

Psychology in Living

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Psychology
IN LIVING



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PREFACE

THE psychological problems that have to do with everyday living are highly interrelated. Motivation—internal force and external influence—is inseparable from mental health, which is likewise complex. These subjects should, therefore, be treated in relation to each other, as well as comprehensively. Such an extensive treatise requires the presentation of material in an orderly arrangement, which gives meaning to details and makes them clear. The organization of a body of knowledge also enables one to approach it as the eye usually approaches an object; seeing it in gross outline first, and then by gradual steps, without losing the general pattern, discovering the details.

No single volume can do more than touch upon the common interests and problems of psychology. The usefulness of any publication can be increased, however, by citing well-selected literature, and by stimulating interest in scientific study. The more personal and practical the beginning student or general reader finds a treatise on psychology, the more interested he becomes in psychology as a science.

Assistance in the preparation of this volume was received from evening students of the University of Minnesota. The breadth of experience and variety of interests of many of these students made them helpful in the development of the text. Harm White of Cleveland, Ohio, Watson Dickerman of the University of California, and Curtis E. Avery of the University of Oregon were valuable counsellors in the preparation of this material. Haldor B. Gislason of the University of Minnesota studied the entire manuscript and made many helpful criticisms in regard to both subject-matter and method of presentation. I am very grateful to all of these associates and to other colleagues and friends who have assisted me. For contributing towards the development of this book in every way I am much indebted to my wife, Margaret Byram White.

WENDELL WHITE.

INTRODUCTION

FOR most of us, life is highly social: we have social objectives, and we have occupations that involve personal relationships. We need therefore to be adept in getting people to respond favourably to us and to our suggestions. As our relationships with other persons grow in complexity, proficiency in getting on with others or in stimulating them to activity becomes increasingly important. Today we feel a constant need of being versed in the science, and skilled in the art, of dealing with people.

We desire to be helpful as well as effective in our personal relationships, and to live the kind of life that yields the largest satisfactions.

These problems we all meet more successfully when we approach them in keeping with human nature. Such an approach we make most readily when we understand in particular the source of man's actions and satisfactions. Human behaviour is initiated and sustained by our fundamental needs, and is enjoyed through their fulfilment. Although other factors often direct man's behaviour, one combination or other of his needs is the wind in his sails. Not simply all overt behaviour but also all unexpressed thought seems to originate, directly or indirectly, in man's primary needs.

The forces that move man to action may be variously designated; as needs, wants, strivings, cravings, desires, impulses, urges, drives, or motives. The term "needs" seems to suggest more than does any one of the corresponding terms the primary and dynamic nature of these forces, and acceptance of them. These sources of action therefore will be most often referred to here as needs.

Our fundamental needs are highly integrated: they are parts of each other and are served much through fulfilment of each other. Any classification of them is, therefore, somewhat arbitrary.

MAN'S BASIC NEEDS

- a. *A sense of personal worth*—the deep-rooted desire to feel that we amount to something among our fellows.
- b. *An interesting life*—experiences varied and usually pleasing in substance and in general pattern.
- c. *Love*—a composite of sexual and other needs.
- d. *Activity*—sensory and motor experiences, especially in childhood, and the pursuit of something thought worth-while.
- e. *Physical well-being*.
- f. *A livelihood*.
- g. *A sense of security*.

In Part One of this volume—psychology in personal relationships—the emphasis is upon effectiveness, but the methods suggested are effective largely because they show sincerity and decency, and are, in the case of those presented in Chapter VI, interesting. Their use, therefore, should make for influence that endures.

PART ONE

PSYCHOLOGY IN PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

CHAPTER I

THE PRESENTATION OF ONE'S IDEAS

IN presenting our ideas, we must be mindful of man's need of a sense of personal worth. This need is a significant factor underlying most of his behaviour. It obviously finds expression in a multitude of ways, and lies hidden in a variety of disguises. In addition to being pervasive, this need is forceful and persistent; it gives rise to some of the most intense activity, and presses forever upon us. How hard man struggles to avoid a feeling of worthlessness—to achieve a feeling of importance! How insistently he demands that his worth be acknowledged! How high he places human-kind in the order of existence! And how much he prides himself when he feels that he is, and is considered to be, of especial significance among his fellow men!

To be effective and pleasing we must sometimes present our ideas directly, and sometimes indirectly.

I. INDIRECT PRESENTATION

Presenting an idea indirectly consists in presenting it as having originated, more or less, with the other person. It is a means of leading without a leash. If you are observant of people and remember what you observe, you will usually find in another person's life at least a spark, that you can kindle into the idea you wish him to accept. And often you may recall that he has previously expressed in almost identical form the idea you have in mind. The indirect method can, therefore, be used extensively.

Why should one present indirectly the ideas one wishes to convey? One should do so to spare another from feeling inferior. When a person presents his ideas directly, he implies that those whom he instructs or advises are inferior. Such an attitude can make them uncomfortable even when the person giving counsel in no way attempts to show his wisdom at their expense; for the learner is always, in respect to what he is learning, inferior to the instructor. But when a person presents his ideas as having originated, more or less, with those whom he counsels, he does not make them feel inferior. There is no impertinence in saying, for example, "I

would handle this problem somewhat in the way in which you once handled a similar one; I would . . ."

The indirect presentation also spares another's feelings of independence. When you get another person to look upon your idea as representing in some degree his own thinking, you do not give the impression that you are trying to dictate his behaviour. Every human being likes to think that he is considered capable of making his own decisions and free to do as he chooses—that he is a self-determining being. In using the indirect method you permit him to enjoy such feelings, and so do not make him averse to the ideas you convey.

In using, on the contrary, the direct method of presenting your idea to another person, especially if your attitude is paternalistic or dictatorial, you may override his feelings of independence to the extent of making him think that you regard him as a mere puppet, and so you make him unalterably hostile to your suggestion. Failure to realize this is often manifested by the ill-advised use of *telling* and *compelling* technique. Lincoln emphasized the futility of such methods when he said:

Assume to dictate to his [man's] judgement, or to command his action, or to mark him out as one to be shunned and despised, and he will retreat within himself, close all the avenues to his head and heart; and though your cause be naked truth itself, transformed to the heaviest lance, harder than steel, and sharper than steel can be made, and though you throw it with more than herculean force and precision, you will be no more able to pierce him than to penetrate the hard shell of a tortoise with a rye straw. Such is man, and so must he be understood by those who would lead him even to his own best interests.¹

Man's unwillingness to have either his ideas or his behaviour prescribed is revealed in many ways. Often a person refuses to accept an idea that is presented directly, or to perform an act that is requested in a mandatory way, but acquiesces later when the dictatorial person is not observing him. In like manner, the displeasure in being dictated to is manifested widely by such common statements as "What right does he have to tell us what to do?" and "Says who?" and "I don't need your advice." Almost everyone has had occasion to observe responses such as these to "back-seat" driving.

Similarly, the cry for liberty one hears everywhere is, among other things, an expression of a desire to feel free to order one's own life. After the Civil War a coloured woman was asked by her former master whether she did not have to work as hard as before for what she got. She replied, "Yes, but there's the feeling." It was, undoubtedly, a similar attitude that led women to agitate for elimination of the word "obey" from the marriage ceremony. Observations such as these seem to support the view that people oppose the direct method because it frustrates their desire to be considered capable of making decisions for themselves and to be free to do as they please.

¹ Lincoln, Abraham, Temperance Address, February 22, 1842.

People differ, of course, in the degree to which they resent having their ideas or actions dictated. On the one extreme, there are those who are very tractable. They accept readily the opinions of others and comply unhesitatingly with requests. On the other extreme there are negativistic persons, of whom two types may be noted: passively negativistic persons—persons who refuse to accept ideas that are prescribed directly, or to perform acts that are requested in a mandatory way; and actively negativistic persons—persons who adopt ideas or perform acts that are directly opposed to ideas or acts prescribed. The more you try to drive the actively negativistic person one way, the more he goes the other way.

Resentment at being given orders depends also upon circumstances. In group enterprise, people ordinarily want someone in command; and if they are not given a leader in this sense, they choose one. Nevertheless, no one likes to be continually led by the halter in every phase of life; and those who are thus led often either break their halter or strangle themselves in trying to.

We see then that the use of the direct method destroys feelings of independence, which the use of the indirect method spares.

One should present one's ideas indirectly, moreover, to give another the satisfaction of having more or less originated the idea. When you present an idea indirectly the other person may, as a matter of course, take credit for it, and so may obtain a feeling of importance. And the notion of being the originator of an idea is to many persons the greatest and most enduring satisfaction. People will often struggle ceaselessly to gain distinction for original thinking. Because man takes pride in ideas that he regards as his own, the indirect method of conveying one's views is an effective means of gaining acceptance of them.

The indirect method also makes another person fear that unless he adheres to the idea with which he is credited he will lose prestige. With the crediting of anyone for an idea often goes fear on his part that he will lose credit if he fails to abide by that idea. Thus, the indirect method gives the individual a reputation to live up to.

Since the indirect presentation of ideas spares another from feeling inferior, spares his feelings of independence, gives him the satisfaction of having more or less originated the idea, or creates in him fear that unless he adheres to the idea for which he is credited he will lose prestige, it is an important means of persuasion. Anyone who would be considered socially competent must be ready to present his ideas to others indirectly whenever he is at all justified in doing so. Successful people are frequently distinguished from unsuccessful ones by their skill in presenting ideas in this way.

The indirect method of presenting ideas is often called *suggestion*. This term has, however, a broader meaning; it refers to more than the indirect presentation of one's views. I shall, therefore, refrain here from using the word "suggestion" in reference to the indirect presentation of ideas.

There are different ways in which one can present one's ideas indirectly:

a. Taking Desired Behaviour for Granted. When you take for granted that the other person will do what you wish him to do, you attribute such behaviour to him. In doing so you also compliment him, for the silence that accepts merit as the most natural thing is the highest praise. And the esteem that you express for the other person in this way is a significant factor in stimulating the desired behaviour. May Robson expressed this view when she said, "I try to be what those who love me think I am."

The following statements suggest that, in various situations in life, it is possible to make people what we wish them to be by thinking them so:

An athletic coach, in a short talk on training, remarks: "It is needless for me to say anything to fellows of your age and intelligence about smoking. You are aware of its detriment to the physical fitness of an athlete."

A community fund advertisement designed for women, but ostensibly addressed to men, reads: "When you tell her [your wife] that you have given more than you had planned, you will see no censure in her eyes, but love. Trust a woman to understand the present need."

A safety poster shows a tool left on the edge of a scaffold and reads: "You know better than this. When the other fellow doesn't, tell him."

A mother in trying to get her son to take a bath says, "Here is a bath towel for you."

An article supporting an enactment of the Federal Government reads, "The Recovery Act was written with the confident belief that the great majority of business men are ready to co-operate with their fellows and the government."

A wife says to her husband, "You will have time to shave before dinner."

"Perhaps many times you have been inclined to . . . but have overlooked doing so."

"I am glad I can depend on you."

"We all have a part to play in the war, and I know you will not fail in yours."

"I do not think it necessary for me to do more than indicate the need."

An employer gives every indication that he has confidence in his employees.

The following statements are examples of expectation surviving the individual's failure to live up to it:

"I believe you have sufficient character to mend your ways. I will give you that chance."

"This is not very good work, but I know you will do better next time."

"I wish you would work as hard as you play. You went after that fly ball as if you intended to get it, and you got it."

The more you take for granted, the more complimentary you are; but taking for granted more than the individual can live up to gives him a feeling of inferiority.

There is also the danger that if you take favours for granted you may give the impression that you are a presumptuous and ungrateful person.

Although the taking of desired behaviour for granted is often conducive to such behaviour, this method alone ordinarily is not enough to assure continuance of it. For acts to be repeated, they usually must be found satisfying in various ways.

b. Crediting Another When He Happens to Make the Desired Response. No one is always in the wrong. Keep alert, and sooner or later you will find the other person doing what you wish him to do. Then compliment him for what he does. In so doing you get your idea to him indirectly.

The following statement by Burt in regard to crediting men in industry when they happen to make the desired response is also suggestive of the value of this method in dealing with people in other situations:

The whole technique of inaugurating new ideas by making the worker think that he discovered the idea is quite effective, not only in foremanship, but also in other aspects of industrial relations. If the person you wish to convince makes any suggestion remotely resembling what you want, you can say "there is an idea" and later bring forth the original proposition you had in mind, giving him credit for it.¹

Some persons make the error of calling the individual's attention always to his mistakes; never to the desired responses he makes. Thus they impute to him only failure to do what is desired, never the doing of it, and so they judge him by his lapses or inabilities. This method, being not only direct but also unfair, may be most offensive.

Various applications of this principle of crediting the individual when he happens to make the desired response can be cited:

When a patient is good-natured, a doctor says, "I admire you for the way you take this."

In trying to make more thoughtful a person who has performed a thoughtful act, the one favoured says, "That was very considerate of you."

¹ Burt, Harold Ernest, *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*, p. 293. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1929. Used by permission of the publishers.

A man whose wife is inclined to grow tense while serving the guests compliments her, when the situation warrants his doing so, on the calm and relaxed manner in which she waited upon them.

A teacher, when finding a dilatory student working industriously, says: "I like the way you're applying yourself. Why can't you always put yourself into your work as you do now?"

When a child eats all that is served him, a mother remarks to him: "You ate everything on your plate. That's fine."

A merchant says to a new customer who, for several months, has paid what he owed without delay, "I like to extend credit to you because you are very prompt in paying your bills."

c. Crediting Another with Already Knowing What One Says. Bad as it sometimes is to tell a person directly what he does not know, it is often worse to tell him what he does know. But when you credit the other person with being more or less versed in the subject that you bring up, whether you bring it up for the purpose of discussion or for the purpose of arousing him to action, you show respect for him and avoid giving him the impression of arrogance. To present, on the other hand, something known to the other person as if it were unfamiliar to him would be to assume a superiority that one does not possess. Such unfairness in dealing with people is a poor policy.

When one does not know whether the other person has certain information, one often has the right to assume that he does possess it; and, in such cases, he has the right to be credited correspondingly.

The use of this method can, however, make another person uneasy, since it is difficult to admit ignorance or incompetence after having been thought informed or able. Few things are more humiliating than to be found surprisingly deficient.

This method of crediting another for already knowing what one says is illustrated by the statements:

"As you know from your own experience . . ."

"This is nothing new to you, but . . ."

"I tell you that which you yourselves know."

"As you said some time ago . . ."

"A point to be taken into consideration is, of course, the fact that . . ."

"As all of you know . . ."

"Let me remind you . . ."

Pope expressed the view taken here in regard to dealing with people when he said:

Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown proposed as things forgot.¹

Contrast this technique of crediting another person for already knowing what one says with the "I'm-telling-you" attitude.

d. Crediting Another with Having Suggested What One Advocates. Often an idea evolves from discussion—is a product of different minds. The person who stated it first in its fully developed form may have contributed little towards its development. But for anyone to take undue credit for an idea tends to arouse resentment, as is expressed in such common statements as "You took it right out of my mouth!" and "That's what I said a few minutes ago!" To appropriate to oneself an idea which was originated jointly may so destroy its lustre for another person who contributed to it that he will reject the idea, regardless of its merit. More unkind feelings and friction in discussion groups than is generally realized result from this human failing of taking the entire credit for an idea that has had at least a few roots in one or more other members of the group. He should work alone who cannot be honest and even generous with associates to the extent suggested in the following statements:

"I wonder if this isn't what you have in mind . . ."

"If I understand you correctly, you mean to say that . . ."

"Suppose we word it this way . . ."

"I believe I see your point . . ."

"That gives me an idea."

"I share the opinion that Mr. Brown expressed at the opening of this meeting, when he said . . ."

The crediting of another person with having suggested what one advocates strengthens one's influence, because of the honesty of doing so and because of the indirectness of the method of conveying one's ideas.

e. Relating One's Ideas to Views or Acts of Another Person. The presentation of an idea as being in harmony with something said or done by the person addressed, or as following directly from what he has said, enables him to feel that he shares in the underlying principle and, consequently, in the idea presented to him. The kinship of ideas is so wide that the apprehending mind can usually see a relationship between what it advocates and what the person addressed has at some time or other expressed through word or act. You usually can, therefore, make your instruction harmonize with another person's way of thinking, and thus enable him to feel that he stands with you on common ground. "I find a remark you once made rather stimulating, and feel that we ought to build our policy

¹ Pope, Alexander, *An Essay on Criticism*, lines 547-575.

around it" illustrates the use of this method. Always to present your ideas as foreign to everything in the life of the one addressed would be as unfair to him as it would be inexpedient.

The individual often associates himself so closely with certain other persons that he looks upon the views they express as representing also his own views. Relating what you say to your audience to persons with whom it has a common bond amounts, therefore, to relating it to what your audience itself thinks. This Lincoln did, in his Gettysburg address, as he referred to the founding fathers.

Even if you should think it necessary to warn your audience that failure to comply with your request would be met by coercive or punitive measures, you have nothing to lose and everything to gain by crediting your audience, in so far as you can, with a basic concern for the common good and with action in harmony with it. This is done in the address of Franklin D. Roosevelt to coal-miners on strike. For the sake of brevity, his words of rebuke and warning are omitted here:

I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal-miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious crisis. We are engaged in a war, on the successful outcome of which depends the whole future of our country. . . .

At ten o'clock yesterday morning the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines—and the services of the millions who are turning out munitions of war.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute—this split second—may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop-ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. . . .

I could tell you of one from Pennsylvania. He was a coal-miner before his induction. His father is a coal-miner. He was seriously wounded by Nazi machine-gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying Fortress.

Another boy, from Kentucky, the son of a coal-miner, was wounded when our troops first landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is still another, from Illinois. He was a coal-miner—his father and two brothers are coal-miners. He was seriously wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine. . . .

You miners have ample reason to know that there are certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that those rights are worth fighting for and dying for. That is why you have sent your sons and brothers from every mining town in the nation to join in the great struggle overseas. . . .

That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of war veterans in foreign lands. That is why, since the war started in 1939, you have increased the annual production of coal by almost two hundred million tons a year. . . .

I believe the coal-miners will not continue the strike against the Government. I believe that the coal-miners themselves as Americans will not fail to heed the

clear call to duty. Like all other good Americans, they will march shoulder to shoulder with their armed forces to victory.

Tomorrow the Stars and Stripes will fly over the coal-mines. I hope every miner will be at work under that flag.¹

Since the coal-miners clearly deserved the recognition they received in the talk, not to have given them such recognition would have been an unfairness that would have greatly irritated them.

By relating your ideas to views or acts of another person, you lead while seeming to follow.

f. Giving Facts Without Drawing Conclusions. When you present facts without drawing a conclusion, you leave the desired influence to the other person. Such a procedure is therefore an indirect means of presenting an idea, provided, of course, the other person arrives at the conclusion you wish him to reach.

This method of presenting facts without drawing a conclusion is used in child training. Some elementary school-books devised to stimulate classroom discussion of moral traits are kept free of forthright statements as to what is proper behaviour. Educators, in the selection of stories for developing proper attitudes, similarly give preference to those stories in which the moral is not pointed out. They select many fables—stories in which the chief characters are animals or inanimate things—because fables present human traits or foibles most indirectly. Note the indirectness of the instruction in the following fable and the opportunity that the indirectness affords the child to come to an important conclusion seemingly of his own accord:

Once upon a time there was an old man and his wife, and they had a speckled hen. One day the hen laid an egg, not an ordinary one, but a gold one. The old man tried as hard as he could to break it, and couldn't. And his wife tried as hard as she could to break it, and she couldn't. . . . Then the old man and his wife began to cry, but the hen clucked and said: "Don't cry, don't cry. I'll lay you another egg, and this time not a gold one, but an ordinary one."

Dramatists use extensively this method of giving facts without drawing conclusions from them. When they wish to advocate social changes, they portray for us the deficiency of the established order. And without telling what ought to be done they leave us to make that decision on the basis of the facts they present. Ibsen said: "I answer not. My work is but to question."

In all occupations there are leaders who simply drop a remark occasionally—refrain from expressing their views completely—because they recognize that people like to think of themselves as acting on their own decisions, and not on those of another person.

Some artful persons when discussing subjects with others, in addition

¹ Roosevelt, Franklin D., radio address, May 2, 1943.

to refraining from statement of conclusions, make such statements as "What this all signifies is a little hard to say," "Use your own judgement," and "Do as you see fit." They not only avoid affecting superiority or exercising rulership but also make it clear that they have no such intentions.

g. Presenting Ideas in Question Form. A question put to another person stimulates him to thought. If the question is well formulated, it brings to his consciousness the idea with which you wish to impress him; and, as he expresses that idea, he makes it his own. Presenting an idea in question form is decidedly indirect, in that the response it brings forth is not simply a thought but a thought made articulate.

When an executive asks his employees to prepare for him a written statement of what they are doing or plan to do for self-improvement, he holds before them the need of self-improvement; but, in doing so, he stands in the background. When a personnel manager of a retail store gives employees a questionnaire on which they are to rate themselves for courtesy to customers, knowledge of merchandise, personal neatness, and other qualities, the thought that they should manifest these qualities occurs to them, and it seems to arise spontaneously. When a school administrator asks teachers for opinions as to what the faculty might do to increase its service to the students, he instills into the teachers a thought which they may develop into a plan for enlarging activity. When a teacher gives children printed forms for rating themselves in respect to various character traits, she prompts them to infer that the traits specified are desirable. When an official of the Federal Government inquires of governors, mayors, and city managers what they are doing to alleviate unemployment, he makes those who may not have given much serious thought to the subject at least wonder whether they ought not to do something. And when anyone puts his ideas into such queries as "Wouldn't you say that . . ." and "Don't you think that . . ." he presents them somewhat indirectly. Much of the art of effective instruction consists in skilful questioning.

h. Stimulating Another to Self-Expression of One's Idea. The method of stimulating another person to express an idea that you wish him to accept serves to get him to tell you something, instead of your telling it to him. This method, like that of presenting an idea in question form, is indirect, in that the response it brings forth is not simply a thought but a thought expressed.

Educators make considerable use of this method. In character education, teachers sometimes request the pupils to put into scrap-books clippings illustrating noble deeds, and to show and discuss their scrap-books at a meeting of the class. In health education, children are sometimes encouraged to enter essay contests, and in all types of education students are stimulated to self-expression. The chief justification of learning through self-expression is, of course, that such learning is quicker and more permanent. We learn to do by doing. But such learning is justified also in

that anyone is more prone to follow principles to which he has given expression than to follow principles urged upon him.

i. *Presenting Ideas Through Example.* Many persons have a tendency, as everyone knows, to imitate others. They may do so because of interest in activity, especially novel activity, because they put themselves in the place of others and act sympathetically, because they feel that others know what is the most advantageous thing to do, in order to gain approval and avoid scorn, or in order to think themselves like the models they imitate. When following a set pattern of behaviour for any reason, people often feel that they are setting upon their own initiative. It is for this reason that a good example is the best sermon.

Behaviour witnessed by an individual does not necessarily induce similar behaviour in him. The person who fails to arouse sympathy or respect, or who obviously sets the example for effect, may stimulate behaviour opposite to his own. But others, when setting an example, are usually imitated, more or less, by many persons.

j. *Affording Expression of Negativism.* There are *passively* negativistic persons, those who refuse to accept ideas that are prescribed directly, or to perform acts that are requested in a mandatory way, and *actively* negativistic persons, those who adopt ideas or perform acts that are directly opposed to the ideas or acts prescribed.

Nearly all children develop a negative attitude for a period during the third or fourth year after birth. At this age the child discovers that he is a distinct and presumably an independent person, and he takes delight in directing his own actions. He delights as much in his newly discovered freedom of action as he delights in his first realization of being able to walk or talk; and he eagerly asserts his independence.

A person at any age may take a negative attitude to get attention. Although the attention obtained in this way is usually unfavourable, the negativistic person generally finds it less annoying than being utterly ignored. A boy once said in reference to his teacher, "She never pays any attention to you when you do only what you should do."

No less common is resort to negativism to express resentment of having been neglected or treated mechanically, or deprived of something. An older child is likely to have such a feeling when a younger child takes his place as the centre of attention and care, and to express resentment by refusing to follow requests or by doing the direct opposite.

