

The World Pictures of Children- A Method of Recording and Studying them

Paper read on March 23rd, 1938 to the Medical Section of the British psychological Society.

The British Journal of Medical Psychology Vol.XVIII. Part 1, pp. 65-101,1939

This book was kept in the collection of Ville Anderson, colleague and close friend of Margaret Lowenfeld. Ville Andersen trained under Margaret Lowenfeld at the I.C.P. in the early nineteen fifties and continued to collaborate with her on many projects up until Margaret Lowenfeld's death in 1973. After this Ville Andersen returned to her native Denmark. On her death in 1986 she left a large part of her estate, including her book collection, to the Margaret Lowenfeld Trust.

I am going tonight to attempt a very difficult task.

For some years I have had as my goal the achievement of an approach to the child's mind which shall be both objective in itself and susceptible of record. I have desired to become able to review freshly the Whole question of the child's mental and emotional nature and its development, and to bring to light such manifestation of their nature as will carry their own conviction and be themselves grounds for further study.

I wish tonight to attempt to put before you some of the results I have obtained. These form part of a considered point of view about the nature of the mind a point of view which embodies particular pieces of apparatus and their use and certain deductions drawn from the material produced by children with this apparatus as to the structure of the mind in childhood.

I have delayed presentation of this concept until I should be able to demonstrate also the nature of the evidence which had given rise to it. The moving next month of the Institute of Child Psychology into its own freehold quarters at 6, Pembridge Villas, W.11, will now enable me and my coworkers to make available to any members of our profession who may desire to see it, the clinical material which has formed the basis of these deductions. of which the slides I wish to put before you are a part.

As I have said, my views consist of a method of approach and of deductions drawn from material produced by that method. These two aspects stand separately, and tonight's paper is concerned only with the presentation of part of this method and the results which can be achieved by it.

Owing to the fact that I wish to occupy the main part of our time with the actual presentation of material, I propose in the place of the historical review that customarily

precedes the presentation of a new method, to take two considerations only—the origin of play, and the relation between the methods employed in the treatment of children at the Institute of Child Psychology, of which the one under consideration is a part, and the work of Freudian child analysts.

Now it is perfectly clear that children have played since the beginning of time and archaeological diggings show us that every civilisation has provided toys for their use.

The loving care expended upon these toys in all human groups shows that grown-up human beings since the beginning of historical times have understood that the way to make contact with a child and to understand his way of thought is to play with him.

Play in childhood is a function of childhood, none can discover it. To children are like culinary implements to the kitchen, every kitchen has them and has also the elements of food. It is what the cook does with these implements and elements that determines the dish.

My own approach to the use of a toy apparatus with children, derives from a memory of H.G. Wells's *Floor Games*, the first edition of which had a deep impression upon my youth. When, therefore, in 1925, I came from orthodox paediatrics to the associated study of emotional conditions in childhood, I began to put this memory to use. I collected first a miscellaneous mass of material, coloured sticks and shapes, beads, small toys of all sorts, paper shapes and match boxes, and kept them in what came to be known by my children as the 'Wonder Box'; with this I began to experiment with my children patients.

My approach to the work was that of a clinician, and my aim was to endeavour to devise a method by which direct contact could be made, without interference from the adult, with the mental and emotional life of a child I set myself as a goal to work out an apparatus which would put into the child's hand a means of directly expressing his ideas and emotions, which allow of the record of his' creations and their abstraction for study. I had at that date no theory of the mind and was determined to avoid making or accepting one until I should have achieved objective records from which a theory could be built or checked.

Apart from a sporadic reading of Freud's own works and occasional personal and friendly contacts with some British psychoanalysts, I had not at the time any knowledge of psycho-analytic theory or practice and was unaware that any special approach was being made by this group to children.

It was in 1927 that I first came into contact with the work of Melanie Klein, on the occasion of a paper read by her to this section of this Society. After that paper I had the opportunity of a short conversation with Mrs Klein and some slight subsequent correspondence. This paper and my subsequent contact with Mrs Klein made it perfectly clear to me that the child analyst brings to her work with children an already formed outline of a doctrine concerning the structure of the mental and emotional life of children which is

implicitly accepted, and that the treatment of children, for the of which Mrs Klein was responsible, was derived from the main body of psycho-analytic theory and was an extension of it to children. This has recently been confirmed by Mrs Klein in a private letter to myself.

Child analysis is, therefore, an adaptation of psycho-analytic principles to the treatment of children, implying the acceptance beforehand in the analyst practising it of the psycho-analytic view of the mind. This is further borne out by the regulations for training child analysts, whereby the candidate must himself have received a full psychoanalysis and have gained experience in the analysis of adults before he is allowed to begin work with children.

The child psycho-analyst therefore uses toys as a means of gaining contact with the child's mind in order that that mind may be dealt with on lines indicated by psycho-analytic theory: the child's use of toys is interpreted symbolically in harmony with that theory. Now without entering at all into the question of the validity of psycho-analytic thought, which is for from my purpose. I wish to point out as clearly as I am able, that this is a totally different dish from that which I aim to cook with approximately the same materials.

We both use toy, as does everyone who plays with children, or children who play with themselves. My own endeavour in my work with children is to devise an instrument with which a child can demonstrate his own emotional and mental state without the necessary intervention of an adult either by transference or interpretation, and which will allow of a record being made of such a demonstration. My objective is to help children to produce something which will stand by itself and be independent of any theory as to its nature.

The central task of psychotherapy is that of making contact with the whole of the patient's mind, not only by intuition but by direct and conscious knowledge and understanding of the laws of mind.

There are certain points about the nature of children's thought that make this. task particularly difficult. A child does not think linearly as the adult is capable of doing: thought, feeling, sensations, concept and memory are all inextricably interwoven. A child's thought is fluid and movement can take place on several planes at once. A child's feeling is absolute in that any emotion, while it is present, holds the whole field of consciousness. Finally, a child's concepts have no relation to what we call in our view of the world, external reality.

An apparatus, therefore, which will give a child power to express his ideas and feelings. must be independent of knowledge or skill, must be capable of the representation of thought simultaneously in several planes at once. must allow of representation of movement and yet be sufficiently circumscribed to make a complete whole, must combine elements of touch and sensation, as well as of sight, and be entirely free from a necessary relation to reality.

Another aspect of the necessity for some such apparatus is that not only child psychotherapy but psychotherapy and psychopathology as a whole suffer from a difficulty not now shared by any other branch of medicine, in that it is impossible to abstract clinical material for independent consideration apart from the circumstances in which it is produced.

We cannot examine the mental and emotional products of other patients without first understanding in full the psychotherapeutic hypotheses upon which the treatment has been based, and secondly having, by courtesy of the physician, access to the whole of the case notes at the patient. Even then, the personality of the physician must be taken into account in evaluating the facts, since what is available even in these ideal locations is not the material produced by the patient himself, but this material seen through the eyes of the physician.

