SOME PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE¹.

By ERNEST JONES.

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1.

BEING deeply sensible of the responsibility and honour bestowed on me by being asked to address this joint meeting, I have reflected that the subject of my remarks should be one worthy of the importance of the occasion, and also one of sufficiently wide bearing to insure the interest of workers in different fields. One possible source of misapprehension in my title should be cleared away to begin with. It concerns the use of the word 'problem' in this connexion. Many of you, particularly perhaps among the members of the Educational Section, may expect that with this word I have in mind something of an executive order, and that I intend to convey my opinions on how best to deal with various 'problems' facing the teacher, for instance, or with the guiding of adolescents through various 'problems' or with the difficulties with which he is likely to be faced. Such a paper would presumably be called a 'helpful' one, but I am afraid I shall disappoint those of you who look for one of this kind. The sense in which I here intend to use the word 'problem' is that of a nodal point of ignorance, to which an 'answer'

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consists of a correlation, one which for popular purposes is conveniently expressed in terms of what is called causation.

It is worth dwelling a little on the difference between the two points of view just indicated, for it has a definite bearing on most of the questions of interest in connexion with adolescence. As is well known, the special danger besetting all forms of applied science is that too much emphasis is apt to be laid on the 'applied' and too little on the 'science.' With all the affairs of life that deeply engage our interest—for instance, those of health, of education, or of politics—the impulse to do makes us impatient of the desire to know. We usually prefer to act without knowledge rather than to seek knowledge first and act after; we may at times be willing to make use of knowledge if it can be acquired without too much effort, but only too often the insistent necessity of acting somehow at all costs is paramount over the knowing precisely what the results of the action may be.

In contrast with this instinctive tendency the object of science is knowledge and nothing else whatever. Once knowledge has been attained it can of course be subsequently taken into account when deciding on this or that plan of action, but this involves a quite different category of mental activity which it is expedient to keep distinct from the former. To come nearer to our subject of to-night: it occurs to me that there must exist already a number of societies, congresses, clubs and magazines in sufficient profusion to afford abounding opportunity for the discussion of the art of dealing with adolescence, educationally or otherwise, and that there is ample room for one society, such as ours, whose sole aim should be the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, where the desire to know should be allowed full sway with the temporary abrogation of all other impulses. The bearing of these considerations will, I trust, become evident in the remarks to follow.

A second expectation more general among my audience I do not propose to disappoint. It will be anticipated that no psycho-analyst is likely to treat of adolescence without mentioning the word 'sex,' and to do so would, in my opinion, be like playing *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. The educated world has agreed upon a conspiracy of silence about the sexual life of childhood, *i.e.* before puberty, and the subject is rarely referred to unless explicitly to deny its existence. Even the sexual life of adults is regarded as so unimportant as not to be worth discussing in most textbooks of psychology. Now if the sexual instinct ever plays a significant part in the life of man it surely is during the age of adolescence, for biologically the essential characteristic of this age is

that it represents the achieving of sexual maturity. Few indeed are the problems relating to adolescence that can be solved without taking into account some sexual factor or other.

2.

There are innumerable detailed problems of adolescence to which time could profitably be devoted, but most of them are concerned with one or other aspect of the great developmental process that we call 'growing up.' It seems to me, therefore, most fitting that I should attempt here to consider the general nature of this cardinal process, for any effort to attain a better understanding of it must necessarily be of assistance in the study of the many other problems that stand to this one rather in the position of corollaries to a main proposition.

I wish, therefore, to ask in what precisely does this 'growing up' consist, what are the forces bringing it about or impeding it, and to what extent, and with what results, it is usually achieved. What is actually effected during this transitional stage of adolescence, when the child becomes the man? Perhaps we can best approach this question by inquiring into the chief differences between the beginning and the end of the process, between the child and the man. There are, of course, many such. Some of them are less valuable for our purpose, for they are only very gradual in kind and are largely matters of increasing age and experience. Others are more characteristic and justify us in determining the extent to which a given person has grown up, the extent to which he has cast off or retained childish traits, and it is to these differences that we have to pay special attention. Not that they also are not gradual in kind, for Nature makes no leaps here any more than elsewhere, but the change is sufficiently striking to enable us for practical purposes to distinguish them in another class from the former ones.