Many children who are made to rely too much upon themselves become negativistic as a protection against being pushed too far towards self-reliance. By refusing to eat, or to wait upon himself in other respects, such a child compels his mother to acknowledge his dependence by assisting him.

Likewise, children who have their lives over-regulated become tense, and they become irritated over the deprivations that extreme regulation involves. In protest against over-regulation they, too, tend to develop negative attitudes.

Negativism at any age may be an expression of a haughty or domineering disposition. A person having such a disposition may contradict or oppose almost anything that is said or done.

Another cause of negativism is the feeling that the person making suggestions is haughty or domineering. For the sake of asserting their independence, husbands who feel henpecked and wives who feel brow-beaten are often negativistic.

The problem of dealing with a young child in the normal stage of negativism is one not of suppression, but one of accomplishing your objectives despite his attitude. You can often, by a little management, enable such a child to be negativistic in complying with your wishes, as readily as in opposing them. If he refuses to eat, serve small portions, and let him have additional portions upon his insistence. In this way you may change his refusal to eat to a refusal to accept small portions, and thus may get him to assert himself through eating, instead of through refusing. If he refuses to take a bath give him but a few inches of water, and he may insist upon a full tub. Letting a normally negativistic child have but a minimum of anything is often an effective means of getting him to demand more.

Although negativism at the age of three or four is a normal factor in the child's development, the outgrowing of this attitude in due time is also a factor. Too prolonged negativism can often be checked by suggesting to the child that he do something he knows would give him pleasure. This method is especially effective when negativism would obviously result in discomfort or privation. One might say, without warning: "Take this nickel and buy yourself an ice-cream cone"; "Come with me, and I'll buy you a new pair of shoes"; or, "Let's go to the zoo." Such methods are effective because they teach the child that various benefits may be achieved through compliance with other persons' wishes.

One should strive to keep children from becoming extremely negativistic, as well as to overcome such a disposition when they develop it. Since the child resists attempts to manage him because he desires to exercise independence, it is possible to prevent much negativism by presenting certain matters to the child for his own decision. Letting the child decide, for example, upon such things as the colour of a garment to be bought for him gives him the feeling of freedom, and so tends to keep him from becoming negativistic.

What are effective ways of getting on with negativistic persons of any age? Sometimes the best way of dealing with such a person is to dismiss at once your suggestion upon his rejecting it. If your suggestion has merit he may bring it up later, or you can do so with better results. Frequently you can get a child or an adult to react favourably to what you have prepared or procured, for either or both of you, by saying, in reference to it, "You may not like this," or "I may have made a mistake." Often you can get a person to react favourably to various suggestions by saying, "You don't think that . . . do you?" or "You wouldn't

say that . . . would you?" or, "You wouldn't care to . . . would you?"

In a comic strip a woman, desirous of making plans with her husband for an outing on the Fourth of July, said to him, "You're not planning on our going anywhere for the Fourth, are you?" The effectiveness of her method was suggested by the next picture in the comic strip, showing them motoring down the highway; she with seeming meekness, and he with a proud demeanour. This illustrates not only the possibility of influencing a negativistic person by affording him expression of negativism, but also the fact that, during the many centuries of male dominance, women have surpassed their "betters" in the art of presenting ideas indirectly. Many persons feel such strong resentment at having their ideas or actions dictated, and delight so much in thinking and acting independently, that they respond readily to opportunities for expressing negativism.

If the individual should sense your attempt to influence him indirectly, would he resent it? If he sees that you are, for example, presenting your idea as having originated with him because he actually did suggest it to you, he will respect your honesty. But if he feels that you are trying to catch him off guard, and that you think yourself clever enough to do so, he will, of course, be indignant. The effectiveness of any method depends much upon one's motive and attitude.

No one method is suitable for dealing with different persons in different situations; but much of the success achieved in various human relationships comes from proceeding indirectly—from leading without a leash.

2. DIRECT PRESENTATION

Although the direct method of presenting an idea does not credit the other person with having more or less originated that idea, as does the indirect method, it can be equally inoffensive to him, and hence equally effective in influencing his behaviour. We avoid giving offence if we have, when presenting our ideas directly, any one of a number of attitudes:

a. Respect for the Opinions and Rights of Others. By respecting the opinions and rights of others, as well as by giving the impression of modesty, a person can avoid giving offence. Those who, when expressing their views, tell others to do as they like usually achieve a great following. Such acknowledgment of another person's ability to make a satisfactory decision in regard to the idea one presents, and of his freedom to do as he chooses in regard to it, is illustrated by the following expressions.

"I wish you would consider . . ."

"This is just a suggestion."

"If it's agreeable to you . . ."

"Will you please . . ."

"I think that . . . but it's all up to you."

"This is a thing for you to decide. There are, however, some things to which I should like to call your attention, because most of us tend to overlook them."

"Gentlemen, you have heard both sides. The case is now in your hands."

"We do not seek to control any man's vote. We feel, however, that the coming election is so important to industry and employment that our employees should know our views."

"You are now old enough to choose for yourself, but I wish you would consider this before making your decision."

"I come to you at the opening of the regular session of the Seventy-third Congress not to make requests for special or detailed items of legislation; I come, rather, to counsel with you . . ."

Violations of the principle that one should respect the opinions and rights of others are common. Parents sometimes attempt unduly to dictate their children's thoughts and actions. There is a great lag in the adoption of new methods of managing children in the home, as they attain new levels of development. In some cases the paternalistic attitude is never relinquished—not even after the children have reached adulthood. The tendency to persist in managing our children through their advancing years in the same way in which we managed them when they were babies results from the fact that we are governed largely by habit. Not only in the home but in life in general many persons, trying to influence others, disregard their opinions and right by belittling what they say, by commanding them unnecessarily, or by openly expressing the intention to "convince", "manage" or "Americanize" them, or to "mould public opinion". Violations of the principle that one should respect the opinions and rights of others are about as numerous as are the applications of the principle.

Although in respecting the opinions and rights of other persons one avoids offending them, extreme regard for their views might operate to one's disadvantage; for instance, when it is interpreted as over-solicitude for what they think, and hence as an indication that one lacks courage, decisiveness, conviction, or some other quality necessary for leadership or for simply doing something by oneself. In such cases, some indifference to the opinions of other persons may be more effective in inspiring confidence. No one respects long a person who is extremely dependent upon the opinions of others.

b. Concern for Another's Interest in One's Idea. If you should give another person an unasked-for opinion, whether as information or advice, he

might think that you were trying to show your wisdom at his expense, or to dictate to him; and so, however useful your counsel would be, he would be likely to reject it. But if you give him your opinion after he has shown interest in receiving it, he is unlikely to think you presumptuous. Modesty in expressing one's views frequently depends on whether one has been asked for them. To be accepted gratefully and to do any good, counsel must never intrude. And it need not intrude, because most people usually desire information and tend to give a ready hearing when approached with concern for their interest. Regard for another's interest in what one has to say is commonly expressed by such statements as "If you care for my opinion . . ." and "May I say a word?" and "Since you have asked me to tell you what I think . . ." By thus respecting another's interest in your counsel you can generally present your ideas directly without giving offence.

c. Appearance as a Spokesman. One can frequently present one's views directly without giving offence to another person by approaching him merely as the spokesman for a third person or group. This is largely because such a procedure avoids giving the impression of being egotistical or dictatorial. Appearing as a spokesman is especially commendable when advocating a worthy cause. Seldom is it discreet to advance an important cause as your own. Great men do not do so; they present themselves as representatives of groups with which they identify themselves. They also let you share in the cause by assuming an interest on your part. Benjamin Franklin did so when he solicited funds for building a city library. He attests to his success in this way:

The objections and reluctance I met with in soliciting the subscriptions, made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting one's self as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbours, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a *number of friends*, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions; and from my frequent successes, can heartily recommend it.¹

Further applications of this principle of appearing as a spokesman when presenting one's ideas are revealed by such statements as: "I have been requested to say that . . ."; "As chairman it devolves upon me to . . ."; "I do not like to do this, but I have no choice in the matter"; "If you do so, I shall be forced, as representative of —, to . . ."; "I should like to let you call on her, but the doctor said that she shouldn't have any company"; "Fellows, there is one thing that I should like to have you understand, and that is that I am only the president of this organization."

¹ Franklin, Benjamin, *Autobiography* (in his account of method used in establishing the Philadelphia Public Library in 1730).

But statements such as these often give the impression that one is trying to shift to someone else the responsibility for what one says or does. This may seem to be an attempt to hide behind another person. Such timidity invariably makes for disrespect. Appearing as a spokesman is therefore commendable only when it serves, as it often does, as an escape from appearing egotistical or dictatorial.

d. Addressing One's Ideas to the Group. An idea addressed to the group is ordinarily regarded as having been intended for everyone and, in such cases, is less likely to become offensive to some one person than when it is addressed to him alone. Furthermore, when an idea is presented in this way the individual may even assume that it was not intended for him at all, but he may, nevertheless, be prompted to acquiesce in it. When addressing an idea to the group causes the individual to respond thus, one is making an indirect presentation.

There are numerous indications that a person as a member of a group will tolerate a dictatorial attitude which he as an individual would resent. Large audiences are often mentally bludgeoned into the acceptance of an idea, and yet offer little protest.

There are, however, individuals who will not react favourably to ideas presented to them as members of a group. To some of them, such methods are too impersonal to be effective. Others, realizing that an idea addressed to the group is intended for them in particular, would prefer to be approached individually in a candid manner.

e. Presenting an Idea As Being a Good Policy. When one presents an idea as being a good policy, rather than as something that the other person should do, one's suggestion is less personal and, consequently, does not give the impression of domineering. This technique is apparent in the statements: "It is generally well to . . ."; "It is a good idea to . . ."; "It pays to . . ."; "One ought to . . ."; "It is the thing to do"; "One never goes wrong by . . ."; "The secret of success is . . ."; and "The way to get on with people is to . . ." Since such statements are less offensive than direct requests to do things, they are frequently commendable.

f. Stating That We Should Do a Certain Thing. By stating that *we* should do a certain thing, rather than that the other person should do it, a speaker not only avoids directing his statements specifically towards the other person, but also puts himself on a common basis with him.

This method of stating that *we* should do a certain thing is employed wisely in both individual contacts and public address. One frequently hears statements such as: "Let us . . ."; "If we work hard . . ."; "It is up to us to . . ."; "We must carry on this . . ."; and "United we stand". A slogan to which currency was given by officials at Washington is, "Let's all pull together."

The need for presenting one's ideas in accordance with methods suggested in this and the preceding chapter is especially urgent if one is speaking about something that lies in the other person's field of endeavour

and is apart from one's own experience. Lawyers do not care to have laymen tell them how to do their work; nor do teachers, physicians, clergymen, or engineers.

Opposition to advice given by outsiders is often expressed by referring to them as "meddlers", and by statements such as "We do not need anyone to tell us what to do." When dealing with people in general, and especially with persons who feel that one is not justified in expressing a view, one can avoid offending them by proceeding in accord with the methods suggested here.

Through the proper use of the indirect or of the direct method of presenting our ideas to another person we show respect for him, and, as Bacon says, "To speak agreeably to him with whom we deal is more than to speak in good words or in good order."

INOFFENSIVE OPPOSITION TO IDEAS

The clash of arguments and jar of words.
 Worse than the mortal brunt of rival swords.
 Decide no question with their tedious length,
 For opposition gives opinion strength.¹

WE have not only the problem of getting other persons to accept our ideas, but also the problem of getting them to give up objectionable ideas of their own. Overcoming ideas thought objectionable is a delicate procedure, a more delicate one than simply gaining acceptance of ideas; for it implies not merely that the other person is misinformed but that he is wrong. Such an implication may wound his pride severely—so severely that as a means of vindicating himself he will tend to defend the position he has taken, however soundly you have opposed it. To persons engaged in controversy truth or expediency is often much less important than pride. Many are willing to fight and die for their ideas, not because of the ideas themselves, but because they are theirs. Such persons are, as were historic warriors, out for sensational trials of strength or for spectacular victories. To get a person to give up an idea one must, therefore, frequently proceed in a manner that safeguards that person's pride.

Methods used for overcoming ideas thought objectionable should not only serve this purpose effectively, but should also be civil for the sake of civility. To wound another's pride unnecessarily when trying to awaken him to error is an inexcusable breach of gentility. The methods that I shall suggest for opposing ideas inoffensively do not lack civility, nor does their use necessarily consist in going beyond the limits of integrity. As we consider these methods, their civility as well as their effectiveness will be quite apparent.

1. MAKING A CONCESSION BEFORE REJECTING THE IDEA EXPRESSED

When you make a concession before rejecting another's idea, you do not affront him as you would in objecting to his view in an unqualified manner. This is because you, in making the concession, show that you recognize that there is at least some truth in what he says, and thus you take the sting out of your rejection. We can never win a person to our way of thinking until we have admitted whatever validity there is in his position. Much of the art of persuasion consists in considering other

¹ Cowper, William, "Conversation", lines 83-89.

people's views, in trying to understand them clearly, and in doing justice to them.

Usually a concession in regard to another's view is the only intelligent response that can be made to what he says, for to understand life is to recognize the many-sidedness of truth. Seldom can it be said that there is but one way of looking at the question. When a person denounces an idea as a whole, his position is generally as untenable as were the positions of the knights who quarrelled over the colour of the shield that was in reality gold on one side and silver on the other.

The application of this principle of making a concession before objecting to the idea expressed by another person is illustrated by such current statements as these:

"Much might be said on either side."

"Under normal conditions your idea is a good one, but this is an unusual situation."

"We agree in essentials. We differ only in details."

"There seems to be much truth in what you say, but I believe that . . ."

"It looks to me like a fifty-fifty proposition. Nevertheless . . ."

"I think that occasionally it is well to do so, but as a general policy . . ."

"Your plan has its good points, but I am wondering whether it cannot be improved upon."

"Your method, I believe, is very suitable for dealing with mature people, but in handling children . . ."

"It might work out all right, but I am rather sceptical about it."

"The one you favour is very good, but I believe that this one is a better value."

"I believe that we are not so far apart that we cannot get together on this."

"That, I think, may serve very well as a general plan, but I believe it is in need of certain modifications."

"One may look at it in any number of ways, but I am inclined to think that . . ."

"What you propose might work out all right for a short time, but in the long run . . ."

"I agree that it's a fine lake, but wouldn't you like to go somewhere else for a change?"

If we would usually, before disagreeing with people, consider wherein we agree, we not only should be more effective in persuasion, but should also do our part to make the world a more pleasant place to live in.

2. REVEALING A DELIBERATIVE ATTITUDE REGARDING AN IDEA BEFORE REJECTING IT

By revealing first a deliberative attitude regarding an idea expressed by an individual, one can later reject that idea with less danger of affronting him. This is true because when proceeding in such ways one does not give the individual the impression that one considers him obviously wrong and, consequently, ridiculously in error.

From the standpoint of courtesy for its own sake, as well as from the standpoint of effective persuasion, this method is commendable; for politeness frequently requires that we give hospitality to opinions we cannot share.

The deliberative attitude can be revealed by pondering the idea before raising an objection, or by simply recognizing it when expressed and rejecting it a day later. These methods are illustrated by remarks such as the following:

"That may be worth thinking about."

"I should rather not give an opinion offhand."

"I should like to go into this a little before deciding upon it."

"We might talk this over more at length."

Although manifesting a deliberative attitude before objecting to an idea enables one later to object to that idea inoffensively, this method may also have the unfavourable effect of strengthening the individual in the ill-advised position he has taken, because it countenances to some degree the view he expressed. This method must, therefore, be used skilfully in order not to encourage the objectionable idea more than one discourages it.

3. SUGGESTING THAT THE OTHER PERSON GIVE MORE THOUGHT TO WHAT HE HAS SAID

One can often dissuade an individual from an idea by suggesting that he reconsider. Such a suggestion expresses a doubt as to the desirability of the idea, and it is less offensive than an unqualified statement of disapproval. In objecting to an idea expressed by another person, one should be no more positive than is necessary to get him to see the undesirability of that idea. When admonishing the individual to deliberate on the

idea he has expressed is sufficient to get him to see that the idea is not a good one, it is unwise to inveigh against it with positive statements.

Expressions such as the following may often serve to get the individual to deliberate on the desirability of the idea he expressed:

"In matters like this a person should act only after much deliberation."

"A little meditation now might save a lot of grief later."

"This is a matter that does not need to be decided now."

"It might be advisable to investigate this very carefully before going ahead."

"This is too important a matter to be decided hastily."

"If I were you I would get the opinion of other persons on this matter before going ahead with it."

"Have you thought this over carefully?"

"It's a good policy to think twice before one acts."

"I would try it out on the members of this group before going ahead with it."

The method of suggesting that the other person deliberate on the idea he has expressed may operate unfavourably, for the same reason that the method of revealing a deliberative attitude may operate unfavourably: it gives support to the idea expressed by the individual, and so it tends to strengthen him in the stand he has taken. This method, therefore, like the preceding one, must be used skilfully.

4. STATING THAT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO AGREE BEFORE ONE DISAGREES

Telling another person, before rejecting his idea, that there are other persons who share his view protects him against feeling that you consider him alone to be wrong. Any statement to the effect that there are others who also are in error acts as a buffer to a later statement of disagreement.

Such methods are effective not only in bringing about a change of mind but in furthering amicable relationships for their own sake—an obviously desirable end. There are many current statements that illustrate this method of saying before one disagrees that there are other persons who agree:

"You are not the only one who takes that view."

"I realize that it is being done that way. Nevertheless . . ."

"One often hears that view expressed. But I am unable to justify it."

"There is a school of thought taking that view. However . . ."

"Some like it the way you do, but others . . ."

This method of stating, before one disagrees, that there are other people who agree may have an unfavourable effect similar to that of methods discussed previously. It gives support to the individual's view, and so may make it harder to dissuade him from it. But the fairness of such statements often gives them force in bringing about a change of mind.

5. AGREEING AND STATING THAT OTHERS WILL NOT AGREE

By agreeing with another person one safeguards that person's pride, and by stating that other people will not agree with him one raises a question as to the soundness of his idea. *Persons highly dependent upon the views of others are greatly influenced by such procedures.* Thus this method also serves to remove objectionable ideas inoffensively. Statements such as the following are effective in most cases:

"I agree with you wholly. But you can never get the public to accept that view."

"Your idea may be sound, but the time is not ripe for introducing it."

"I think you are correct, but Mr. Smith will never approve of that."

But this method, likewise, gives countenance to the objectionable idea expressed by the individual, and so it tends to strengthen him in the position he takes. Therefore this method, too, may be used unprofitably.

6. RESTATING THE INDIVIDUAL'S IDEA AND ASKING IF THAT IS WHAT HE MEANT

To restate another's idea and to ask him if that is what he meant implies, if done in the right tone of voice, respect for his opinion and yet hesitancy to accept it. Moreover, most people speak carelessly and say more than they mean. For these reasons, by holding before the individual his statement for affirmation or rejection, one can often get him to modify it in order not to seem ridiculous. And in so modifying it he is likely to restate his position more conservatively. The replies to statements quoted below illustrate the use of this method:

"The schools mollicoddle the children. They should train 'em to do distasteful things. What's taught doesn't matter because it's forgotten anyway."

"In other words, you say, do you not, that it doesn't matter what you teach them so long as they do not like it?"

"I'm against going to war under any circumstances."

"You mean, do you not, that you stand for peace at any price?"

In using this technique one must beware of distorting another's idea and thus, through one's own dishonesty, making him ridiculous. It takes considerable skill to restate an extreme view expressed by another person without appearing to exaggerate what he has said. Moreover, deliberate misrepresentation of another's statement is tacit acceptance of it.

7. SAYING THAT WHAT IS OBJECTED TO IS A MATTER OF CHOICE

By saying that the thing objected to is a matter of choice, one avoids crossing the person who favoured it, and this enables him to change his opinion without thereby admitting that he was wrong. When, for example, a customer says, "I like don't the colour," the sales-person, assuming that the colour is becoming to the customer and that he would come to like it, may well say, "Colour is a matter of preference," or, "We all have our likes and dislikes," and proceed to give reasons why the particular colour would be a good selection for the customer to make. Refusal to countenance a customer's objection to even a minor point frequently results in a refusal to make a purchase, however much the customer may otherwise have desired to make it.

This technique of saying that the thing another person objects to is a matter of choice is suitable in various situations, and it is often put effectively to use.

8. EXONERATING THE INDIVIDUAL FROM BLAME FOR THE VIEW HE HAS EXPRESSED

Often an individual takes an incorrect position through no fault of his own. When his error is more or less excusable, the thing to do is to exonerate him from blame for saying what he has said; for in doing so one disparages his view without reflecting upon his judgement or motives. The following statements illustrate this inoffensive means of correcting objectionable ideas:

"Do you realize how fast you are driving?"

"I feel confident that you would not have taken the position you take if you had had all of the facts."

"There seems to be some misunderstanding. What I meant was . . ."

"I see that I did not make myself clear."

"There are many details of this problem of which you may be unaware."

"I realize that this is not an everyday occurrence for you."

"I believe that we are looking at this from different angles."

"Let me explain this more fully."

"Your great disappointment may have clouded your vision. Let me talk this over with you."

"It is easy to get the wrong idea there."

"Apparently some of you do not realize that your talking is annoying to others who are trying to listen."

As you exonerate the individual from blame for the view he has expressed, you enable him to retract with little embarrassment; and you make him, by the fairness of your attitude, receptive to your suggestions.

9. REFRAINING FROM BEING OVER-POSITIVE IN OPPOSITION TO ANOTHER'S VIEW

As when giving an opinion, so also when opposing another's view, one should refrain from over-positive statements; for such statements make another's error seem inexcusable by making it certain, and assume a definite superiority in information or in judgement. Moreover, being over-positive in regard to the various concerns of man is not frequently justified, and so it may reveal an immature mind as well as affront the other person.

Many men quite definitely set in their opinions have been influenced by persons who, in expressing disagreement, refrained from being over-positive by making such remarks as:

"I am inclined to think otherwise."

"You may be correct, but I can't quite see it that way."

"That's not the impression I got."

"I am somewhat sceptical about that."

"Don't take my criticism too seriously, because I haven't given the matter much thought."

"I'll tell you what I think. But take my criticism only for what it is worth to you."

Such statements may, without suggesting extreme susceptibility to another's view, be free of arrogance. The following statement is applicable to what I have said here.

A Quaker friend having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud; that my pride show'd itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent, of which he convinc'd me by mentioning several instances; I determined on endeavouring to cure myself, if I could, of this vice or folly. . . . I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction of the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own.¹

What is the relationship between restraint in expressing one's views and one's ability to inspire confidence? Refraining from being over-positive in objecting to another's view or in simply advancing a view of one's own may inspire or destroy confidence. Being positive implies that one is justified in saying what one says, and thus it tends to be persuasive. A lack of self-confidence implies an inadequate basis for what one says; and, for this reason, the person who seems doubtful of his words cannot expect his audience to believe in them. He is likely to be considered uninformed or lacking in decisiveness. But the positive speaker, whether opposing the view of another person or simply advancing a view of his own, must exercise care lest he give the impression of being over-confident, and therefore uninformed, narrow-minded, or egotistical. He must also, if he is to maintain the confidence which he inspires, prove to be correct more often than incorrect. A positive attitude therefore tends to inspire confidence in the long run only in so far as it is justified. The man who talks over-confidently usually must move along; he is usually a talk-and-run speaker.

The confidence that a person inspires depends, of course, not only upon himself but also upon his audience. Intelligent people tend to rely upon the words of the man who speaks with no more assurance than the facts warrant. Some persons are, however, influenced as much by the confidence with which a man speaks as by what he says. The extent to which positive statements are necessary to gain the trust of others is a variable factor and must be judged sensitively.

Those who never make a positive statement are, of course, uninteresting, especially to a person who likes to argue. But it is not so much positive statements that irritate another person as over-positive ones.

10. PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE INDIVIDUAL BEFORE OBJECTING TO HIS VIEW

People take a disagreement quite gracefully if the disagreement is not a personal disparagement. Many people are sufficiently objective to

¹ Franklin, Benjamin, *Autobiography* (in his account of methods used in trying to acquire virtues).

realize that an attack upon what they say is not necessarily an attack upon them. But most sensitive persons take every disagreement to heart, and consider it as much a condemnation of them as it is of what they say. To avoid mortifying such a person when correcting him you should not come right to the point, but should first minister to his pride by paying tribute to him.

Fairness to those whose ideas one opposes, as well as effectiveness in persuading them, sometimes demands that we pay tribute to them when objecting to what they say, for no one is as unworthy as the worst of his words.

There are several ways in which one can pay just tribute to an individual before objecting to his view :

a. Conceding That His Motives Are Worthy :

"You have always been fair-minded."

"I know that you want to do the proper thing," said a teacher to a student.

"I admire your idealism and admit your sincerity, but I believe that your plan is hardly feasible in this situation."

b. Telling Him That the Idea He Has Expressed Is Unworthy of Him :

"What you say doesn't do justice to you."

"It isn't like you to say that."

"You're not living up to your reputation."

c. Telling Him That He Is Generally Right :

"That's one time you're wrong."

"In this particular case I cannot agree with you."

"I hesitate to reject your advice, but . . ."

Tributes such as these often praise more than they dispraise, and when they do praise they serve well the purpose of removing objectionable ideas inoffensively.

11. BANTERING

To engage in banter is to meet an objectionable idea with good-natured ridicule. Such ridicule may leave the other person somewhat in doubt as to whether or not you mean what you say. And his doubt in the matter may keep your remark from being offensive to him, and may cause him to give thought to the soundness of his statement. In bantering you not only pull your punches but you also express good nature, and hence a degree of fellowship ; and so your bantering may have sufficient warmth

to avoid giving offence when it quite obviously overlies seriousness of thought. And the friendliness of bantering keeps criticism from being taken personally; makes it simply criticism of the thought itself. Bantering, when recognized as expressing seriousness of thought, differs from ridicule in that it is not only acid but also honey. Of many influential persons of all ages it may be said, as was said of Horace:

Sportive and pleasant round the heart he played,
And wrapt in jest the censure he conveyed.

In an argument as to whether the tenure of office for the president of the United States should be limited to two terms, the person objecting to the limitation found his opponent growing bitter, and so remarked, "I suppose you would favour also a two-year limitation upon marriage, wouldn't you?" When a situation is tense with hostility, the ability to banter artfully is the greatest of virtues, for it can break a tenseness that nothing else can cope with.

12. BEING COURTEOUS IN REJECTING IDEAS

Frequently it is the attitude with which one opposes another's view, rather than one's opposition to it, that gives offence. Many minds are open to courteous disagreement but are closed to discourtesy. Our objections to another person's ideas lose all of their force when we express them without civility. There is courtesy in each of the methods I have discussed in this chapter, but there are still further means of exercising this virtue.

Courtesy says no more than is necessary. Thus it credits the individual with understanding, and avoids emphasizing his error. And when saying no more than is necessary, courtesy meets with little resistance, and so it makes an effective impression. Brevity is never more essential than when expressing disagreement. In all your disagreements with the views of others, remember to be brief.

Just as the courteous person usually offers another the best chair or serves him first at table, so also he usually lets him have the last word. Such a gesture of courtesy can usually be made without weakening one's side of the argument, since courtesy always argues in one's favour. Moreover, if you yourself have the last word, you may lose the argument because the other person later, instead of weighing carefully what was said, has thought up a "good" reply.

Courtesy is mild rather than forceful, and so it does not give the impression of being censorious or coercive. Usually the more softly one's criticisms fall, the deeper they penetrate. Harshness, on the other hand, makes the slightest error a serious fault, and has a coercive air. For these reasons it is repulsed with vigour. "Minds are like flowers; they remain open to softly falling dew, but close up to the violent downfall of rain."

Courtesy also lends a helping hand; and, in doing so, it expresses appreciation of the other person. "Kindness can pluck hairs from a lion's moustache." To disagree with another in a spirit of helpfulness is, therefore, an inoffensive means of correcting his ideas. Kindness in objecting to another person's view makes a contradiction a sweet instruction.

13. RECOGNIZING ANOTHER'S VIEW WITHOUT COMMITTING ONESELF

A person can be courteous and have influence by recognizing another's view without committing himself; by making, for example, such statements as: "You may be right. I wouldn't know." Withholding comment is an especially suitable method for correcting ideas that are highly personal to the individual expressing them: wrong ideas that he expresses in self-defence or for self-glorification. When people, for example, tell you things that you feel are not true in regard to their relationships with other persons, it is usually best to express no judgement of what they say. Your silence, if courteous, will cause them to reflect upon their own statements without embittering them towards you; and silence is not necessarily a breach of courtesy, for courtesy does not demand that we express an opinion whenever another person does so. Should the other person ask you a cornering question, such as, "Don't you think I am foolish to put up with it any longer?" you may have to fall back upon one of the other methods discussed in this chapter.

14. DISREGARDING THE OBJECTIONABLE IDEA AND DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM IT

Letting another's objectionable remark go unheeded frequently gives the impression that one did not take notice of what he said, and so it provides him with a cover under which he can later make an inconspicuous retreat. And by diverting his attention from the idea he expressed, one frequently makes him forget his comment.

In all types of occupational and social situations this method is used, and should be used more widely; for, more often than most people realize, the best reply is no reply. But one cannot remove all objectionable ideas by disregarding them; one must often meet the objection made. The method of overlooking the objectionable idea is suitable primarily in cases in which a view is expressed with insincerity. The fact that many people, especially children, say much that they do not mean gives scope to the possible use of this method.

15. EXPRESSING SURPRISE AT ANOTHER'S VIEW

When you show that you are surprised by what another person has said, you impress him, without attacking his pride, with the need of reconsidering what he has said. And the less you contradict him, the less he is likely to rise in defence of himself. If left alone he may in his thinking even retreat, in order to avoid producing a similar shock in the future. Such replies as "I didn't know that to be the case," "I've never heard it put that way before," "You're the first one I've known to put it that strongly," are likely to make persons who speak carelessly look for cover, which you can provide by changing the subject of conversation.

16. REFUSING TO TAKE THE INDIVIDUAL SERIOUSLY

By refusing to take the individual seriously you show that you object to the idea he has expressed, and you enable him to relinquish that idea without appearing to retract. Furthermore, this method is complimentary to him because it implies that he has a sense of humour.

Fairness to the individual, as well as effectiveness in persuasion, frequently requires the use of this method; for people, often simply to make conversation, say things they do not mean. And when they talk to you for the sake of being courteous, you ought to be generous in your interpretation of what they say.

The best of applications of this principle of refusing to take the individual seriously is that of simply smiling when the objectionable idea is expressed. Other applications of this principle are embodied in many current statements:

"You don't mean it. You're joking."

"Stop clowning."

"You're a good kidder."

"You missed your calling. You should have been a comedian."

"Let's talk seriously."

"This is no time for joking."

"You're funny."

"It's a good thing I know how to take you."

"That's all right. We all say things that we don't mean."

"You wouldn't think of doing that."

"You can certainly keep a straight face when you want to."

"You're trying to shock me."

"Are you in the habit of saying what you don't mean?"

"I like your sense of humour."

"All joking aside . . ."

"Now let me tell one."

"Go ahead and have your fun."

This method of refusing to take a person seriously cannot be used successfully in all situations. There are times when such a procedure, instead of being inoffensive, is antagonizing. This is true when the individual is insistent in his beliefs. In such cases the use of this technique puts him into a position of defending an idea that you have designated as ridiculous. The individual's natural response to such a situation is to proceed at once to show that his view is not an absurd one. The only situations in which this method of refusing to take the individual seriously can be used successfully seem to be those in which the other person does not speak with conviction.

17. AGREEING WITH ANOTHER WHEN HE IS RIGHT

Success in any human relationship depends not simply upon one's attitude at the time, but also upon one's past attitudes; it depends upon the kind of person one is known to have been, as well as upon the method that one at the moment uses. Often other persons stubbornly refuse to accept our corrections only because we previously have stubbornly refused to accept their correct statements. To become able to dissuade others from error, one must be receptive to truth when they do express it. If one agrees with another person whenever that person makes a correct statement, one may be able, when that person is incorrect, to disagree in a straightforward manner without offending him.

Agreeing with another when he is right sometimes involves admitting that one is wrong. To be socially competent, a person must be willing to admit his own errors, as well as able to awaken others to the mistakes they make. The following quotation is timeless in its importance to mankind :

There are three short and simple words, the hardest of all to pronounce in any language, but the man or nation that is unable to utter them cannot claim to have arrived at manhood. These words are—I was wrong.

Does fairness in conversation make unnecessary the use of such methods as those previously discussed? No. When dealing with a sensitive person one cannot, however fair one may have been, successfully oppose

his statements in a straightforward way, but only in a way that safeguards his pride.

All the methods of bringing about a change of mind discussed in this chapter are means of disparaging an idea expressed by the individual without affronting him. Since these methods serve to maintain goodwill while bringing about a change of mind, they may be designated as conciliatory means of persuasion.

The numerous examples cited in this chapter suggest that the conciliatory methods discussed are being employed by people in all kinds of life situations, as they indeed are. Nevertheless, disputatious procedures are apparently being used far more frequently. The most common way of trying to bring about a change of mind is through argument, which frequently develops into contentiousness. As a result, the person whom one would influence thinks of himself as being engaged in a battle of wits, and he becomes chiefly concerned with gaining a victory. When the individual is in such a state of mind he may ignore the truth, however clearly one may point it out to him, in order to avoid being discredited. Conciliatory methods, such as those we have considered here, are more effective than disputatious procedures, because they respect another's need of self-respect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF PERSONAL WORTH

AT all times and under all circumstances, man is more or less sensitive to the approval or disapproval of someone in particular or of people in general, and he is often deeply moved or highly motivated by the esteem in which he is held. To gain the respect of someone who counts for much in one's life, or to avoid losing it, a person may endure fatigue, brave danger, or make any sacrifice; and to win fame some persons work incessantly, sometimes imperilling their lives.

Recognition of one's personal worth, wherever received, makes easier the pursuit of satisfaction, and it often greatly increases self-confidence, interest in achievement, and pride. A father once, surprised by the sudden interest of his son in his school work, said: "I am pleased to see you studying so hard tonight. Why is it?" Immediately the boy's face lighted up, and he answered, "The new teacher smiled real big at me."

There is also the story of the employer who, on a tour of inspection through the plant, said to one of the employees, "You are doing very good work." The employee flung away his tool, and as it went rattling down the floor he said, "For twenty years I have been working for you, and I always knew that I was doing good work, but this is the first time you told me so."

Social approval obviously serves various primary needs, and it may be in the interest of any of them. The satisfaction of having your personal worth acknowledged is to be found, therefore, in your various interests that recognition serves.

Many of your fellows want you, not simply to praise them, but to accept them as being, all in all, more or less as good as you. If you will acknowledge their superiority, in even a trivial matter, they will usually be pleased and will acknowledge your superiority in matters of importance. Some persons are so desirous of gaining ascendancy that people with whom they live and work find them always conscious of their own merit, blind to merit other than their own. They are like the jay that thinks itself more precious than the lark because its own feathers are more beautiful. Such a person may praise others fully for what they are, and yet irritate them with his air of superiority. There are, of course, differences in human worth of every kind, and some of these differences are great; but they are not necessarily as great in all cases as they are thought to be, nor are they necessarily in favour of those who think themselves superior.

Persons who are magnanimous and modest are observant of characteristics and traits of every kind and realize that no one can be superior

in them all. They also enjoy seeing their fellows experience self-regard, and do not think first of chiselling a monument to themselves out of every human relationship. A man once said, "I never met a person that wasn't superior to me in some respect." Such an outlook can always be expressed with honesty. A second look at another person or at oneself should remove any possible doubt.

To please other persons fully in expressing esteem for them, one must invariably give the impression of sincerity, and one must sometimes be direct and sometimes indirect.

I. SINCERITY

To seem sincere, one's approbation of another person must seem merited; for if to him it is clearly unmerited, he is likely to regard it as dispraise, or as an indication that one thinks him to be a dupe. Some of the most ingenious can disguise insincerity with subtlety, but they can ordinarily do so for only a short time. Those who in the spirit of approbation paint other persons most truly praise them best.

If people usually take pride only in compliments that they deem justified, why do so many persons truckle to flattery? Worth in certain human traits is very intangible and subjective; hence, to a conceited person, almost any praise may be deserved praise. Some who do recognize flattery as undeserved approbation, especially vain persons, nevertheless like it, because it proves that their favour is sought after, and therefore valued. But they would take more pride in merited than in unmerited compliments.

The genuineness of praise is often revealed by its definiteness. A vague generality such as "Nice garden," or, "I like your dress," is less suggestive of sincerity than a more meaningful compliment such as "Good contrast," "You have originality," or, "I admire your ingenuity." Often a broad compliment, being more inclusive, is preferred to favourable mention of a detail; but to express the greatest sincerity when giving such a compliment, one should supplement it with a specific remark. Definite praise also shows discernment and taste, and so wins respect.

2. DIRECT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Declaring directly one's regard for another person may give him more pleasure than saying or doing something suggestive of appreciation for him, since it is more definite. It is said in many languages that love delights in praise.

Directness usually is, however, more embarrassing to both persons than is indirectness. To a direct compliment the recipient must generally

make some reply. If he is deserving of the compliment, the sensible thing to do is to accept it gratefully and change the subject. In some cases he needs to repay the compliment immediately, but few of us are quick enough in repertoire to do so artfully. On their wedding day a woman said to her man, "You look so handsome that the girls all envy me." He replied, "A toad looks handsome when proud of his mate."

Should the recipient of direct praise consider himself undeserving, he ought to declare himself so; but this he cannot always do without embarrassment, for no one likes to admit a shortcoming.

Directness can be as embarrassing to the person who bestows praise as to the one praised; for if the latter declares himself undeserving he reflects upon the sincerity of the person who praised him or upon that person's conception of praiseworthiness. Such embarrassment is common because many persons when complimented have the erroneous notion that they must decline the compliment, however deserving they may be. But since direct approbation is sometimes preferred, the dangers of such approbation argues against only an excess of it.

3. INDIRECT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Since indirectness in the expression of approbation by-passes the obstacles to effective directness, it has much in its favour. Moreover, forthright praise that is not substantiated by indirect approbation is like sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Indirectness is, therefore, fundamental. It also requires more skill than does directness. Most of the procedures that I have discussed in the foregoing chapters illustrate indirectness in acknowledging another's personal worth. There are other procedures that also do so effectively.

a. Showing Interest in Others. Many persons, although genuinely interested in others, are not as skilful as they might be in making this fact known to them. One can quickly reveal interest in another person by talking about things pertaining to him. Appreciation of another person is often reflected in the information revealed regarding him. Almost everyone is aware of this, and so when an individual finds that things about him are known and remembered he is highly complimented. Realizing this fact, many persons make it a point to acquaint themselves with another person or his interests, and to reveal such information with the purpose of expressing appreciation of him in a circuitous way. Perhaps it was *Pithecanthropus erectus* who first said, and said with insight into human nature, that if you mean to have another person think you appreciate his worth you must know his name. The teacher who does not learn the names of those under her instruction, the foreman who refers to the workers with an expression such as "You there", and the professional man who forgets the names of his clients, may find other means of expressing appreciation quite ineffective. And everyone, to make his

respect for someone else felt and to have influence, must reveal knowledge of one kind or another in regard to that person. By observing things pertaining to another person—things ranging from little artistic effects whereby a woman makes herself more charming, or makes the home more attractive, to great achievement—we make ourselves pleasant associates.

Man's interests are often reflected in his conversation, and so another way of showing interest in someone is to talk about things pertaining to him. Talking about matters relative to him is an indirect means of acknowledging his personal worth, because it prompts him to assume that, since his interests are appreciated sufficiently to be made the centre of conversation, he himself is regarded highly.

There are persons who fail to centre the conversation on things pertaining to others, not simply because they fail to appreciate the importance of doing so, but because they are so steeped in their own personal interests or problems that they cannot resist dwelling upon them. Others like to talk about themselves because they are vain; or, having covered the subject many times, they find such conversation easy.

While it is sometimes necessary to talk of oneself in order to make one's good qualities known, one cannot do so very often without arousing displeasure. And it is not permissible to speak of yourself when another is trying to advance something in his own favour. Doing so would be setting your stage too close to his. To be liked, it is generally necessary to keep one's own affairs in the background and to converse instead about things pertaining to others.

If you obviously drag in a subject because it is of interest to the other person and not to yourself, you mortify him. No one can enjoy a serving that you prepare for him if you cannot also enjoy it. To make a special dish for a person that he alone can relish is to make him feel odd.

There are numerous occasions when a person does not wish to be introspective, and when he is especially unwilling to converse about matters concerning himself. Trying to get him to discuss such things, therefore, can become annoying to him. But talking about things pertaining to another person is usually to him the source of much satisfaction. Sometimes he will permit no other conversation.

Letting another person participate in conversation, likewise, shows interest in him, for when you pause frequently to let him express himself, you show that you consider his conversation worth while. You also give him an opportunity to make an impression and thus to gain further recognition. But if you deliver a monologue, especially if you are learned or brilliant, you may make him feel like an ignorant schoolboy. Charm in conversation consists less in displaying one's own wit and intelligence than in opening the way for the other fellow to display his. "No siren did ever so charm the ear of the listener as the listening ear has charmed the soul of the siren." One should ordinarily use up no more than a half-minute before pausing to let another speak. If Emily Post says it is impolite to interrupt another person, she should add that it is the height of

rudeness to make it necessary for another to interrupt in order to share in conversation.

Of course, charm in conversation involves not only listening well; it involves also taking an active part in the talk. There are persons who sit back and contribute neither information nor wit. William Cowper wrote:

So barren sands imbibe the shower
But render neither fruit nor flower.

Whether your tongue or your ear should play the major role depends in a measure upon the other person's wishes. Whenever you converse with another person you should consider whether he has a greater inclination to hear you, or to have you hear him. The latter is the more general desire. And most people, to be pleasing, need to train themselves not to talk more, but to listen better.

b. Showing Consideration for Others. To be thoughtful of another person is to act in his behalf, and is therefore convincing evidence of esteem for him. A person who always finds you attentive may feel that you have the highest regard for him. Guests who know that their hostess is looking to their comfort feel welcome. Children whose parents do what they can to improve living conditions for everyone in the home feel wanted. Patients who are shown a little special consideration may benefit as much from such treatment as from proper medication. After a nurse had brought him a cup of tea between meals, a man once remarked: "Now look at that. She didn't have to bring it. That's extra." Employees who see that the management is improving working conditions in their interests, as well as in the interest of production, feel respected. Those who have unfavourable working conditions may suffer more from the management's apparent indifference to their physical or mental well-being than from the conditions in themselves.

Almost every feasible kind of change in working conditions has been made, for experimental purposes, in different industries, and the results are so widely favourable to morale and accomplishment as to suggest that the good effects are due, to a considerable extent, to the regard for the employees that the making of the changes implies.

The effect of rest-pauses on morale and accomplishment has also been widely investigated, and the results of these investigations are, likewise, favourable to morale and output to such an extent as to suggest the operation of the same common factor; the feeling of the employees that the management is considerate of them. One investigator, interpreting the findings of his study, says:

The meaning of rest-pauses rather than the rest-pauses in themselves is of chief importance. This meaning is largely determined by the social setting in which they occur. If the employee thinks that the rest-pauses have been introduced as a

disguised form of "speeding up" work, he will meet the innovation with apprehension and resistance. If, on the other hand, he feels that they express a real and sincere interest on the part of management in his well-being and health, and the total social situation reinforces this belief, he is likely to respond to them positively and with a heightened interest in the task.¹

The effect of changes made in working conditions has been found, in many cases, to wear off with time, completely in some cases. This suggests, likewise, that the implication of the making of the changes contributes towards morale and accomplishment.

It is quite apparent on every hand that people in general have much tolerance for unpleasant conditions when those conditions do not seem to indicate a lack of consideration for them. When your neighbour has called upon you saying, "We're having a party tonight, and I sincerely hope that our guests will not keep you awake," you may feel, if the guests do get noisy, that your neighbour is, at any rate, thoughtful of you, and so sleep quite undisturbed. When builders make, by letter, such apologies as, "May we hope that you will bear with us as patiently as possible during the noisy week that lies just ahead as the steel frame of our new building is going up," or post signs to the same effect, their construction work becomes less irritating than it would otherwise be. Likewise, when the management in industry enables the employee to see that the unpleasant working conditions for which it is responsible are unavoidable, and that it regrets them, those conditions lose some of their unpleasantness, and are less likely to be taken as an indication of the management's attitude towards the employee.

c. Acknowledging the Worth of Another's Occupation. Many think their occupations the most significant aspect of their lives, and so their self-esteem is largely determined by the esteem in which their occupations are held by other persons. Consequently you can give another a feeling of importance by expressing appreciation of his occupation.

A very suitable means of acknowledging the worth of another's occupation is to emphasize the interdependence of man. In doing so you enable the individual engaged in the simplest part of a project to feel that he shares in the complete enterprise. Those who said, "All are but parts of one stupendous whole," "What seems but idle show strengthen and supports the rest," "They also serve who only stand and wait," proclaimed that, in the complicated life of man, a drummer is more than a drummer; he is part of an orchestra.

By emphasizing the interdependence of man you also make the routine worker's task seem indispensable to the enterprise of which it is a part, or to human welfare in general. And by letting the task seem indispensable you make virtues of usefulness and dependability, and thus

¹ Roethlisberger, F. J., and Dickson, William J., *Management and the Worker*, p. 571. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1941. Used by permission of the publishers.

you give everyone who pursues well his occupation, however menial it may be, a sense of personal worth.

In expressing appreciation for the individual's occupation you must guard against giving him the impression that you think it the right occupation for him. Although every worker likes to be considered a good man for his job, not everyone cares to have his job considered a good one for him. To tell a man engaged in a simple task that his work is the right type for him is to imply that it represents the limits of his ability. Most people engaged in mediocre work do not consider their occupational status a true measure of their worth and do not like to have it so regarded by others; they consider themselves, and like to have others consider them, capable of rising within their occupations or of attaining more important careers. Many persons make a practice of belittling the work in which they are engaged as a means of declaring themselves above it.

Many people are, as they consider themselves to be, capable of something beyond their accomplishment. A person who has aptitudes that overflow the narrow bounds of his occupation, and has his mind set upon better goals, deserves the credit he desires; the credit for having real value above his temporary value. And to give him credit for this potential ability is a most effective means of giving him pride, for most people who think themselves bigger than their jobs take pride more in being told that they could be successful in other occupations than in having their actual achievement acknowledged.

But in telling a person that he could be successful in a certain occupation, one should do so indirectly. An artful nurse, in trying to hearten a young woman in her care, is not likely to say, "You would make a good nurse"; usually she will inquire instead, "Did you ever think of becoming a nurse?" By this question the nurse will give her patient the impression that she sincerely considers her capable of taking up nursing. But if she were to tell her patient directly that she considered her capable of taking up nursing, her patient, expecting to be flattered because of being ill, might assume that the nurse was simply trying to humour her.

When should you extol another's occupation, and when should you give him the impression that you consider him capable of a higher one? You should always give another's occupation the recognition it deserves; and, when you can do so sincerely and without making him over-confident, too self-satisfied to feel the need of proving his worth by actual performance, or too dissatisfied with the occupation in which he is engaged, you should give him recognition for all the ability that you think he possesses.

d. Doing Things That Others Do. To like what other men like is pleasing approbation; to disparage their customs and usages would be most insulting. And anyone who is genuinely appreciative of another person usually patterns some of his behaviour on the behaviour of that person. Friends tend to take up each other's interests, rather than to try to convert each other to their own. A person who is appreciative of a group

with which he is associated conforms to some of its customs. Doing things that others do is a desirable means of acknowledging their personal worth, because it is an indirect means of expressing appreciation of them.

