

*The Writings of Melanie Klein*

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Volume I

LOVE, GUILT AND REPARATION  
AND OTHER WORKS

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Volume II

THE PSYCHO-ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN

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Volume III

ENVY AND GRATITUDE  
AND OTHER WORKS

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Volume IV

NARRATIVE OF A CHILD ANALYSIS

*The Writings of Melanie Klein*

Volume I

**LOVE, GUILT AND  
REPARATION  
AND OTHER WORKS  
1921-1945**

by  
Melanie Klein

With an Introduction by  
R.E. Money-Kyrle



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## LOVE, GUILT AND REPARATION

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THE two parts of this book<sup>1</sup> discuss very different aspects of human emotions. The first, 'Hate, Greed and Aggression,' deals with the powerful impulses of hate which are a fundamental part of human nature. The second, in which I am attempting to give a picture of the equally powerful force of love and the drive to reparation, is complementary to the first, for the apparent division implied in this mode of presentation does not actually exist in the human mind. In separating our topic in this way we cannot perhaps clearly convey the constant *interaction* of love and hate; but the division of this vast subject was necessary, for only when consideration has been given to the part that destructive impulses play in the interaction of hate and love, is it possible to show the ways in which feelings of love and tendencies to reparation develop in connection with aggressive impulses and in spite of them.

Joan Riviere's chapter made it clear that these emotions first appear in the early relation of the child to his mother's breasts, and that they are experienced fundamentally in connection with the desired person. It is necessary to go back to the mental life of the baby in order to study the interaction of all the various forces which go to build up this most complex of all human emotions which we call love.

*The Emotional Situation of the Baby*

The baby's first object of love and hate—his mother—is both desired and hated with all the intensity and strength that is characteristic of the early urges of the baby. In the very beginning he loves his mother at the time that she is satisfying his needs for nourishment, alleviating his feelings of hunger, and giving him the sensual pleasure which he experiences when his mouth is stimulated by sucking at her breast. This gratification is an essential part of the child's sexuality, and is indeed its initial expression. But when the baby is hungry and his desires are not gratified, or when he is feeling bodily pain or discomfort, then the whole situation suddenly alters. Hatred and aggressive feelings are aroused and he becomes dominated by the impulses

<sup>1</sup> *Love, Hate and Reparation* (see Explanatory Note p. 435).

## LOVE, GUILT AND REPARATION

to destroy the very person who is the object of all his desires and who in his mind is linked up with everything he experiences—good and bad alike. In the baby hatred and aggressive feelings give rise, moreover, as Joan Riviere has shown in detail, to most painful states, such as choking, breathlessness and other sensations of the kind, which are felt to be destructive to his own body; thus aggression, unhappiness and fears are again increased.

The immediate and primary means by which relief is afforded to a baby from these painful states of hunger, hate, tension and fear is the satisfaction of his desires by his mother. The temporary feeling of security which is gained by receiving gratification greatly enhances the gratification itself; and thus a feeling of security becomes an important component of the satisfaction whenever a person receives love. This applies to the baby as well as to the adult, to the more simple forms of love and to its most elaborate manifestations. Because our mother first satisfied all our self-preservative needs and sensual desires and gave us security, the part she plays in our minds is a lasting one, although the various ways in which this influence is effected and the forms it takes may not be at all obvious in later life. For instance, a woman may apparently have estranged herself from her mother, yet still unconsciously seek some of the features of her early relation to her in her relation to her husband or to a man she loves. The very important part which the father plays in the child's emotional life also influences all later love relations, and all other human associations. But the baby's early relation to him, in so far as he is felt as a gratifying, friendly and protective figure, is partly modelled on the one to the mother.

The baby, to whom his mother is primarily only an object which satisfies all his desires—a good breast,<sup>1</sup> as it were—soon begins to

<sup>1</sup> In order to simplify my description of the very complicated and unfamiliar phenomena that I present in this lecture, I am throughout, in speaking of the feeding situation of the baby, referring to breast-feeding only. Much of what I am saying in connection with breast-feeding and the inferences I am drawing apply to bottle-feeding also, though with certain differences. In this connection I will quote a passage from my paper on 'Weaning' (1936): 'The bottle is a substitute for the mother's breast, for it allows the baby to have the pleasure of sucking and thus to establish to a certain degree the breast-mother relationship in connection with the bottle given by the mother or nurse. Experience shows that often children who have not been breast-fed develop quite well. Still, in analysis one will always discover in such people a deep longing for the breast which has never been fulfilled, and though the breast-mother relationship has been established to a certain degree, it makes all the difference to the psychic development that the earliest and fundamental gratification has been obtained from a substitute, instead of from the real thing which was desired. One may say that although children can develop well without being breast-fed, the development would have been different and better in one way or another had they had a successful breast-feeding. On the

respond to these gratifications and to her care by developing feelings of love towards her as a person. But this first love is already disturbed at its roots by destructive impulses. Love and hate are struggling together in the baby's mind; and this struggle to a certain extent persists throughout life and is liable to become a source of danger in human relationships.

The baby's impulses and feelings are accompanied by a kind of mental activity which I take to be the most primitive one: that is phantasy-building, or more colloquially, imaginative thinking. For instance, the baby who feels a craving for his mother's breast when it is not there may imagine it to be there, *i.e.* he may imagine the satisfaction which he derives from it. Such primitive phantasying is the earliest form of the capacity which later develops into the more elaborate workings of the imagination.

The early phantasies which go along with the baby's feelings are of various kinds. In the one just mentioned he imagines the gratification which he lacks. Pleasant phantasies, however, also accompany actual satisfaction; and destructive phantasies go along with frustration and the feelings of hatred which this arouses. When a baby feels frustrated at the breast, in his phantasies he attacks this breast; but if he is being gratified by the breast, he loves it and has phantasies of a pleasant kind in relation to it. In his aggressive phantasies he wishes to bite up and to tear up his mother and her breasts, and to destroy her also in other ways.

A most important feature of these destructive phantasies, which are tantamount to death-wishes, is that the baby feels that what he desires in his phantasies has really taken place; that is to say he feels that he *has really destroyed* the object of his destructive impulses, and is going on destroying it: this has extremely important consequences for the development of his mind. The baby finds support against these fears in omnipotent phantasies of a restoring kind: that too has extremely important consequences for his development. If the baby has, in his aggressive phantasies, injured his mother by biting and tearing her up, he may soon build up phantasies that he is putting the bits together again and repairing her.<sup>1</sup> This, however, does not quite do away with his fears of having destroyed the object which,

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other hand, I infer from my experience that children whose development goes wrong, even though they have been breast-fed, would have been more ill without it.

<sup>1</sup> The psycho-analysis of small children, which enabled me to draw conclusions also as to the workings of the mind at an earlier stage, has convinced me that such phantasies are already active in babies. Psycho-analysis of adults has shown me that the effects of this early phantasy-life are lasting, and profoundly influence the unconscious mind of the grown-up person.

as we know, is the one whom he loves and needs most, and on whom he is entirely dependent. In my view, these basic conflicts profoundly influence the course and the force of the emotional lives of grown-up individuals.

#### *Unconscious Sense of Guilt*

We all know that if we detect in ourselves impulses of hate towards a person we love, we feel concerned or guilty. As Coleridge puts it:

. . . to be wroth with one we love,  
Doth work like madness in the brain.

We tend very much to keep these feelings of guilt in the background, because of their painfulness. They express themselves, however, in many disguised ways, and are a source of disturbance in our personal relations. For instance, some people readily experience distress through lack of appreciation, even from persons who mean but little to them; the reason is that in their unconscious minds they feel unworthy of man's regard, and a cold reception confirms their suspicion of this unworthiness. Others are dissatisfied with themselves (not on objective grounds) in the most various ways, for example, in connection with their appearance, their work, or their abilities in general. Some of these manifestations are quite commonly recognized and have been popularly termed an 'inferiority complex'.

Psycho-analytic findings show that feelings of this kind are more deeply rooted than is usually supposed and are always connected with unconscious feelings of guilt. The reason why some people have so strong a need for general praise and approval lies in their need for evidence that they are lovable, worthy of love. This feeling arises from the unconscious fear of being incapable of loving others sufficiently or truly, and particularly of not being able to master aggressive impulses toward others: they dread being a danger to the loved one.

#### *Love and Conflicts in Relation to the Parents*

The struggle between love and hate, with all the conflicts to which it gives rise, sets in, as I have tried to show, in early infancy, and is active all through life. It begins with the child's relationship to both parents. In the relation of the suckling to his mother, sensual feelings are already present and express themselves in the pleasurable mouth sensations connected with the sucking process. Soon genital feelings come to the fore and the craving for the mother's nipples diminishes. It does not altogether vanish, however, but remains active in the unconscious and partly also in the conscious mind. Now in the case of the little girl the concern with the nipple passes over to an interest,

which is for the most part unconscious, in the father's genital, and this becomes the object of her libidinal wishes and phantasies. As development proceeds, the little girl desires her father more than her mother, and has conscious and unconscious phantasies of taking her mother's place, winning her father for herself and becoming his wife. She is also very jealous of the children her mother possesses, and wishes her father to give her babies of her own. These feelings, wishes and phantasies go along with rivalry, aggression and hatred against her mother, and are added to the grievances which she felt against her because of the earliest frustrations at the breast. Nevertheless sexual phantasies and desires towards her mother do remain active in the little girl's mind. Under the influence of these she wants to take her father's place in connection with her mother, and in certain cases these desires and phantasies may develop more strongly even than those towards the father. Thus besides the love to both of them there are also feelings of rivalry to both, and this mixture of feelings is carried further in her relation to brothers and sisters. The desires and phantasies in connection with mother and sisters are the basis for direct homosexual relationships in later life, as well as for homosexual feelings which express themselves indirectly in friendship and affection between women. In the ordinary course of events these homosexual desires recede into the background, become deflected and sublimated, and the attraction towards the other sex predominates.