Physical science has progressed in strict accord with the development of possibilities of precise investigation and direct record of the facts observed, and their abstraction for sturdy from the circumstances of production.

The dish therefore that I wish to cook with our common implements is one in which all these elements are present and which can be used, if you wish it, as check or proof of any system of psychotherapy, but which although, it is the source from which my own theory of child psychotherapy has been drawn. Is independent of it as of other theories.

This apparatus I have called 'The World' from the feeling the children have about it. It came into existence in 1929 and has been in constant use since that date both in the Institute of Child Psychology and in my private work. Children of all ages from 4 to late adolescence have worked with it, suffering from complaints comprising somatic disorders, educational difficulties, personality deviations and social maladjustments. Many hundreds of these 'Worlds' have been made and recorded, and it is a selection of these I wish to put before you tonight.

Perhaps a word of comment is due upon the name of the apparatus. Very recently my attention has been drawn to the fact that Anna Freud, writing 1927 in her book *Einführung in die Technik der Kinderanalyse*, describes Mrs Melanie Klein's work as 'a little world in miniature'. Now I believe it is true that this phrase does occur in Anna Freud's work, but it is equally true that I did not myself know of this fact until the pertinent extract was sent to me by Dr Charlotte Bühler. This ignorance is partly sheer failure to keep abreast of reading and partly deliberate policy. Every scientist will know how great are the difficulties that beset the mind which is trying to look at a common object freshly, and for many years now, while studying the bulky material which crowds in on me and my group duly from the use of this and other forms of apparatus, it has been my deliberate endeavour not to read the writings of other workers until I had the outlines of my own theory clear. I offer my apologies for this ignorance, but know no other way of working.

The 'World' apparatus is not a test, except in the sense that the electrocardiogram is a test and beyond a tentative investigation of the use of the apparatus by normal

children in elementary schools, which is being carried out by one of my own co-workers, no comparison of the use of it by normal and disturbed children has yet been attempted by us.

In May 1934 Dr Charlotte Bühler visited the Institute of Child Psychology and becoming interested in the 'World', in agreement with ourselves has embarked upon the investigation of the use made by normal children in relation to age, of a modified form of this apparatus. When completed, this investigation will give a useful basis for comparison of the nature of the material selected by normal and emotionally disturbed children of different ages.

We will now turn to the apparatus itself and to a consideration of the material produced with it by children.

I. Realist 'Worlds'

Fig. 1. Depicted in a tray by a boy of 9 years. This is an actual photograph taken of the 'World' as it was made, and reproduced directly.

This photograph illustrates the first difficulty in the presentation of this piece of apparatus, which is the means of reproduction. The obvious method for the reproduction of scenes of this kind is that of photography, and my first attempts to present this material were by taking photographs of the actual 'World' made. After a certain number of these had been taken, however, the following difficulties presented themselves.

(a) All photography, however well done, is the taking of a given scene from a given view point. As an inevitable result of this, objects nearer at hand are larger than those further away: smaller objects are hidden behind larger ones and the relative emphasis given by the actual scene to different parts of the scene photographed is inevitably altered.

(b) Our second proposal to circumvent this difficulty, was to take photographs from the air, having the camera in a standard position, facing downwards, and the 'Worlds' placed always in the same relation to the camera. This, however, proved equally unsatisfactory owing to the high degree of distortion of objects photographed from the air. Several photographs of this kind were made of 'Worlds', but when submitted to independent observers unfamiliar with the actual material, it was found that the distortion was so serious as to make recognition of the objects photographed in many cases impossible.

(c) A further difficulty soon appeared, in that the 'Worlds' are made upon a tray oblong in shape and the conventional form of lantern slide is square. Not only therefore, was it necessary that the above two difficulties should be overcome but there was a further obstacle in that in order to present photographs of an oblong tray within a square, parts had to be excluded or the whole thing reduced to such a scale as would tend to make it unrecognisable.

Fig. 1 illustrates these difficulties. This has been taken at an angle and in so far as it gives a general picture of the scene, is attractive and has actually been selected in order to give some idea of the picturesque possibilities of the apparatus. It will be seen, however, that one corner has had to be omitted and that all details occurring on the opposite side of the central islands, should such have been present, would have had to be hidden

After many months of experiment of this kind, it was decided to attempt drawings instead. In this way it is possible both to emphasise those points which are of importance to the child who has made the 'World', and to eliminate the detail which is to him of no importance. As you will see, this technique is still in the experimental stage and far from being satisfactory in every way, but we are obliged to use it until such a time as some better solution of these difficulties is reached.

The apparatus consists of a big metal tray on a table of medium height; it is painted black outside and blue in. It contains sand (three sorts of sand are provided, fine and coarse brown sand and silver sand): also as much water as the child desires. Silver sand is used for snow on mountains. The tray can also be used empty of sand. Some children use quite dry, some wet enough to be mouldable, some a great deal of water in which sand is a negligible factor. Some 'Worlds' are made almost or entirely without the addition of any toy objects, the relation between water and sand fully satisfying the child. I have known boys play elaborate and exam dawn for many sessions, using the 'eating' qualities of water on islands of sand and the mopping up qualities of sand in water. Some examples of this are given in my book *Play in Childhood*.

Standing beside the tray is a cabinet: it contains small objects of every kind, as varied and accurate as the manufacturers will give us, of all the things commonly to be found in a world; houses, trees, people, both ordinary and military, animals, wild and tame; transport of all sorts, ice-cream men, fences, lamp posts, garden chairs, etc., and with it are used coloured paper, coloured and plain sticks, plasticine and glitter-wax, and anything else the ingenuity of the observer can suggest to supply the need of any particular child.

Fig. 2 illustrates the method of record that has been adopted, by which drawings made first of the scene can be photographed and from these slides made.

In regard to Realistic 'Worlds' there is not very much to be said in so brief a summary; the significance of such 'Worlds' to the child making them is only revealed by very close and detailed study of each 'World'. They are shown here only to show the range possible in this apparatus.

The instructions which are given the children, are that they are to make on the tray whatever they wish and to pay no attention to external reality. If they have an impulse to put a tree in upside down or to make a train go on top of houses, they are to do so. With children of junior school age, the apparatus needs no introduction, the attractiveness of the material makes its own appeal. With the older child or young adolescent an explanation of some sort is given—that we all have pictures in our heads that we cannot put into words;

that it is fun sometimes to make things anyhow without bothering whether they are really so or not—or some such phrase. With the older adolescent or young adult the simile of a Japanese garden is used and they are asked to see if anything in any rough way similar occurs to them.

Once started on the work, introduction becomes superfluous, the interest of the creation itself is its own explanation.

In the ordinary course of treatment, children use this apparatus indifferently with other forms of material. Sometimes they act, sometimes they play. sometimes they recount dreams or paint, write stories or recount phantasies that come m'to their heads. I hope to show later m' this' paper the intimate connexion that exists between all these products. The 'World' takes its place among other pieces of apparatus and forms of expression as a clinical instrument used in the process of treatment and study of the Child, but upon which the whole burden of treatment does not rest.