Although a certain amount of conformity to the behaviour of other persons shows appreciation for them, excessive conformity bores anyone. Those who are sensitive and hunger for expressions of approval desire more conformity to their behaviour than do others, but no one likes a man who always imitates others; everyone likes to see some originality and independence in other persons. And the one who habitually sacrifices his tastes for the tastes of others has no tastes, and is soon regarded as a nonentity and a bore. But he who never conforms to the behaviour of anyone has no taste except a taste for being different. A discreet conformity to the behaviour of other persons is necessary for gaining their respect and showing respect for them.

e. Asking for Favours. Asking another person for a favour often gives him a sense of superiority in the matter to which the favour pertains. A crestfallen individual may be made to walk erect by asking him for the time of day, to direct you to a place in the city, to do something that you are obviously incapable of doing yourself, or to share with you a possession of his. Should someone think you a snob, ask of him a favour, and he will decide that he has misjudged you. Benjamin Franklin tells of having turned an enemy into a friend by asking for the loan of a book. I assume that Franklin returned the book. Whenever the asking of a favour concedes superiority it becomes a favour conferred.

Favours asked should not be unnecessary favours, nor favours that require undue expenditure of time or energy, for one expresses little appreciation of another person by simply putting one's pack upon his back. Asking for such favours may also discredit one by revealing lack of self-sufficiency. If you should pull your car to the kerb and ask someone to direct you to another city, he might think, "Can't that fellow learn to follow a road-map?" Despite the possible abuse of the technique of asking for favours, its discreet use is a means of putting at ease someone who feels you hold him inferior.

Should we not, in order to express appreciation of another person, sometimes confer a favour upon him? Generosity is a universal expression of goodwill, of friendship, and of love. Often some generosity is desired by another person as an expression of approbation of him, despite whatever other expressions of approbation he may receive. It is not the highest expression of approbation, but it is frequently a necessary one. There is, however, danger in the conferring of favours—the danger of making the recipient feel that you think him in need of the favour, and hence inferior to you. This danger is especially great because favours sometimes are, in fact, conferred with the intention of gaining a sense of superiority or of displaying superiority. This danger can, however, be kept to a minimum in the bestowing of favours by bestowing small ones.

The conferring of a small favour may express as much regard for

another person as the conferring of a great favour, without indicating a feeling of superiority. Usually it is only when the other person is able to make some return for a favour that a large one can be conferred upon him without hurting his pride. To express esteem for another person and yet avoid hurting his pride—granted that he is unable to make return for favours—be beneficent, but beneficent in small things. However, one can usually get the person one has favoured to do something in return, often something beyond one's own ability, and thus one can keep him from feeling inferior.

f. Asking for Expressions of Opinion. Most people are ordinarily pleased to know that their counsel is sought. To admit that one stands in need of another's information or advice gratifies him sometimes, because it gives him a sense of superiority in the matter in which he gives counsel. And many persons will bow to you, if you bow to them in this way.

Usually asking for an expression of opinion gives the other person simply a feeling that his judgement is respected, rather than a feeling of superiority. But even such acknowledgement of personal worth can be very gratifying. Radio announcers sometimes have the audience report their preference for radio talent by postcards or telephone calls to the broadcasting station. In doing this they give the listener a feeling that he is being called upon to participate in an important matter. Managers of ballrooms and directors of community singing frequently have an audience request musical selections to be played or sung, and thereby enable many of them to feel that they have a hand in ordering the procedure. In some organizations employees are urged to drop suggestions into boxes put up in convenient places, while in other organizations they are asked personally for their opinions.

In a certain organization in which employees were interviewed to find how supervision might be improved, it was found that the interviewing itself improved morale.¹ A supervisor was once asked what he meant by "consultive supervision". He replied, "It's the opposite of the insulting kind." Skilful instructors encourage competent students to express their opinions and contribute information, and thereby they give the students recognition and enrich the classroom period. Keeping wide open the lanes whereby others may bring to you information or advice is an expression of esteem that they appreciate, and it is often a significant means of improving the enterprise. Persons in authority can easily become conceited to the extent of overlooking the possibility of getting good ideas from those under them.

g. Acting with Deference Towards Others. By acting with deference towards another person—that is, by yielding to his judgement or wishes out of respect for him—one imputes superiority to him. Few things are more complimentary to anyone than a respectful yielding to his judgement or wishes. Many persons are pleasing to others because they defer to

¹ See Roethlisberger, F. J., and Dickson, William J., *Management and the Worker*, p. 194. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1940.

them through statements such as "Whatever you think," "Whatever you say," "I guess I'm wrong," "Oh, is that so? I'm glad to know that," and "I will do it if you want me to." Such methods, however, usually concede general superiority. Wives can attest from experience that this method is effectual.

Despite the pleasure that deference towards another person may give him, the continuous use of this technique is difficult and unwise because it involves the subordination of self. One cannot always take towards other persons the religious attitude of "Lead thou me on," or "Thy will be done," and yet maintain self-respect. But deference where deference is due is courtesy, and is a means of conceding superiority.

h. Letting Others Occasionally Outshine You. Sometimes an individual, in his engagements of one kind or another with other persons, is so imbued with the idea of outshining these persons that he does not entertain sufficiently the thought of letting them occasionally outshine him:

Of course we all know the conversational superman; he has been with us since boyhood, to which period of development he properly belongs. He is always capping your modest contributions with something bigger. If you have slain your thousands, he has slain his tens of thousands. You timidly intimate that your assessed valuation is two thousand dollars; he cries that his is four. You say that you are to speak in Freeport; he says that they previously had asked him. You tell how long it took to drive a certain route; his time was better by hours. It does not matter that you happen later to detect much exaggeration in these quick rejoinders—as that his assessment is only about half yours. The mischief is done, or, rather, the success achieved. For evidently the skill of the thing lay in thinking quickly of the better story and putting it over convincingly. It is not a matter of fact, but of art.

Such men are not liars. They are great hearty boys who have never learned the art of being outshone.¹

To be always right when in controversy with another person, to be always the winner when competing with him in play or work, or to entertain him always more lavishly than he entertains you, is definitely not a social asset. To be liked by a person with whom one lives, one must occasionally admit that one is a beaten man.

i. Acknowledging Qualities of Others Not Possessed by Oneself. Man is a creature of many traits, and no one can be superior in all. The diversity of human qualities and the limitations of every person make it easy for anyone, granted that he notices merit other than his own, to concede to another some superiority over himself. But not all find it easy to see the merit of other persons. Those who keep themselves preoccupied with their own ambitions and achievements take little notice of merit unrelated to their own. But more unmindful than they of the merit of other persons are the contemptuous and the egotistical. Such persons, like lovers, are blind; but blind to another's good qualities. They make themselves the

¹ Goodspeed, Edgar J., "The Art of Being Outshone". *The Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1929.

measuring stick of mankind; no matter what your qualities may be, to be different from them is to be inferior to them. And just as there are individuals whose contempt for others and good opinion of themselves keep them from seeing the good in others, so also there are groups and nations that, for the same reasons, are unmindful of human worth different from their own.

Much marital discord grows out of attempts of the husband or the wife to gain ascendancy. When the husband looks upon his wife as subordinate to him, or when the wife regards the husband's remarks as unimportant or always in need of correction, friction is inevitable. In various human relationships, discord is often due to persons trying to overshadow each other, and it could be kept down by each conceding some superiority to the other.

Not only do we gratify others by occasionally conceding to them some superiority over ourselves; we also dispose them favourably towards us. Teachers and parents when playing games with children, and persons engaged in controversy, often win by losing.

j. Admitting One's Need of Another Person. If we wish to please others, we dare not stand apart from them haughtily—we dare not look upon them as dispensable. Our lives are interwoven with the lives of other persons; and, unless we admit that we are dependent upon them as they are dependent upon us, we give them the uncomfortable feeling that we regard them as beneath ourselves. Frequently the admission of being dependent upon another in some one respect saves his pride, though he is the dependent in all other respects. There are times when admitting to another person that you are dependent upon him is to give him the highest praise. The satisfaction that the individual derives from having you admit dependence upon him in a certain respect is the satisfaction of being considered superior in that respect, or simply of being considered needed.

k. Being Pleased with Another Person. In the enjoyment of anyone there is usually sufficient acknowledgement of his personal worth to make further acknowledgement unnecessary. There are few words that are packed more with praise than the word "welcome" when uttered sincerely. And if your countenance brightens in the presence of someone, you need no other language to express esteem for him. The art of pleasing consists much in being pleased.

Indeed, the art of pleasing consists also, as I have said, in bringing entertainment to others. The person who does not do so is monotonous. But it is easy to err by striving to be entertaining instead of enjoying another's entertainment, for people usually prefer being admired to being amused.

We might well reflect on the difficulties in which many people find themselves, and note how methods such as those that I have presented for acknowledging the worth of others help them out of their predicaments. Almost everyone accepts the view, or some modification of the view,

expressed by William James¹ that "the deepest principle of human nature is the desire to be appreciated", and so realizes that there is need of acknowledging the worth of others. At the same time, almost everyone has had the sad experience of being rebuked as a flatterer on paying tribute to other persons. A way out of the dilemma is to acknowledge the personal worth or superiority of others, but to do so indirectly. By proceeding thus, one's approbation of another person, if genuine, is likely to be regarded so, and to become a significant factor in the establishment of amicable relationships.

¹ To his class at Radcliff: College (*Letters of William James*, ed. by Henry James. Vol. II, pp. 33-34—Boston. Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920).

CHAPTER IV

REPROOF

THE use of methods of motivating behaviour needs to be considered from the standpoints of both motivation and mental health. Those methods that are as effective as others in motivating behaviour and are, at the same time, more conducive to mental health, are the more commendable. Approbation, by affording a sense of importance or of security, always has a more favourable effect upon mental health.

As to motivation, is there a difference in the effectiveness of praise and reproof? The subject of motivation is complex; individuals often respond differently to the same method of dealing with them, and each may respond differently to the same method used upon him from time to time, in different situations, or by different persons.

Several experiments have been conducted to determine the comparative effects of praise and reproof on achievement in school work. One of these experiments¹ is especially significant because of the number of cases involved, and because of the care exercised in equating groups and in controlling conditions. The subjects of the experiment were one hundred and six schoolchildren of the fourth and sixth grades. Their work in the experiment consisted in adding, for a period of fifteen minutes a day for five days, columns of six three-place numbers. This work was, of course, equated for difficulty. The children were listed in four groups of equal ability; but the children of three of the groups worked ungrouped (as a class), and the others worked in another room. The children of one of the three groups that worked as a class were each day called to the front of the room, and were then told, in the hearing of all, that their work was excellent, and were praised for working rapidly and carefully. The children of the second of the three groups that worked as a class were, likewise, each day called to the front, but were told, in the hearing of all, that their work was poor, and were reproofed for being slow and careless. The children of the third of the three groups that worked as a class were ignored, but were able to hear the other members of the class praised or reproofed. The children of the group that worked in a separate room (the control group) received no incentive whatsoever. The table on the following page indicates the results of this experiment.

Thus, on the fifth day, the control group accomplished about what it accomplished on the first day, the praised group made marked improvement, the reproofed group made some improvement, and the group that was ignored but heard the praise and reproof of others made little improvement. However, on the second day the reproofed group did as well as

¹ Hurlock, Elizabeth B., "An Evaluation of Certain Incentives Used in School Work," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 16: 145-149, 1925.

did the praised group. And the reproof group and the ignored group did their best on the second day. The improvement from the first to the fifth day for the praised group differs from that of the reproof and the ignored groups, not only in that it is marked, but also in that it is steady.

Average Scores Made on Arithmetic Tests by Groups Working Under Different Incentives Over a Period of Five Days¹

Groups	First Day	Second Day	Third Day	Fourth Day	Fifth Day
Control	11.8	12.3	11.6	10.5	11.4
Praised	11.8	11.6	18.8	18.8	20.2
Reproved	11.8	16.6	14.3	13.3	14.2
Ignored	11.8	14.2	13.3	12.9	12.4

The results of other experiments in the comparative values of praise and reproof as incentives to study in the case of schoolchildren likewise suggest that praise is generally more effective than reproof, and that its superiority over reproof increases with the repetition of both praise and reproof.²

In the experiments that have been conducted, the praised groups accomplished more over a number of days than did the reproof groups, presumably for various reasons. The teacher's expressed interest in the child, in his problems, and in his progress affects his self-confidence and his enjoyment of study, and hence his learning and retention. Her praise of him for his accomplishment, or her reproof of him for not doing better, he commonly takes as an expression of personal acceptance or rejection. To do his best, the child must feel that the teacher thinks him worth while. Emerson said, "The secret of education lies in respecting the pupil."

It is, of course, possible to reprove the child without making him feel unloved or rejected. This can be done by getting him to recognize correction as limited disapproval, disapproval of a particular response or pattern of behaviour, as is intended when one says, "That is a naughty thing to do," rather than "You're a naughty boy." But most children, although able to distinguish readily between disapproval of a response and disapproval of them, ordinarily interpret much of the reproof that they actually get as hostility or rejection.

Some of the experiments indicate further that poor students are stimulated more by praise and less by reproof than are good students. This has been interpreted as due to the somewhat novel experience of praise for poor students and of reproof for good students. The same investigations show that younger children respond better to reproof than do older children. This, too, has been interpreted as being due to the greater novelty of negative appeals in the case of younger children, who previously have been coddled. Observation of human scenes indicates

¹ Reproduced by permission of Warwick & York, publishers, Baltimore.

² For a brief summary and evaluation of these experiments see Charles Bird, *Social Psychology*, pp. 66-76. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940.

quite clearly that in any human relationships, continued use of the same type of appeal has less motivating value than the somewhat novel type. There are times when an individual, long accustomed to positive appeals, becomes so adapted or inured to such appeals that he cannot be influenced by them, but can be jolted into a modification of his behaviour by a negative appeal.

Reproof may also be more effective than praise in motivating persons who doubt the sincerity of praise but take reproof seriously. Many persons, expecting to be somewhat flattered, tend to take praise more lightly than they take reproof.

Reproof may, furthermore, be a greater stimulus than praise in a narrow pattern of behaviour. But the methods that we use in human relationships should, in addition to stimulating a particular response, have a good effect upon the individual's entire behaviour. If you reprove the individual he may feel that you dislike him personally, and so, to spite you, he may, when you are not supervising him, perform ineffectively or damage property.

It should also be remembered that the student learns more easily and remembers longer studies he enjoys. The things he learns over a period of time in such studies he may integrate into effective patterns of knowledge.¹ Reproof lessens the enjoyment of study, and so makes learning and retention difficult. Moreover, the things learned from time to time in an atmosphere of reproof are unlikely to be kept in mind sufficiently to be integrated. Reproof also keeps down originality. The dread of censure is the death of genius.

The practices of successful persons may be somewhat instructive as to the wisdom of using approbation or disapprobation. Which type of appeal do good teachers tend to use, and which type do poor teachers tend to use? The results of an investigation of this subject reveal that one of the factors that distinguish good teachers from poor ones is the nature of the appeal they make in motivating children. Good teachers were found to nod approval, speak encouragingly, and make other positive appeals when the child's reactions were appropriate ones. Inferior teachers were found to concentrate upon the child's unfavourable reactions by means of such negative appeals as faultfinding and scolding.²

Viewing the subject of motivation in the broadest sense, we may say that disapprobation is not the usual language of friendship and of love. So, if you try to stimulate the other person to desired behaviour by expressing disapprobation when you might accomplish your purpose in other ways, he may (depending upon the closeness of your relationship) always remember it, and you may always regret it.

The socialization of the child, although dependent mainly upon his being accepted and loved, cannot be accomplished without reproofing

¹ See Frandsen, Arden, "Interest and General Educational Development", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 31: 57-66, 1947.

² See Barr, A. S., *Characteristic Differences in the Teaching Performance of Good and Poor Teachers of the Social Studies*. Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Company, 1929.

him for some of his misbehaviour, but one can express disapprobation effectively, and without incurring the far-reaching evil effects that sometimes attend on it, by being mild rather than severe, and kindly rather than taunting. The mere hint of dispraise, especially when expressed with kindness, may be as effective and far-reaching in bringing about desired responses as an expression of approbation. But to dispraise anyone repeatedly, however mildly or kindly, may prove far more disadvantageous than complete disregard.

Most of the methods that I have presented in Part One of this volume—methods of dealing with people of every age and in every station of life—are positive appeals. Although such appeals are not effective in all cases, they presumably are far superior to negative appeals in motivating behaviour in most situations. But I have presented those methods not simply because of the greater motivating value that they seem to have in most cases, but also because, unlike the negative appeals, they are conducive to mental health. I have presented some negative appeals, despite their unfavourable effect upon mental health, because such appeals may sometimes be necessary for getting the desired response.

It is widely accepted today that techniques for motivating behaviour should be chosen for their influence on the individual's mental health, as well as for their motivating value; and this view is growing in favour. It is gaining support not only because of a growing interest in human well-being, but also because of a growing realization that methods conducive to mental health appear to be, as I have suggested, generally superior in motivation.

Despite the growing realization that in dealing with others one should choose techniques for their effectiveness in furthering mental health, as well as for their motivating value, both of these considerations are often overlooked. Just as some teachers are given to speaking approvingly to children, others are given to speaking disapprovingly to them. They strive to further school accomplishment by embarrassing or censuring children or by keeping them in constant dread of not being promoted. By doing this extensively they reveal a disregard for the mental health of the child and a lack of understanding of the relative effectiveness of positive and negative appeals in motivating study. The proper training of teachers involves emphasizing the use of methods that stimulate accomplishment, and that, at the same time, further mental health.

Likewise there are parents who in training children use methods that irritate the child and fail to influence him in the desired manner. Much of the mental distress and obstreperousness of children are due more to the methods by which they are trained than to the demands made upon them. A child that is nonconforming in trivial matters is sometimes made to feel that his action reveals depravity, and he is chastized severely. In this way a thoughtless parent makes a sensitive child feel steeped in guilt. While such methods are often effective in bringing about the desired behaviour, they usually do so at an unnecessary cost of mental

health, for the desired response can often be obtained more readily by exonerating the child from blame for doing what he did, expressing confidence in him, and later giving him credit when he happens to make the desired response or does something in harmony with the parent's purpose. Excellent results are achieved today in homes in which approbation for desirable behaviour greatly exceeds disapprobation for undesirable behaviour.

In like manner, some foremen in industry use negative appeals excessively, and thus offend the workers and make them indolent, when positive appeals might make the workers feel respected and become industrious. Anyone in charge of employees might well give thought to using positive appeals more extensively, if only to get employees to apply themselves more fully to their work. Praising the worker when he reveals industry, skill, or originality rather than reproving him when he fails to do so; giving him publicity when he comes up to a certain standard rather than advertising him when he falls below it; and giving him some assurance of permanency of tenure or promotion when he proves himself deserving rather than threatening him with demotion or dismissal when his work is unsatisfactory, are methods that further mental health and tend to stimulate accomplishment. Their efficacy lies in the fact that they cause the employee to associate satisfaction rather than discomfort with his work.

Many persons who feel inferior or vindictive are censorious rather than complimentary in their human relationships. Such an attitude they commonly develop as a means of furthering their self-regard or of freeing themselves of tension. Embarrassing or censuring another, therefore, is not necessarily an attempt to modify his behaviour, nor necessarily an expression of a rational belief in the effectiveness of such methods; it may be simply an ill-advised means whereby the reproving person strives to feel less inferior or less tense with resentment.

Thus, while reproof is sometimes justified, one should be wary of often chiding another when his behaviour is unsatisfactory, rather than praising him when satisfied with what he does. A disposition to evaluate procedures in human relationships from the standpoints of both motivation and mental health distinguishes the person who thinks of the well-being of the individual as a whole from the one who gives thought merely to getting a particular desired response. Much emphasis is given by modern psychology to this *more inclusive* conception of our responsibility in dealing with people.

OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW ABILITY OR
OTHER QUALITIES

IN the exercise of intelligence, ingenuity, or any physical ability, man always achieves a sense of personal worth. Often the individual struggles unceasingly to develop unusual proficiency simply for the exalted feeling it affords him. To people of all ages a sufficient reward for doing any one of hundreds of things is the realization of being able to do it.

That the manifestation of ability gives rise to feelings of personal worth is apparent on every hand. Infants delight in exercising their little strength effectively upon anything within reach, and older children, young people, and adults take pride in manifesting ability of one kind or another. Anyone knows that when playing solitaire or working puzzles in solitude one would rather succeed than fail, and that a feeling of personal worth is the only satisfaction that can arise from success as against failure in such activities. Newspapers and magazines that contain puzzles or tests of any kind are often taken up with avidity. In amusement places and in some business places there are devices for testing skill; and into the slots of these devices or into the hands of the barkers standing beside them many people put their small change as long as they are able, by means of these devices, to exhibit proficiency.

All forms of athletics are enjoyed because they provide opportunities for showing what one can do. Schoolchildren, too young to see the value of what they study, often take their lessons as "stunts" to be mastered—as spurs to their self-assertion—and so find learning interesting. Moreover, many adults enjoy their work, not simply because of the livelihood they achieve through it, but also because, in pursuing it, they obtain feelings of elation through the manifestation of intelligence, ingenuity, or skill. With every indication of ability in work or other activity there goes a rise in self-esteem. There are things that make activity especially conducive to a sense of personal worth.

1. CHALLENGE

Achievement in an undertaking that confronts the individual as something that may be too difficult for him is far more satisfying than achievement in an undertaking that is obviously simple. In all occupations there are persons who take little pride in what they do because it does not indicate their capability. This is so especially in periods of unemployment after many of the more capable employees have moved down in the scale of occupations to displace less capable ones in the lower brackets. Also

in education, work below the individual's capability becomes insipid. Teachers, from primary schools to colleges, know of the difficulty in making class-lesson assignments that will be interesting to precocious members. For any activity to be most satisfying it must enlist the individual's greatest ability and afford him opportunity to do his best.

An individual may be challenged not only by a difficult undertaking, but also by a word or look from another person indicating that the undertaking is a difficult one. Success after having been thus challenged, like success after having been challenged simply by the difficulty of a task, is highly gratifying. To many a person, the satisfaction of doing something is increased a hundredfold by being told positively that it is a difficult thing to do.

In every stage of development, from infancy to old age, doing what someone else has declared difficult is a source of great pride. If you take a young child several blocks from home and ask him if he can find the way back alone, he will in all probability arrive there breathless, and glowing with pride. When Tom Sawyer, about to whitewash the fence as a number of boys approached his home, said to them, "I reckon there ain't one boy in a thousand, maybe two thousand, that can do it the way it's got to be done," he not only got those boys to do the work for him, but also, we may assume, enabled them to take pride in doing the work well. The following statements are suggestive of the extent to which one can, by challenging the individual, make his accomplishment sustain his pride:

"If you need any help, let me know."

"You're good if you can do that."

"Let's see if you can dress as fast as your father can."

"We may lose this game, but we'll do the best we can."

"I wonder if you children can work out a plan for dramatizing this lesson."

"I believe you are able to do it."

"Show them that you can. . . ."

"I suppose that after smoking as long as you have, it's impossible to quit."

"My fingers are too clumsy for doing this. I wonder if you could do it for me."

"This will require skill."

In the above examples, the emphasis is upon the difficulty of meeting a particular situation rather than upon the individual's apparent inability to meet it, and so brings his ability into question rather subtly. In actual practice this is not necessarily the case, as is indicated by the statements,

"You'll have to show me" and "You don't have it in you." To a person who lacks self-confidence, especially if he considers the one who thus brings his ability into question as an authority, such expressions are ordinarily too discouraging to further the purpose they should serve. They may defeat their purpose also because they are antagonizing.

Questioning the individual's courage is often as effective as is the questioning of his ability. Some persons invariably respond in the desired way when thus challenged. This is because they accept as a general principle the view expressed in the adage of the ancient Romans that a man's value is in his valour.

It is a common observation that a child when told he is afraid will often walk into dark places with a firm tread. Likewise, everyone has had occasion to observe that a dare sometimes "eggs on" the individual. Statements to the effect that an individual is yellow, that he lacks nerve, that he has cold feet, or that he is faint-hearted often arouse immediately his fighting spirit. It is reported that once when Notre Dame was defeated in the first half of a football game, the coach, Rockne, walked into the dressing-room during the intermission, looked disgustingly at the players sprawled out on the floor, and snarled at the assistant coach: "Fighting Irish, eh! Well, you can have my share of 'em." The men then, as the report goes, went into the second half of the game and came out with a decisive victory. To question the individual's courage, just as to question his ability, is frequently the means of providing a strong incentive to activity.