One might think that it would be no very formidable task to establish the most notable differences between a child and an adult, but I can only say that on attempting it I found it extremely difficult. Many of the points that at first sight seemed secure enough turned out on closer inspection to be more than uncertain. Often one knows perfectly well whether a given reaction or capacity is more typically childish or grown up, but to define the essence of it is quite another matter. What I have to put forward for your consideration here, therefore, is especially tentative, and I will ask you to receive it as such.

Closer examination of the difficulty of this comparison shows that, as is often so, the matter has not been justly stated. We are not com-

paring sufficiently pure elements. The whole of life up to the time of puberty is not a single element, nor is the whole of it after this date. Both periods should be further divided into two, the former into infancy and late childhood, the latter into adolescence and fully adult life¹. If we contrast late childhood with adolescence we do not come to at all the same conclusions as we do if we contrast the other, earlier period of childhood with the other, later period of adult life. Reflexion along these lines will, I maintain, show that it is, on the other hand, infancy and adolescence that have to be contrasted with late childhood and adult life. In order to secure the most pronounced contrasts for our present purpose, therefore, I will mainly consider those between the two extremes, infancy and fully adult life.

3.

Let us begin with one of the more obvious differences, namely the greater development of intellectual powers in the adult. This is the aspect on which I feel personally to be least qualified to speak, and I have a becoming respect for the enormous amount of experimental research that has been carried out on this subject. Scales have been established by means of which the progress of intelligence from year to year can be estimated and the intellectual age of various individuals compared with their actual age. Efforts have also been made by Burt, Yule and others, to devise methods for isolating the common factors in the different forms of intelligence testing and for estimating the correlation between these and other mental traits. But with all deference to this work, I wish to submit two remarks of a sceptical nature in regard to some of it. Rightly or wrongly, I feel convinced that there yet remains much to be done in the way of critically examining the nature of many of these tests from the purely psychological side. They are, I think, too often regarded from an external and matter-of-fact point of view, often from an exceedingly adult point of view, without due consideration being paid to the very subtle ways in which the reaction to the tests may be influenced by delicate affective, and commonly quite unconscious, factors. Speaking more generally still, I would say that my psycho-analytic work has given me a very high opinion of the intelligence of children and has taught me that there are some important respects in which it commonly becomes positively blunted by increased age, or rather by that 'education' which

¹ I use the word 'infancy' to cover the years up to five, 'childhood' those up to twelve, and 'adolescence' from twelve to eighteen. Twelve is chosen rather than fourteen on the ground that the changes incidental on puberty show themselves earlier in the mental than in the physical sphere.

is an unescapable accompaniment of this increase. I have been impressed over and over again by the bold initiative of thought, by the sceptical and searching spirit of inquiry that can be displayed by a young child, of which the same person never shows a trace throughout all his later life. It is true that one has to set beside this the child's suggestibility and credulity—though the latter is often more apparent than real—and the effects of these soon put an end to his earlier freedom of thought. Nevertheless, this sort of experience does suggest to me that much of the experimental work on intelligence needs a further analysis of the nature of the elements that are being measured and of the possibly different processes that may be included in the category of intelligence. It is remarkable how little we really understand of the ideational aspects of the mind when one reflects how exclusively the attention of psychologists has for centuries been concentrated on these aspects: possibly, indeed, it is just because of this exclusive concentration that we know so little.

4.

The *second* feature that occurs to me as distinguishing the adult from the child is the higher degree of what may be called integration in the former. By this I mean a greater coordination among the various component parts of the mind. With adults the mind seems to work more as a whole than with children, so that a given action is more likely to be related to the rest of the personality than it is with children, where it may be mainly the expression of a single more or less disconnected impulse. Something can be said about the nature of this integration. It is essentially dependent on a heightened capacity for inhibition, as may be seen if we contrast the extreme cases of a deliberate action in a well-balanced adult and the impulsive conduct of the infant. (In later childhood there is often a very considerable degree of integration, often much more than in the immediately succeeding years of adolescence; this correlation between infancy and adolescence on the one hand, and between later childhood and adult life on the other, is one to which we shall return later.) Now in the contrast we are depicting there are two prominent features. The impulsive action of the infant is often concerned only with the impulse itself, in it no account is taken of other tendencies or reflexions, and it approximates more or less closely to the dissociated, autonomous 'complex activity' so familiar in paraphrenia and other mental disorders. In the second place, it is obviously hard to control and clamours for *immediate* expression; the young child is notoriously extremely impatient of delay or postponement. I would venture to