A corresponding development takes place in the small boy, who soon experiences genital desires towards his mother and feelings of hatred against his father as a rival. But in him, too, genital desires towards his father develop, and this is the root of homosexuality in men. These situations give rise to many conflicts—for the little girl, although she hates her mother, also loves her; and the little boy loves his father and would spare him the danger arising from his—the boy's—aggressive impulses. Moreover, the main object of all sexual desires—in the girl, the father, in the boy, the mother—also rouses hate and revenge, because these desires are disappointed.

The child is also intensely jealous of brothers and sisters, in so far as they are rivals for the parents' love. He also loves them, however, and thus again in this connection strong conflicts between aggressive impulses and feelings of love are aroused. This leads to feelings of guilt and again to wishes to make good: a mixture of feelings which has an important bearing not only on our relations with brothers and sisters but, since relations to people in general are modelled on the same pattern, also on our social attitude and on feelings of love and guilt and the wish to make good in later life.

### *Love, Guilt and Reparation*

I said before that feelings of love and gratitude arise directly and spontaneously in the baby in response to the love and care of his mother. The power of love—which is the manifestation of the forces which tend to preserve life—is there in the baby as well as the destructive impulses, and finds its first fundamental expression in the baby's attachment to his mother's breast, which develops into love for her as a person. My psycho-analytic work has convinced me that when in the baby's mind the conflicts between love and hate arise, and the fears of losing the loved one become active, a very important step is made in development. These feelings of guilt and distress now enter as a new element into the emotion of love. They become an inherent part of love, and influence it profoundly both in quality and quantity.

Even in the small child one can observe a concern for the loved one which is not, as one might think, merely a sign of dependence upon a friendly and helpful person. Side by side with the destructive impulses in the unconscious mind both of the child and of the adult, there exists a profound urge to make sacrifices, in order to help and to put right loved people who in phantasy have been harmed or destroyed. In the depths of the mind, the urge to make people happy is linked up with a strong feeling of responsibility and concern for them, which manifests itself in genuine sympathy with other people and in the ability to understand them, as they are and as they feel.

### *Identification and Making Reparation*

To be genuinely considerate implies that we can put ourselves in the place of other people: we 'identify' ourselves with them. Now this capacity for identification with another person is a most important element in human relationships in general, and is also a condition for real and strong feelings of love. We are only able to disregard or to some extent sacrifice our own feelings and desires, and thus for a time to put the other person's interests and emotions first, if we have the capacity to identify ourselves with the loved person. Since in being identified with other people we share, as it were, the help or satisfaction afforded to them by ourselves, we regain in one way what we have sacrificed in another.<sup>1</sup> Ultimately, in making sacrifices for

<sup>1</sup> As I said at the beginning there is a constant interaction of love and hate in all of us. My topic, however, is concerned with the ways in which feelings of love develop and become strengthened and stabilized. Since I am not entering much into questions of aggression I must make clear that it is also active, even in people whose capacity for love is strongly developed. Generally speaking, in such people both aggression and hatred (the latter diminished and to some degree counter-balanced by the capacity for love) is used very greatly in constructive ways

somebody we love and in identifying ourselves with the loved person, we play the part of a good parent, and behave towards this person as we felt at times the parents did to us—or as we wanted them to do. At the same time, we also play the part of the good child towards his parents, which we wished to do in the past and are now acting out in the present. Thus, by reversing a situation, namely in acting towards another person as a good parent, in phantasy we re-create and enjoy the wished-for love and goodness of our parents. But to act as good parents towards other people may also be a way of dealing with the frustrations and sufferings of the past. Our grievances against our parents for having frustrated us, together with the feelings of hate and revenge to which these have given rise in us, and again, the feelings of guilt and despair arising out of this hate and revenge because we have injured the parents whom at the same time we loved—all these, in phantasy, we may undo in retrospect (taking away some of the grounds for hatred), by playing at the same time the parts of loving parents and loving children. At the same time, in our unconscious phantasy we make good the injuries which we did in phantasy,

(‘sublimated,’ as it has been termed). There is actually no productive activity into which some aggression does not enter in one way or another. Take, for instance, the housewife’s occupation: cleaning and so on certainly bear witness to her desire to make things pleasant for others and for herself, and as such is a manifestation of love for other people and for the things she cares for. But at the same time she also gives expression to her aggression in destroying the enemy, dirt, which in her unconscious mind has come to stand for ‘bad’ things. The original hatred and aggression derived from the earliest sources may break through in women whose cleanliness becomes obsessional. We all know the type of women who make life miserable for the family by continuously ‘tidying up’; there the hatred is actually turned against the people she loves and cares for. To hate people and things which are felt to be worthy of hate—be they people we dislike or principles (political, artistic, religious or moral) with which we disagree, is a general way of giving vent, in a manner which is felt to be permissible and can actually be quite constructive, to our feelings of hatred, aggression, scorn and contempt, if it does not go to extremes. These emotions, though made use of in adult ways, are at bottom the ones we experienced in childhood when we hated the people whom at the same time we also loved—our parents. Even then we attempted to keep our love towards our parents, and to turn the hatred on to other people and things, a process which is more successful when we have developed and stabilized our capacity for love and also extended our range of interests, affections and hatreds in adult life. To give a few more examples: the work of lawyers, politicians and critics involves combating opponents, but in ways which are felt to be allowable and useful; and here again the foregoing conclusions would apply. One of the many ways in which aggression can be expressed legitimately and even laudably is in games, in which the opponent is temporarily—and this fact of its being temporary also helps to diminish the sense of guilt—attacked with feelings that again derive from early emotional situations. There are thus many ways—sublimated and direct—in which aggression and hatreds find expression in people who are at the same time very kind-hearted and capable of love.

and for which we still unconsciously feel very guilty. This *making reparation* is, in my view, a fundamental element in love and in all human relationships; I shall therefore refer to it frequently in what follows.

### *A Happy Love Relationship*

Bearing in mind what I have said about the origins of love, let us now consider some particular relationships of adults, taking first, as an example, a satisfactory and stable love relationship between a man and a woman, as it may be found in a happy marriage. This implies a deep attachment, a capacity for mutual sacrifice, a sharing—in grief as well as in pleasure, in interests as well as in sexual enjoyment. A relationship of this nature affords the widest scope for the most varied manifestations of love.<sup>1</sup> If the woman has a maternal attitude towards the man, she satisfies (as far as can be) his earliest wishes for the gratifications he desired from his own mother. In the past, these wishes have never been quite satisfied, and have never been quite given up. The man has now, as it were, this mother for his own, with relatively little feeling of guilt. (I shall go into the reason for this in more detail later.) If the woman has a richly developed emotional life, besides possessing these maternal feelings, she will also have kept something of the child’s attitude towards her father, and some of the features of this old relationship will enter into her relation to her husband; for instance, she will trust and admire her husband, and he will be a protective and helpful figure to her as her father was. These feelings will be a foundation for a relation in which the woman’s desires and needs as a grown-up person can find full satisfaction. Again, this attitude of his wife’s gives the man the opportunity to be protective and helpful to her in various ways—that is, in his unconscious mind, to play the part of a good husband to his mother.

If the woman is capable of strong feelings of love both towards her husband and towards her children, one can infer that she has most probably had a good relationship in childhood to both parents, and to her brothers and sisters; that is to say, that she has been able to deal satisfactorily with her early feelings of hate and revenge against them. I have mentioned before the importance of the little girl’s unconscious wish to receive a baby from her father, and of the sexual

<sup>1</sup> In considering adult emotions and relationships I shall throughout this paper deal mainly with the bearing the child’s early impulses and unconscious feelings and phantasies have upon the later manifestations of love. I am aware that this necessarily leads to a somewhat concentrated and schematic presentation, for in this way I cannot do justice to the multiple factors that in the life-long interaction between influences coming from the outer world and the individual’s inner forces work together to build up an adult relationship.

desires towards him which are connected with this wish. The father's frustration of her genital desires gives rise to intense aggressive phantasies in the child, which have an important bearing upon the capacity for sexual gratification in adult life. Sexual phantasies in the little girl thus become connected with hatred which is specifically directed against her father's penis, because she feels that it denies her the gratification which it affords to her mother. In her jealousy and hatred she wishes it to be a dangerous and evil thing—one which could not gratify her mother either—and the penis thus, in her phantasy, acquires destructive qualities. Because of these unconscious wishes, which focus on her parents' sexual gratifications, in some of her phantasies sexual organs and sexual gratification take on a bad and dangerous character. These aggressive phantasies are again followed in the child's mind by wishes to make good—more specifically, by phantasies of healing the father's genital which, in her mind, she has injured or made bad. The phantasies of a curative nature are also connected with sexual feelings and desires. All these unconscious phantasies influence greatly the woman's feelings towards her husband. If he loves her and also gratifies her sexually, her unconscious sadistic phantasies will lose in strength. But since these are not entirely put out of action (though in a woman who is fairly normal, they are not present in a degree that inhibits the tendency to blend with more positive or friendly erotic impulses), they lead to a stimulation of phantasies of a restoring nature; thus once more the drive to make reparation is brought into action. Sexual gratification affords her not only pleasure, but reassurance and support against the fears and feelings of guilt which were the result of her early sadistic wishes. This reassurance enhances sexual gratification and gives rise in the woman to feelings of gratitude, tenderness and increased love. Just because there is somewhere in the depths of her mind a feeling that her genital is dangerous and could injure her husband's genital—which is a derivative of her aggressive phantasies towards her father—one part of the satisfaction she obtains comes from the fact that she is capable of giving her husband pleasure and happiness, and that her genital thus proves to be good.