Some children keep up a running commentary on their work as they do it: some invoke the help of the physician with them throughout, some work absorbedly at their 'Worlds' in silence till they are completed and seem oblivious of the presence of any other person.

Some children take immediately to this form of expression and hail it with delight, saying, as did one very verbalised boy of 14, 'I never expected this' to be like that! One really can express oneself in that—it's all living—just like we are.' Some come to it later, some children after the first day do not use it at all.

It has been usually assumed that the deeper thoughts of children, what have been called their' unconscious phantasies are not expressed because of a mental mechanism which keeps them out of consciousness. My own view is more nearly that certain essential qualities of those experiences make it impossible in the truest sense of that word for them to be represented in speech—they are of a kind which speech cannot convey. It is towards this odd nature of the thought of childhood that this apparatus is directed, and the sand and water, the three-dimensional and sensory nature of these component parts are of the essential nature of the apparatus.

Every child, either seen in private or in attendance at the Institute of Child Psychology is given an opportunity, on entering into treatment, to make a 'World' if he wishes to, and every 'World' that is made is carefully recorded.

II. FANTASTIC 'WORLDS'

Illustrations have here been chosen to illustrate the fact that this apparatus is capable of expressing ideas of pure phantasy.

Fig 3. Here the ring of houses is partly the right way up, partly upside down; on top of the houses runs traffic and on top of the traffic again people stride from car to car. In the entrance to the dell a bus runs over a person and in the foreground a policeman is pinned

under an ambulance. This was made by a highly intelligent public school boy with a phobia of chickens. Fantastic as this appears, it proved under analysis to be a very perfect structure in which each component part exactly fitted. He felt the 'World' to be a satisfactory expression but could give no account in words of what we expressed.

Fig 4. In some scene a hippopotamus pushes over a house, there is a tree with a snake on top and one at the bottom, many crashes on the roads, houses placed anywhere and anyhow, trees anywhere, one house upon two fences with a boot upside down on the roof and an ostrich hiding its head under the boat, etc., etc. This was made by an elementary school girl of 14, referred for bouts of extreme apathy interspersed with bouts of violent activity.

Fig 5. Here is a bull on the top of a post about to leap on a man below who is singing and suspecting nothing: an elephant up a telegraph pole falling towards a woman who is trying to escape: a lion is being speared by a knight and an isolated charabanc crashing into a beacon. This was made by a boy of 11, who was extremely backward at school, though of average intelligence, and who took three hours to dress himself in the morning if left unaided.

The above pictures are purely fantastic and do not contain any coherent concept. The maker in describing them talks about each item in turn but does not consciously weave them into a whole, although on further consideration with him or her they turn out to be representative of a connected mental and emotional state.

We now come to a group of illustrations which show an affective side combined with a conscious concept.

III. Combination of Affect and Concept

Fig. 6. This was made by a very intelligent and musical girl of 17, referred for unmanageableness and irresponsible behaviour while abroad. In the top corner is the snake's house with the snake just going into it.

Next door is mother house. Close by is a wood where lives the 'horror'. Here is the snake's boat. Down below you see the tortoise at home to his musical friends. Still on the same side of the river which divides the world into two halves is the snake singing to the microphone and surrounded by a group of important people listening to him. In the centre on the other side of the river is a committee discussing what the snake is to have for his birthday. Behind is a neutral house.

Here, as in my dreams, two positions of the same thing are represented simultaneously. The make on the right and on the left is the same snake. The scene contains two aspects of the snake's day presented simultaneously.

Fig. 7. The 'World' was made by an elementary school girl of 8, referred for functional paralysis of one leg. Here on the right is a cave; in it is a 'small animal' with

some eggs— but a man came and killed the animal and the on: were never hatched. Here in the centre is the mound, hollow tattle. Up in the sky it is foggy and the aeroplanes cannot see one another. Only aeroplanes can reach the top and one has brought eggs and placed them at the bottom of the hole in the mound where no one can see them. Some horsemen are riding round the mound to keep people away. When the eggs are hatched robins will come out. Here in front are some people who want to poison the sand and they are emptying bottles of poison about and m' the water so that the children may drink it. Across the corner is a strong parapet with a space for children to play in inside it. The entrance is guarded by a soldier and there is another one at the side to prevent people over the top. The children had to pay a penny to get in— and here are three fathers coming to fetch the children home.

IV. Psychosoma and Affect

Not only do some "Worlds' relate affect to concept, but there are others which depict exactly a somatic state and put this among scenes expressive of the corresponding affect.

For reasons of time I am showing only one slide in this group. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr P. C. Castell for this 'World ' and the account of it.

Fig. 8. In the centre you will see a man in the grip of a bear. The boy's comment on this was 'He can't get away'. The boy himself suffers from a feeling of constriction in the chest when his anxiety is acute. All around this man are scenes depicting terrifying situations—animals kill and eat men and a child. Then a woman is approached by a lion and gradually surrounded by a crowd of animals: the lion, a crocodile, two cows, an elephant, a horse, a lamb, two donkeys, a bison, a bear, a tiger, a seal and a pig. 'They did nothing, but she was horribly frightened'.

V. 'Worlds' showing Ideas of Movement

I will give but one example, by the same child as the previous Illustration.

Fig. 9. This is a stage at the beginning of an afternoon's use of the 'World' during which violent movement was represented. Belisha beacons were blown down by the wind: there was a collision between a car and a tip-up lorry. Two planes crashed and a dead airman lay by one of them. Cars and trees were added, a decrepit fence, half falling over. A man was mending the top of a lamp-standard—a lion climbs up the ladder after him. the man and can him. The lion then nearly decides to jump over the crashed vehicles, or to jump over a horse— but does neither and finds himself on his back with his legs in the air, the mounted knight stabbing him with his lance. Part of a broken lamp post is about to fall on the knight. A bull now gets up to the top of the lamp standard in order to jump down on the man passing below, who is singing and suspecting nothing. A pair of telegraph poles appear with an elephant on top of one of them and falling off towards a woman who is

trying to escape. A charabanc is going too fast and is about to knock down the surviving beacon. 'This', the boy said, 'was England—London.' (See also Fig. 5.)

Tim on certain common types of 'Worlds', the question of time prevents my being able to show you tonight. These are:

- (a) 'Worlds' made by mentally defective children.
- (b) 'Worlds' made by very young children.
- (c) 'Worlds' made by children in high states of excitement, where intensity of effect has temporarily disorganised cognitive consciousness.
- (d) 'Worlds' made by children in obsessional states.
- (e) Purely plastic 'Worlds'.

(f) 'Worlds' in which common objects are used but Where a quite pawn] and unusual meaning is given to each object, a milk-can used as a gun or, as we have seen in the slide of the houses round the dell, houses can be employed quite out of their ordinary context.

We will now consider of what nature are these products and what relation they bear to other productions of the mind. We will consider first the relation of 'World' to drawing, and continue with the boy we have just been studying, so as to give a rather more complete picture of a single case. (See Figs. 5 and 9.)