As in questioning another's ability, so also in questioning his courage, methods of procedure vary in subtlety, and, consequently, in offensiveness. This is apparent when a person contrasts, for example, the statement, "You're a coward," with "This will require courage." When one is concerned about maintaining the goodwill of another, rather than about simply getting a particular response, there is little justification for questioning another's courage openly.

One of the many other personality traits often challenged effectively is steadfastness. Inflexibility of purpose has been idealized, and so has become a quality through which the individual may attain a feeling of self-satisfaction. This trait has received such emphasis that many persons would rather be unshakable than be right. The challenge, "Don't be the kind of person who is easily swayed," or, "He thinks he can wrap you around his finger," may keep the individual from yielding to another's suggestion that he would have otherwise accepted.

People are often challenged in respect to various traits, unintentionally or otherwise, by the entrance requirements of different organizations, and thus stimulated to file for membership. Fraternities, lodges, the army and the navy, in setting up hurdles to cross, give prestige to membership. There are organizations that would go begging for recruits if they did not hold out hoops for people to jump through as a requirement for getting into the club. The exclusiveness of any organization often impels outsiders

to seek membership. The navy provides men with a strong impetus to enlist when it advertises: "Not everyone can join the navy. To become a member of the naval force one must be in good physical condition and an all-round good man."

We see then that this technique of expressing doubt as to a personal quality of another is used extensively, and that its effectiveness lies in the fact that it puts the individual in a position in which he must make the desired response in order to maintain a feeling of personal worth.

Frequently, in trying to prevent others from doing certain things, we unwittingly use methods that challenge people to do the very things that we wish to prevent them from doing. When, for example, a person forewarns an individual of danger in pursuing a certain course of action, one questions his ability to cope with the situation. As a result he may take one's admonition as a challenge to proceed with his venture. He may give evidence of having done so by replying, "You think I'm a child," or, "I'm able to take care of myself." Therefore, when it is necessary to admonish the individual that there is danger ahead, one should do so in a way that will not bring into question his ability to safeguard himself.

Likewise, in prescribing rules or laws, we often unwittingly challenge the individual to break them. We do so by specifying punishments for violations in a threatening manner. Many persons become unruly because they feel that attempts have been made to frighten them into conformity, and obtain much satisfaction from showing that they cannot be intimidated. To them forbidden fruit is sweetest. In wording rules for governing other persons we should, therefore, avoid prescribing punishments for infractions in a defying manner.

There was once published in a college bulletin a requirement of students, followed by the statement, "Those failing to comply with this request will be expelled." The same idea might have been conveyed, without intimidation, by a statement such as, "In fairness to those who should fail to comply with this request, they are hereby informed that their registration would be cancelled." This statement has the appearance of being made with a motive different from the former one; it expresses a desire to deal justly with students, rather than to use scare technique upon them. By thus refraining from specifying in a threatening manner punishments for violating rules, one is more likely to get people to conform to regulations.

Since the individual may respond favourably or unfavourably to challenge, the exercise of care in the use of such methods is important.

2. DEFINITE GOALS

A clear understanding as to what is to be done makes the individual more confident that his efforts will be fruitful, and so stimulates him to work more diligently. On the other hand, the one who lacks definite knowledge of the end to be reached is constantly aware that he may be

exerting himself in vain. His uncertainty as to whether he is doing the right thing leads to a slackening of effort, for no one takes pride in doing things that are likely to prove futile. Students often say, "If I only knew what the teacher expects of me, I would gladly study."

Definite goals are stimulating because they keep one conscious not only of ends to be reached but also of one's success or failure. It is for this reason that setting out to save a certain amount of money each month, to walk a specified number of streets daily, to produce a certain number of units of work each day, or to complete a task at a specified time, is effectual. In child training, young children are advised to sleep eleven hours each night, rather than to sleep much; to take five deep breaths every morning, rather than to breathe deeply frequently; to drink one glass of milk at each meal, rather than to drink much milk. A necessary characteristic of one who is trying to motivate others in certain types of activity is the ability to specify definitely the nature and extent of what is to be done.

3. STANDARDS OF MERIT

To take the fullest pride in his accomplishment the individual needs some means of evaluating what he does. The one who is given no criterion of creditable performance, and who does not have one of his own, often expresses a desire for some statement as to the quantity or quality of work that is expected of him by asking such questions as, "What constitutes good work?"

It is not always possible to set up for the individual standards whereby he may evaluate his accomplishments; but in the simpler performances this technique is often practicable, and is employed widely. Athletic directors provide, for those participating in track and field events, local, state, and national records; and for golfers they provide *par*. Teachers sometimes inform the student, after he has written an examination, how his accomplishment compares with that of many students who were enrolled in the same course or in previous courses. They usually do so by giving him his *percentile rank*; the per cent of the group that he surpasses and equals. Sales-managers often use the quota system, whereby each sales-person is given information on how much he is expected to sell in his department or territory.

Although standards of merit often heighten the satisfaction of accomplishment, they ordinarily do so only for persons of superior attainment. To persons of inferior accomplishment, standards of merit, as a rule, are humiliating rather than pride-sustaining.

4. MEASUREMENT OF ACHIEVEMENT

Achievement, to be gratifying, must be clearly manifested. By means of various measuring devices many types of accomplishment are made more

discernible than they would otherwise be, and they may be enjoyed chiefly for this reason.

In athletics, achievement is ascertained in definite quantitative terms by means of the tape-line, the timepiece, or tallies. The satisfaction afforded by such devices is suggested by the interest that contestants always manifest in the keeping of the score. In education, learning is sometimes uninteresting because there is no satisfactory means of making accomplishment apparent. The traditional essay examination, the unreliability of which has been demonstrated experimentally, was always recognized by the student as a very inaccurate measuring device. Consequently it did not make studying as pleasurable as the tape-line and the timepiece and the tallies made athletics. Recent years saw the development of a new kind of test, which, *when properly constructed*, is a much more definite means of measuring certain types of achievement.

It is far from possible today to measure all achievement. But by determining the various abilities necessary in an occupation, and by developing testing technique, the use of measuring devices can be extended.

5. COMPETITION¹

The satisfaction of manifesting ability often depends on the competition that the activity involves. Many people pride themselves doubly on successful activity in which competition plays an important part; they pride themselves on their ability and on their superiority over other contestants.

Competition is often incidental to the achievement of various ends other than a sense of superiority; but in the competitive activities of many people the desire to gain ascendancy simply for the pride it gives them is either a contributory motivating factor, or is the only one at work. The desire to gain ascendancy may incite competition that leaves all other wants unappeased or that does violence to them.

Individuals differ in strength of desire for competitive activity, and everyone feels this desire more in some situations than in others. Many people enjoy competition greatly, but not all children and not all adults care for it. In the social life of some persons of every age, competition is stressed: in that of others, co-operation is more often emphasized. And people seem to differ in interest in competitive activity in accordance with the emphasis that is put on competition in the social life around them. People apparently differ in this interest also in accordance with their general levels of achievement. Children of inferior ability seem to take more interest in competing with one another than do their superiors. A very apparent cause of individual differences in interest taken in competition in childhood and adolescence

¹ Vaughn, James and Dserens, Charles M., "The Experimental Psychology of Competition", *Journal of Experimental Education*, 7: 76-97, 1938.

is difference in age. Growth in the competitive spirit begins around the age of four and develops quite steadily to around the eighteenth year.

Another quite evident factor underlying differences in strength of desire for competitive activity is mental balance. Most neurotics seem to enjoy successful competition more than do normal persons, but they feel such great anxiety when engaged in competitive activity that they tend to shrink from it. An individual's interest in competition apparently varies much with different activities and with different competitors. When the individual feels capable of doing a certain thing, and considers his competitors to have ability approximately equal to his, he often seems to take great pleasure in competition. But when he feels that, because of difficulty of the task or because of superiority of his competitors, he could not compete successfully, or when he considers his competitors decidedly inferior to himself, he appears to take little interest in competition.

We are interested in competition not simply because of its relation to mental health, but also from the standpoint of motivation. There is no fixed relationship between the enjoyment of competition and its motivating value, because much intensive competition is enforced. But most competitive activity, whether elected or enforced, makes the contestants, for one reason or another, exert themselves vigorously.

In saying that competition intensifies effort, I do not mean that the greater effort it causes is necessarily effectual. It is possible that competition, by giving rise to excessive excitement and distraction from the activity itself, is less effectual in the complex mental processes than in the simple mental or physical functions. Much competitive activity in school and in life in general is presumably hindered by disruption of thought due to intense competition. The driving power of competition should, therefore, not be taken as an adequate criterion of its value as a motivating device.

What influence does competition have upon the establishment of friendship? Friendship depends upon common interests, rather than upon conflicting interests. Enforced or voluntary competition tends, therefore, as everyone has observed, to make for friendship between the members of a team, but enforced competition tends to alienate persons or groups competing. Voluntary competition, on the other hand, tends to befriend the competitors by making them contestants for one another.

Thus, from every standpoint, it is not competition in general but competition within limits that may be fostered advantageously.

6. KNOWLEDGE OF PROGRESS

Knowing that one is doing better than formerly, like knowing that one is surpassing other persons, heightens the satisfaction of achievement.¹ Whether progress made or successful competition gives the greater

¹ See Hurlock, Elizabeth B., "The Psychology of Incentives", *Journal of Social Psychology* 2: 269-273, 1931.

satisfaction depends upon whether one is interested in self-improvement or in achieving superiority over others. While there are many who delight more in achieving superiority than in making progress, there are many others of all ages to whom the satisfaction of merely surpassing someone is small in comparison with the satisfaction of knowing that they are progressing.

As the following statement made by a school principal suggests, some of the views that I have expressed regarding competition and knowledge of progress represent actual practice on the part of good schools:

In the days when the curriculum was centred in subject-matter, individual competition was stressed; competitive charts, which listed pupils and indicated achievement by percentages or graphs, were displayed to the glorification of successful children and to the public humiliation of the unsuccessful ones.

Today, we aim to make schools child-centred; and so, recognizing the evils of individual competition, we have banished competitive charts. We now aim to stimulate interest in achievement by the use of individual record or graph books, which the children keep in their desks. Each child has before him goals, individualized according to his ability, and records his daily progress towards those goals.¹

These various methods of enabling the individual to attain distinction provide strong incentives to activity. They are effective in motivating behaviour because personal satisfaction is often cherished beyond all material possessions.

¹ Probst, Ella M., in a talk given at the Minnesota Education Association, Oct., 1940.

INTERESTING EXPRESSION

WE should strive to be interesting to other persons, as well as mindful of their need of a sense of personal worth. Esteem expressed by a boresome person is generally wasted. It is, however, also true that you cannot be interesting to anyone without being respectful of him. We must not let the importance of social adjustments of one kind keep us from recognizing the importance of those of another kind. With this in mind, we shall now deal entirely with the nature and importance of interesting expression

I. SELF-EXPRESSION

Man is for various reasons deeply interested in man. He wants to know, above all, what other people are like, what they do and think, and how he compares with them. For such information he may mingle widely and try to know well some persons in particular. It is natural to feel, as does Carlyle, "How inexpressibly comfortable to know our fellow creature; to see into him, understand his goings-forth, decipher the whole heart of his mystery; nay, not only to see into him, but even to see out of him, to view the world altogether as he views it." Interest in knowing the real sentiments of people is implied also in the statement, "He says it with a better grace, but I say it more naturally." This interest is often so strong that in the case of some persons it degenerates into impertinence and troublesome curiosity.

A person does not necessarily please others by disclosing indiscriminately his thoughts and feelings; and he cannot be expected to reveal what he has a justifiable reason to conceal, nor to set all prudence aside. But he cannot be most interesting without showing much of his true self, as children do, freely and openly. The man who in every conversation is non-expressive and evasive makes the hour dreary. He is not necessarily scorned or slighted, but no one who keeps himself continually wrapped up in obscurity is sought after.

No less boresome is the person who, however responsive, merely echoes the common thought or is always contrary. A character in the Biglow papers says:

There's one rule I've been guided by, in settlin' how to vote, allers,—
I take the side that isn't took by them consarned tectotallers.

As well as being a factor in interestingness, genuine self-expression shows trust in another person, may be most helpful to him in the solution

of a personal problem, and gives one individuality, without which there can be no charm. It must, however, be remembered that some of us look best in uniform.

People's interest in having us unbosom ourselves, or the prudence of doing so, varies with different situations and must be judged sensitively.

2. VERSATILITY

A person who can turn with ease and smooth transition from one thing to another is ordinarily not merely many-sided but also apt in his human relationships. Many persons make an impression and give enjoyment because of their breadth of view. Those who, on the other hand, dwell excessively on a single thought, grow stale. He cannot long be interesting who fiddles on one string. The person who talks sex, shop, or politics may be rebuffed not because of a dislike for his subject, but because he talks of it continually. Faded talk is more unpleasant than monotonous work. Why? Because when you are engaged in a repetitive occupation you can leave the task to your hands and go wandering mentally, but when in the presence of a man of narrow mental range it is usually necessary at least to appear attentive to what he says. Through the ages people have cried out against talk that consists in the repeated saying of the same thing, and have delighted in accompanying the person who occasionally says something new, if he only brings out a new angle of a subject.

3. NONSENSE EXPRESSED IN A LIGHT VEIN

When you are unable to talk sense in the ordinary meaning of the word, you can occasionally be interesting by talking nonsense in a light vein. No matter what senseless remark you may make, if new and presented in the spirit of playfulness it may amuse. The more absurd your remark is in itself, the more amusing you are.

In trying to follow the suggestion made here, do not wait until you can think of some highly exhilarating nonsense, but give the best you have. If I waited for a good illustration to come to me, I would be stymied in the writing of this section.

A woman once said to her husband, "If you don't like getting up in the morning, get yourself a job on a night shift," and later, as she was leaving the house, she asked, "You're not afraid to stay at home alone, are you?"

"I like my size, five feet four, because of the alliteration."

A pattern of nonsense that can be striking is an absurd analogy. Some of us should find it rather easy to devise an expression of this kind.

When properly interspersed, sense and nonsense may give pleasure not only in themselves but also by heightening each other's effect.

If you were always serious in all of your human relationships, you would be just a little boring. If, however, you did not talk sense, in the ordinary meaning of the word, most of the time, you would be an awful bore. The talk of interesting people is not nonsense, but sense with a little unexpected sprinkling of nonsense expressed in the spirit of playfulness.

4. UNDERSTATEMENTS AND OVERSTATEMENTS

Understatements and overstatements are interesting because they surprise you. The beginning of the last paragraph above, and the following two statements, will serve as examples of understatements:

A soldier, referring to a former comrade-in-arms, said, "He was permanently disabled as a result of having been hit right on the skull by a five-ton bomb."

"Although you do not have a college degree, you do have a good head, and that's something."

Overstatements can be as striking as understatements. A father and his son once ran a foot-race down a lane. When they came to the end the boy said, "You beat me all right, but look how you puff!" The father replied, "The reason you don't puff as much as I do is that you're too tired to puff."

The fact that overstatements, such as the following, have long endured suggests that they can be effective:

"It was so hot you could fry eggs in the sun."

"You could see the corn grow."

"It smelled to high heaven."

"The wind goes right through you."

"You could hear the explosion a thousand miles away."

"The air was so thick you could cut it with a knife."

"Apartment dwelling is generally unpleasant because most apartments fit too tight."

"The earth trembles with the tread of armies."

"For the benefit of those of you who go by Rocky Mountain time," said a teacher in an Ohio town upon the late arrival of some of her students, "I shall repeat the assignment."

Exaggeration is also a factor in the enjoyment of certain types of fiction. Tales of adventure involving struggle with uncivilized man, with

beasts of the jungles or with giant sea-monsters, are enjoyed especially by youngsters because they are amazing; and when such tales contain animals or human beings that have unusual names they are especially captivating to children. Stories of the supernatural, involving fairies, ghosts and witches, have astounded with delight people of all ages. So great is the interest in the unusual that tales always grow in the telling.

In relating a story to an extremely sensitive person, care must be taken to avoid giving the impression that one intends him to take the story as something that actually happened. A story-teller should indicate to such a person, in one way or another, that he does not expect to be taken seriously, or should tell a story that is such an obvious exaggeration or misrepresentation of fact that there can be no question as to whether he expects it to be believed. Such precautions are necessary to keep the sensitive listener from thinking that he is considered stupid enough to believe the story.

Some people tell stories as personal experiences, rather than as accounts of events in which they did not play a part. My dentist has the knack of amusing children while working on their teeth by telling them of his adventures in Africa. He shows them his cabinet and ivory in it that came from the tusks of an elephant he killed. The children know that what he says isn't true, but they enjoy listening to the accounts of his hair-breadth escapes and triumphs. Recently there has been a flare-up of liars' clubs in which a prize is given to the one who can tell the tallest tale about himself. We like to hear things we can't believe, because we like the unusual. And when a story-teller involves himself he gives the tale a personal touch, which makes it more amusing.

5. REFRAINMENT FROM EXCESSIVE CONVERSATION

Although one can often be most interesting to another person through conversation, continuous talk usually bores and fatigues him, or keeps him from having other thoughts to which he may prefer to devote his mind. One reason people sometimes like to go alone to a shopping centre, for a walk, or on a long journey, is that when doing so they can view and think what they wish without being interrupted with questions or remarks, or with requests to look here or to look there. Talking too much is as bad or worse than talking too little. It is always wise for a person to consider the possibility of pleasing another by affording him change from hearing one talk to thinking his own thoughts. But one must be silent with discretion; there is a time for speech and a time for silence, and one must be silent in season.

We can refrain, without embarrassment, from conversation when in the presence of another person if we have something else to do. People who, in getting together, engage in activity, such as playing cards or

hiking, or listening to a radio broadcast, can refrain a little from conversation to the comfort of all. Such activity also prevents uninteresting or misguided talk that might result from having nothing to do, and provides new material for conversation. Think of the many boring and otherwise regrettable things we sometimes say when there is nothing to do but talk. Conversation, to be interesting and otherwise good, must be spontaneous rather than forced. The supplementing of conversation with other things has, of course, disadvantages. The card-player who is interested in the game and the card-player who is interested in conversation are sure to clash. Likewise, the speaking voice is out of harmony with musical notes, and conversing against the sound of music is difficult. But the practice of supplementing talk with other activity or amusement often serves the purpose of keeping the mind engaged interestingly.

The need of having other activity to relieve conversation is, however, not always as great as it is assumed to be. An individual's talk sometimes founders not because of a lack of something to say, but because of the attitude of his company. When you find another person inarticulate, it is always well to consider the possibility of being responsible for his silence, and, if responsible, to create an atmosphere that will enable him to become articulate.

6. MOVEMENT OF THOUGHT

To be interesting in serious talk, a person who makes pretence at saying something must say it without hesitation or digression. The one who delays in coming to his point, whether because he is unprepared or distracted, gives another nothing and keeps him from wandering mentally to fields of his own. Hesitancy in speech can try the patience of anyone. Equally trying is the person who, in serious talk, checks the flow of thought with insufferable details; with such ponderings and digressions as: "I think it was on the 16th of April— No, it couldn't have been then because . . . Perhaps it was on the —; but I'm not sure of that. I don't know what's wrong with my memory. But, whenever it was, the date doesn't matter. As I was saying . . ."

The secret of tiring and irritating anyone is to say everything that can be said on a subject. Doing so also displays inability to choose relevant and vital facts and details to the exclusion of others. However, in conversation intended to amuse, interesting details are a part of it; often the most important part. They add colour to conversation; and, when artfully presented, they give pleasure by causing suspense. In conversation intended to amuse, as in sightseeing, movement should often be slow. Moreover, one can come to the point too abruptly, and so the movement of conversation should be slow enough to avoid bluntness. But any conversation, to be enjoyable, must be free of purposeless hesitation and details; must have fitting movement.

7. UNITY OF THOUGHT

To be pleasing, serious talk or writing must take a definite course and express related thought, rather than shift aimlessly and convey disconnected ideas. We like to see that things put together fit together. Connected thought of a weighty character is preferred to the disconnected also, because relationships seen between ideas add to their significance and make retention easier. Carrying on conversation along a definite course is also more complimentary to one's companion than random talk, because it implies being satisfied with what he says. Related talk is also easy to follow; unrelated talk, difficult to follow and fatiguing. Holmes says this in a rather interesting way:

There are men of esprit who are excessively exhausting to some people. They are the talkers who have what may be called *jerky* minds. Their thoughts do not run in the natural order of sequence. They say bright things on all possible subjects, but their zig-zags rack you to death. After a jolting half hour with one of these jerky companions, talking with a dull friend affords relief. It is like taking a cat in your lap after holding a squirrel.

Although serious talk, to be appreciated, must usually take a definite course, it need not be restricted to a single part of a subject. Usually the more varied the phases of a subject treated, the more interesting the discourse. Change from one phase of a subject to another, however serious the nature of the subject, is often as refreshing as a change of scene.

In discourse intended to be carried on in a light vein, talk should concentrate on nothing; should, with smooth transitions, touch upon everything. This is because no one can dwell long on a subject without growing serious about it, especially when one meets opposition. There are different occasions that justify light talk. Some social functions are intended to give play to the sprightly feelings; they are intended for recreation. On such occasions serious talk on any of the subjects of the day is out of order. And when persons who hold opposite views on certain subjects and who are highly emotional and wholly unalterable in their views are brought together, it is prudent to do no more than skirt controversial subjects in a playful manner.

8. EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT

To be interesting, it is necessary to be varied in attitude as well as in thought. A person who can be lively or calm, jocular or serious, or otherwise variable in attitude in accordance with the situation, soon finds his presence felt and enjoyed. At the funeral of his brother, Robert Ingersoll said, "This brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock, but in the sunshine he was love and flower."

The man who, on the other hand, is always in the same mood is as monotonous as the one who has but few ideas. Even the most cherished attitudes can be prolonged to such an extent that they become wearisome. Although such tragedies are rare, it is possible to kill another person with kindness. Some persons are monotonous because they aim to conform continually to a certain misguided ideal of their own. They may try always to smile or never to smile. Others are monotonous in attitude because they are occupational stereotypes. They are not individuals, but extensions of a group.

Emotional control, although one of the basic developments of personality, is not the absence of all emotional expression. To be most interesting, one must suit the emotion to the situation. Humanity is rich in modes of feeling, in possibilities of being interesting through emotional adjustment.

9. VARIETY OF WORDS

Through the use of a variety of words you may express a thought for the hundredth time and yet be original in doing so. To be most interesting, you must sometimes call a spade by another name. For instance, if you should say to someone, "I enjoy you because you do not talk continually," you would not make the impression upon him that you could by saying, for example, "I enjoy you because you swim under water occasionally." If you should ask someone, "Are you providing for a rainy day?" he would forget you much sooner than he would if you asked, "Are you providing for the old man you are to become, or will you let him take care of himself?" If you should say, "I courted the mother-in-law," your friends would probably excuse themselves; but if you said, "I salted the cow to catch the calf," they would be less inclined to do so. Such expressions are interesting because, without obscuring the familiar, they make the familiar new. To employ needlessly the same word over and over again not only is boresome, but it also spoils the word for use by other persons. The expressions, "as a matter of fact", and "to be sure" have been so overworked, in speech and in writing, that we must now use them most sparingly.

The more often we meet with the same person, the greater is our need of versatility. Most of us should occasionally search our vocabulary for an overworked expression of which we may be quite unaware. A woman who had once left her husband gave him permission to see her again, and after he had pleaded with her, she replied: "I don't know what to say. Most of our difficulties we could iron out, I believe. And I do like you, you know I do; that is, in most ways. But there is one thing—I'm wondering, Dave, could you stop saying, 'Of course'?" He replied: "Darling, you know I would do anything to please you. Of course I'll stop saying it."

Of a certain person it has been said, "Because of her artistry her every appearance has the freshness of a first appearance." Anyone who measures up to this description need have little fear of a rival.