Because the little girl had phantasies of her father's genital being dangerous, these still have a certain influence upon the woman's unconscious mind. But if she has a happy and sexually gratifying relation with her husband, his genital is felt to be good, and thus her fears of the bad genital are disproved. The sexual gratification thus works as a double reassurance: of her own goodness and of her husband's, and the feeling of security gained in this way adds to the actual sexual enjoyment. The circle of reassurance thus provided is still wider. The woman's early jealousy and hatred of her mother as

a rival for her father's love has played an important part in her aggressive phantasies. The mutual happiness provided both by sexual gratification and by a happy and loving relation to her husband will also be felt partly as an indication that her sadistic wishes against her mother have not taken effect, or that reparation has succeeded.

The emotional attitude and the sexuality of a man in his relation to his wife are of course also influenced by his past. The frustration by his mother of his genital desires in his childhood aroused phantasies in which his penis became an instrument which could give pain and cause injury to her. At the same time jealousy and hatred of his father as a rival for his mother's love set going phantasies of a sadistic nature against his father also. In the sexual relation to his lover-partner the man's early aggressive phantasies, which led to a fear of his penis being destructive, come into play to some extent, and by a transmutation similar in kind to that described for the woman, the sadistic impulse, when it is in manageable quantity, stimulates phantasies of reparation. The penis is then felt to be a good and curative organ, which shall afford the woman pleasure, cure her injured genital and create babies in her. A happy and sexually gratifying relationship with the woman affords him proofs of the goodness of his penis, and also unconsciously gives him the feeling that his wishes to restore her have succeeded. This not only increases his sexual pleasure and his love and tenderness for the woman, but here again it leads to feelings of gratitude and security. In addition, these feelings are apt to increase his creative powers in other ways and to influence his capacity for work and for other activities. If his wife can share in his interests (as well as in love and in sexual satisfaction), she affords him proofs of the value of his work. In these various ways his early wish to be capable of doing what his father did for his mother, sexually and otherwise, and to receive from her what his father received, can be fulfilled in his relation to his wife. His happy relation to her has also the effect of diminishing his aggression against his father, which was greatly stimulated by his being unable to have his mother as a wife, and this may reassure him that his long-standing sadistic tendencies against his father have not been effective. Since grievances and hatred against his father have influenced his feelings towards men who have come to stand for his father, and grievances against his mother have affected his relation to women who stand for her, a satisfactory love relationship alters his outlook on life and his attitude to people and activities in general. To possess his wife's love and appreciation gives him a feeling of being fully grown-up and thus of being equal to his father. The hostile and aggressive rivalry with him diminishes and gives way to a more friendly competition with his father—or rather with admired father-figures—in productive

functions and achievements, and this is very likely to enhance or increase his productivity.

Similarly, when a woman in a happy love relationship with a man unconsciously feels that she can take, as it were, the place that her mother took with *her* husband, and now gains satisfactions that her mother enjoyed and that she, as a child, was denied—then she is able to feel equal to her mother, to enjoy the same happiness, rights and privileges as her mother did, but without injuring and robbing her. The effects upon her attitude and the development of her personality are analogous to the changes which take place in the man when he finds himself, in a happy married life, equal to his father.

Thus in both partners a relationship of mutual sexual gratification and love will be felt as a happy re-creation of their early family lives. Many wishes and phantasies can never be satisfied in childhood,<sup>1</sup> not only because they are impracticable, but also because there are simultaneously contradictory wishes in the unconscious mind. It seems a paradoxical fact that, in a way, fulfilment of many infantile wishes is possible only when the individual has grown up. In the happy rela-

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the boy, for example, the child wishes to have his mother to himself the whole twenty-four hours of the day, to have sexual intercourse with her, to give her babies, to kill his father because he is jealous of him, to deprive his brothers and sisters of everything they have, and turn them out too if they get in his way. It is obvious that if these impracticable wishes were fulfilled they would cause him the deepest feelings of guilt. Even the realization of much less far-reaching destructive desires is apt to arouse deep conflicts. For instance many a child will feel guilty if he becomes his mother's favourite, because his father and brothers and sisters will be correspondingly neglected. This is what I mean by saying there are simultaneously contradictory wishes in the unconscious mind. The child's desires are unlimited and so are his destructive impulses in connection with these desires, but at the same time he also has—unconsciously and consciously—opposite tendencies; he also wishes to give them love and make reparation. He himself actually wants to be restrained by the adults around him in his aggression and selfishness, because if these are given free rein he is caused suffering by the pain of remorse and unworthiness; and in fact he relies on obtaining this help from grown-ups, like any other help he needs. Consequently it is psychologically quite inadequate to attempt to solve children's difficulties by not frustrating them at all. Naturally, frustration which is in reality unnecessary or arbitrary and shows nothing but lack of love and understanding is very detrimental. It is important to realize that the child's development depends on, and to a large extent is formed by, his capacity to find the way to bear inevitable and necessary frustrations and the conflicts of love and hate which are in part caused by them: that is, to find his way between his hate which is increased by frustrations, and his love and wish for reparation which bring in their train the sufferings of remorse. The way the child adapts himself to these problems in his mind forms the foundation for all his later social relationships, his adult capacity for love and cultural development. He can be immensely helped in childhood by the love and understanding of those around him, but these deep problems can neither be solved for him nor abolished.

tionship of grown-up people the early wish to have one's mother or father all to oneself is still unconsciously active. Of course, reality does not allow one to be one's mother's husband or one's father's wife; and had it been possible, feelings of guilt towards others would have interfered with the gratification. But only if one has been able to develop such relationships with the parents in unconscious phantasy, and has been able to overcome to some extent one's feelings of guilt connected with these phantasies, and gradually to detach oneself from as well as remain attached to the parents, is one capable of transferring these wishes to other people, who then stand for desired objects of the past, though they are not identical with them. That is to say, only if the individual has grown up in the real sense of the word can his infantile phantasies be fulfilled in the adult state. What is more, guilt due to these infantile wishes then becomes relieved, just because a situation phantasied in childhood has now become real in a permissible way, and in a way which proves that the injuries of various kinds, which in phantasy were connected with this situation, have not actually been inflicted.

A happy adult relationship, such as I have described, can thus, as I said before, mean a re-creation of the early family situation, and this will be the more complete, and therefore the whole circle of reassurance and security will be wider still, through the relation of the man and woman to their children. This brings us to the subject of parenthood.

#### *Parenthood: On Being a Mother*

We will consider first a really loving relationship of a mother to her baby, as it develops if the woman has attained a fully maternal personality. There are many threads which link the relationship of the mother to her child with that of her own relation to her mother in babyhood. A very strong conscious and unconscious wish for babies exists in small children. In the little girl's unconscious phantasies, her mother's body is full of babies. These she imagines have been put into her by her father's penis, which is to her the symbol of all creativeness, power and goodness. This predominant attitude of admiration towards her father and his sexual organs as creative and life-giving goes along with the little girl's intense desire to possess children of her own and to have babies inside her, as the most precious possession.

It is an everyday observation that little girls play with dolls as if these were their babies. But a child will often display a passionate devotion to the doll, for it has become to her a live and real baby, a companion, a friend, which forms part of her life. She not only carries it about with her, but constantly has it in her mind, starts the day with it and gives it up unwillingly if she is made to do something



else. These wishes experienced in childhood persist into womanhood and contribute greatly to the strength of the love that a pregnant woman feels for the child growing inside her, and then for the baby to which she has given birth. The gratification of at last having it relieves the pain of the frustration experienced in childhood when she wanted a baby from her father and could not have it. This long-postponed fulfilment of an all-important wish tends to make her less aggressive and to increase her capacity for loving her child. Furthermore, the child's helplessness and its great need for its mother's care call for more love than can be given to any other person, and thus all the mother's loving and constructive tendencies now have scope. Some mothers, as we know, exploit this relationship for the gratification of their own desires, *i.e.* their possessiveness and the satisfaction of having somebody dependent upon them. Such mothers want their children to cling to them, and they hate them to grow up and to acquire individualities of their own. With others, the child's helplessness calls out all the strong wishes to make reparation, which are derived from various sources and which can now be related to this most wished-for baby, who is the fulfilment of her early longings. Gratitude towards the child who affords his mother the enjoyment of being able to love him enhances these feelings, and may lead to an attitude where the mother's first concern will be for the baby's good, and her own gratification will become bound up with his welfare.

The nature of the relations of the mother to her children alters, of course, as they grow up. Her attitude to her older children will be more or less influenced by her attitude to her brothers and sisters, cousins, etc., in the past. Certain difficulties in these past relationships may easily interfere with her feelings for her own child, especially if it develops reactions and traits which tend to stir these difficulties in her. Her jealousy and rivalry towards her brothers and sisters gave rise to death-wishes and aggressive phantasies, in which in her mind she injured or destroyed them. If her sense of guilt and the conflicts derived from these phantasies are not too strong, then the possibility of making reparation can have more scope and her maternal feelings can come more fully into play.

One element in this maternal attitude seems to be that the mother is capable of putting herself in the child's place and of looking at the situation from his point of view. Her being able to do so with love and sympathy is closely bound up, as we have seen, with feelings of guilt and the drive to reparation. If, however, the sense of guilt is over-strong, this identification may lead to an entirely self-sacrificing attitude which is very much to the child's disadvantage. It is well known that a child who has been brought up by a mother who showers love on him and expects nothing in return often becomes

a selfish person. Lack of capacity for love and consideration in a child is, to a certain extent, a cover for over-strong feelings of guilt. A mother's over-indulgence tends to increase feelings of guilt, and moreover does not allow enough scope for the child's own tendencies to make reparation, to make sacrifices sometimes, and to develop true consideration for others.<sup>1</sup>

If, however, the mother is not too closely wrapped up in the child's feelings and is not too much identified with him, she is able to use her wisdom in guiding the child in the most helpful way. She will then get full satisfaction from the possibility of furthering the child's development—a satisfaction which is again enhanced by phantasies of doing for her child what her own mother did for her, or what she wished her mother to do. In achieving this, she also repays her mother and makes good the injuries done, in phantasy, to her mother's children, and this again lessens her feelings of guilt.