You will note that in these 'Worlds' considerable emphasis is laid upon height and the up and down of height. The 'Worlds' were also prefaced with the remark, 'This is London.' I will now show you two drawings made by the same boy.

(a) Fig. 10. This shows a part of London as you would see it from near the top of the tower of Big Ben.

(b) Fig. 11 shows the monument seen from half way up, looking up and looking down. The line across the tower, the boy said, was the street and the dot was a Belisha beacon seen from above and so upside down. He felt himself obliged continuously to make drawings of this HM but could get no further than the actual buildings. When given the 'World' material he was able to represent not only what obsessed his law, but also the effect with which it was associated.

V. Relation or 'World' to Dream

Fig. 12. This was a very elaborate construction, taking several days to make and representing an underground station with a town on top. On the night of the day following

the beginning of the 'World' the boy—aged 11, and referred for a very noisy stammer—dreamed as follows: 'I was going to have another mother with whom I was going to do all the things I do, at Jane's, like smoking and gurking (belching).' On the night of the day the 'World' was completed he dreamed: 'I was going along in a train when we came to a tunnel. We went through it, then afterwards I went to stay at a place near the tunnel and I found that the place above the tunnel had been on fire while we were going under it, and still it was on fire a horrible creepy kind of way. I think it was called "The Manor House". Just as we went in some sparks seemed to come out of the side.' Manor House was the name of a temporary home where his mother was living.)

The dream, it will be seen, carries on the thought which has been expressed in the 'World' and gives additional material which would be impossible to represent even in so plastic a material as this apparatus affords.

In this case the dream and the 'World' illustrate and enlarge each other, making together a more complete concept. The dream allowed for the addition of the fire and the feeling of creepiness, and also the connexion with his mother; the 'World' on the other hand allowed this thought to be connected up with a number of other lines of development which he had worked out in previous 'Worlds' and gave the explanation of his relation to the whole of his social life, showing that the apparent excellence of his 'outward adaptation' was of a neurotic kind.

There remains to be considered the central question which may perhaps be stated thus. Of what nature is the thought depicted in 'Worlds'? Does it develop from 'World' to 'World' of the same child? What relation does it bear to cognitive processes?

VI. Contribution Made by Children's 'Worlds' to Problems of Diagnosis

Let us approach this point first by considering the question of the relation of making a 'World' to the problems of diagnosis.

Fig. 13. Here is a 'World' made by a girl of 19 on her first visit for consultation. She was brought by her mother for advice on choice of a career, as the mother, who was a very serious woman, had been troubled by her daughter's frivolity and lack of concentration. From the history and outward behaviour of the girl there was nothing to suggest the presence of any neurosis. While I was talking with the mother, the girl was asked to make a 'World' this is the one that resulted.

Here you will see a man brandishing a stick and threatening a giraffe who is looking over the hillock at him. The other animals were on their way down to the pond in the centre to have a drink, but when the giraffe caused this disturbance, they all turned to watch. The only person not watching is the man in the top right hand corner who is walking away and cannot see because of the bundle he is carrying.

It is clear that underneath the girl's apparent adaptation lay ideas of a paranoid quality. The girl herself felt the 'World' as absolutely normal and usual, and could see

nothing in it that was peculiar in any way. The existence of this 'World', however, made it possible to convince both her and her mother of the necessity for treatment.

Fig. 14. Here is the 'World' of a case illustrating the opposite pole of difficulty. This was made by a girl of 17, brought by her family as an 'emergency' for advice under conditions of great excitement, with an account of having recently made a serious bodily attack upon a relative in circumstances suggestive of a manic state. This 'World', as you will agree, is childish in construction and considerably inferior to 'Worlds' usually constructed by a 17-year-old girl of good intelligence. When asked to talk about it she felt it satisfactory, but could give almost no account of its nature. The central building is a dwelling house, but it is empty: it has no connection with the pump. The trains are just going but not going anywhere, the same is true of the aeroplanes and cars. The only part of the 'World' with coherence and purpose, is the town and harbour in the left hand corner: from here ships are going to a town (not shown) further up the coast.

Fig. 15. This was made at the next interview and made the situation clear. In the left-hand corner there is a piece of jungle. Tigers are creeping round trees here to attack the deer. The lion is looking on. He will join the meal later. In the centre bison are being rounded up, by cowboys and the tiger is preparing to attack them. The elephant at the back is really representative of a herd of elephants who have come a long journey but have come through safely. They are purposeful. The elephants in the bottom right-hand corner, on the other hand, are just standing about. The two giraffes and the zebra are safe as long as they avoid the rattlesnake. The giraffe nearest the snake knows about him—the other does not.

Whereas in the first girl, outwardly normal behaviour was correlated with real interior abnormality; in the second, outwardly very abnormal behaviour turned out to be the expression of an immature and entirely undisciplined nature, but of relatively normal emotional construction. In both cases the 'Worlds' were definitive in diagnosis, prognosis, and the construction for the relatives of an outline of treatment.

VII. 'Worlds' showing Development of Hypnoic Thought

You will note I have not raised the question of conscious or unconscious thought in relation to these 'Worlds'. I have not done so because I find myself unable to fit the material produced by them into these concepts. I do not know if this material is conscious or unconscious, and I hope later to have an opportunity of putting forward an alternative view of mental structure in which these two divisions do not occur. For the moment, I would prefer to refer to the series of slides I am now going to show you—in Kretschmer's term, as an illustration of hypo-noic thought (but without implying a necessary acceptance of that which Kretschmer expresses by this word).

Figs. 16-19. Made in sequence in one week.

Fig. 16. Here you see a very competently carried out reality demonstration of a country house. The only moving figure is a gardener mowing the lawn. The execution of this 'World' and 'World' 4 are almost on an adult level.

Fig. 17. Here is a purely phantasy 'World' about on the level of a small boy playing trains. The water flows both ways at once and the trains go both ways.

Fig. 18 is on the same level as Fig. 15. Here there is movement up the road and down the river to its mouth. The boy himself, who had had many breathing exercises for speech trouble referred to it as representing breathing. The trains cut across the opening.

Fig. 19. Here we are back on the level as slide 1. This is a garden town. When we came to consider the time of day represented, we found that there was no time, as the boy himself volunteered that if it were night there would be a cat. This is then the perfect or ideal town, looked at, as he himself said, by the eye of God: a God who enforced absolute order on his creatures. Fig. 16 represents the same conception, only less completely.

The contrast between these two 'Worlds' and those in between in the series expressed an actual objective picture of the boy's own state: the centre very much retarded in development, full of undirected, undifferentiated force, the outside compulsive and static, an antithetical formation to the crude retardation of the interior. As he himself had made these 'Worlds' in this exact sequence. he found himself confronted inescapably by his mum problem. the part of the grown up being only that of the naturalist examining a beetle with his student.

We will now take a similar series produced by an undergraduate referred for inability to work.