connect these two features and to suggest that the small extent to which the individual impulses are brought into relation with the rest of the mind in infancy is closely connected with the fact that the child has not yet learned to tolerate excitation without an immediate response, *i.e.* to be able to interpose a delay between the excitation and the motor or emotional response. What the precise connexion is between the increase of coordination and of inhibition is a matter calling for a more technical discussion than is possible here. I will only add that the greater power of inhibition, *i.e.* the capacity to endure a greater amount of psychical pain, is an essential part of the developmental process of subordinating the pleasure-pain principle to the reality principle.

The suggestion may be put forward at this point that a fuller understanding of this problem of integration will probably throw much light on the difference in intellectual power at different ages, for the higher reasoning powers, the capacity to think in general and abstract terms, seem to bear a close relation to the power of concentrating, a faculty in which coordination and inhibition play a very important part.

5.

The *third* distinguishing attribute is not such a compact one as the last. It has to do with certain features common to various emotional and imaginative traits in each class. If we compare the phantasy life in children and adults, especially young adults, it may at first sight appear to be a mental aspect equally developed in both, but there are certain characteristic differences in the two cases. The phantasies of childhood are much more obviously egocentric than those of later years. A young man or woman will often weave an elaborate fiction in which they do not recognisably appear, but with children the hero is hardly disguised if at all. Then, as a rule with children, we miss the note of yearning or aspiration, that reaching out to something beyond the individual self, an endeavour even to attain to the infinite, with which we are familiar particularly in late adolescence. It may assume manifold forms, religious, artistic, poetical, or purely social, but in all of them the characteristic mark is the feeling that the self is incomplete or even unsatisfactory and the intense desire to get into contact with something, an idea or a being, outside the self. With this goes usually a much greater development of altruism, and the essence of the whole group we are now considering may well be the development of a higher capacity for loving and the desire to love, as distinct from the older desire to be loved, which is such a prominent feature of childhood.

In this connexion we must also think of the relation of phantasy to reality at different ages. On the whole it would appear that the life of phantasy is gradually brought into closer relation with the facts of real existence at two different periods during the development of the individual, first, during the transition from infancy to later childhood, and then, more definitively, during the transition from adolescence to later adult life. This change also betokens a similar progression to the one we have just noted from preoccupation and satisfaction with the self to a greater interest and love for the outer world: in other words, an unfolding of the personality so that the flow of feeling outward away from the self is facilitated. Numerous differences of detail are of course to be correlated with this great evolution; I will only instance the greater selfishness and cruelty of children as compared with adults.

6.

A *fourth* group of differences comprises the more specific changes in the individual's relationship to his fellow beings. The most prominent feature here surely is the diminution in the degree of dependence shown. I purposely say diminution, for there are very few adults, if any, in which traces of the old childish feeling of dependence are not still to be found and quite pronounced degrees of it are common enough at all ages. The change represents one of the most important of all the differences between children and adults, and the extent to which it has been brought about is one of the criteria on which we most rely clinically in deciding how successfully a given person has performed the task of growing up. Relics of the older attitude are commonly seen, not merely in such gross manifestations as timidity or embarrassment in the presence of superiors, but in manifold forms of undue sensitiveness to public opinion, the opinion of the neighbours, or even of the servants. Or the person shows the need of outer support in everything he undertakes, he does not venture to rely on or even to use his own powers of initiative, he dares not act for himself, he dares not think alone, and in extreme neurotic cases he dares not even walk alone. The manifestations in the intellectual sphere alone are of infinite variety; all degrees of stupidity occur which are really expressions not of a defect, as they appear to be, but of inhibition. The number of people who can make a genuinely free use of their mental powers in thinking is extremely small.