A mother's capacity to love and to understand her children will be especially tested when they come to the stage of adolescence. At this period, children normally tend to turn away from their parents and to free themselves to a certain degree from their old attachments to them. The children's striving to find their way towards new objects of love creates situations which are apt to be very painful for parents. If the mother has strong maternal feelings, she can remain unshaken in her love, can be patient and understanding, give help and advice where this is necessary, and yet allow the children to work out their problems for themselves—and she may be able to do all this without asking much for herself. This is only possible, however, if her capacity for love has developed in such a way that she can make a strong identification both with her child, and with a wise mother of her own whom she keeps in her mind.

The mother's relations to her children will again alter in character and her love may manifest itself in different ways when her children are grown up, have made lives of their own and freed themselves from old ties. The mother may now find that she has not a large part to play in their lives. But she may find some satisfaction in keeping her love prepared for them whenever it is needed. She thus feels unconsciously that she affords them security, and is forever the mother of the early days, whose breast gave them full gratification and who satisfied their needs and their desires. In this situation, the mother has identified herself fully with her own helpful mother, whose

<sup>1</sup> A similar detrimental effect (though this comes about in a different way) is produced by harshness or lack of love on the part of parents—This touches on the important problem of how the environment influences the child's emotional development in a favourable or unfavourable way. This, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper.



protective influence has never ceased to function in her mind. At the same time she is also identified with her own children: she is, in her phantasy, as it were, again a child, and shares with her children the possession of a good and helpful mother. The unconscious minds of the children very often correspond to the mother's unconscious mind, and whether or not they make much use of this store of love prepared for them, they often gain great inner support and comfort through the knowledge that this love exists.

*Parenthood: On Being a Father*

Although his children do not on the whole mean so much to the man as to the woman, they do play an important part in his life, especially if he and his wife are in harmony. To go back to deeper sources of this relationship, I have already referred to the gratification which a man derives from giving a baby to his wife, in so far as this means making up for his sadistic wishes towards his mother and making restoration to her. This increases the actual satisfaction of creating a baby and of fulfilling his wife's wishes. An additional source of pleasure is the gratification of his feminine wishes by his sharing the maternal pleasure of his wife. As a small boy he had strong desires to bear children as his mother did, and these desires increased his tendencies to rob her of her children. As a man, he can *give* children to his wife, can see her happy with them, and is then able, without feeling guilty, to identify himself with her in her bearing and suckling of their children, and again in her relation to the older children.

There are many satisfactions, however, which he derives from being able to be a *good father* to his children. All his protective feelings, which have been stimulated by feelings of guilt in connection with the early family life when he was a child, find full expression. Again, there is the identification with the good father—either with his actual father or with his ideal of a father. Another element in his relationship with his children is his strong identification with them, for he shares in his mind their enjoyments; and, moreover, in helping them in their difficulties and promoting their development he is renewing his own childhood in a more satisfactory way.

Much of what I have said about the mother's relation to her children in different stages of their development applies also to the father's. He plays a different part from that of the mother, but their attitudes complement each other; and if (as is assumed in this whole discussion) their married life is based upon love and understanding, the husband also enjoys his wife's relation with their children, whilst she takes pleasure in his understanding and helping them.

*Difficulties in Family Relationships*

A fully harmonious family life such as that implied in my description is, as we know, not an everyday occurrence. It depends upon a happy coincidence of circumstances and psychological factors, first of all upon a well-developed faculty for love in both partners. Difficulties of all kinds may occur, both in the relation between husband and wife and in their relations to the children, and I will give a few examples of these.

The individuality of the child may not correspond to what the parents wished it to be. Either partner may unconsciously want the child to be like a brother or a sister of the past; and this wish obviously cannot be satisfied in both parents—and may not be fulfilled even in one. Again, if there has been strong rivalry and jealousy in relation to brothers and sisters in either or both partners, this may be repeated in connection with the achievements and the development of their own children. Another situation of difficulty arises when the parents are over-ambitious and wish, by means of the achievements of their children, to gain reassurances for themselves and to lessen their own fears. Then, again, some mothers are not able to love and to enjoy the possession of their children because they feel too guilty of taking, in phantasy, their own mother's place. A woman of this type may not be able to tend her children herself, but has to leave them to the care of nurses or other people—who in her unconscious mind stand for her own mother, to whom she is thus returning the children whom she wished to take away from her. This fear of loving the child, which of course disturbs the relationship with the child, may occur in men as well as in women, and will probably affect the mutual relations of husband and wife.

I have said that feelings of guilt and the drive to make reparation are intimately bound up with the emotion of love. If, however, the early conflict between love and hate has not been satisfactorily dealt with, or if guilt is too strong, this may lead to a turning away from loved people or even to a rejection of them. In the last analysis it is the fear that the loved person—to begin with, the mother—may die because of the injuries inflicted upon her in phantasy, which makes it unbearable to be dependent upon this person. We can observe the satisfaction small children gain from their early achievements, and from everything which increases their independence. There are many obvious reasons for this, but a deep and important one is, in my experience, that the child is driven towards weakening his attachment to the all-important person, his mother. She originally kept his life going, supplied all his needs, protected him and gave him security; she is therefore felt as the source of all goodness and of life; in unconscious

phantasy she becomes an inseparable part of oneself; her death would therefore imply one's own death. Where these feelings and phantasies are very strong, the attachment to loved people may become an overwhelming burden.

Many people find their way out of these difficulties by lessening their capacity for love, *denying* or suppressing it, and by avoiding strong emotions altogether. Others have found an escape from the dangers of love by having displaced it predominantly from people to something else but people. The displacement of love to things and interests (which I discuss in connection with the explorer and the man struggling with the hardships of nature) is part of normal growth. But with some people this displacement to objects other than human has become their main mode of dealing with, or rather escaping from, conflicts. We all know the type of animal lover, passionate collector, scientist, artist, and so on, who is capable of a great love, and often self-sacrifice, for the objects of his devotion or his chosen work, but has little interest and love to spare for his fellow-men.

A quite different development takes place in people who become entirely dependent upon those to whom they are strongly attached. With them, the unconscious fear that the loved one will die leads to over-dependence. Greed, which is increased by fears of the kind, is one element in such an attitude, and is expressed in making as much use as possible of the person on whom one is dependent. Another constituent in this attitude of over-dependence is the shirking of responsibility: the other person is made responsible for one's actions, and sometimes even for one's opinions and thoughts. (This is one of the reasons why people accept without criticism the views of a leader and act with blind obedience to his commands.) With people who are so over-dependent, love is very much needed as a support against the sense of guilt and fears of various kinds. The loved person, by signs of affection, must prove to them over and over again that they are not bad, not aggressive, and that their destructive impulses have not taken effect.

These over-strong ties are especially disturbing in the relation of a mother to her child. As I have pointed out before, the attitude of a mother to her child has much in common with her feelings as a child towards her own mother. We know already that this early relationship is characterized by the conflicts between love and hate. Unconscious death-wishes which the child bears towards her mother are carried over to her own child when she becomes a mother. These feelings are increased by the conflicting emotions in childhood towards brothers and sisters. If as the result of unsolved conflict in the past the mother feels too guilty in relation to her own child, she may

need its love so intensely that she uses various devices to tie it closely to herself and to make it dependent upon her; or again, she may devote herself too much to the child, making him the centre of her whole life.

Let us consider now, though only from one basic aspect, a very different mental attitude—infidelity. The manifold forms and manifestations of infidelity (being the outcome of the most varied ways of development and expressing in some people mainly love, in others mainly hatred, with all degrees in between) have one phenomenon in common: the repeated turning away from a (loved) person, which partly springs from the fear of dependence. I have found that the typical Don Juan in the depths of his mind is haunted by the dread of the death of loved people, and that this fear would break through and express itself in feelings of depression and in great mental sufferings if he had not developed this particular defence—his infidelity—against them. By means of this he is proving to himself over and over again that his *one* greatly loved object (originally his mother, whose death he dreaded because he felt his love for her to be greedy and destructive), is not after all indispensable since he can always find another woman to whom he has passionate but shallow feelings. In contrast to those people whom a great dread of the death of the loved person drives to rejecting her or to stifling and denying love, he is, for various reasons, incapable of doing so. But through his attitude towards women an unconscious compromise finds expression. By deserting and rejecting some women he unconsciously turns away from his mother, saves her from his dangerous desires and frees himself from his painful dependence on her, and by turning to other women and giving them pleasure and love he is in his unconscious mind retaining the loved mother or re-creating her.

In reality he is driven from one person to another, since the other person soon comes to stand again for his mother. His original love object is thus replaced by a succession of different ones. In unconscious phantasy he is re-creating or healing his mother by means of sexual gratifications (which he actually gives to other women), for only in one aspect is his sexuality felt to be dangerous; in another aspect it is felt to be curative and to make her happy. This twofold attitude is part of the unconscious compromise which resulted in his infidelity and is one condition for his particular way of development.

This leads me to another type of difficulty in love relationships. A man may restrict his affectionate, tender and protective feelings to one woman, who may be his wife, but he is unable to get sexual enjoyment in this relationship, and has either to repress his sexual desires or to turn them towards some other woman. Fears of the

destructive nature of his sexuality, fears of his father as a rival and feelings of guilt in this connection are deep reasons for such a separation of feelings of a tender kind from specifically sexual ones. The loved and highly valued woman, who stands for his mother, has to be saved from his sexuality, which in phantasy is felt to be dangerous.

#### *Choice of Love-Partner*

Psycho-analysis shows that there are deep unconscious motives which contribute to the choice of a love-partner, and make two particular people sexually attractive and satisfactory to each other. The feelings of a man towards a woman are always influenced by his early attachment to his mother. But here again this will be more or less unconscious, and may be very much disguised in its manifestations. A man may choose as a love-partner a woman who has some characteristics of an entirely opposite kind to those of his mother—perhaps the loved woman's appearance is quite different, but her voice or some characteristics of her personality are in accordance with his early impressions of his mother and have a special attraction for him. Or again, just because he wanted to get away from too strong an attachment to his mother, he may choose a love-partner who is in absolute contrast to her.