Fig. 20. Here we have a 'World' divided into two halves by a pond. On the left-hand side is a tableau, representing war—you will note that the guns fire themselves— and in front, figures, illustrative so the maker described them, of the idea of death. In the top right-hand corner idea of a holiday; and in the centre—a peaceful pond. When asked if the village on the right knew of the war, the answer was in the negative. When asked if the sharp-shooters on the left knew of the village, the answer was also 'no'.

Fig. 21. This was the next 'World' to follow. Here the theme has developed. The single source of anxiety in the 'World' preceding this one has split into three. You will observe in this 'World' a peaceful village in the centre and an ice-cream man: a mountain at the back suggesting to him his summer holidays, and a charabanc in the foreground, suggesting to him conviviality and sightseeing.

The pond has now moved to the left bottom corner: out of it comes a sea serpent of a deadly kind. Behind the mountain a firing party fires at a man. To the right, wild animals emerge behind the hill to attack the charabanc. Here there is some connexion between the two parts of the picture. The animals are dimly aware of the charabanc which is unaware of them. The maker of this 'World' was widely read and thoughtful and the serpent was a

rich symbol to him, meaning a wide variety of concepts related to ancient wisdom, sexual knowledge and the mythic side of life. He had not seen till it was pointed out that there was no one keeping the men before the firing party and he could have run away. He had a great respect for rifles as evidence of man's taming to his will the forces of inorganic science—the wild animals were to him the wildness of natural things.

You will note in this 'World' there is no real relation between the two halves and no concept of defence against the danger.

Fig. 22 was the next of this series. Here we have a meeting of the two ideas—danger coming from the air has now struck the houses and a scene of desolation results. Some men have survived, however, and they are marching gaily along: these are soldiers, and the maker of the 'World' felt that they were safe, they understood the dangers and were not in danger from them: they were not afraid either of the destruction around them. Safety lay in aggression activity.

These two groups are tiny excerpts from series made by numberless patients in the course of treatment. You will note that in the first set the four 'Worlds' taken together complete the picture of a total state. They are susceptible of almost unlimited analysis, as each object used, the crimping of the objects and the interrelation combined with each other to present a total picture, which, I believe, would be impossible to express in words.

In the second series each 'World' takes up and develops the theme expressed in the 'World' before. so that the whole develops like an argument. The contents of these 'Worlds' also were exceedingly rich in meaning and also like the first series entirely impossible of total expression in words. Confrontation with the 'World' he had himself made brought the contents at it forcibly to the mind of the maker. This total representation is neither conscious nor unconscious but truly non-cognitive in either case, or, to use Kretschmer's term, below the level of consciousness, hypo-noic.

One word now as to my own handling of 'World' material.

It is perfectly clear that, confronted with this material, any one who wills will be able to read into these 'World' representations components derived from his personal conviction, and that not merely as a result of wish fulfilment, but because they are almost certainly to be present there. A psycho-analyst will find sexual themes, sometimes overtly, sometimes symbolically represented there, for the reason that sexuality does play a part in a child's 'World' picture. The Adlerian will undoubtedly find the power complex and its derivatives represented in this hypo-noic language. The 'World' apparatus should appeal to the heart of the Jungian, seeing that the 'World' cabinet is richly furnished with already completed archetype symbols.

My own direct use of the material in the presence of the child is to treat it like a cipher language, and concentrate my attention on an endeavour to discover what exactly the objects used represent to the child who uses them. Thus I explain to each child that a horse for example may be to one child a representation of a thing it fears, to another its

dearest friend, to I third, as one said, "A strong thing which runs", to another "What Daddy rides", and so on; and then we imagine I am a South Sea Islander having never seen Europe and the child explains to me what each object actually is, that is, is to him.

Having drawn the 'World' we then substitute in it the qualities and concepts the child has given. When these are reassembled together the result is a picture of affect, concept, memory and experience inextricably woven together into the presentation of a total state.

May I then sum up the qualities and advantages of the method I have tried to put before you.

1. It is in the nature of an experiment which can be repeated.
2. It permits of continuity from one session to another without imposing a strain on the therapeutic situation.
3. It permits of accurate record.
4. The personal factor enters to a minimum extent.

In short, this apparatus enables representation of the total content of a mind at a given moment in time, which can be separated from the therapeutic situation and thought about and analysed in an atmosphere of emotional neutrality. 'World' can be compared with 'World' and findings checked. And although as I have already said, it is impossible for me in the limits of this paper even to indicate my own conclusions as to the structure of the child's mind, or the theory which underlies both this use of the material or which in my view should underlie child psychotherapy, yet I would like to say that my study of many hundreds of 'World' pictures obtained in the way described, has led me to the conviction that the hypo-noic levels of the child's mind, and therefore presumably of the adult mind as well, are concerned with profoundly metaphysical problems, such as the nature of time, of movement and of relations of perception and sensation, and of the nature of reality both interior and exterior, and that these matters are of greater moment in the emotional and mental development of normal and disturbed children than is the working out of an arbitrarily abstracted concept, such as the pleasure-pain principle.

At a later date, if this society is interested and indulgent, I should like to present for its consideration some of the principles of mental life which I have come to formulate as a result of 10 years study of material such as I have been endeavoring to demonstrate tonight, and which have formed the experimental basis of not too unsuccessful psychotherapy. I have only been able to present to you a methodological paper which leaves all fundamental considerations untouched.

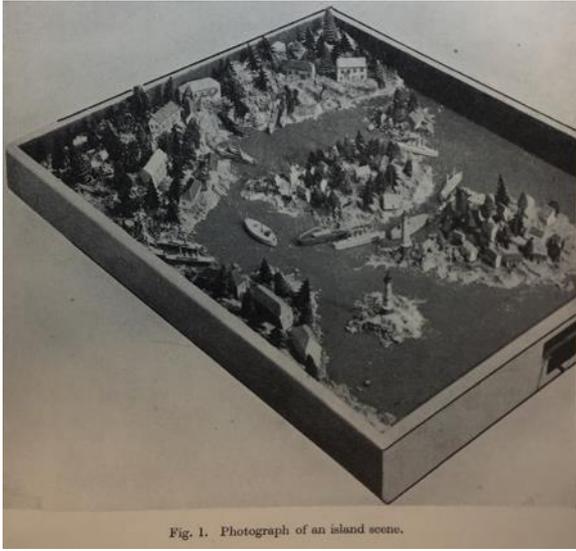


Fig. 1. Photograph of an island scene.

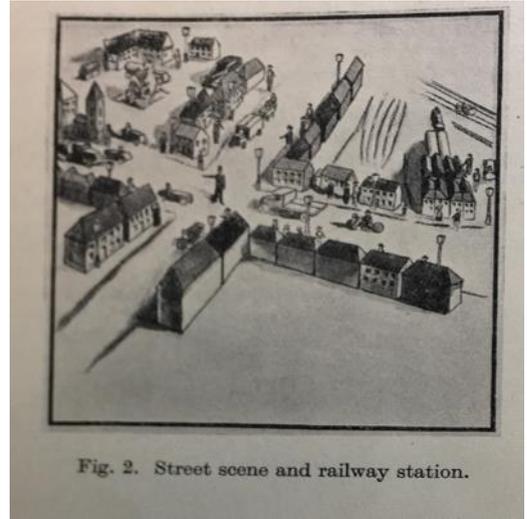


Fig. 2. Street scene and railway station.