Although noticeable repetition of a word is bad, noticeable avoidance of repeating it is also bad. After having once used a word you should seem neither to shun that word, nor to be dependent upon it.

The use of different words depends not simply on having a broad vocabulary; it depends also upon being clever enough to use the right word. By using a specific word when precision requires it, and at other times when permissible, you not only avoid the monotony of the over-use of the general word, but also provide imagery. It requires no great intellect to make at any time a statement like this, "For that, you deserve twenty thousand chocolate bars."

An interesting effect may be produced also by taking, in one way or another, liberties with words. This may be done by putting a familiar word to a new use, or by a play on words, for example:

In reminding her students of an examination to be taken the next day, a teacher said, "Tomorrow, as you know, we'll have our recreational exercise."

In answer to a question as to how he happened to lose his watch, a man said, "It was a watch that runs."

A similar effect may sometimes be produced through the use of incorrect grammar. In the writings of popular music there is a tradition of long standing to have, in the chorus, a mis-spelled word or a grammatical error to avoid seeming stilted, and also for its novelty. And among young people there is sometimes much interest in elongated words ("all righty") and in curtailed words ("gym") for the same reasons. The taking of liberties with words in order to be interesting should, however, not be confused with the doing of violence to language because of ignorance, carelessness, laziness, or because of a tendency to follow a craze. Unless a person can be obviously artful in the use of such or other slang, he should ordinarily avoid it.

In noting the striking and pleasing stylistic effect of varied language, do not overlook the advantage of familiar expressions. Such expressions are often, although not always, clearer than novel expressions, and clearness should be the first objective in speech. Familiar expressions also seem more sincere than novel expressions. They have a frankness about them that makes people take what they say in good faith, as they would a coin of a known stamp. Everyday expressions are so characteristic of honesty of purpose that they are often taken for honesty.

Simplicity of language, furthermore, conveys the thought that the speaker or writer understands what he says, for it is a well-known fact that the more we become masters of our subject-matter, the more simply we can express it. Familiar expressions are superior to novel expressions, especially for stirring the heart. Ideas that people hold dear become definitely associated with their customary dress. Many a familiar term

at once gives rise to a rich array of fond memories. Of such terms Henry Ward Beecher says:

There are words that men have heard when boys at home, around the hearth and the table, words that are full of father and of mother, and full of common and domestic life. Those are the words that afterwards, when brought into your discourse, will produce a strong influence on your auditors, giving an element of success; words which will have an effect that your hearers themselves cannot understand.

The influence of familiar expressions over the heart is especially great in highly personal relationships. To move the heart greatly one needs to employ them, for they alone can be intimate and dear.

Although a novel term is often less clear than a familiar term, less apparently sincere, less suggestive of understanding, or less capable of moving the heart, it serves a purpose that common terms cannot serve—that of giving occasionally the thrill of something new. The novel expression can say to the familiar expression, as the squirrel said to the mountain, "If I cannot carry forests on my back, neither can you crack a nut."

10. VARIETY OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The effectiveness of a sentence is, of course, due primarily to the attractiveness of its structure and to what the sentence says. But to be most effective a sentence must also be different in structure from other sentences. Pleasing forms of expression all have variety in the structure of sentences. In what ways can a person vary his sentence structure? Most sentences are declarative sentences. It is possible, therefore, to achieve interesting variety by using sometimes an imperative sentence, such as, "Doubt the man who swears to his devotion," and by using a few exclamatory sentences and a few rhetorical questions. The rhetorical question is of value not only because it adds variety to sentence structure, but also because it gives the hearer or reader a feeling of being in close communication with the speaker or writer. The imperative or exclamatory sentence expresses vigour, as well as affording change in sentence structure. Variety in discourse can also be attained by a conscious alternation of simple, complex, compound, and complex-compound sentences.

Another way of varying sentence structure in speech or writing is to make sentences different in length. An occasional short sentence may be not only striking but also more easily understood than a long one, and more suitable for expressing strong feeling; while a long sentence, in addition to affording change from short ones, enables you to subordinate the less important material.

Transposition—the rearranging of sentence structure from the usual English pattern—also gives variety. This pattern is as follows: adjectives modifying the subject, subject, adjective phrase or clause, verb, adverb,

or adverbial phrase or clause, and object or other complement with modifiers. A sentence that has its parts out of the usual order may for this reason be interesting; for example, "The work, divided aptly, shorter grows." An occasional change in the usual order of the parts of a sentence not only gives variety but also centres thought on the element out of the usual position, and so emphasizes it. Such sentence structure is most natural when one is moved by strong feeling.

Transposition may also suspend the main thought, as do the following sentences, and thus arouse curiosity :

"Sometimes gentle, sometimes capricious and sometimes awful, never the same two minutes together ; almost human in its passions, almost spiritual in its tenderness ; almost divine in its infinity, is the sea."

"If your brain refuses to follow your author, if your imagination is phlegmatic, if you will not take the trouble to stretch your mind until it can take in a vigorous conception, why, then, who can write a book for you that has any width, length, or thickness to it?"

"In whose carriage you ride his song you sing."

"The most crucial shortage today is not ships, not oil, not even man-power ; it is the intelligent management of men."

The longer the transposed sentence the greater the suspense, and hence the more impressive is its point. But such a sentence puts a burden on attention in that it requires the entire thought to be kept in mind until the conclusion of the sentence, and so can easily be used excessively. Frequent or forced use of the periodic sentence would also give the impression of artificiality. The *New Yorker* has facetiously called attention to this fact, saying, "Backward ran the sentence until reeled the mind."

Although transposition can be overdone, not to use a periodic sentence now and then is to overlook an effective means of awakening and pleasing the hearer or reader.

A pleasing effect can sometimes be produced by a number of similar sentences in succession ; by means of *parallel construction*. After reading many sentences that differ in structure one usually finds sentences of similar construction, such as those in the following quotation, as striking as persons seen in uniform against a background of a number of people in ordinary dress :

When, in America, the world's most productive grassland becomes a desert on the march and casts its dusty shadow nearly 2,000 miles to the Atlantic Ocean, we know that something is amiss. When the fertile farms of American midlands slide silently layer by layer downstream to build mud flats on the floor of the Gulf of Mexico, we become worried. When magnificent forests dwindle to burned-over wastes of blackened stumps incapable of restocking themselves in timber . . . our fear deepens to alarm.¹

¹ Renner, George T., "Human Ecology: A New Social Science", *Teachers' College Record*, p. 483, May, 1938.

A particular application of parallelism is *balanced construction*. Such construction stresses equally two or more ideas by putting them into identical structures, as in the statement, "The more you speak of yourself, the more are you likely to lie." Often the ideas of balanced sentences are, as I shall later illustrate, in contrast to each other. Such a sentence is therefore clear and emphatic, as well as striking.

Few things in the art of verbal expression are more important, especially in personal letters, than sentence structure. Grammatical sentences in logical order and of well-chosen diction fall flat if their structure is not varied.

Before striving to achieve variety in manner of expression, strive to achieve precision of expression. The first essential to effective speech is to search for the accurate word. However, in saying precisely what you mean, you incidentally attain a large measure of variety. You select ordinarily the specific rather than the general word, you subordinate what is logically subordinate, you emphasize what is logically emphatic, you make parallel what is logically parallel, you balance what is logically balanced. In saying precisely what you have in mind, you also inevitably express yourself in short and long sentences; in simple, complex, and compound sentences; in loose and in periodic sentences; and you occasionally use a rhetorical question or an exclamatory sentence. Although precision of expression is, at the same time, variety of expression, it does not necessarily give enough variety to be interesting. Therefore, after having achieved precision, give thought to saying occasionally common things in uncommon ways.

11. IDEAS IN CONTRAST TO EACH OTHER

Contrast—unlikeness of associated things—is striking. The most prosaic thing is made less prosaic when it is set off by its opposite. In addition to attracting attention, contrast makes meaning clear, for a thing is best understood when it is thought of in relation to its opposite. Contrast produces such a striking effect and makes points stand out so clearly that one should make it a rule never to engage in extended expression of any kind without considering the possibility of improving one's style by providing contrast. The following quotations serve as illustrations:

"A short pleasure may give long anxiety."

"The propagandist is one who, instead of opening minds, closes them."

"Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains."

"Good writing is not simply that which can be understood, but that which cannot be misunderstood."

"Men may come and men may go, But I go on for ever."

"In our personal ambitions we are individualists. But in our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up—or else we all go down—as a people."

"This country cannot endure permanently half free and half slave."

"There are many people who delight most in what they least understand."

"He waved the olive branch with an iron fist."

"Oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed."

"And those who came to scoff remained to pray."

"Keep your eyes wide open when you are looking for a mate, but half closed after marriage."

"Good interest is bad security."

"We rise in glory as we sink in pride."

"Hamilton wished to concentrate power; Jefferson to diffuse power. Hamilton feared anarchy and thought in terms of order; Jefferson feared tyranny and thought in terms of liberty. Hamilton believed republican government could succeed only if directed by a governing class; Jefferson that republicanism was hardly worth trying if not fused with democracy."¹

The last of the above examples of contrast is also an example of balanced construction.

All arts reflect a human interest in contrast. To the dramatist, the production of contrast is the main guiding principle in selecting and shaping material. In every kind of dramatic composition, whether intended to be acted or read, opposites are set up against each other. "No contrast, no drama." Dramatic works present all sorts of people, and each of the principal characters portrayed is distinctly different from another. On the stage or on the printed page there may appear the practical-minded and the dreamer, the loyal and the unfaithful, the level-headed and the irrational, the narrow-minded and the liberal, the humane and the beastly, the sympathetic and the indifferent, the worldly wise and the unsophisticated, homely folks and society dowagers, opposite sexes, or the masculine and the effeminate of the same sex.

Frequently the contrast in drama is between two aspects of a man's nature. A character may have bold words and cowardly action, or may have youth and the dignity of a mature man. In many dramatic works, sudden and pronounced change of scene occurs; in some, a scene of gaiety is abruptly ended and succeeded by a scene of horror and grief. In stories, as well as in dramatic works, there are scenes in contrast with each other, and characters in contrast with scenes. Whittier's poem "Snow-Bound" presents harsh elements of nature outside of the home, and comfort within. The relaxation suggested by the abundance of provisions, by the

¹ Morison, Samuel Eliot, *Oxford History of the United States*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1927.

simple and congenial activity of the people and by the dog stretched out before the fire marks a sharp contrast with the forbidding exterior.

Poetry, often more than prose, gives contrasting thoughts and feelings :

Happy he who in his verse can steer
From grave to light, from pleasant to severe.

—BOILEAU.

Music in any of its forms often delights the ear with successive or simultaneous tones that contrast. High and low, loud and soft, rapid and slow, mellow and harsh, or greatly varied and wholly uniform tones follow or accompany each other in all interesting music. Contrast is provided also in balanced programmes. A western song heard after a Hawaiian selection, or a brilliant orchestral work by Ravel heard after a Beethoven symphony, may be enjoyed, not simply because of itself, but also because it is extremely different from what went before. Usually contrasting numbers, rather than similar numbers, are given in succession on any programme.

In the visual arts we have light and shade, bright and dull colours, warm and cold colours, curved lines turned in opposite directions, a fretted and a plain surface, curtains in distinct contrast with walls, empty and filled spaces, dissimilar objects, furniture arranged to achieve contrast. The contrasting elements in art are, however, not without a harmonious background; they consist of small contradictory things overshadowed by large things in accord with each other.

12. IMAGERY

We enjoy language that gives us mental pictures, as is suggested by the statement, "I want to see what I read." Most of what we say in speech or writing is primarily visual or auditory, because most of our actual experiences come either through the eye or ear. But the infrequency of expression that arouses other sensory images makes them striking, and so one should not overlook opportunity to employ them.

It is not always practical nor desirable to appeal to more than one of the senses in a single description, but a complete description often does arouse more than one image, as exemplified in the following one :

Few things are more sensational than a fire. Madly leaping and glowing flames, flying sparks, belching smoke, the crackling of burning timber, scorching heat, shrieking fire-engines, water that spouts and that chills the bystander with icy sprays, the odour of burning materials, smothering fumes, crumbling walls, and jostling crowds make fire exciting.

Frequently it is difficult to present an idea in the form of mental pictures by the use of direct language. But a corresponding idea suggestive

of the idea you wish to convey can always be presented in the form of mental pictures, of one sense or another, through the use of *figures of speech*—expressions the real meaning of which, as intended by the speaker or writer, is notably different from their literal meaning. When I asked one of my colleagues what his highest ambition in life was, he said, "Never to smell of intellectual stagnation."

A few more trickles from the reservoir of figures of speech would not be amiss:

"Come, give us a taste of your art."

"Laws catch flies but let hornets go free."

"Slumber not in the tents of your fathers in an age that is advancing."

"The report of a football game reads: Wildcats claw Gophers; 46-38."

"Spice a dish with love and it pleases every palate."

"Each of the arts is a light to the others."

"They that stand high have many blasts to shake them."

A figure of speech may also be a torch in darkness, and it often conveys meaning more quickly than does direct language.

Sometimes one can give another person the most enjoyable mental pictures, not through figurative language but through suggestion, for the imagination is creative and prone to exaggeration. Homer, in trying to make Helen of Troy appear attractive in his story of the Trojan war, might have given a literal description of her; but nothing that he could have said would have made her seem attractive to all of his readers of his age or of future ages. He, however, gave his imaginative readers a picture of her, and with an effectiveness that makes her rise in their minds with all conceivable charm. He wrote, in substance, that an old man in Troy, who had never seen Helen, said to another old man while they were sitting on a wall waiting for the king and Helen to pass: "It's a disgrace to fight a war like this for that woman. Think of all the fine young men that are being killed over her. What we should do is pack up the wench and send her home." Just then the king and Helen of Troy came into view. Instantly the same old man exclaimed: "Look! Is that Helen? Say—this war is going on!" Thus Homer moulded Helen of Troy into every imaginative reader's ideal. One more illustration is sufficient to make clear the possibility of arousing mental pictures through suggestion: "But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." In the mind of an imaginative person, this passage should create a heaven more glorious than words could describe.

13. QUOTATION

When you quote someone, you have him, so to speak, take part in the presentation of your subject. And the more the style of the one you quote differs from yours, the more interest is added to the presentation of your subject. A quotation that gives a dash of dialect may be especially striking. In emphasizing the need of repetition in public address a speaker told the story of a coloured preacher who, when asked to account for his success as a preacher, said: "First I tells 'em what I's gwine to tell 'em. Then I tells 'em. Then I tells 'em what I's done told 'em." Often a quotation is used by successful speakers or writers not only for illumination, but also for colour.

Although a quotation may afford pleasing change from one's own words, the use of many quotations would suggest timidity or a lack of originality. But the occasional use of a fitting quotation tends to make discourse effective and interesting.

14. EXPRESSION THAT AROUSES CURIOSITY

Curiosity, from the mental standpoint, is a disposition to inquire into anything not understood; and, from the emotional standpoint, curiosity is a feeling that may be enjoyed much for its own sake, and for the change of thought and feeling it affords. The person who arouses curiosity is more interesting than he would otherwise be. A common means of arousing curiosity is to give another person partial information and to let him search for the answer to the question it raises, as is illustrated by the statement: "There is something in the paper this evening that would interest you. Here is the paper. Find it for yourself."

Similar to this method is that of giving partial information and withholding further information as part of the scheme; the method of fiction. All fiction arouses more or less curiosity. The general outline of a work of fiction may be seen, and usually is, but not the details. Whenever fiction satisfies curiosity in regard to one thing it arouses curiosity in regard to something else; and each question raised may be enjoyed as much as its answer.

Complicating a story so as to arouse curiosity as to what will happen next is a valuable technique for giving a fictional experience an effective hold on attention. In one of the many types of "teaser copy" in advertising, curiosity is similarly aroused: "Coming soon! Watch this space for further announcement." Anything said or done with the intent of leaving another person wondering what else is forthcoming is an application of the same means of arousing curiosity.

In everyday life we can do much, in similar ways, to make ourselves interesting to others. Some persons in ordinary conversation endeavour

rather crudely to arouse curiosity through expressions such as, "I have something to tell you," and, "Shall I tell you what I heard today?" But there are a thousand more subtle ways of accomplishing the same purpose. For example, start saying something a little stirring, and then make a side remark and appear to forget to complete your statement; or, after having started saying something, do something accidentally and comment on what you did. In either case, you will be reminded that you did not complete your statement. Similarly, a person who is known to be responsive to situations always arouses curiosity as to what he will say or do next. Anyone may also, through delay, produce the same effect.

If you arouse curiosity you must later satisfy curiosity with something worth while, for people do not like to cudgel their brains for nothing. A person who baffles curiosity after arousing it makes the hearer or reader feel that he has not been repaid for giving his attention, or that he was tricked into doing so. The person who presents a thing that has no more claim to attention than the power to stir curiosity does so with peril to himself.

In addition to being pleasurable, curiosity arouses activity. Many children for ever ask questions regarding anything new, and have ready fingers to touch and manipulate the unfamiliar. Grown-ups, similarly, are eager to be informed regarding things of a novel character. Curiosity has tempted many from the comforts of home and has led them to strange and hazardous regions, and many more it has kept in libraries, in laboratories, or in consultation with persons informed on subjects of interest to them.

Ah, Curiosity! By thee inspired
The truth to know how oft has man inquired.
—SPRAGUE.

In his curiosity man is not unlike the birds and beasts that circle around anything new, eyeing it or sniffing it.

Curiosity, to remain alive, must not be discouraged. The child who is not directed in such a way that he can succeed in his study, the adult who thinks he is too old to learn, and anyone who is repeatedly reprovved for inquiring into certain subjects, may lose much of his curiosity. But curiosity that has not been discouraged can ordinarily be aroused advantageously to instruct or to amuse.

15. SUSPENSE

Suspense is a continuous state of ungratified curiosity, and so keeping up suspense is a matter of prolonging such a state. Moreover, suspense stimulates the imagination, and so fills the mind with speculations. One is never more spontaneous and fruitful in thought than when in a state of suspense; never more free from monotony. For suspense to be most

stimulating to the mind, uncertainty should be of a moderate degree. Complete uncertainty is too bewildering for speculation; complete certainty leaves no room for it. But a slight notion as to what may be expected is a cue to the imagination, and leaves it much range. The thoughts that arise during suspense are not necessarily pleasant; they may presage evil. Such thoughts afford change of emotional state, but their disquieting effect overshadows their value from the standpoint of change. In upholding the use of suspense I have reference, therefore, to suspense that does not give rise to forebodings of evil, but induces pleasant contemplations.

The pleasure of suspense is felt in recreation involving physical activity. Children enjoy the anticipations they experience when pursuing others or when being pursued in playing hide-and-seek; the hunter has many visions of game while tracking or lying in wait, and the fisherman repeatedly makes a good catch in his imagination while waiting for a strike.

People find much pleasure in planning and in preparing for something. The anticipation of any desired event fills the mind with many agreeable conjectures in regard to it. Young people contemplating marriage, and married people planning to have children live vicariously to a great extent. Many make decisions in regard to their holiday much in advance and repeatedly muse upon their plans in great detail. As they wonder what their holiday will provide their imagination supplies various experience, usually in keeping with desire. The uncertainty of any pursuit creates suspense that provides visions of the future.

The mystery in anything provides suspense that stimulates certain persons to assume things beyond the veil. Wonder in regard to the origin of the earth and in regard to the creation of life has given rise, in the minds of simple folk, to many explanatory legends, and uncertainty as to what there may be after an earthly existence has provided them realistic glimpses of a beyond, as the following stanza from the Negro spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" reveals:

I look over Jordan, what do I see,
Comin' for to carry me home?
A band of angels comin' after me,
Comin' for to carry me home.

Many people enjoy mystery exceedingly; they like to be led through a labyrinth of design in which nothing is disclosed definitely, and in which one clue is followed by another. This is because while in suspense they have the enjoyment of pondering many stirring possibilities.

A state of suspense is experienced also when viewing many of the doings of other persons and many of the phenomena of nature. Any pending action or event that cannot be traced definitely beforehand may lead to the contemplation of various possibilities. Impending action often makes

far more things go on in the mind of the person awaiting the event than actually take place later. Contests of all kinds may be enjoyed because the suspense involved stimulates the spectator to imagine various outcomes. The more evenly matched the contestants are the more will be the conjecturing, and consequently the greater the pleasure of awaiting the end. A ball team that wins regularly may attract those who identify themselves with players and those who like to watch a well-trained team in action; but to bring out and to thrill large crowds there must be a "glorious uncertainty" as to the outcome. When the end of a game is a foregone conclusion, crowds grow weary and go home. But as long as "anything can happen" most spectators shiver in the cold or swelter in the sun to see the outcome of the contest. Sports writers build up an apparent equality between unequal contestants in order to hold the public in suspense for the purpose of creating demand for newspapers and for tickets to the athletic event.

Fiction and dramatic art make much use of suspense; sometimes suspense as to the outcome of a story or play, but more frequently suspense merely in respect to the incidents of a plot the end of which is discernible in a general way from the beginning. A reader of a story or a spectator at a theatre may experience suspense because of his own uncertainty regarding oncoming events, or because of the uncertainty experienced by a character with whom he identifies himself. It is possible to foresee happenings and yet be wrapped in suspense because of having identified oneself with a character made curious by uncertainty.

In fiction and dramatic art, narration arouses curiosity as to why the thing related occurred, or as to what the effect will be; description, by retarding the solution, creates suspense.

Thus, throughout the world of reality and the world of fiction, one can keep down monotony by keeping up suspense.

The maintaining of suspense is, furthermore, a means of keeping up interest in the presentation of thought. A speaker who in his opening remark says, "Later in my talk you will see why I say this," may thereby hold attention for a considerable period of time. There must, however, be a justification of such deferment, and expectancy must later be fulfilled if the procedure is to meet with favour. Suspense aids in the presentation of thought also by making curiosity more intense, for a deferment of the gratification of curiosity often gives curiosity many times its original strength. Suspense, furthermore, serves to emphasize an idea, and thus to make a more lasting impression. In many works involving suspense, such as O'Reilly's "What Is Good?", both growth in curiosity and emphasis on the main idea intended to be conveyed are obvious:

What is the real good?
I asked in musing mood.
Order, said the law court;
Knowledge, said the school;

Truth, said the wise man;
Pleasure, said the fool;
Love, said the maiden;
Beauty, said the page;
Freedom, said the dreamer;
Home, said the sage;
Fame, said the soldier;
Equity, the seer;
Spake my heart sadly,
"The answer is not here!"
Then within my bosom
Softly this I heard:
Each heart holds the secret—
Kindness is the word!

We see then that suspense renders the individual impressionable no less than it refreshes him by making him imaginative.

Although anticipation during the period of suspense may refresh the mind, it frequently affects actual experience unfavourably. To foresee something robs it of whatever novelty it might otherwise provide. It puts one in a position similar to that of a person who reads a novel after having been told the plot. As a rule, however, anticipation during suspense does not destroy the novelty of actual experience, because what is anticipated generally does not closely resemble actuality. But, in a different way, anticipation often affects actual experience unfavourably. Frequently anticipation is governed by desire, and in such cases the real experience may disappoint because it falls short of what was expected or is different from it. Anticipation in regard to a journey to be taken usually involves no moments of enforced association with a boring person and no privations or hardships, and the one who foresees only pleasurable experiences often finds actual travel disappointing. But although anticipation governed by desire increases the disappointment of unfulfilment, rational anticipation of all possibilities does not do so to any great extent. It may lessen the novelty of an actual experience, but it is not likely to lessen the novelty of all its details.

Thus by providing suspense you are indirectly interesting: interesting in the sense that you stimulate the imagination.

Although interest in things of fiction or of real life is heightened by suspense, it depends far more on character. Characters that are not interesting in themselves cannot be made interesting by suspense. Suspense is simply a means whereby character becomes more interesting.

16. UNEXPECTEDNESS

Unexpectedness gives change of thought suddenly, and may, for this reason, be interesting. Through it, any pleasant happening is made more

pleasant. Frequently one enjoys the suddenness of an experience far more than the experience itself. The suddenness of the most trivial thing can be amusing. "Our brightest blazes of gladness are commonly kindled by unexpected sparks."