Psycho-analysis of both the milder and the more strongly marked forms of dependence has done much to elucidate its nature. One conclusion stands out with especial clearness, that all forms of psychical

dependence are fundamentally due to persistence of the infantile attachment to one or other parent, particularly to the fear of being disapproved of by that parent and thereby losing his or her love. The change from dependence to independence, which is such a cardinal constituent of the process of growing up, is thus seen to be closely related to the question of attachment or detachment in reference to the parents.

The character traits of enterprise, responsibility, initiative, and self-reliance are as a rule distinctly more pronounced in the male sex. Furthermore, of the external influences that can affect their development, the most striking are experiences in the sexual sphere, notably the acceptance of masturbation and the abandoning of the early sense of guilt in connexion with this, the first act of coitus, marriage, and the birth of the first child; the death of the significant parent is also to be noted as often playing an important part here. These considerations alone suggest that possibly the phenomena in question are connected with the psycho-sexual life, and we shall presently see that there are other grounds for coming to this conclusion.

7.

We thus come to the last, but by no means the least, of the features we are enumerating, namely the fact of sexual maturity. This is the most outstanding and undeniable difference between children and adults, and we have therefore to define it more closely. Not long ago this would have seemed a very simple task. It would have been said that the difference consisted in the absence of sexuality in the child and its presence in the adult. Since the researches of Freud and his school, however, this position is no longer tenable. We have now to recognise that there exist in all societies strong motive forces impelling adults on the one hand to restrict in every way possible the manifestations of sexuality in childhood and on the other to blind themselves to the sexual nature of these manifestations; between these two methods the recognition of infantile sexuality has been reduced practically to a vanishing point. How far this attitude on the part of adults represents a useful biological function or is merely a sociological phenomenon, originating in jealousy and perpetuated by repression, is an important question which has been interestingly considered by Mr Flügel in his recent book *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family*. What we have here to consider is the nature of the transition in the sexual life that occurs during the development from child to man.

As is well known, the conclusions arrived at by psycho-analysts on the subject of sexuality in childhood are as follows. During the first four

or five years of life the sexual life of the child, both physically and mentally, is an exceedingly rich one and passes through a series of characteristic stages; the nature of these stages will be presently alluded to. Its manifestations differ very considerably from those familiar in adult life and resemble rather those of primitive man or of our pre-human ancestors; they are thus decidedly atavistic in type, an additional reason why their sexual nature has been so extensively overlooked. When the second half of childhood has been reached they have largely disappeared from view. Some of the constituents of the infantile sexuality have been deflected into altogether non-sexual channels, *i.e.* sublimated, others have been repressed and survive only in the unconscious mind, a few still find expression in a furtive manner withdrawn from adult view, and the only ones that are allowed to preserve an open existence do so under the condition that an inhibition is interposed between them and their natural goal. The ones last mentioned comprise the affectionate impulses of childhood, the desire to be loved, to receive and bestow suitable caresses, which are permitted and even encouraged by the parents and other authorities. They are characterised by the desire to be loved being far more pronounced than the desire to love, or—what is much the same thing—by the self playing a more important part in the relationship than the object, and, as has been remarked, by the inhibition of any openly sexual goal¹.

The physical changes at puberty, important as they are, do not concern us here, but equally important changes on the psychological side accompany them. They usher in the process which is to end by replacing the type of sexual life we have just described as characteristic of late childhood by that of adult life. When the process is completed, which normally is between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, three things have happened: the impulse is no longer inhibited in regard to its sexual goal; it is directed towards strangers instead of to the parents and persons of the immediate environment as formerly; and the capacity to love has grown stronger at the expense of the desire to be loved, especially in the male sex.

8.