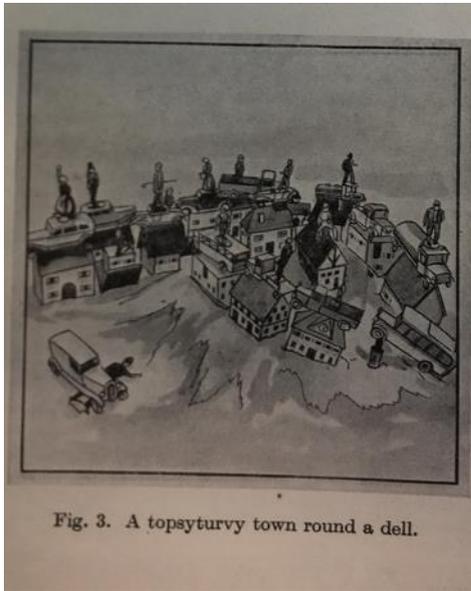


Fig. 3. A topsyturvy town round a dell.

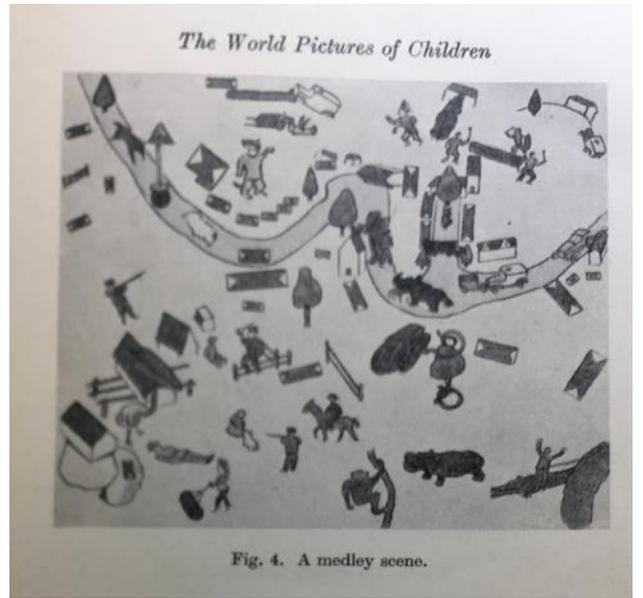


Fig. 4. A medley scene.

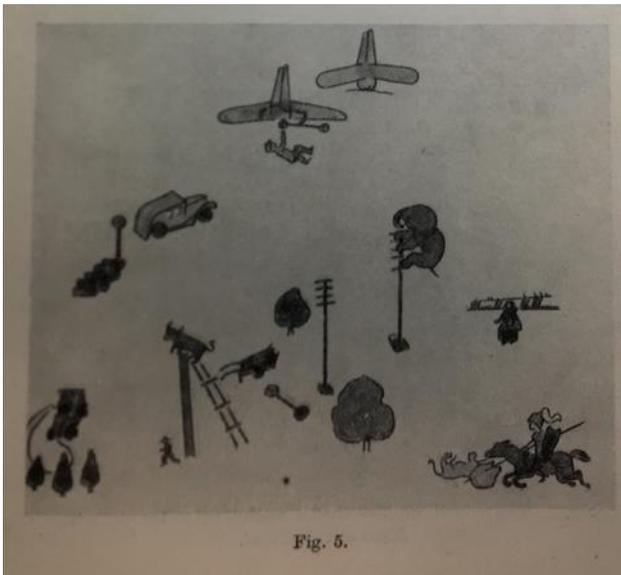


Fig. 5.

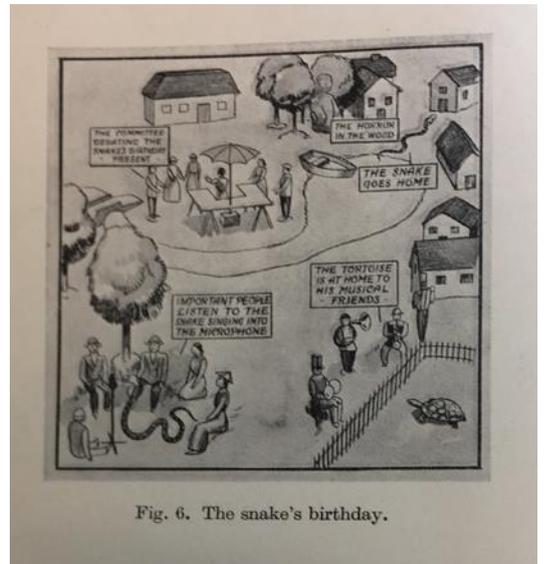


Fig. 6. The snake's birthday.

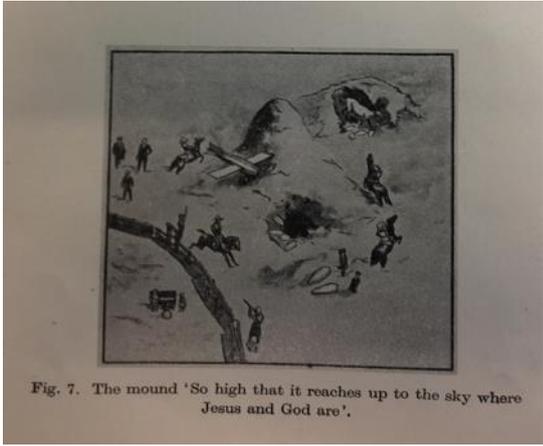


Fig. 7. The mound 'So high that it reaches up to the sky where Jesus and God are'.

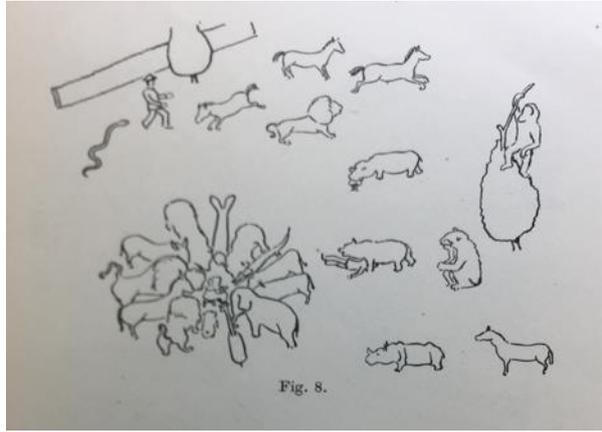


Fig. 8.