Very often, as development proceeds, a sister or a cousin takes the mother's place in the boy's sexual phantasies and feelings of love. It is obvious that an attitude based on such feelings will differ from that of a man who seeks mainly maternal traits in a woman; although a man whose choice is influenced by his feelings for a sister may also seek some traits of a maternal kind in his love-partner. A great variety of possibilities is created by the early influence of various people in the child's environment: a nurse, an aunt, a grandmother, may play an important part in this respect. Of course, in considering the bearing early relationships have upon the later choice, we must not forget that it is the impression of the loved person that the child had at the time, and the phantasies he connected with her then, which he wishes to rediscover in his later love relationship. Furthermore, the unconscious mind does associate things on grounds other than those the conscious mind is aware of. Completely forgotten—repressed—impressions of various kinds for this reason contribute to make one person more attractive, sexually and otherwise, than another to the individual concerned.

Similar factors are at work in the woman's choice. Her impressions of her father, her feelings towards him—admiration, trust, and so on—may play a predominant part in her choosing of a love companion. But her early love to her father may have been shaken. Perhaps she soon turned away from him because of over-strong con-

flicts, or because he disappointed her too much, and a brother, a cousin or a playmate, let us say, may have become a very important person to her; she may have had sexual desires and phantasies as well as maternal feelings towards him. She would then seek a lover or husband agreeing with this image of a brother rather than one who had qualities of a more fatherly kind. In a successful love relationship, the unconscious minds of the love-partners correspond. Taking the case of the woman who has mainly maternal feelings and is seeking a partner of a brotherly nature, then the man's phantasies and desires would correspond if he is looking for a predominantly maternal woman. If the woman is strongly tied to her father, then she unconsciously chooses a man who needs a woman to whom he can play the part of a good father.

Although love-relationships in adult life are founded upon early emotional situations in connection with parents, brothers and sisters, the new relationships are not necessarily mere repetitions of early family situations. Unconscious memories, feelings and phantasies enter into the new love-relationship or friendship in quite disguised ways. But besides early influences there are many other factors at work in the complicated processes that build up a love-relationship or a friendship. Normal adult relationships always contain fresh elements which are derived from the new situation—from circumstances and the personalities of the people we come in contact with, and from their response to our emotional needs and practical interests as grown-up people.

#### *Achieving Independence*

So far I have spoken mainly of intimate relationships between people. We now come to the more general manifestations of love and the ways in which it enters into interests and activities of all kinds. The child's early attachment to his mother's breast and to her milk is the foundation of all love relations in life. But if we consider the mother's milk merely as a healthy and suitable food, we may conclude that it could easily be replaced by other equally suitable food. The mother's milk, however, which first stills the baby's pangs of hunger and is given to him by the breast which he comes to love more and more, acquires for him an emotional value which cannot be over-rated. The breast and its product, which first gratify his self-preservative instinct as well as his sexual desires, come to stand in his mind for love, pleasure and security. The extent to which he is *psychologically* able to replace this first food by other foods is therefore a matter of supreme importance. The mother may succeed with greater or lesser difficulty in accustoming the child to other foods; but, even so, the baby may not have given up his intense desire for his first food, may

not have got over the grievances and hatred at having been deprived of it, nor have adapted himself in the real sense to this frustration—and if this be so, he may not be able to adapt himself truly to any other frustrations which follow in life.

If, by exploring the unconscious mind, we come to understand the strength and depth of this first attachment to the mother and to her food, and the intensity with which it persists in the unconscious mind of the grown-up person, we may wonder how it can come about that the child detaches himself more and more from his mother, and gradually achieves independence. Already in the small baby there is, it is true, a keen interest in things that go on around him, a growing curiosity, an enjoyment in getting to know new people and things, and pleasure in his various achievements, all of which seem to enable the child to find new objects of love and interest. But these facts do not altogether explain the child's ability to detach himself from his mother, since in his unconscious mind he is so closely tied to her. The very nature of this over-strong attachment, however, tends to drive him away from her because (frustrated greed and hatred being inevitable) it gives rise to the fear of losing this all-important person, and consequently to the fear of dependence upon her. There is thus in the unconscious mind a tendency to give her up, which is counteracted by the urgent desire to keep her for ever. These conflicting feelings, together with the emotional and intellectual growth of the child which enable him to find other objects of interest and pleasure, result in the capacity to transfer love, replacing the first loved person by other people and things. It is because the child experiences so much love in connection with his mother that he has so much to draw upon for his later attachments. This process of displacing love is of the greatest importance for the development of the personality and of human relationships; indeed, one may say, for the development of culture and civilization as a whole.

Along with the process of displacing love (and hate) from one's mother to other people and things, and thus distributing these emotions on to the wider world, goes another mode of dealing with early impulses. Sensual feelings which the child experiences in connection with his mother's breast develop into love towards her as a whole person; feelings of love are from their very beginning fused with sexual desires. Psycho-analysis has drawn attention to the fact that sexual feelings towards the parents, brothers and sisters not only exist but can be observed to a certain extent in young children; it is only by exploring the unconscious mind, however, that the strength and fundamental importance of these sexual feelings can be understood.

Sexual desires are, as we already know, closely linked up with aggressive impulses and phantasies, with guilt and the fear of the

death of the loved people, all of which drive the child to lessen his attachments to his parents. There is also a tendency in the child to repress these sexual feelings, *i.e.* they become unconscious, and are, so to speak, buried in the depths of the mind. Sexual impulses also get disconnected from the first loved people, and thus the child acquires the capacity to love some people in a predominantly affectionate way.

The psychological processes just described—replacing one loved person by others, dissociating to a certain extent sexual from tender feelings, and repressing sexual impulses and desires—are an integral part of the child's capacity for establishing wider relationships. It is, however, essential for a successful all-round development that the repression of sexual feelings in connection with the first loved people should not be too strong,<sup>1</sup> and that the displacing of the child's feelings from the parents to other people should not be too complete. If enough love remains available for those nearest to the child, if his sexual desires in connection with them are not too deeply repressed, then in later life love and sexual desires can be revived and brought together again, and they then play a vital part in happy love relationships. In a really successfully developed personality some love for the parents remains, but love for other people and things will be added. This is not, however, a mere extension of love but, as I have stressed, a diffusion of emotions, which lessens the burden of the child's conflicts and guilt connected with the attachment to and dependence on the first people he loves.

By turning to other people his conflicts are not done away with, for he transfers them from the first and most important people in a less intense degree to these new objects of love (and hate) which partly stand for the old ones. Just because his feelings towards these new people are less intense, his drive to make reparation, which may be impeded if the feelings of guilt are over-strong, can now come more fully into play.

It is well known that a child's development is helped by his having brothers and sisters. His growing up with them allows him to detach himself more from his parents and to build up a new type of relationship with brothers and sisters. We know, however, that he not only loves them, but has strong feelings of rivalry, hate and jealousy towards them. For this reason, relationships to cousins, playmates and

<sup>1</sup> Sexual phantasies and desires remain active in the unconscious mind and are also expressed to a certain extent in the child's behaviour and in his play and other activities. If repression is too strong, if the phantasies and desires remain too deeply buried and can find no expression, this may not only have the effect of inhibiting strongly the working of his imagination (and with this of activities of all kinds), but also of seriously impeding the individual's later sexual life.

other children still further removed from the nearest family situation, allow divergences from the relationships to brothers and sisters—divergences which again are of great importance as a foundation for later social relationships.

#### *Relationships in School Life*

School life affords an opportunity for developing the experience already gained of relationship to people, and provides a field for new experiments in this line. Among a greater number of children the child may find one or two or several who respond better to his special make-up than his brothers and sisters did. These new friendships, among other satisfactions, give him an opportunity for revising and improving, as it were, the early relationships with his brothers and sisters, which may have been unsatisfactory. He may actually have been aggressive towards, let us say, a brother who was weaker or younger; or it may have been mainly his unconscious sense of guilt because of hatred and jealousy which disturbed the relationship—a disturbance which may persist into grown-up life. This unsatisfactory state of affairs may have a profound effect later upon his emotional attitudes towards people in general. Some children are, as we know, incapable of making friends at school, and this is because they carry their early conflicts into a new environment. With others who can detach themselves sufficiently from their first emotional entanglements and can make friends with schoolmates, it is often found that the actual relation to brothers and sisters then improves. The new companionships prove to the child that he is able to love and is lovable, that love and goodness exist, and this is unconsciously felt also as a proof that he can repair harm which he has done to others in his imagination or in actual fact. Thus new friendships help in the solution of earlier emotional difficulties, without the person being aware either of the exact nature of those early troubles or of the way in which they are being solved. By all of these means the tendencies for making reparation find scope, the sense of guilt is lessened, and trust in oneself and in others is increased.

School life also gives opportunity for a greater separation of hate from love than was possible in the small family circle. At school, some children can be hated, or merely disliked, while others can be loved. In this way, both the repressed emotions of love and hate—repressed because of the conflict about hating a loved person—can find fuller expression in more or less socially accepted directions. Children ally themselves in various ways, and develop certain rules as to how far they can go in their expressions of hatred or dislike of others. Games and the team spirit associated with them are a regulating factor in these alliances and in the display of aggression.

Jealousy and rivalry for the teacher's love and appreciation, though they may be quite strong, are experienced in a setting different from that of home life. Teachers are, on the whole, further removed from the child's feelings, they bring less emotion into the situation than parents do, and they also divide their feelings among many children.