But before these important changes can be brought about, the transitional stage of adolescence has to be passed through, and this is effected in a highly interesting manner. At puberty a regression takes place in the direction of infancy, of the first period of all, and the person lives over

¹ This inaccurate phrase is, of course, only a convenient replacement of the clumsier expression: inhibition of the tendency of the impulse to attain an openly sexual goal.

again, though on another plane, the development he passed through in the first five years of life. As this correlation between adolescence and infancy is the most distinctive generalization to which I wish to call your attention in this paper, I should like to dwell on it at some little length; it is one to which I would attach considerable importance as affording the key to many of the problems of adolescence. Put it another way, it signifies that the individual *recapitulates and expands* in the second decennium of life the development he passed through during the first five years of life, just as he recapitulates during these first five years the experiences of thousands of years in his ancestry and during the pre-natal period those of millions of years; I believe this to be true of other mental aspects than the purely sexual ones, though it is in the latter sphere that it is most definitely to be observed. It is, of course, obvious that by the word 'recapitulates' one does not mean simply 'repeats,' any more than in speaking of the embryo recapitulating his infra-human ancestry we mean that he literally repeats it. It is just because the process of recapitulation in all three cases is far from being an identical repetition of the former ones that the significance of the features common to the earlier and later stages is not evident and has so long been overlooked. The differences are plainly due to the circumstances in which the development takes place in the two stages being themselves very unlike.

Let us now compare in more detail the sexual development during infancy and adolescence respectively. In both of them five stages are passed through and these are essentially similar in both cases. Any description of them, however, must necessarily be schematic, for one should constantly remember that the richness, complexity and variability in the factors modifying the process of development prevent its being accurately summarised in any simple formula. Nevertheless, when it can be clearly followed it will be found on the whole to contain indications of the five stages in approximately the order given here, though it should again be added that there is never a sharp distinction between the various stages, that they usually overlap extensively, and that they may even all coexist together. After making these qualifying reservations we may enumerate the stages. The first is that of diffuse auto-erotism, in which the various orifices of the body play the chief part. This is followed by the various sub-stages to which the term 'pregenital' has been attached; of these the best studied is the anal-sadistic phase, which is marked by the prominence of the sadistic impulse combined with the numerous physical and mental derivatives of anal-erotism. In the third stage the genital zone proper has achieved a primacy over the others

and narcissism is fully established. Closely related to this is the homosexual phase, the distinctness of which varies considerably in different individuals. The final stage is the heterosexual one in which an object chosen from the members of the opposite sex becomes of the greatest interest and the sexual impulse is directed towards her or him respectively.

As was remarked above, these stages are passed through on different planes at the two periods of infancy and adolescence, but in very similar ways in the same individual. The evidence for this statement is derived from actual investigation of the sexual development in particular persons. It is found empirically, for instance, that when a person has special difficulty in passing through the masturbatory phase of adolescence, information obtained about his childhood shows that he had a similarly pronounced difficulty in this respect in the earlier period too. Again, if in adolescence the homosexual trend is especially prominent it is found that the same was true of his early childhood, and so on. It is on the basis of numerous experiences such as these that I venture to propound the general law mentioned above, that adolescence recapitulates infancy and that the precise way in which a given person will pass through the necessary stages of development in adolescence is to a very great extent determined by the form of his infantile development. Some further description is necessary to amplify the schematic account given above of the sexual development during adolescence. That the auto-erotic phase belongs to the earlier stages of adolescence rather than the later is familiar enough knowledge. With it goes the tendency to introversion and a richer life of secret phantasy, together with the greater pre-occupation with the self and the varying degrees of shyness and self-consciousness, which are so often prominent features during adolescence. The anal-sadistic phase varies in intensity, but it is characteristic enough for the nice gentle lad of ten to change into the rough and untidy boy of thirteen, to the great distress of his female relatives; extravagance, procrastination, obstinacy, passion for collecting, and other traits of anal-erotic origin often become especially prominent at this age. The narcissism may be shown in either a positive or negative way: the bumptiousness, conceit and cock-sureness of youth are as well-recognised characteristics of this stage in development as are the opposite ones of self-depreciation, uncertainty and lack of confidence; the two sets commonly alternate in the same person. The homosexual phase is more often positive than negative and is far commoner during adolescence than at any later age; that it varies enormously in intensity in different individuals is of course

well known. The heterosexual impulse commonly shows the following difference in its fate at the two periods of life. At both it most often breaks through the barriers of prohibition and reaches a directly sexual goal, but whereas in childhood this part of the impulse usually becomes increasingly subordinated to the constituents that are inhibited in respect of this goal, *i.e.* to family affection and the like, in adolescence it is for physiological reasons the directly sexual ones that grow progressively stronger, often entering into severe conflict with the other set before harmony is finally established by a fusion of the two in successful love.