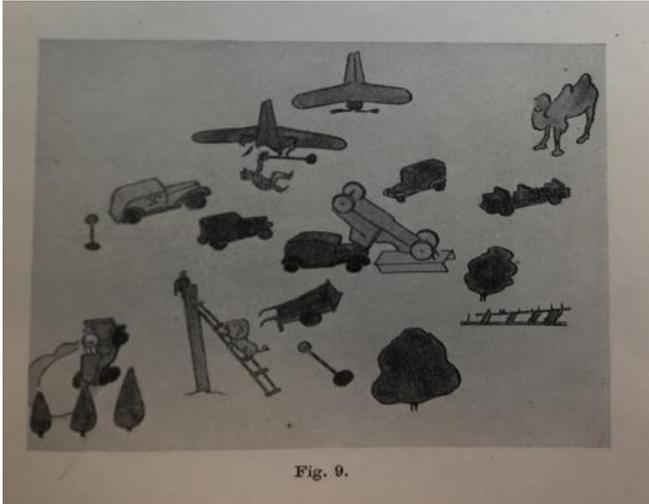


Fig. 9.

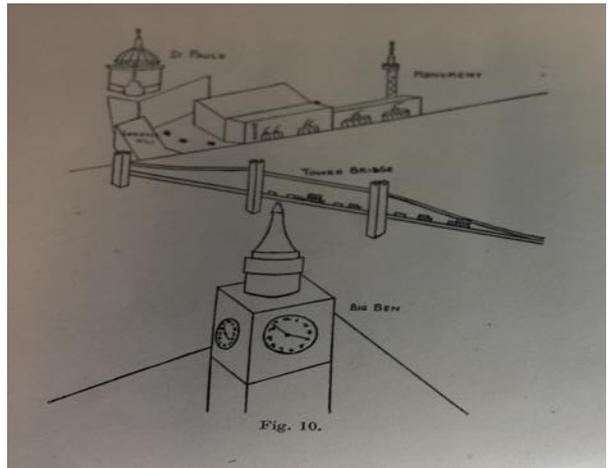


Fig. 10.

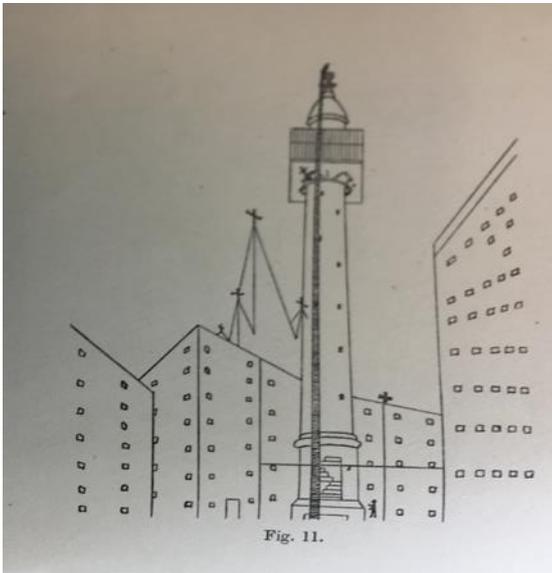


Fig. 11.

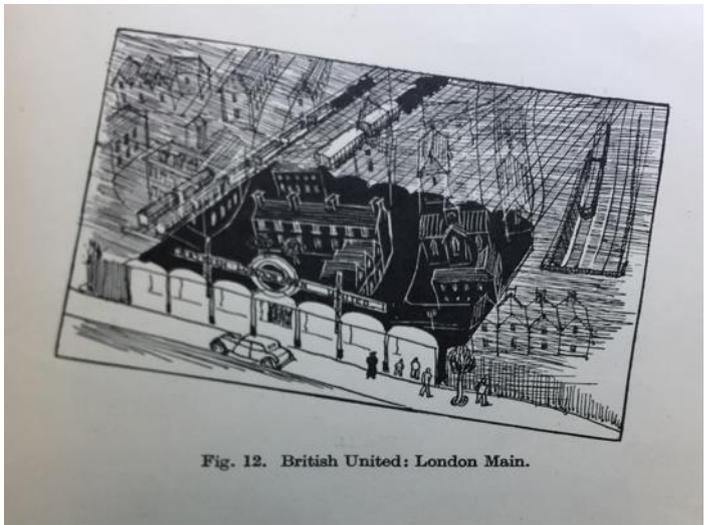


Fig. 12. British United: London Main.

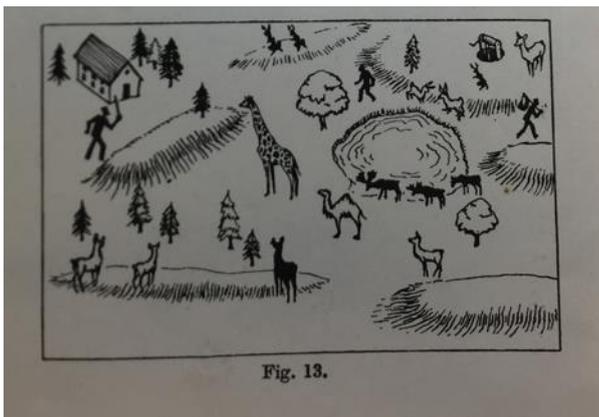


Fig. 13.

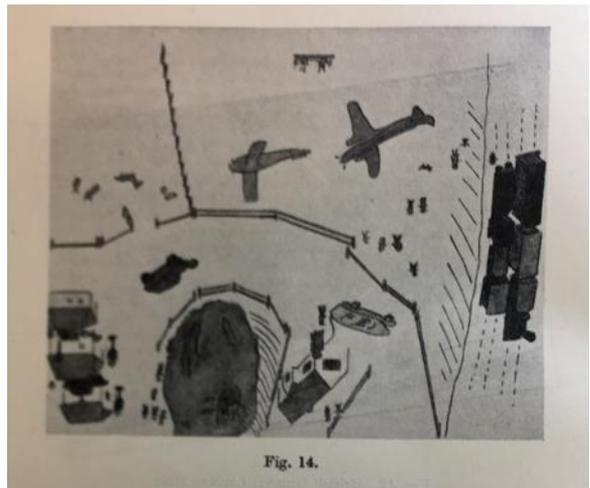


Fig. 14.

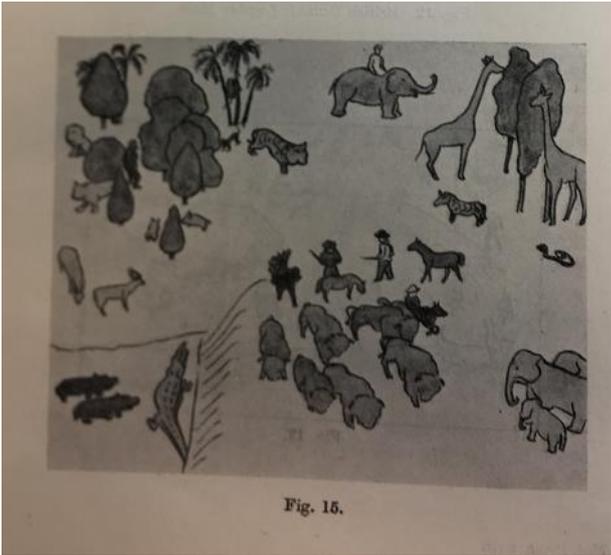


Fig. 15.