#### *Relationships in Adolescence*

As the child grows to adolescence, his tendency to hero-worship often finds expression in his relation to some teachers, while he may dislike, hate or scorn others. This is another instance of the process of separating hatred from love, a process which affords relief, both because the 'good' person is spared and because there is satisfaction in hating someone who is thought to be worthy of it. The loved and hated father, the loved and hated mother, are, as I have already said, originally the objects of both admiration and of hatred and devaluation. But these mixed feelings, which are, as we know, too conflicting and burdensome for the young child's mind and therefore likely to be impeded or buried, find part expression in the child's relations with other people—for instance, nurses, aunts, uncles and various relatives. Later on, in adolescence, most children manifest a strong tendency to turn away from their parents; and this is largely because sexual desires and conflicts connected with the parents are once more gaining in strength. The early feelings of rivalry and hatred against the father or the mother, as the case may be, are revived and experienced with full force, though their sexual motive remains unconscious. Young people tend to be very aggressive and unpleasant to their parents, and to other people who lend themselves to it, such as servants, a weak teacher, or disliked schoolmates. But when hatred reaches such strength, the necessity to preserve goodness and love within and without becomes all the more urgent. The aggressive youth is therefore driven to find people whom he can look up to and idealize. Admired teachers can serve this purpose; and inner security is derived from the feelings of love, admiration and trust towards them, because, among other reasons, in the unconscious mind these feelings seem to confirm the existence of good parents and of a love relation to them, thus disproving the great hatred, anxiety and guilt which at this period of life have become so strong. There are, of course, children who can keep love and admiration for the parents themselves even while they are going through these difficulties, but they are not very common. I think that what I have said goes a little way to explain the peculiar position in the minds of people generally of idealized figures such as famous men and women, authors, athletes, adventurers, imaginary characters taken from literature—people towards whom is turned the love and

admiration without which all things would take on the gloom of hate and lovelessness, a state that is felt to be dangerous to the self and to others.

Together with the idealization of certain people goes the hatred against others, who are painted in the darkest colours. This applies especially to imaginary people, *i.e.* certain types of villains in films and in literature; or to real people somewhat removed from oneself, such as political leaders of the opposite party. It is safe to hate these people, who are either unreal or further removed, than to hate those nearer to one—safer for them and for oneself. This applies also to a certain extent to the hatred against some teachers or headmasters, for the general school discipline and the whole situation tends to make a greater barrier between pupil and teacher than often exists between son and father.

This division between love and hate towards people not too close to oneself also serves the purpose of keeping loved people more secure, both actually and in one's mind. They are not only remote from one physically and thus inaccessible, but the division between the loving and hating attitude fosters the feeling that one can keep love unspoilt. The feeling of security that comes from being able to love is, in the unconscious mind, closely linked up with keeping loved people safe and undamaged. The unconscious belief seems to run: I am able to keep some loved people intact, then I have really not damaged any of my loved people and I keep them all for ever in my mind. In the last analysis the image of the loved parents is preserved in the unconscious mind as the most precious possession, for it guards its possessor against the pain of utter desolation.

#### *The Development of Friendships*

The child's early friendships change in character during adolescence. The strength of impulses and feelings, which is so characteristic of this stage of life, brings about very intense friendships between young people, mostly between members of the same sex. Unconscious homosexual tendencies and feelings underlie these relationships and very often lead to actual homosexual activities. Such relationships are partly an escape from the drive towards the other sex, which is often too unmanageable at this stage, for various internal and external reasons. To speak of internal ones and to take the case of the boy: his desires and phantasies are still very much connected with his mother and sisters, and the struggle of turning away from them and finding new love objects is at its very height. The impulses towards the other sex, with both boys and girls at this stage, are often felt to be fraught with so many dangers that the drive towards people of the same sex tends to become intensified. The love, admiration and

adulation which can be put into these friendships are also, as I pointed out before, a safeguard against hatred, and for these various reasons young people cling all the more to such relationships. At this stage of development, the increased homosexual tendencies, whether conscious or unconscious, also play a great part in the adulation of teachers of the same sex. Friendships in adolescence, as we know, are very often unstable. A reason for this is to be found in the strength of the sexual feelings (unconscious or conscious) which enter into them and disturb them. The adolescent is not yet emancipated from the strong emotional ties of infancy and is still—more than he knows—swayed by them.

#### *Friendships in Adult Life*

In adult life, though unconscious homosexual tendencies play their part in friendships between people of the same sex, it is characteristic of friendship—as distinct from a homosexual love relationship<sup>1</sup>—that affectionate feelings can be partially dissociated from sexual ones, which recede into the background, and though remaining to a certain extent active in the unconscious mind, for practical purposes they disappear. This separation of sexual from affectionate feelings can apply also to friendships between men and women, but since the vast topic of friendship is only one part of my subject, I shall confine myself here to speaking of friendships between people of the same sex, and even then I shall make only a few general remarks.

Let us take as an instance a friendship between two women who are not too dependent upon each other. Protectiveness and helpfulness may still be needed, at times by the one, at other times by the other, as situations arise. This capacity to give and take emotionally is one essential for true friendship. Here, elements of early situations are expressed in adult ways. Protection, help and advice were first afforded to us by our mothers. If we grow up emotionally and become self-sufficient, we shall not be too dependent upon maternal support and comfort, but the wish to receive them when painful and difficult situations arise will remain until we die. In our relation to a friend we may at times receive and give some of a mother's care and love. A successful blending of a mother-attitude and a daughter-attitude seems to be one of the conditions for an emotionally rich feminine personality and for the capacity for friendship. (A fully developed feminine personality implies a capacity for good relations

<sup>1</sup> The subject of homosexual love relations is a wide and very complicated one. To deal with it adequately would necessitate more space than I have at my disposal, and I restrict myself, therefore, to mentioning that much love can be put into these relationships.

with men, as far as both affectionate and sexual feelings are concerned; but in speaking of friendship between women I am referring to the sublimated homosexual tendencies and feelings.) We may have had an opportunity in our relations to sisters to experience and express both the motherly care and the daughter's response; and then we can easily carry them further into adult friendships. But there may not have been a sister, or none with whom these feelings could be experienced, and in that case, if we come to develop a friendship with another woman, this will bring to realization, modified by adult needs, a strong and important wish of childhood.

We share interests and pleasures with a friend, but we may also be capable of enjoying her happiness and success even when we ourselves lack these. Feelings of envy and jealousy may recede into the background if our capacity to identify ourselves with her, and thus to share in her happiness, is strong enough.

The element of guilt and reparation is never missing in such an identification. Only if we have successfully dealt with our hatred and jealousy, dissatisfaction and grievance against our mother, and have succeeded in being happy in seeing her happy, in feeling that we have not injured her or that we can repair the injury done in phantasy, are we capable of true identification with another woman. Possessiveness and grievance, which lead to over-strong demands, are disturbing elements in friendship; indeed, over-strong emotions altogether are likely to undermine it. Whenever this happens, one finds, on psycho-analytical investigation, that early situations of unsatisfied desires, of grievance, of greed or jealousy, have broken through, *i.e.* though current episodes may have started the trouble, an unresolved conflict from infancy plays an important part in the break-up of the friendship. A balanced emotional atmosphere, which does not at all exclude strength of feeling, is a basis for success in friendship. It is not so likely to succeed if we expect too much of it, *i.e.* expect the friend to make up for our early deprivations. Such undue demands are for the most part unconscious, and therefore cannot be dealt with rationally. They expose us necessarily to disappointment, pain and resentment. If such excessive unconscious demands lead to disturbances in our friendships, exact repetitions—however different the external circumstances may be—of early situations have come about, when in the first place intense greed and hatred disturbed our love for our parents and left us with feelings of dissatisfaction and loneliness. When the past does not press so strongly upon the present situation, we are more able both to make the right choice of friends and to satisfy ourselves with what they have to give.

Much of what I have said about friendship between women—though there are also important differences by reason of the differ-

ence between the man's and the woman's psychology—applies to the development of friendship between men. The separation of affectionate from sexual feelings, the sublimation of homosexual tendencies and identification, are also the foundation for male friendships. Although elements and new gratifications corresponding to adult personality enter—fresh—into a man's friendship with another man, he also is seeking partly for a repetition of his relation to his father or brother, or trying to find a new affinity which fulfils past desires, or to improve on the unsatisfactory relations to those who once stood nearest to him.

#### *Wider Aspects of Love*

The process by which we displace love from the first people we cherish to other people is extended from earliest childhood onwards to things. In this way we develop interests and activities into which we put some of the love that originally belonged to people. In the baby's mind, one part of the body can stand for another part, and an object for parts of the body or for people. In this symbolical way, any round object may, in the child's unconscious mind, come to stand for his mother's breast. By a gradual process, anything that is felt to give out goodness and beauty, and that calls forth pleasure and satisfaction, in the physical or in the wider sense, can in the unconscious mind take the place of this ever-bountiful breast, and of the whole mother. Thus we speak of our own country as the 'motherland' because in the unconscious mind our country may come to stand for our mother, and then it can be loved with feelings which borrow their nature from the relation to her.

To illustrate the way in which the first relationship enters into interests that seem very remote from it, let us take as an instance the explorers who set out for new discoveries, undergoing the greatest deprivations and encountering grave dangers and perhaps death in the attempt. Besides stimulating external circumstances, there are very many psychological elements that underlie the interest and the pursuit of exploring. Here I can mention only one or two specific unconscious factors. In his greed, the little boy has desires to attack his mother's body, which is felt as an extension of her good breast. He also has phantasies of robbing her of the contents of her body—among other things of babies, which are felt to be precious possessions—and in his jealousy he also attacks the babies. These aggressive phantasies of penetrating her body are soon linked up with his genital desires to have intercourse with her. In psycho-analytic work it has been found that phantasies of exploring the mother's body, which arise out of the child's aggressive sexual desires, greed, curiosity and love, contribute to the man's interest in exploring new countries.