9.

Five features of difference between children and adults have now been mentioned, and I should like to apply to each of them in order the conclusions just reached as to the relation between adolescence and infancy. The first two features, those of intellectual change and greater integration, may be considered together. I remarked that inhibition played a central part in regard to the latter feature, and probably an important one in regard to the former. Now it is surely noteworthy that the two periods of life at which the acquirement of inhibition is most active are those of infancy and adolescence. The lessons learnt in both may differ in their individual form, but they are of a similar order. In its development into childhood the infant learns to hold in suspense the action of various stimuli on the mind (and of course nervous system), to endure it without immediate motor or emotional response, to postpone such response to the most satisfactory moment, and to coordinate it with other forces operative in the mind. The adolescent passing into manhood or womanhood acquires a still higher degree of this capacity to tolerate stimulation and inhibit response. The most typical example from infancy would be the acquirement of control over the acts of excretion, where every feature of the description just given is illustrated. In adolescence a great part of both the natural changes and the training deliberately inculcated may be summed up under the term 'acquirement of self-control,' and it is not necessary for me here to attempt to enumerate, or even to quote from, any of the thousands of examples of this with which you are all familiar. One might perhaps suggest that there is possibly this difference in the process at the two ages, namely, that in infancy greater emphasis seems to be laid on the acquirement of control over volitional motor outflow, while in adolescence it is laid on the acquirement of control over emotional outflow. The child learns to restrain action when it is inexpedient, the adolescent learns to restrain the display of emotion (not only when inexpedient, in this case, but always).

This growth in the power of inhibition at the two ages in question must certainly be correlated with the circumstance that they are the two most emotional ages of man; in fact, it would seem as though the inhibition is a reaction to the rush of emotion so characteristic of these periods of life. A process that is closely connected with inhibition, being indeed in all probability one of its manifestations, is that of 'repression,' and again infancy and adolescence are the two ages at which this takes place on the most extensive scale. How successful it is in regard to infancy is well known. The greater part of the first five years, and always the most important part, is invariably forgotten and remains inaccessible to consciousness (the definition of 'repression'), while commonly enough not a single trace is left of the whole period. In adolescence a second great wave of repression sets in, reaching a height never attained at any other period of life. Ideas which were tolerable enough to consciousness up to puberty, for instance the desire for the pleasure of parental caresses¹, now become repressed for ever, and ideas which later on will once more be freely admitted to consciousness, *e.g.* sensual ones, are often quite banned.

The two characteristics of the third feature were the greater development of altruism, of interest and love for one's fellow-beings and the outer world in general, and the increasing replacement of phantasy by adaptation to reality, the replacement of the pleasure-principle by the reality-principle. Both of these are more plainly manifested later on in adolescence and during the transition from it to adult life, just as in childhood they are related to the transitional period following infancy. It seems to me that they can well be correlated with the change in the sexual life from the manifestations most connected with the self, including auto-erotism, narcissism, and to a great extent even homosexuality (for this can almost be classified as a variety of narcissism), to hereto-erotism, *i.e.* the need for a love-object. This correlation evidently throws light on the first phenomenon, which is largely a matter of extending the libidinal attachment from the self to surrounding objects. The relation of phantasy to reality also comes to be closely connected with the sexual life, although, as Freud has pointed out, it is not originally so. In the competition between the experiences and enjoyments of phantasy and those of real life, one of the great factors that ultimately gives the victory to the latter is the evolution from auto-erotism to hetero-erotism. The accessibility of the source of satisfaction, *i.e.* the self, in the earlier of these phases renders the person largely independent

¹ I do not, of course, mean that the acts themselves become intolerable, though even that occasionally happens.

of the outer world, whereas with the development of the hetero-erotic phase the necessity for adaptation to the outer world becomes an increasingly pressing one, and to this must probably be ascribed much of the transition to the reality-principle. In the evolution from auto-erotism to manifest hetero-sexuality, phantasy plays the part of a bridge, just as it does in that from forbidden incestuous to permissible object-love.