We like, of course, to have what is said or done conform to certain general principles, but unless our words or acts afford unlooked-for deviations within an accepted pattern of behaviour they fall short of giving the greatest possible pleasure. If everything were completely foreshadowed, life would be flat and man would grow drowsy and irritable. In most human relationships there are no principles that are necessarily violated by an unexpected word or act; and in such cases you should occasionally endeavour to make yourself more interesting by giving surprise.

That which comes unexpectedly not only gives pleasure; it also diverts the mind. Things that would otherwise escape notice are engrossing when they come swiftly. Unexpectedness often takes the mind from its moorings when nothing else could do so.

From the standpoint of education, unexpectedness has value not only because of its possibilities for quickening attention and giving pleasure, but also because, by concentrating the mind on the unlooked-for thing, it furthers comprehension and memory. Any impression is more lasting when it comes by surprise. Pointing out, for example, a similarity in things thought different is effective teaching.

In the ways of interesting people there is much unexpectedness.

a. *Unexpectedness in Paradoxes.* The term "paradox" has a rather broad reference, but it is used here only in reference to statements that seem contradictory before their true meaning unfolds. One ordinarily does not expect such statements, and so may find them interesting and impressive. But these effects depend also upon what the paradox says. Any of the following seemingly contradictory statements, when heard for the first time, should give surprise:

"By not spending enough we spend too much."

"Man is never as truly himself as when he is acting a part."

"Our best defence against the United States," said a Canadian, "and theirs against us, is to have no defence at all."

"The trouble with us is not that we are ignorant, but that we know so much that isn't so."

In announcing the decision of the judges in a school contest, the speaker said, "Although there is only one winner in this contest, there are no losers."

"Some people will never learn anything for this reason: they understand everything too soon."

"New discoveries that are old."

"The injustice of justice."

"Beware of the fury of a patient man."

"The legendary age was a past that never was present."

"Seeing the invisible."

"The significance of the insignificant."

"The tragedy of growing old is the remaining young."

"That which is everybody's business is nobody's business."

"A good tale ill told is a bad one."

"The favourite has no friend."

"Beauty, when unadorned, 'tis adorned the most."

"Some people never do anything because they do too many things."

b. Unexpectedness in Irony. Irony is a sort of ridicule or sarcasm, the intended implication of which is the opposite of its literal meaning :

"Get excited."

"It is wonderful to see persons of sense pass away hours together shuffling and dividing cards."

A man upon going into a business partnership with another man said to him, "If I should ever do something that you do not like, don't tell me, because that would make me mad."

"A woman facetiously remarked to her husband : 'Really, George, I've never been so humiliated. You were the only one at the dinner-party who didn't have a postwar plan.'"

An ironical remark, like a paradox, ordinarily is not looked for, and so gives surprise.

c. Unexpectedness in Stories and Plays. Stories and plays that were in every detail a complete fulfilment of expectation would be tedious, and so authors construct plots that involve some unexpectedness ; unexpectedness as to ending, or unexpectedness in the development of a plot the outcome of which is discernible in a general way from the beginning.

To be accepted without protest, a surprise ending must on retrospect seem plausible and free from trickery. The more truth there is in surprise, the more captivating it is. An unexpected conclusion that makes the individual feel that he might have foreseen it is especially good.

A surprising ending that is plausible may, when reached, give significance to facts or incidents that have been overlooked or thought unimportant, and so provide another surprise. It is the double surprise given in this way that underlies the enjoyment of many stories of the unexpected-ending type.

Many authors hold back one essential element of the plot until near

the end and reveal it suddenly. In doing so they give surprise that is not only plausible, but inevitable.

We all like a logical conclusion, because we dislike to see those who tell or write stories distort the facts of life. But many people want a logical conclusion also because they enjoy being able to foresee the outcome of a story, and it is only in the case of stories that end logically that anyone can do so. The satisfaction of being able to tell how a story will end is the satisfaction of realizing that one has insight into the things portrayed. Such a realization often gives a very strong feeling of personal worth. People who get much satisfaction from being able to foretell events, and who take great pride in predicting accurately the end of a play, are pleased more by *realized anticipation* than they are by surprise. They like stories and plays in which they can surmise events that the characters themselves do not in the least anticipate. They may enjoy a literary work primarily because it gives them a feeling of superiority for having greater foresight than have the characters.

Many stories and plays of necessity portray a certain amount of stupidity, and so persons desirous of gaining feelings of ascendancy find the theatre a place where they can be freed from the blindness of everyday life, and have a sense of omniscience. With a vision of coming events they watch the blind gropings of players, and smile at their stumblings, their futile quests, their groundless fears, or their unfounded exaltations. To them it is fun to watch the characters being fooled, but not to be fooled themselves. An unexpected ending would reduce such persons to the level of the characters from whom they had been holding themselves aloof. In order that they may have feelings of superiority, and also the thrill of surprise, it is necessary to give them the ending they *expect*, but in an unexpected way.

People differ in their concern about being able to foresee the ending of a literary work. Some persons, aware of the intricacies and cross-currents of life depicted in a story or play, and realizing that events cannot always be foretold, have no chagrin upon failing to foresee the last scene. They are interested in watching a plot work out, and not in being able to foresee the end. Other persons even refrain from conjecturing as to the sequence of events in order that they may enjoy the surprise of unanticipated happenings. Persons in either of these states of mind can enjoy greatly a logical ending that they did not anticipate.

Authors do not necessarily strive consciously to give either surprise or realized anticipation to the ending of their works. For the opening of many stories or plays there is an inevitable outcome, and the author's purpose may be simply to give evidence of that fact throughout the unfolding of the plot. Whether a person experiences surprise or realized anticipation in such cases depends on his penetration into the relevant facts of life. But authors who are more concerned about making a certain thing happen than they are about giving foreknowledge as to what is going to happen, nevertheless plan to give surprise as to how it is going to happen.

Thus unexpectedness, although not dominant in good fiction, is one of its essential ingredients.

d. Unexpectedness in Humour. In humour, unexpectedness is a significant factor. The unexpectedness usually consists in simply saying something unlooked-for, in giving an unlooked-for turn to what one says, in interpreting another person in an unexpected way, in giving a surprising turn to a familiar saying, in foreshadowing one thing and saying something else, or in anticlimax. Anyone may find it interesting to classify the following examples of these types of unexpectedness in humour:

"As a man was leaving his home one morning for his daily routine, he and his wife bade each other good-bye, and she added, 'Come again.' "

"At the opening of the new fiscal year, the treasurer of an organization remarked, 'Everyone in this organization is now one year in arrears—except Mr. Smith. He is two years in arrears.' "

"Upon arriving at his office on a frightfully cold morning, a man got a telephone call from his wife, asking, 'Did you suffer on the way to the office this morning?' He replied, 'No, the breakfast was fine.' "

"In giving last-minute instructions to a servant a woman, planning a dinner for company, said, 'Now, Mabel, when you serve, be sure not to spill anything.' 'Don't you worry,' Mabel replied, 'I won't say a thing.' "

"A doctor once asked his patient, 'How much coffee do you drink, Elmer?' 'About twenty-four cups a day,' said the patient. 'Twenty-four cups!' the doctor exclaimed. 'Doesn't that keep you awake?' Elmer replied, 'It helps.' "

"At the conclusion of his sermon a minister said, 'There are certain matters of business to be taken up, and so I'll ask for a meeting of the Board in the back of the church.' The members of the Board gathered as requested, and another parishioner stopped with them. The minister, somewhat bewildered, approached him and said, 'There seems to be some mistake; I asked for a meeting of the Board.' The man thus accosted replied, 'Well, if there is anyone here that was more bored than I was, I'd like to know who he is!' "

"A coloured woman, much displeased with the conduct of one of her sons, said, 'Rastus am de only white sheep in de flock.' "

"When I started out in business for myself I had only twenty dollars to my name. That was fourteen years ago. Today I am worth sixty cents." "

"The difference between women and men is that women can be swayed by every sort of flattery; men, by one sort or another." "

A sailor once concluded a letter: "I love you, I love you, I love you. Regards, Louie." "

In humour, what is said is as important as is saying it with unexpectedness. People like ideas that have a point or that express a truth. So, unless unexpectedness in humour, as well as in fiction, has something for the

mind in addition to unexpectedness, it does not arouse great interest. Unexpectedness is, however, never more important than when one is making a humorous remark.

Whether a person's purpose is to amuse or to instruct, unexpectedness in what he says often makes it more interesting.

17. VARIATION OF VOICE AND PLAY OF FEATURES

The voice and features afford many changes in manner of expression, and need to be varied to hold attention and to make listening pleasant. Ideas that are new and garbed in fresh language may, despite their unusualness, go unheeded because of the deadening monotony of unchanging voice or gestures; while ideas that are old and expressed in commonplace language can yet be made attractive by the artist in speech. The person who lacks change in delivery may get much of the attention of those who have a vital interest in his subject, but he seldom gets all of their attention and seldom much of the attention of persons whom he must interest in what he says. A man whose talk puts his audience to sleep is often one whose voice ticks like a clock. Modulation of voice and varied play of features are always involved in prolonged speech that serves its purpose well.

You can introduce variety into your presentation by changing your voice in pitch, loudness, rate, and quality; and by adapting the play of the features to the voice. You can change the pitch of your voice well only if you have a pitch-level near the middle of the range of your voice. But if you are emotional, your voice is keyed so high that you cannot raise the pitch without being most irritating, and you cannot easily lower the pitch. Loudness you can readily vary, likewise, only if you have a general pattern of moderate loudness. But if you are emotional you tend, depending on your general character, to speak feebly or by shouting, and so you make fluctuations in loudness difficult.

Similarly, you can properly accelerate or retard your rate of expression only if your general speech movement is of a moderate rate. Emotionality, however, makes speech extremely rapid or draggy. It is as difficult for an emotional person to vary his rate of speaking as it is for him to vary his pitch or loudness. The quality of the voice, like its other attributes, you can vary readily only when you are not dominated by a particular emotion; when you are free to adjust emotionally to the thoughts you express. The play of the features is affected similarly; if you are dominated by stage-fright, anger, or some other emotion, flexibility in the physical accompaniments of speech is difficult. To try to correct a voice controlled by a dominant emotion without reducing that emotion is to attack the symptom rather than the cause of speech deficiency.

The development of a varied delivery requires more than being unhampered emotionally; it requires also positive action. Much change

in voice and in gestures is attained through meaningful expressions. Pitch variations are afforded continually by good speech. The expression of suspense, for instance, involves a rising inflexion, as in "Who's that!", and the making of a promise usually involves a falling inflexion, as when the bride says "I do." Meaningful expression, furthermore, affords change in the quality of the voice because different emotions have distinctive tone colours. Seriousness, gaiety, sympathy, enthusiasm, indignation and tenseness, when really felt, automatically produce different voice qualities.

Meaningful expression involves also emphasis by means of change in loudness. Note the change in loudness as you say, "It is not *work*, but *idleness* that kills." In the expression of emotional attitude, loudness is especially varied. Meaningful expression involves, moreover, change in the rate of speaking. Weighty or complex thought is uttered slowly, and important ideas are emphasized by means of pauses before or after expressing them. In the telling of events the voice usually moves at a fairly high cadence, and in the recounting of rapid events good talk moves at an unusually high rate. Saying what one means involves change not only in all of the attributes of the voice, but also in the physical accompaniments of speech.

Although the voice and gestures may be varied much by striving to say precisely what one has in mind, they are not varied sufficiently in this way alone. The development of an adequately modulated delivery, no less than the achievement of any other objective, requires a conscious effort towards its attainment. It requires an appreciation of the importance of being varied in expression, and an awareness of one's shortcomings in respect to flexibility of speech.

The voice should also be of good quality. It should be free of nasal twang or whine, and it should not be muffled, breathy, metallic, thin, harsh, or lifeless; it should be rich, pleasant, resonant, clear, soft, sweet, or vibrant. A voice that lacks quality is not likely to seem interesting, even though it is well varied; and with a voice of poor quality it is difficult to express friendliness, warmth, encouragement, sincerity, self-confidence, or anything that the situation calls for.

Most of us are as unconscious of the sound of our voices as we are of sounds to which we have become habituated. In order to familiarize students with their speech deficiencies instructors now have them listen to phonographic recordings of their own voices. Most people do not recognize their voices when thus reproduced. This may be due partly to the fact that in speaking the individual hears his voice both internally and externally, while in listening to a phonographic reproduction of his voice he hears it only externally. But his inability to recognize his voice is presumably due more to having become unconscious of it. Everyone should listen to his voice or to a recording of it in order that he may become aware of his speech deficiencies, and so be stimulated to overcome them.

To say that a person should listen to his voice does not mean that he

should do so when appearing before an audience. Some speakers, especially amateurs, in listening to themselves, become self-conscious, artificial, or mechanical in speech. They should listen to themselves only in their ordinary conversations. Others can observe their voices while speaking without suffering any of these evil effects.

18. A SILENT LOOK

Since speech normally involves the voice and play of features, expression of thought by means of features alone is unusual, and often is enjoyed for this reason. Because of its novelty, the language of facial expression alone may, at times, serve the purpose of speech more effectively than would be possible by a combination of verbal and physical expression. The effectiveness of such expression may, however, be due less to its novelty than to an implication of having feelings too deep or too stirring for words. A speechless look may be sweeter, sharper, more stimulating or more persuasive than words; may be the most eloquent form of expression.

19. THOUGHT SIGNIFICANT TO OTHERS

Even though our style or voice may be good, we cannot hold another person's attention unless what we say is significant to him. A speaker or writer very readily becomes a bore if what he says does not deal with the individual's interests. "In behalf of my fitness for public office," a politician is on record as having remarked, "I wish to tell you, as those who know me well would agree, that I am able to talk about something or other most of the time." Although what we say is basic to holding another's attention, we interest him in it most readily when we say it well. In conversation intended to amuse, a thought is never better than the way in which it is expressed. What is said in an interesting way often stands out from the same thing said in a dull way, like a rainbow in the sky.

MODESTY AND SELF-CONFIDENCE

To be pleasing and otherwise effective in personal relationships, one must be unassuming and yet sure of oneself. Egotism is disrespect for others, while timidity keeps a person from being sufficiently animated and independent in thought to be interesting or convincing.

1. MODESTY

Since people like to have you think of them not simply as having worth in themselves, but also as having worth at least somewhat equivalent to your own, there is need of revealing conservative self-estimation. If you overrate yourself, you underrate others; but if you are modest you give the impression that you view them favourably in comparison to yourself. The more you win over other persons, the more careful you must be not to triumph over them.

Through modesty you avoid bringing discredit upon yourself, as well as discrediting others. A man who comes up to his own idea of greatness must have a very low standard. He to whom mediocrity is greatness is himself mediocre. The arrogant bring discredit upon themselves also, because they give the impression that they are unappreciative of achievements different from their own. Beauty must appear modest lest she seem to have a narrow conception of the qualities that make up a woman; brawn must not strut lest it seem unaware that intelligence too is a desirable attribute; wealth must not seem ostentatious lest it seem oblivious to the superior pleasures that some in moderate circumstances get out of life.

Of course it is often necessary to make one's strong points known, for most people are too busy with their own affairs to have time or energy to gauge other persons' worth. A person who is, at the same time, very deserving and inexpressive of his worth may long be overlooked; but the arrogant person may also be undervalued, for his arrogance, by antagonizing people, blinds them to whatever merit he may have.

Usually the best way to show modesty and yet make your good qualities known is to forget yourself and give attention to the subject of conversation or to the task in hand. There are, however, times when one must show modesty in other ways while, at the same time, making his qualities known. Some of the other ways of showing modesty are the following:

a. *Comparing Oneself to an Ideal or Standard Higher Than Oneself.* An effective means of being modest and yet making known one's merit is to compare oneself to an ideal or standard higher than oneself. The person

who does so reveals his merit and an awareness of his limitations. Thus he reveals both merit and modesty. Anyone may usually claim, for example, all the knowledge he possesses without seeming boastful, provided he admits that he has much to learn; and a person who does so reveals that he has even more than knowledge; that he has wisdom. When Socrates was asked why the Delphic Oracle pronounced him the wisest of all the Greeks, he said, "It is because I alone of all the Greeks know that I know nothing."

In attempting to make their own merit known to other persons without being boastful, people commonly compare themselves to a standard higher than themselves. They do so by mentioning their strong points and, at the same time, by speaking of them as if they were no great accomplishments. There is both modesty and self-advertising in such common statements as the following, if made in response to inquiry:

"I haven't travelled much; but I have had some very pleasant trips, especially in the last three years, during which I . . ."

"I cannot say that I have been very successful financially, but I have managed to lay aside enough to live comfortably."

"I have had only three years of college work."

"I don't know much about story writing, but I have written a few stories that were accepted by . . ."

Minimizing the significance of one's accomplishment when speaking with a person of little achievement is, of course, rude because it makes him feel insignificant. This means of expressing modesty must, therefore, be used with discretion.

b. Attributing One's Success to Opportunity or Chance. Not all persons are free to take the way of life that would give them the greatest satisfaction; and frequently persons of the same aptitude, embarked upon similar ventures, meet with wholly different fortunes. The statement one so often hears, "I was lucky," is not always without foundation. Even in scientific discoveries the factor of chance is a significant one. A person who imputes much of his success to opportunity or chance seldom gives the impression of arrogance.

c. Expressing Gratitude. By expressing gratitude a person attributes his success, at least partly, to someone else, and so he tends to appear modest. This we can all do with sincerity, for every river has its tributaries. A man who says that his success was due to the inspiration or direct help of his wife may speak of his accomplishment and yet be modest. An administrative officer of any organization who speaks of the splendid co-operation that he has received may review his accomplishments without appearing boastful. And anyone who expresses his belief that it was through the help of God that he achieved what he did may, without his humility being questioned, dwell on the work he has done. A proud man is never grateful.

d. Admitting Distinction in One Quality Only. Persons who are successful in but a single kind of activity can, if necessary, put much emphasis upon their accomplishment and yet be modest if they admit that they have accomplished only one thing. Bobby Jones, the great golfer, often expressed his regret that he never had shone in anything but golf.

e. Refraining from Over-positive Statements. A person who refrains from over-positive statements need not, to avoid seeming arrogant, keep his light under a bushel. An introductory phrase such as "It seems to me," "I am inclined to think that," "As I look at it," or, "Much could presumably be accomplished by," when expressed in the right tone of voice, usually gives modesty to the subsequent statement.

A person who refrains from over-positive statements also is freer of embarrassment when he happens to be in the wrong than one who speaks without restraint; and he can change his view with less mortification.

f. Minimizing One's Merit. Minimizing one's merit is not essential to modesty, but is a means of giving the impression of being modest. However, it is ordinarily good judgement to belittle oneself only when this is necessary for giving the impression of modesty. Lincoln, in speaking as follows was, knowingly or unknowingly, minimizing his ability rather than simply being modest—an attitude that was necessary to avoid reflecting, at the outset, upon the wisdom of the men whom he opposed:

Fellow citizens of the state of Ohio: I cannot fail to remember that I appear for the first time before an audience . . . that is accustomed to hear such speakers as Corwin, and Chase, and Wade, and many other renowned men; and remembering this, I feel that it will be well for you, and for me, that you should not raise your expectations to that standard to which you would have been justified in raising them had one of these distinguished men appeared before you. You would perhaps be only preparing a disappointment for yourselves, and, as a consequence of your disappointment, mortification for me. I hope, therefore, that you will commence with very moderate expectations; and perhaps, if you will give me your attention, I shall be able to interest you to a moderate degree.¹

Antony, in *Julius Caesar*, minimized his ability, presumably with the direct purpose of giving the impression of modesty, when he said:

I come not, friends, to steal way your hearts:
I am no orator, as Brutus is;
But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man,
That love my friend; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him:
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
I tell you that which you yourselves do know;
Show you sweet Caesar's wounds; poor, poor dumb mouths,
And bid them speak for me.

¹ Lincoln, Abraham, Address at Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 16, 1859.

It is only when a public speaker finds his audience prejudiced in favour of his opponent, or when a person finds another extremely sensitive, that it is necessary to be self-depreciatory. And even in such cases self-depreciation, to have a good effect, must usually be done humorously. Over the radio once came the following dialogue:

"Edgar, I hear they named a town in Dakota after you."

"Oh, they did, Charlie, did they? Well, tell me, Charlie, why did they name a town in Dakota after me?"

"Why shouldn't they, Edgar?"

"I ask you again, Charlie, why did they? Do you know?"

"Yes, top soil all gone."

Through this broadcast, Edgar Bergen not only gave the impression of modesty, but he also enabled the older men who had, likewise, lost their hair, or much of it, to feel less outdone by him than they might otherwise have felt.

Some persons depreciate themselves for no reason other than to suggest that they have wisdom. A man of little achievement may try to be a Socrates by saying, "I feel that I know absolutely nothing." Such a person usually gets no credit except for having a good understanding of himself.

In normal human relationships a person may claim his due merit, provided he does not seem to have a better opinion of himself than others have of him, but it is usually unnecessary to mention it at all. Merit when not overshadowed by arrogance is, as a rule, quickly recognized. Moreover, to say nothing for oneself often implies that there is no need of saying anything. "The less you speak of your greatness, the more shall I think of it." The person of known accomplishment who makes no reference to it is praised twice; praised for his accomplishment and praised for being too modest to mention it.

g. Showing Respect for Other Persons. If we are appreciative of others, we need have no fear that they will think us egotistical, or that they will be greatly irritated by the good opinion we may seem to have of ourselves. Anyone mindful of the wishes and interests of those with whom he works or lives is unlikely to be accused of arrogance. Recognition of human worth of every kind is the most admirable, and at the same time the most effective, expression of modesty.

Appreciation for other persons is also essential in getting them to recognize the qualities that we ourselves possess. "I will praise any man that will praise me." Acknowledgement of the personal worth of others, although a slow means of self-advertising, is the most effective kind.

We have been considering modesty from the standpoint of making a good impression, but an unassuming attitude also puts another person at ease. To find you enjoyable, and to be enjoyable to you, anyone must be able to relax in your presence. Modesty often gives others much-needed encouragement.

2. SELF-CONFIDENCE

Self-confidence affects all of our behaviour. It gives us the animation, poise, and cheerfulness that we must ordinarily have to be enjoyable to other persons, or comfortable in their presence. One who lacks pride is seldom good company, and seldom does he enjoy his contacts with other persons. Confidence in ourselves also gives us initiative. No one is likely to accomplish anything beyond what he thinks he can do. Some persons feel so extremely limited that they are hesitant, timid, procrastinating, or evasive in most of their actions, especially in their contacts with other persons. Afraid to express themselves, they seldom say anything interesting or otherwise good. It takes a fertile brain to produce sound thought, but there are persons who have good original ideas that they do not express. An individual who lacks self-confidence sometimes gets a new idea, but dismisses it as worthless simply because it is his own; or he may feel that his idea has merit, but lacks the courage to present it. Later he may find his own rejected thought stated by someone else. Great works frequently present what was often thought, but never before expressed. Hesitancy in presenting a good original idea may, instead of resulting in someone else's presenting it, result in what is worse, the loss of the idea. Persons who are most justified in expressing their thoughts are often most inclined to keep them under a bushel. A person who cannot do justice to himself before an audience is usually disturbed chiefly by a generalized sense of inferiority.¹

Self-confidence gives one not only initiative, but also the appearance of having grounds for what one says. The ordinary observer or interviewer seldom rates a person higher than he appears to rate himself, and he usually gives preference to the one who surpasses another in self-assurance rather than in any of a number of other qualities. He may be influenced as much by the certitude with which a man speaks as by what he says.

But persons of discernment tend to rely upon the words of the man who speaks with no more assurance than the facts warrant. One must, therefore, exercise care lest he give the impression of being over-confident or pretentious, and hence uninformed, narrow-minded, egotistical, or deceitful. One must also, if he is to maintain the confidence he inspires, prove to be correct more often than incorrect. A positive attitude tends to inspire confidence in the long run only if justified. The man who cannot back his statements with anything but positiveness usually must move along; he is usually a talk-and-run speaker.