In discussing the emotional development of the small child, I pointed out that his aggressive impulses give rise to strong feelings of guilt and to fear of the death of the loved person, all of which form part of feelings of love and reinforce and intensify them. In the explorer's unconscious mind, a new territory stands for a new mother, one that will replace the loss of the real mother. He is seeking the 'promised land'—the 'land flowing with milk and honey'. We have already seen that fear of the death of the most loved person leads to the child's turning away from her to some extent; but at the same time it also drives him to re-create her and to find her again in whatever he undertakes. Here both the escape from her and the original attachment to her find full expression. The child's early aggression stimulates the drive to restore and to make good, to put back into his mother the good things he had robbed her of in phantasy, and these wishes to make good merge into the later drive to explore, for by finding new land the explorer gives something to the world at large and to a number of people in particular. In his pursuit the explorer actually gives expression to both aggression and the drive to reparation. We know that in discovering a new country aggression is made use of in the struggle with the elements, and in overcoming difficulties of all kinds. But sometimes aggression is shown more openly; especially was this so in former times when ruthless cruelty against native populations was displayed by people who not only explored, but conquered and colonized. Some of the early phantasied attacks against the imaginary babies in the mother's body, and actual hatred against new-born brothers and sisters, were here expressed in reality by the attitude towards the natives. The wished-for restoration, however, found full expression in repopulating the country with people of their own nationality. We can see that through the interest in exploring (whether or not aggression is openly shown) various impulses and emotions—aggression, feelings of guilt, love and the drive to reparation—can be transferred to another sphere, far away from the original person.

The drive to explore need not be expressed in an actual physical exploration of the world, but may extend to other fields, for instance, to any kind of scientific discovery. Early phantasies and desires to explore his mother's body enter into the satisfaction which the astronomer, for example, derives from his work. The desire to re-discover the mother of the early days, whom one has lost actually or in one's feelings, is also of the greatest importance in creative art and in the ways people enjoy and appreciate it.

To illustrate some of the processes I have just been discussing, I will take the well-known sonnet by Keats, 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer'.

For convenience I am quoting the whole poem, though it is so well known:

Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold,  
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;  
Round many western islands have I been  
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.  
Oft of one wide expanse had I been told  
That deep-brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne:  
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene  
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold:

Keats is speaking here from the point of view of one who enjoys a work of art. Poetry is compared to 'goodly states and kingdoms' and 'realms of gold'. He himself, on reading Chapman's Homer, is first the astronomer who watches the skies when 'a new planet swims into his ken'. But then Keats becomes the explorer who discovers 'with a wild surmise' a new land and sea. In Keats's perfect poem the world stands for art, and it is clear that to him scientific and artistic enjoyment and exploration are derived from the same source—from the love for the beautiful lands—the 'realms of gold'. The exploration of the unconscious mind (by the way, an unknown continent discovered by Freud) shows that, as I have pointed out before, the beautiful lands stand for the loved mother, and the longing with which these lands are approached is derived from our longings for her. Going back to the sonnet, one may suggest—without any detailed analysis of it—that the 'deep-browed Homer' who rules over the land of poetry stands for the admired and powerful father, whose example the son (Keats) follows when he too enters the country of his desire (art, beauty, the world—ultimately his mother).

Similarly, the sculptor who puts life into his object of art, whether or not it represents a person, is unconsciously restoring and re-creating the early loved people, whom he has in phantasy destroyed.

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
When a new planet swims into his ken;  
Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes  
He stared at the Pacific—and all his men  
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—  
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

*Sense of Guilt, Love and Creativeness*

Feelings of guilt, which as I have endeavoured to show, are a fundamental incentive towards creativeness and work in general (even of the simplest kinds) may however, if they are too great, have

the effect of inhibiting productive activities and interests. These complex connections have first become clear through the psycho-analysis of small children. In children, creative impulses which have hitherto been dormant awaken and express themselves in such activities as drawing, modelling, building and in speech, when by means of psycho-analysis fears of various kinds become lessened. These fears had brought about an increase of the destructive impulses, and therefore when fears are diminished, destructive impulses also are lessened. Along with these processes, feelings of guilt and the anxiety about the death of the loved person, with which the child's mind had been unable to cope because they were overwhelming, gradually diminish, become less intense and are then manageable. This has the effect of increasing the child's concern for other people, of stimulating pity and identification with them, and thus love altogether is increased. The wish to make reparation, so intimately bound up with the concern for the loved one and the anxiety about his death, can now be expressed in creative and constructive ways. In the psycho-analysis of adults, too, these processes and changes can be observed.

I have suggested that any source of joy, beauty and enrichment (whether internal or external) is, in the unconscious mind, felt to be the mother's loving and giving breast and the father's creative penis, which in phantasy possesses similar qualities—ultimately, the two kind and generous parents. The relation to nature which arouses such strong feelings of love, appreciation, admiration and devotion, has much in common with the relation to one's mother, as has long been recognized by poets. The manifold gifts of nature are equated with whatever we have received in the early days from our mother. But she has not always been satisfactory. We often felt her to be ungenerous and to be frustrating us; this aspect of our feelings towards her is also revived in our relation to nature which often is unwilling to give.

The satisfaction of our self-preservative needs and the gratification of our desire for love are forever linked up with each other, because they are first derived from one and the same source. Security was first of all afforded to us by our mother, who not only stilled the pangs of hunger, but also satisfied our emotional needs and relieved anxiety. Security attained by satisfaction of our essential requirements is therefore linked up with emotional security, and both are all the more needed because they counteract the early fears of losing the loved mother. To be sure of our livelihood also implies, in the unconscious phantasy, not being deprived of love and not losing our mother altogether. The man who is out of work and who struggles to find some has in mind first of all his essential material needs. I am not under-rating the actual sufferings and distress, direct and indirect, which result from poverty; but the actual painful situation is made more

poignant by the sorrow and despair springing from his earliest emotional situations, when he not only felt deprived of food because his mother did not satisfy his needs, but also felt he was losing both her and her love and protection.<sup>1</sup> Being out of work deprives him also of giving expression to his constructive tendencies, one most important way of dealing with his unconscious fears and sense of guilt—*i.e.* of making reparation. Harshness of circumstances (though this may be partly due to an unsatisfactory social system, and thus give actual ground for the person living in misery to blame other people for it) has something in common with the relentlessness of dreaded parents, in which children, under stress of anxiety, believe. Conversely, help—material or mental—afforded to poor or unemployed people, in addition to its actual value, is unconsciously felt to prove the existence of loving parents.

To go back to the relation to nature. In some parts of the world nature is cruel and destructive, but nevertheless the inhabitants defy the dangers of the elements, whether these be drought, floods, cold, heat, earthquakes or plagues, rather than give up their land. External circumstances, it is true, play an important part, for these tenacious people may have no facilities for moving away from the place where they have grown up. This, however, does not seem to me to explain fully the phenomenon that so much hardship can sometimes be borne in order to keep to the native land. With people who are living under such hard conditions of nature, the struggle for a livelihood serves other (unconscious) purposes as well. Nature represents to him a grudging and exacting mother, whose gifts must be forcibly extolled from her, whereby early violent phantasies are repeated and acted out (though in a sublimated and socially adaptive way); feeling unconsciously guilty for his aggressive impulses towards his mother, he expected (and still unconsciously expects now in his relation to nature) that she would be harsh with him. This feeling of guilt acts as an incentive to making reparation. The struggle with nature is therefore partly felt to be a struggle to *preserve nature*, because it expresses also the wish to make reparation to her (mother). People who

<sup>1</sup> In the psycho-analysis of children I frequently discovered—of course in varying degrees—fears of being turned out of the home as a punishment for unconscious aggression (wishing to turn others out) and for actual harm which had been done. This anxiety sets in very early and may prey very strongly on the child's mind. A special case of it is the fear of being either a poor orphan or a beggar, and having no home and no food. Now these fears of being destitute, in the children in whom I have observed them, were quite independent of the parents' financial situation. In later life, fears of this kind have the effect of increasing the actual difficulties which arise from such things as loss of money or having to give up a house, or loss of one's work; they add an element of poignancy and deepen despair.

strive with the severity of nature thus not only take care of themselves, but also serve nature herself. In not severing their connection with her they keep alive the image of the mother of the early days. They preserve themselves and her in phantasy by remaining close to her—actually by not leaving their country. In contrast with this, the explorer is seeking in phantasy a new mother in order to replace the real one from whom he feels estranged, or whom he is unconsciously afraid to lose.

*The Relationship to Ourselves and to Others*

I have dealt in this section with some aspects of the individual's love and relations towards other people. I cannot conclude, however, without attempting to throw some light upon the most complicated relationship of all, and that is the one we have to ourselves. But what are our selves? Everything, good or bad, that we have gone through from our earliest days onwards; all that we have received from the external world and all that we have felt in our inner world, happy and unhappy experiences, relationships to people, activities, interests and thoughts of all kinds—that is to say, everything we have lived through—makes part of our selves and goes to build up our personalities. If some of our past relationships, with all the associated memories, with the wealth of feelings they called forth, could be suddenly wiped out of our lives, how impoverished and empty we should feel! How much love, trust, gratification, comfort and gratitude, which we experienced and returned, would be lost! Many of us would not even want to have missed some of our painful experiences, for they have also contributed to the enrichment of our personalities. I have referred many times in this paper to the important bearing our early relationships have on our later ones. Now I want to show that these earliest emotional situations fundamentally influence our relationships to *ourselves*. We keep enshrined in our minds our loved people; we may feel in certain difficult situations that we are guided by them, and may find ourselves wondering how *they* would behave, and whether or not they would approve of our actions. From what I have already said, we may conclude that these people to whom we look up in this way ultimately stand for the admired and loved parents. We have seen, however, that it is by no means easy for the child to establish harmonious relationships to them, and that early feelings of love are seriously inhibited and disturbed by impulses of hatred and by the unconscious sense of guilt to which these give rise. It is true, the parents may have been lacking in love or understanding, and this would tend to increase difficulties all round. Destructive impulses and phantasies, fears and distrust, which are always to some extent active in the small child even in the most favourable circum-

stances, are necessarily very much increased by unfavourable conditions and unpleasant experiences. Moreover—and this is also very important—if the child is not afforded enough happiness in his early life, his capacity for developing a hopeful attitude as well as love and trust in people will be disturbed. It does not follow from this, however, that the capacity for love and happiness which develops in the child is in direct proportion to the amount of love afforded him. Indeed there are children who develop extremely harsh and stern parent-figures in their unconscious minds—which disturb the relation to the actual parents and to people in general—even though the parents have been kind and loving to them. On the other hand, the child's mental difficulties are often not in direct proportion to the unfavourable treatment he receives. If, for internal reasons, which from the outset vary in different individuals, there is little capacity to tolerate frustration, and if aggression, fears and feelings of guilt are very strong, then the actual shortcomings of the parents, and especially their motives for doing the wrong thing, may become grossly exaggerated and distorted in the child's mind, and his parents and other people around him may be felt to be predominantly harsh and stern. For our own hatred, fear and distrust tend to create in our unconscious minds frightening and exacting parent-figures. Now these processes are in varying degrees active in all of us, since we all have to struggle—in one way or another and more or less—with feelings of hatred and fears. Thus we see that the *quantities* of aggressive impulses, fears and feelings of guilt (which arise partly for internal reasons) have an important bearing upon the predominant mental attitude which we develop.