About the fourth feature, that of dependence, much misunderstanding has prevailed. The child has in this respect, as in so many others, been judged from the point of view of the adult. Because the adult sees plainly that the infant cannot subsist without adult care and help, he is apt to assume that the infant must realise this and feel extremely dependent on the adult, being only very gradually weaned from this dependence. In other words, he considers the question of dependence in terms of adult reality and projects the same attitude onto the child's mind. In my opinion, however, this is a very partial view of the state of affairs. The infant's needs are so automatically satisfied, and the distinction he draws between self and outer world is so rudimentary, that he is much more likely to have a sense of power than of helplessness, as we all probably should if our wishes were only gratified with the ease and certainty on which the infant can count. I think that the feeling of dependence, which is only a later feature in the child's development, is not primarily related to the fact that he has to rely on parents for his material welfare, food, clothes, and so on, for this fact he takes very much for granted and it does not produce much psychological reverberation. Psycho-analysis, particularly of cases where the attitude of dependence has been specially pronounced, shows that it is to a far greater extent related to the need for love and that it is a characteristic phenomenon of the hetero-erotic or Oedipus phase of infancy. Normally it diminishes progressively between the ages of six and twelve, but with the onset of puberty it reasserts itself in other forms, among which the familiar displacement of the feelings of adoration and dependence from the Father on to the idea of God is perhaps the most typical. Although this need for personal love to which we refer must psychologically be classed as a part of the sexual instinct, yet the impulses comprising it differ from what are commonly called sexual impulses in being more or less completely inhibited in respect of any sexual goal; the aim is emotional rather than physical union. The regression which takes place during adolescence to the infantile Oedipus relation to the parents is chiefly manifested on the positive side only in relation to the father (with the boy), as hostility and rivalry; the attitude

towards the mother at this period is mainly a negative one, a rejecting of caresses and intimacies that up till then had been permitted. At the same time greater activity begins to be shown towards other love objects and the desire to love increases at the expense of the desire to be loved. When the fully adult stage is reached the incestuous attachments are abandoned; a strange love object is found, who is loved not only with feelings of an 'inhibited' nature but also with those of a directly sexual kind. When this process is complete, then adult independence is achieved in all respects. Dependence can therefore be defined as persistent incestuous attachment of the libido and independence as the disposal of it in some other direction. The non-incestuous disposal of it may be either in relation to a love-object or it may take the form of sublimation; most often it is both.

These conclusions, if true, have an important bearing on the theory of education. A child can, of course, educate himself, but by education is usually meant the influencing of a child by another person for certain specific purposes. I would maintain that the essential motive force made use of in this relationship, whether at home or in the school, is the attachment of what we have called 'inhibited libido' of incestuous origin, the same factor that is responsible for the phenomenon of dependence. If the libido is not converted into this form, or evolves out of it, then, other factors being equal, by so much is the child the less educable¹. Limits are set to education, therefore, in two opposite ways, by auto-erotic functioning or by hetero-erotic and non-incestuous functioning, both of which provide channels for the libido that are not at the service of the teacher. The second of these is of course much the rarer during school life and any sign of it on the part of pupils is vigorously opposed

¹ From this simple statement it is not to be inferred that manifest sexuality (either auto- or hetero-erotic) and educability are purely reciprocal functions. The matter is complicated by the circumstance that excessive repression, carrying with it complete suppression of all forms of manifest sexuality, is very apt to involve also the 'inhibited libido' on which educability depends. Indeed, I should be inclined to ascribe the notorious fact that children are usually much more 'troublesome' and 'difficult' from twelve to fifteen than from eight to eleven to repression of their 'inhibited libido' at the former age rather than to the struggle for manifest sexuality, with the revolt this entails. Incidentally, I might add that the present law and custom of regarding the period from five or six to fourteen as an educational unit is not at all in accord with the conclusions of clinical psychology, which suggest that the period from five or six to twelve is not comparable with that from twelve to eighteen and cannot profitably be dealt with on the same educational lines.

