains!"—"Yes, somehow or other we'll have to dig up new ones," said another, and immediately a discussion was held to consider this new plan. And Oscar also took part in the discussion whether he would or no. Whatever his behavior, he was an intrinsic part of the "We" of the boys. The group kept faith with him. It was useless to attempt flight. All that remained for him to do was to devote himself to this We, even as earlier he had devoted himself, still with reserve and fettered by his own egocentric demands, to the therapist.

When the leader of the Home entered, the decisive step in Oscar's cure had already taken place. All he had to do was to determine subsequently where he himself had failed, what consequences were involved through his failure, and what conclusions his group had on their side arrived at as a result of his error. He comprehended now more deeply than ever before that the only effective force one can draw upon in such cases is absolute fidelity, the fidelity namely of the We to the Thou, the fidelity of the group to the individual. Only in this way can the group sometimes make good the errors of their leader, and only in this way can the group requite him at the dangerous moment of his human weaknesses for that fidelity which in the first place he rendered them.

For many a long month there were fluctuations and relapses.

This decisive experience of Oscar's was followed up on his side by long and patient practice, by an incessant self-adjustment to the new and unaccustomed foundations of We-ness. Over and over again he would act, think and feel from his old egocentric standpoint; over and over again he detected himself attempting to set up defenses against the community and against innocent forms of co-operation, as though co-operation in itself constituted a danger to him; and always he had to experience afresh that antagonism is a pretty poor policy, and that the individual as well as the group can only prosper when devotion to the vital goals of the community takes the place of egocentric self-defense. But this side of child guidance work, the so-called positive training, must be discussed elsewhere.

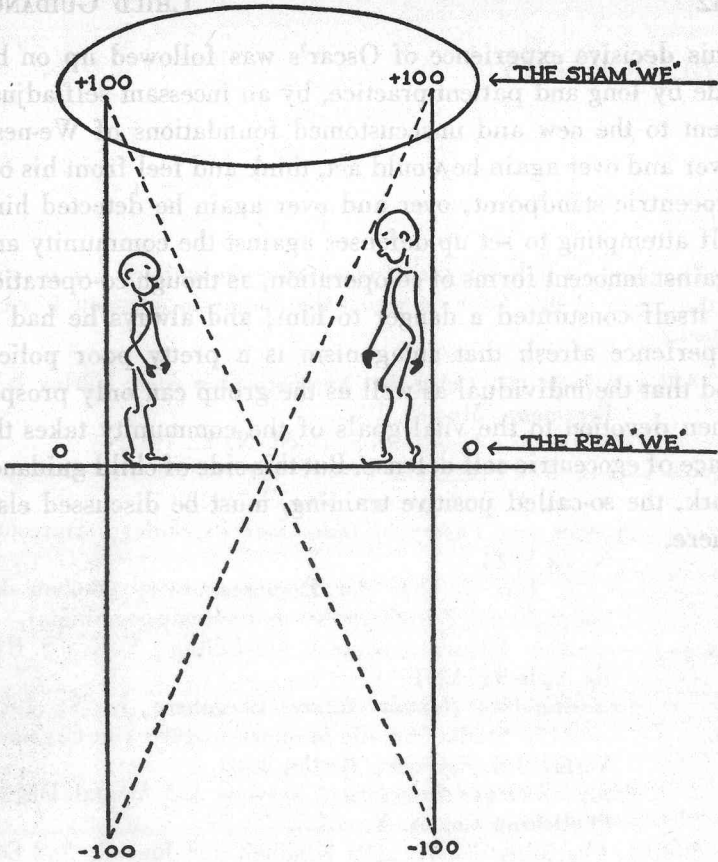


FIG. 8. THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

The secret or open struggle for power which is to be observed universally between difficult children and educational therapists is expressed by the child wishing to stand at +100 toward not only his comrades but also his educator, while the others are to stand at -100. Directly he fails to achieve this, the child feels that he himself is at -100, and the educator at +100. The more successful the educator is at remaining at 0, the more will this rise and fall between +100 and -100 gradually be recognized as a senseless game which really only exists in the imagination. The fluctuation will finally subside when both meet on the 0 level. But previously the danger must be overcome of their mutually consolidating themselves into an Illusory-We at the +100 level.

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