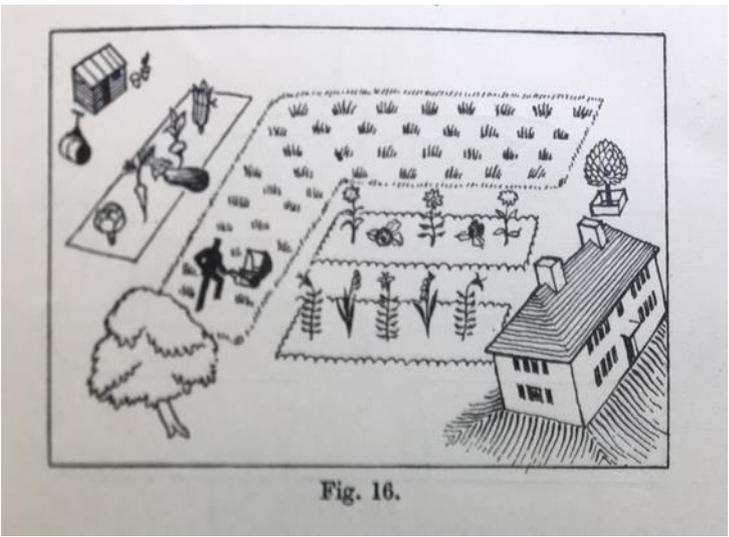


Fig. 16.

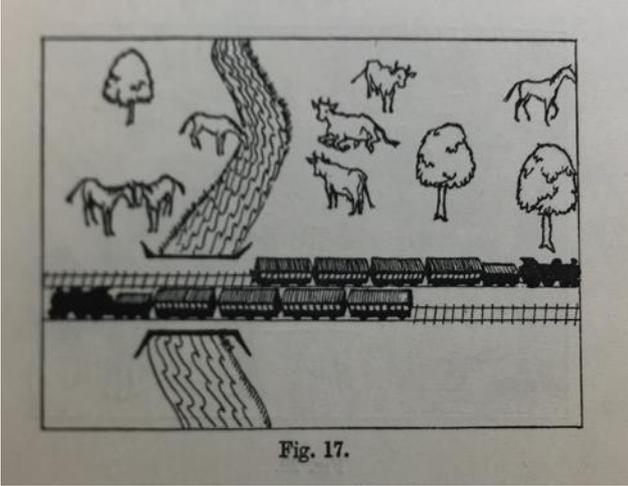


Fig. 17.

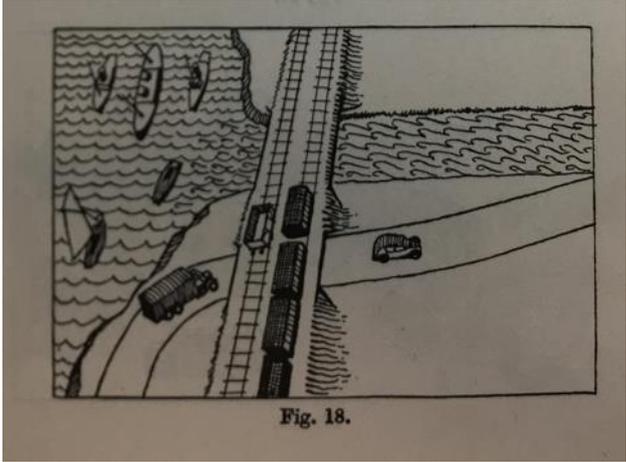


Fig. 18.

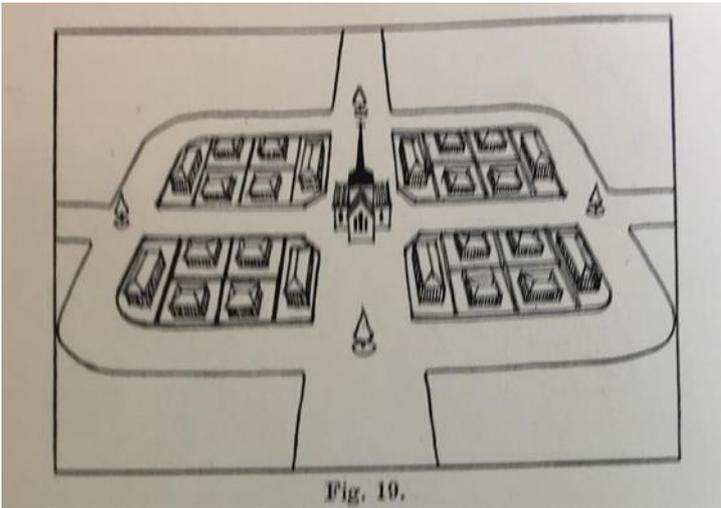


Fig. 19.

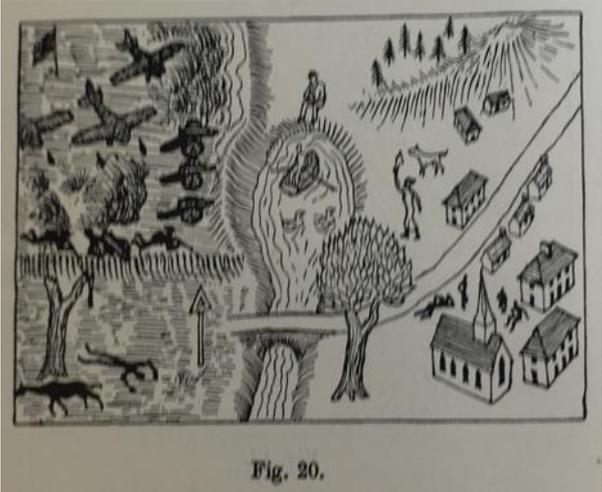
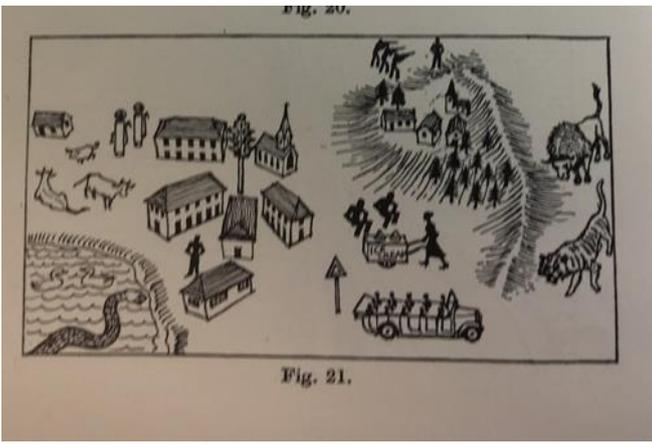


Fig. 20.



*For further analysis on this work, please look up the document title online