It will thus be seen that excessive repression and imperfect repression equally diminish the capacity to be educated. Future researches of a more exact kind will doubtless be able to establish an optimum between these two extremes, one at which educability will be at the highest point attainable by each particular child.

by all teachers. The former, however, is a common enough phenomenon at the school age and is, therefore, from one point of view, the greatest foe that the teacher has to encounter, which is the reason why teachers denounce it in unmeasured terms as the unpardonable sin. That their efforts to deal with it meet with very limited success is well known, and this must in great part be ascribed to the fact that they refrain from making any study of the nature and significance of the phenomenon.

Something should be said here, if only a few words, on the important subject of the various forces acting on the adolescent in connexion with the process of growing up. These are both external and internal, the latter being probably the more important. Each set also comprises two groups of forces, acting in the direction of growing up and against this respectively, so that there are four groups in all, two favouring and two hindering the growing up, two internal and two external. On the one side there is the vital unfolding of the personality, recapitulating the history of the species, which manifests itself even in early childhood in the form of ambitious phantasies and performances. This is the strongest force of all and normally it prevails; it is aided both by the disinterested affection of the parents, which recognise what is to the child's ultimate advantage, and by their ambitiousness operating through the mechanism of self-identification. On the other side there is the conservative tendency to cling to former phases of development and the reluctance to exchange these for new and unknown ones, at all events until there is some assurance that the pleasures surrendered will be replaced by fresh equivalents. This tendency, which includes what Freud indicates under the terms 'regression' and 'fixation' as well as other processes as yet insufficiently studied, is certainly far stronger than is commonly supposed. It is powerfully reinforced by pressure brought to bear in the same direction by parental influence, perhaps more from the side of the mother. The parental motives hindering the growing up of the child are in the majority of cases stronger, and often much stronger, than those favouring this development. Their two chief constituents are jealous rivalry and the reluctance to give up the pleasure previously derived from the children, both of course being usually denied by the parent. The pleasure that the parent obtains from his children, and more especially from her children, is often in inverse proportion to the age of the children, and, furthermore, the renunciation of it commonly betokens a loss rather than an exchange. The upshot of the whole situation is that in most cases growing up is effected by an internal 'urge' on the part of the child or adolescent against an almost equally strong internal resistance and also

against serious external opposition. Little wonder that successful accomplishment of the process belongs to the rarities of human existence. Throughout the years of adult life the fight continues of freeing the personality from the restrictions that operate to excess during childhood and adolescence, until this evolutionary impulse to grow up is met by the counter-force of the involutionary process which conducts us, through 'second childhood'¹ to the grave.

10.

The foregoing considerations raise from a new point of view the problem of the biological significance of puberty. In the majority of animals puberty, in the sense of capacity to reproduce the species, *i.e.* sexual maturity, takes place subsequent to birth, at a point the distance of which from it varies enormously in different species. The pre-puberty period is, I think, longer in man than with any other animal, constituting some 20 per cent. of the total duration of life. The strongest attempts are made on the part of society to extend it until it covers as well the most active years of sexual life, those from fifteen to thirty-five. Whether this is a biologically harmful tendency, one due to purely sociological and psychological factors, would make an interesting question for discussion. More germane, however, to the present topic is the consideration that man appears, so far at least as my knowledge goes, to be the only animal in which the earliest manifestations of sexual life do not proceed smoothly up to the stage of full maturity. In man, on the contrary, as was pointed out above, sexual development has to be gone through twice over, with a more or less complete break, Freud's so-called 'latent period,' in between. Instead of the development progressing evenly and culminating in puberty, what happens is that a rehearsal of the whole process is performed in the first years of life and then on reaching puberty the individual has to start again at the beginning and go through the drama in a more serious and sometimes tragic fashion.

In conclusion I would say that I am particularly aware of the sketchiness of the outlines I have drawn in this paper. In the endeavour to deal with such a vast and important field I have been obliged to express many points in such a summary and schematic way as to deprive the statements made of the accuracy which could only be attained by introducing the modifications and qualifications impossible in a short exposition.

¹ If the views here expressed are correct, this should more properly be termed the 'third childhood.'