In contrast to those children who, in response to an unfavourable treatment, develop, in their unconscious minds, such harsh and stern parent-figures and whose whole mental attitude is so disastrously affected by this, there are many children who are much less adversely affected by the mistakes or lack of understanding of their parents. Children who—for internal reasons—are from the beginning more capable of bearing frustrations (whether avoidable or unavoidable), that is to say, can do so without being so dominated by their own impulses of hatred and suspicion—such children will be much more tolerant of mistakes their parents make in dealing with them. They can rely more upon their own friendly feelings, and are therefore more secure in themselves and less easily shaken by what comes to them from the outer world. No child's mind is free from fears and suspicions, but if the relation to our parents is built predominantly upon trust and love, we can establish them firmly in our minds as guiding and helpful figures, which are a source of comfort and harmony and the prototype for all friendly relationships in later life.

I tried to throw light on some of our adult relationships by saying that we behave towards certain people as our parents behaved towards us, when they were loving, or as we wanted them to behave, and that thus we reverse early situations. Or again, with some people, we have the attitude of a loving child towards his parents. Now this interchangeable child-parent relation which we manifest in our attitude to people is also *experienced within ourselves to these helpful, guiding figures whom we keep in our minds*. We unconsciously feel these people who form part of our inner world to be loving and protective parents towards us, and we return this love, we feel like parents towards them. These phantasy-relationships, based on real experiences and memories, form part of our continuous, active life of feeling and of imagination, and contribute to our happiness and mental strength. If, however, the parent-figures, which are maintained in our feelings and in our unconscious minds, are predominantly harsh, then we cannot be at peace with ourselves. It is well known that too harsh a conscience gives rise to worry and unhappiness. It is less well known, but proved by psycho-analytic findings, that the strain of such phantasies of internal warfare and the fears connected with it are at the bottom of what we recognize as a vindictive conscience. Incidentally these stresses and fears can be expressed in deep mental disturbances and lead to suicide.

I have used the rather odd phrase 'the relation to ourselves'. Now I should like to add that this is a relation to all that we cherish and love and to all that we hate in ourselves. I have tried to make clear that one part of ourselves that we cherish is the wealth we have accumulated through our relations to external people, for these relations and also the emotions that are bound up with them have become an inner possession. We hate in ourselves the harsh and stern figures who are also part of our inner world, and are to a large extent the result of our own aggression towards our parents. At the bottom our strongest hatred, however, is directed against the hatred within ourselves. We so much dread the hatred in ourselves that we are driven to employ one of our strongest measures of defence by putting it on to other people—to project it. But we also displace love into the outer world; and we can do so genuinely only if we have established good relations with the friendly figures within our minds. Here is a benign circle, for in the first place we gain trust and love in relation to our parents, next we take them, with all this love and trust, as it were, into ourselves; and then we can give from this wealth of loving feelings to the outer world again. There is an analogous circle in regard to our hatred; for hatred, as we have seen, leads to our establishing frightening figures in our minds, and then we are apt to endow other people with unpleasant and malevolent qualities. Incidentally, such

an attitude of mind has an actual effect in making other people unpleasant and suspicious towards us, while a friendly and trusting attitude on our part is apt to call forth trust and benevolence from others.

We know that some people, especially when growing old, get more and more bitter; that others become milder, and more understanding and tolerant. It is well known also that such variations are due to a difference in attitude and character, and do not simply correspond to the adverse or favourable experiences which are met with in life. From what I have said we may conclude that bitterness of feeling, be it towards people or towards fate—and this bitterness is usually felt in relation to both—is fundamentally established in childhood and may become strengthened or intensified in later life.

If love has not been smothered under resentment, grievances and hatred, but has been firmly established in the mind, trust in other people and belief in one's own goodness are like a rock which withstands the blows of circumstance. Then when unhappiness arises, the person whose development has followed lines such as these is capable of preserving in himself those good parents, whose love is an unfailing help in his unhappiness, and can find once more in the outer world people who, in his mind, stand for them. With the capacity for reversing situations in phantasy, and identifying himself with others, a capacity which is a great characteristic of the human mind, a man can distribute to others the help and love of which he himself is in need, and in this way can gain comfort and satisfaction for himself.

I started out by describing the emotional situation of the baby, in his relation to his mother, who is the original and paramount source of the goodness that he receives from the outer world. I went on to say that it is an extremely painful process for the baby to do without the supreme satisfaction of being fed by her. If, however, his greed and his resentment at being frustrated are not too great, he is able to detach himself gradually from her and at the same time to gain satisfaction from other sources. The new objects of pleasure are linked up in his unconscious mind with the first gratifications received from his mother, and that is why he can accept other enjoyments as substitutes for the original ones. This process could be described as retaining the primary goodness as well as replacing it, and the more successfully it is carried through, the less ground is left in the baby's mind for greed and hatred. But, as I have frequently stressed, the unconscious feelings of guilt which arise in connection with the phantasied destruction of a loved person play a fundamental part in these processes. We have seen that the baby's feelings of guilt and sorrow, arising from his phantasies of destroying his mother in his greed and hate, set going the drive to heal these imaginary injuries, and to make reparation to her. Now these emotions have an important bearing

upon the baby's wish and capacity to accept substitutes for his mother. For feelings of guilt give rise to the fear of being dependent upon this loved person whom the child is afraid of losing, since as soon as aggression wells up he feels he is injuring her. This fear of dependence is an incentive to his detaching himself from her—to his turning to other people and things and thus enlarging the range of interests. Normally, the drive to make reparation can keep at bay the despair arising out of feelings of guilt, and then hope will prevail, in which case the baby's love and his desire to make reparation are unconsciously carried over to the new objects of love and interest. These, as we already know, are in the baby's unconscious mind linked up with the first loved person, whom he rediscovers or re-creates through his relation to new people and through constructive interests. Thus making reparation—which is such an essential part of the ability to love—widens in scope, and the child's capacity to accept love and, by various means, to take into himself goodness from the outer world steadily increases. This satisfactory balance between 'give' and 'take' is the primary condition for further happiness.

If in our earliest development we have been able to transfer our interest and love from our mother to other people and other sources of gratification, then, and only then, are we able in later life to derive enjoyment from other sources. This enables us to compensate for a failure or a disappointment in connection with one person by establishing a friendly relationship to others, and to accept substitutes for things we have been unable to obtain or to keep. If frustrated greed, resentment and hatred within us do not disturb the relation to the outer world, there are innumerable ways of taking in beauty, goodness and love from without. By doing this we continuously add to our happy memories and gradually build up a store of values by which we gain a security that cannot easily be shaken, and contentment which prevents bitterness of feeling. Moreover all these satisfactions have in addition to the pleasure they afford, the effect of diminishing frustrations (or rather the feeling of frustration) past and present, back to the earliest and fundamental ones. The more true satisfaction we experience, the less do we resent deprivations, and the less shall we be swayed by our greed and hatred. Then we are actually capable of accepting love and goodness from others and of giving love to others; and again receiving more in return. In other words, the essential capacity for 'give and take' has been developed in us in a way that ensures our own contentment, and contributes to the pleasure, comfort or happiness of other people.

In conclusion, a good relation to ourselves is a condition for love, tolerance and wisdom towards others. This good relation to ourselves has, as I have endeavoured to show, developed in part from a friendly,

loving and understanding attitude towards other people, namely, those who meant much to us in the past, and our relationship to whom has become part of our minds and personalities. If we have become able, deep in our unconscious minds, to clear our feelings to some extent towards our parents of grievances, and have forgiven them for the frustrations we had to bear, then we can be at peace with ourselves and are able to love others in the true sense of the word.

In this paper there is a useful account by Melanie Klein of her disagreements with Freud on the Oedipus complex. It is of interest that, except for views which derive specifically from linking the Oedipus complex with the depressive position, all the divergences listed here were already present in her 1928 paper; but there she appeared to wish to avoid any emphasis on her differences with Freud.

A manifest clarification of her views of the very first months of life is evident in the present paper. The following year saw the publication of 'Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms', in which she suggests that in his earlier months the infant is in the paranoid-schizoid position. This does not, however, affect the views expressed here. Her own short statement of the changes since 1932 in her view of the Oedipus complex can be found in the preface to the Third Edition of *The Psycho-Analysis of Children*.

Melanie Klein added to her account of the Oedipus complex in two subsequent works. In the outline of the Oedipus complex in 'Some Theoretical Conclusions Regarding the Emotional Life of the Infant' (1952) she describes the reciprocal and beneficent relation between the Oedipus complex and the depressive position. Her last discussion of the Oedipus complex is in *Envy and Gratitude* (1957) where she describes the deleterious effect of envy on the oedipal situation.

To sum up: Melanie Klein furthered the understanding of the Oedipus complex in two main ways; first, she discovered the early stages of the complex, and then she connected the Oedipus complex—according to Freud the nuclear complex of the neuroses—with the depressive position, in her view the central position in the child's development.

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