Over-confidence sometimes enables a person to do what he otherwise could not do. Some presumptuous men have had notable political, military, or religious careers. Their flattering opinions of themselves presumably stimulated them to their maximum efforts and commanded

¹ Gilkinson, Howard, "Questionnaire Study of the Causes of Social Fears on the Part of College Speech Students", *Speech Monographs*, 10: 74-83, 1943.

wide submission and obedience. But the last chapter in the life of the over-confident person, whether his pursuits have been humble or great, usually shows that he finally overreached himself and fell.

The man who knows the limits of his abilities may, for that reason, fail to do his best, but he is more likely to progress and to hold the gains he makes than he would be if he were conceited. The right amount of self-confidence depends upon the situation, and many persons quite often have too much or too little. There is also the fact that people like to see self-confidence on the part of a companion or leader, because they are heartened by it.

A little conceit is sometimes an asset. It helps the individual recoil from defeat and often gives him the necessary fortitude to withstand the discouragement of envious persons. Conceit is, borrowing a figure from Holmes, like the natural unguent of the sea-fowl's plumage, which enables him to shed the rain that falls on him and the waves in which he dips.

To be conceited about something is normal, for almost anyone believes in his heart that he is something which he is not, or thinks his own geese swans. The following statements are suggestive of the conceit of most persons:

"The coward reckons himself cautious; the miser think himself frugal."

"Firmness is that admirable quality in ourselves that in others is nothing but stubbornness."

"He is a dreamer, but I am a man of vision."

Whether or not you resent a little conceit on the part of another person depends on whether he thinks equally well of you. If he does, you can overlook his good opinion of himself.

Although conceit is a common human trait, it is especially characteristic of mediocre persons; superior men and women are most free of it.

3. FACTORS AFFECTING SELF-CONFIDENCE

A person may, for various reasons, have too much or too little confidence in himself.

a. Self-centredness. Anyone absorbed in himself takes less note of the worth of other persons than he would if he were interested in them. Not having a comparative basis for evaluating himself, he can easily overrate or underrate his accomplishment or conduct. Most people are more sensitive to their own qualities than to the qualities of other persons, but the self-centred person is especially so. He may suffer much from a trivial personal deficiency because of failure to notice the shortcomings of other persons, or rest content at any level of attainment because of blindness to the greater merit that exists around him. The more obsessed

he becomes with one of his strong or weak traits the more he assumes that other persons are likewise thinking of it, approvingly or disapprovingly, and so undergoes change of opinion as to his own worth.

b. The Severity of One's Standards. The satisfaction that a person takes in himself depends upon what he expects of himself. Some persons have such low standards of achievement or conduct that they can always take pride in themselves, while others have such severe standards that they find little personal satisfaction in what they do. One thinks well of himself as long as there is anyone behind him in achievement or below him in integrity; another thinks ill of himself if there is anyone in any way superior to him.

c. Group Membership. To belong to a distinguished or important family, gang, club, church, occupational group, or nation is to feel important, for through membership of any kind the individual partakes of the significance of the other members of the group, and then, in the words of James Harvey Robinson, "Paltry, diffident and discontented 'I' becomes proud and confident 'We'." The man who has work of the least desirable kind can keep it from smothering his pride by remembering how large, and how honourable or powerful, is the nation of which he is a member, and that, however humble his own particular occupation, he can reckon himself a part of the noble or awesome front that his nation presents to the rest of the world. The pride of many persons rests much upon the number and kind of groups with which they feel identified.

The individual can also find in his membership confirmation of a view he holds, which is flattering and encouraging.

There is, however, the sad fact that the members of an organization tend to keep dominant in the minds of other members only thoughts favouring their common purpose. From this standpoint, we may say of most organizations that the whole is less than the sum of its parts.

Many persons have family, race, religious, or other membership that they think more or less discrediting. One who belongs to a family or group that represents a culture different from that of the community is highly subject to developing feelings of inferiority, primarily because of disparagement of him by the majority, which often vociferously claims superiority. Few people can long maintain self-esteem in an atmosphere of continual derision of them.

d. Emphasis Upon a Shortcoming By Trying to Hide It. Some deficiencies are easily concealed, and so might well be kept from people in general, but many other deficiencies can be concealed only by constant vigilance. Trying to hide something that cannot easily be covered keeps one conscious of it, calls another's attention to it, over-emphasizes its seriousness, and thereby furthers the development of a sense of inferiority. Concealment may, moreover, take the form of rather odd behaviour, as when a man with short legs remains seated in situations in which the custom is to stand, and thus brings on further embarrassment. Another strong point against the making of such an adjustment is that the attention and energy

given to it might otherwise be devoted to compensating for the short-coming.

e. Encouragement. The exhilaration of success, or of being assured of having adequate ability, may make the individual glow and move with alacrity. Mark Twain said, "I can live for two months on a good compliment."

Being held in high esteem as a person, as well as succeeding or being encouraged in a particular type of activity, brightens a person's outlook for success in most of his endeavours. Freud said, "I have found that most persons who consider themselves preferred or favoured by their mothers manifest in life that confidence in themselves, and that unshakable optimism, which often seems heroic, and not infrequently compels actual success."¹ It is said that marriage often makes for sedulous application to one's occupation because it gives one something to work for. But it should also be fully recognized that the greater industry after marriage is frequently due to the confidence expressed in a person by the one who counts most in his life.

A person who, from childhood to maturity, receives too much attention and help, who is shielded excessively from rigorous competition, who is favoured repeatedly over others, or who is imbued with the thought that he is of a superior group, may develop inordinate self-confidence; while the one who grows up in a world of older persons that domineer over him, that insist continually upon conformity, repeatedly compare him unfavourably to other children, give him often a sense of insignificance and inadequacy, or indicate rejection of him, is likely to feel inferior and to be timid throughout life. The lack of self-confidence of many adults seems to be due to having been, as children, too often foiled or derided.

Some parents use, in the bringing up of children, methods that keep the child imbued with feelings of unworthiness that he never outgrows. Individual growth involves, of course, change from external to internal control of behaviour, and the development of a sense of guilt when violating moral or ethical standards. Such refinement is the essence of the highest type of social living. But there are parents who, in the training of the child, thoughtlessly exploit his sense of decency by having him feel, even when he does things that are inevitable in child-life and not necessarily harmful, that he disappoints them and harms or degrades himself. Such a thought can become to the child a teeming source of generalized and persistent feelings of inferiority.

The child is by nature self-confident, and before he has had many belittling experiences he shows zest and poise that are seldom regained. Much of the social ineptness and speechlessness of many children and young people is obviously due to shyness developed in discouraging situations. Occasionally a child that the layman thinks dull is found in intelligence tests to be normally bright. Such a child may be simply a

¹ Freud, Sigmund, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, p. 375.

victim of discouragement or rejection that has made him too indolent to seem normal.

For their proper development, children need failure and correction as well as success and praise; but experiences that destroy the child's belief in his actual abilities and personal worth keep him from becoming interesting or otherwise effective.

Modesty and self-confidence increase the value of each other. These traits should be so blended that, although varying with different situations, each is discernible in the other.

COURTSHIP

COURTSHIP and love have much in common, but these human interests are sufficiently different from each other and complex enough to be taken up for discussion separately. The term "courtship", although vague, commonly has several frames of reference; it generally means man-woman relationships entered into with marriage as an objective, but it does not necessarily have this connotation.

1. COURTSHIP WITHOUT MARRIAGE AS AN OBJECTIVE

Man-woman relationships frequently are entered into simply for the pleasure they afford; with little or no thought of marriage. Such relationships, when similar to those oriented to marriage, as is often the case, are commonly thought of as courtship. Young people who are not ready to choose a mate prefer courtship of this kind, since no one likes to commit himself to marriage, by implication or otherwise, before he is ready to do so. They may prefer it also because of its heartiness, which other courtship would not have for them. Where the keeping of company normally implies marriage to be the ultimate objective, either person may be cool because he finds the other taking too much for granted. There can be warmth in courtship only when both persons rule out marriage, or are committed to it. The longer marriage is of necessity deferred, the more does courtship become an end in itself. Courtship for its own sake is especially attractive to persons who find among those with whom they come in contact no one they would care to marry, but someone they could enjoy as a companion. Many persons are interested in such courtship also because it makes for less deception.

There often is in courtship also the desire to understand members of the opposite sex; to know what they like in you, and what you should expect on their part. The company that some persons keep now and then can be understood only when viewed in the light of the exploratory drive. A woman may encourage and reject several suitors just to learn how to accept a better in his turn, and a man may keep her company with a similar motive.

The satisfaction in adolescence of the desire for close acquaintance with several members of the opposite sex should make this desire less unruly later in life. Such acquaintance should also further suitable mating, provide needed training in adjustment, and give the individual a basis for appreciating fully the person he finally marries.

Courtship not oriented to marriage has many other implications,

favourable and unfavourable, in regard to personality development, marriage, and marital happiness that are too complex to be dealt with here.

2. COURTSHIP ORIENTED TO MARRIAGE

There are several steps, somewhat interrelated, in courtship that has marriage in view.

a. *The Choice of a Mate.* To select a mate wisely is to select someone who would be compatible in love and, at the same time, a good partner for dealing with the various problems of life. The intimacy of two persons does not necessarily reveal whether they are suited emotionally to each other, for the sexual behaviour of either of them before marriage may, for obvious reasons, differ much from what it would be after marriage. Only where there is little difference in attitude in regard to pre-marital intimacy can such behaviour reveal the emotional compatibility of a man and woman.

Courtship with a minimum of intimacy usually does, nevertheless, bring out the feeling of one person for the other, for prudent restraint is commonly distinguishable from prudery or from coolness towards the one making advances. Where there is free self-expression, courtship also brings out any difference in attitude that may exist towards sexual relationships after marriage.

Persons who feel emotionally suited to each other still have the problem of finding whether they would be suitable partners in marriage. They may let their amatory feelings dominate decision, as is suggested by the statement, "But I love him," when made in response to admonition. Sexual interest tends, moreover, to make what would actually be a poor marriage give promise of success. This it may do by prompting the individual to idealize the love object or to assume that any shortcoming as a future partner that this person may have he will overcome. Man is especially credulous of what he longs for if it centres around sex. "Love reasons without reason."

The emotional factor alone, as well as being a narrow basis for marriage, is a precarious one, for its stability depends upon other factors. It may be quickly and completely extinguished through discovery of an unsavoury trait; it may be as evanescent as a soap bubble if the partnership fails. In the selection of a mate, as in the selection of a business partner, one must therefore explore the individual's entire fitness as a partner, and one should be guided by amatory feeling only if it persists after thorough acquaintance. Seek a mate among your friends is an old adage.

The fact that early amatory feeling may be most unstable does not make unimportant any sexual relationships in courtship that has marriage in view; for such courtship is at the same time engaged in for its own sake, and the satisfaction it affords is no minor factor in the choice of a mate.

b. The Winning of a Mate. There are various considerations that pertain to success in courtship. Although the rational choice of a mate requires time, long deliberation on the part of either person may fail to bring them closer to marriage. Throwing caution to the winds and committing oneself to marriage after the briefest acquaintance may be more effective, in that it appeals to the vanity of anyone and is exciting. The suitor who explores carefully as he makes further advances may find that he has advanced too slowly. "Prudence and love are not meant for each other." The one who, on the other hand, makes precipitate advances may suggest unwillingness to give you an opportunity to become better acquainted with him, or that he does not comprehend fully the requirements of marriage.

Another consideration that pertains to the winning of a mate is the possible reaction after consent to marriage. Aware that a betrothal sometimes turns ardour into apprehension, as a business contract sometimes does, either person may withhold commitment to marriage in order to avoid a long engagement. But many persons cease to love when apparently unloved. Likewise, a woman who feels that difficulty in winning her makes her suitor more appreciative of her, or challenges him, may delay acceptance to spur him on. She may also, with the same purpose, manage to have competition for him. Such wiles she finds effective if he judges her worth by the value others put upon her; but a man who courts a particular woman largely because she is sought after by others usually is not worth winning and would be hard to hold. She finds such wiles momentarily effective also if the man she hopes to marry takes much satisfaction in excelling a rival; but by making the winning of herself competitive, she may make herself the game of a hunter interested simply in the chase. Her wiles may even have the opposite of the intended effect.

A man likes to think that in keeping company with a particular woman he is distinguishing himself, but he sometimes gets the opposite notion from the company she keeps. To many a man, a woman with whom he keeps company always lowers herself when she keeps company with another. Moreover, artifice lacks spontaneity, and so has no charm. It also is a poor basis for an enduring love. The highest art is free of artifice.

Either the man or the woman may reveal a normal amatory interest, and, in this way, increase the possibility of marriage; but if the amatory interest is clearly the dominant interest, it ordinarily has the opposite effect. The keeping of this interest in the background emphasizes other interests in the person courted, and may, for this reason, be most influential in disposing him towards marriage.

Do men like intellectual women? The natural behaviour tendency is towards unified action. Applied to courtship, this means that you cannot have, at the same time, thoughts of love and of something unrelated to love. Accordingly, when a man is in the mood for love he doesn't want a

college course. At such times prosaic talk, regardless of its intellectual level, is the thorn that guards the rose rather than its fragrance.

No one cares for conversation that always centres around love; and the man or woman who can be intellectual, as well as emotionally satisfying, is enjoyed and respected. When love is dominant, traces of intellect should still be apparent. Likewise, when the intellectual factors are dominant, the love factor should always be visible as a background. In continuation of this discussion, I can do no better than quote Goethe:

We love a girl for many things other than understanding. We love her for her beauty, her youth, her mirth, her confidingness, her character, with its faults, caprices, and God knows what other charms; but we do not love her understanding. Her mind we esteem if it is brilliant, and it may greatly elevate her in our opinion; nay, more, it may enchain us when we already love. But her understanding is not what awakens and inflames our passions.

A man who has feelings of inferiority may be uncomfortable in the company of a capable woman, but he may, nevertheless, be eager to marry her as a compensation for his sense of inferiority. "Every theory of love, from Plato down," says G. Stanley Hall, "teaches that each individual loves in the other sex what he lacks in himself."

People differ much in what they respond to favourably in courtship. The statement that one man's meat is another's poison is here most applicable. An understanding of the person courted is, as Joseph Folsom implies, usually essential to winning him:

To develop total love to the utmost, it would be helpful if each could know specifically the foci of the other's feelings. Often the lover is in serious doubt. If the woman, for example, wishes to awaken the maximum tenderness in the man, shall she behave somewhat like a child, or be somewhat motherly? When erotic feeling is in order, shall she dress to approximate some of the females pictured in *Esquire*, or shall she "go peasant"? If she wants to awaken the supreme thrill of joy, shall she keep him in suspense about a date and then surprise him with a sudden and eager "Yes"; or shall she keep him always feeling secure, and contrive many meetings in the moonlight?

The answers to these questions are individual; let not anyone be guided by generalized "advice to the lovelorn" or armchair statements about what "most men like" or "the way to get a woman". The way to one man's heart may be through his stomach, but to another's it may lie through his nose, his eyes—or even through his intellect! Popular literature advises men that women prefer the masterly and dominating male, but they will do better to study individual women. Of course, each person has limits to the stimuli he can produce. He must be himself; otherwise he may purchase temporary love at the expense of later disillusionment. But each person has a certain range of behaviour and appearance which is consistent with his personality.¹

¹ In *Marriage and the Family*, ed. Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, p. 164. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1942. Used by permission of the publishers.

A concise expression of the same thought we have in *Tommy and Grizel*, by J. M. Barrie: "In love-making, as in other arts, those do it best who cannot tell how it is done."

Although ways of courtship must be suited to the person courted, there are in courtship, as in other things, basic values—respect, honesty, fairness—that are always looked for in the contemplation of marriage, and that lay a solid basis for love.

How long the period of acquaintance and courtship before marriage should be involves many considerations, but since successful marriage depends much upon having things in common, marriage without thorough acquaintance is hazardous. According to one study, good adjustment in marriage varies more or less directly with the length of the engagement periods, which ranged from three months to two years or longer.¹

Persons who are much in each other's company during a long engagement period tend to become habituated to their limited relations of that period. And habit in love, as in anything else, tends to persist. Hence, after a long engagement, either person may be reluctant to marry the other because of thinking that they do not feel towards each other as they should. A woman may express hesitancy, saying, "He seems to me like a brother." Such a statement is much to the point, since brothers and sisters, having been habituated to restricted relations with each other, ordinarily do not have sexual feelings towards each other. Thus a couple upon marrying after a long betrothal may, at first, have difficulty in achieving a normal adjustment. But if they, upon marrying, realize that their diminished ardour may be due to having been habituated to restricted relations, they are little disturbed by it, and hence they achieve readily a normal adjustment.

c. *Sexual Excitation.* Some degree of sexual excitation is ordinarily involved in courtship, and the fullest excitation is essential to the most satisfactory intercourse. Playful resistance—resistance involving encouragement—enables the one making the advances to become ardent, and hence sexually excited and stimulating to his mate. A couple, by properly balancing advances and resistance, usually find in their mutual stimulation much satisfaction. "The pleasure of extracting an olive from the bottle, and the olive's pleasure in its extraction, are not lessened by the struggle and delay."

Men and women alike, as well as male and female animals, seem to have an inherent disposition to make advances; but the less dominant one, which is ordinarily the female, adjusts by offering resistance. Traditionally, the making of advances is the man's part. Because of tradition and man's frequent dominance, lovers usually assume roles accordingly. Woman is, however, prone to initiate courtship if the man she finds attractive does not do so; but when making advances she usually tries, in subtle ways, to conceal her motive. It is common for adolescent girls

¹ See Burgess, Ernest W., and Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, pp. 167-168. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939.

to pursue and flee from boys, giggling and laughing, with the hope of attracting them. Anyone of the female sex may, when trying to win the attention of a male, make advances ostensibly with other motives. But after having won his attention she takes up the role of resistance in order that her relationships with him may be exciting and not progress too rapidly or too far. Should she continue in the role of making advances, she would bring about the anomaly of the man's playing the role of resistance. She would, moreover, render the male sex less chivalrous; less disposed to defer to her wishes.

There are ways of offering resistance that imply personal rejection, and so destroy love, and ways that do not have this implication. Delay in accepting the suitor in the interest of a fuller acquaintance, or awaiting the outcome of an uncertainty, implies prudence or other virtues, and so does not imply personal rejection. A woman may keep her resistance from implying personal rejection also by occasionally making an advance. Such an adjustment on her part, moreover, affords the man the exhilaration of being greatly desired.

Modesty, likewise, is a way of offering resistance that does not imply personal rejection. The same may be said of playful resistance. Playful resistance is, moreover, a natural reaction; but modesty, which is presumably not natural, is often developed to the extent of having the spontaneity of a natural response. Playful resistance, furthermore, makes sexual relations playful, as well as sexual, and may be enjoyed much for this reason. Any of these ways of offering resistance also enables the one making the advances to grow sufficiently ardent to be highly stimulating.

There are many other pleasurable means of sexual excitation. Mock domination of a woman may be enjoyed by both persons because it is sexually suggestive and exciting. It may be enjoyed by the woman also because of suggesting desire for her. The more doubtful she is of her attractiveness, the more she may revel in the thought of being swept off her feet by an ardent lover. For the same reasons, marriage by mock capture has been a ritual in many of the lower stages of society. Marriage through actual capture presumably has never been condoned by society,¹ but such mating has been made the theme of much fiction because of its suggestiveness and excitement.

There is in the animal world courtship analogous to that of man. The female of most species, during her period of sexual inclination, excites the male and offers resistance to him. Her resistance, as in the case of man, enables the male to become ardent and hence sexually excited and stimulating to her. Her resistance is, however, more feigned than real. When, for example, she flees, she flees with the hope of being overtaken; and when caught, she readily submits. There is, moreover, throughout the animal world, much self-excitation and excitation of the mate through song, antics, parade of beauty, real or mock combat between males, some

¹ See Westermarck, Edward, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, pp. 240-277. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1921.

form of game or dance, or other activity. Such courtship usually takes place long after pairing, which suggests that its purpose is not only the winning of a mate, but also sexual excitation.¹

There is no sharp distinction between sexual play for excitement, on the one hand, and sadism on the other. Playful biting, for example, is not uncommon in normal sexual love and in mother-child relation, but some perverts bite to the extent of mutilation. In love, as in other things, the normal and the abnormal can be understood most readily when seen in relation to each other.

Since courtship is not only an art of winning a mate, but also an art of love, it should be continued in marriage. Although a married couple are mutually obligated, they cannot be moved to an expression of love by a sense of obligation. Such an attitude can prompt a married person to avoid someone that might come between him and his mate; but it cannot inspire love in him, for love is an involuntary response, and depends upon another's love-inspiring attitudes and ways. Since love cannot be had, as goods and services, on a contractual basis but only through attractiveness, its existence depends upon repeated wooing.

¹ See Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. III, pp. 29-65. Philadelphia, F. A. Davis Co., 1924.

CHAPTER IX

LOVE

LOVE is a composite of interdependent and mutual experiences. Any one of its attributes depends much upon the others, and love always increases when reciprocated. Because of its many-sided nature, the love motive impels man to devote much of his life to its fulfilment. Even many of man's aspirations that seem independent of this motive are, nevertheless, expressions of it. The love motive also has an intensity that makes its fulfilment most enjoyable.

Love between man and woman, between parent and child, or for mankind, have some things in common, and so may well be treated together. This discussion will centre around love between persons of opposite sex, and will incidentally treat of other kinds of love.

Love between persons of opposite sex, if broad and enduring, includes or depends upon the following attributes:

1. SYMPATHY

Most love between man and woman, between parent and child, and all love for mankind, includes sympathy—visualizing oneself in another's place, and hence sharing in his joys and sorrows. A person in sympathy with another is considerate of him, and may rejoice much in his good fortune; but one unsympathetic with another is inconsiderate or abusive of him. Sympathy does not necessarily make for intense love, but it is involved in all love that endures.

2. MAGNANIMITY

Lovers, in the fullest meaning of the word, are magnanimous towards each other. They are considerate and accommodating, make allowance for differences in taste or disposition, are gracious in yielding a point, mention each other's desirable qualities more than faults, concede superiority in traits in which they are excelled by each other, tolerate or encourage self-assertion on the part of each other, think more of giving than of getting, and lay aside resentment. Since they usually are more in sympathy with each other than with other persons, they usually are more magnanimous towards each other. Parents, similarly, to the extent of their greater sympathy with their children than with persons outside of the family, are more magnanimous towards their children. Magnanimity towards mankind, likewise, depends much upon sympathy.

3. ESTEEM

Esteem, eagerly sought after in most human relationships, is one of the greatest sources of love, and one of its greatest expressions. Sometimes the chief satisfaction in courting or marrying is that of being highly attractive to someone. Most romantic songs and fiction tell of the esteem of love, directly or by implication, and they give many persons vicarious love relationships expressive of the highest esteem. Love that gives the fullest satisfaction obviously includes much esteem or admiration.

Esteem is not only an expression of love, but also an effective means of evoking love in return. The lack of esteem, or an indignity, smothers love. What undermines pride may mar love irreparably. In love, disapprobation without approbation, unless mild, is always a mistake; it is an axe wielded into the tree of love.

Although much love stems from esteem, it does not stem from excessive expression of it. A person who forever cries his love is a bore, and is usually recognized as a bit of a fraud. There must, of course, be in love verbal expression of esteem: but the verbal expression should be simply a harmonic tone to esteem actually lived.

4. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Love between man and woman includes two opposite kinds of attraction—similarity and difference.

a. Common Interests, Attitudes, and Ideals. Lovers like, of course, to spend much time with each other, and to engage in various activities together. The desire for companionship with a member of the opposite sex develops in puberty and adolescence, and its gratification is then and to the end of life an important factor in mental health. Companionship depends primarily upon common interests, attitudes, and ideals, which in turn depend much upon similarity in cultural background. Interests, particularly, depend also upon age; but, in the case of adults, difference in age, unless wide, does not make for great difference in interest. From the standpoint of interests, age within certain limits is secondary in determining the desirability of a mate; but from all points of view, it appears that, in marriage, the man ordinarily may well be around three to five years older than his wife.¹

Sameness of attitudes and ideals in marriage is as important as is sameness of interests, and common attitudes towards sexual relationships and towards ways of making love are paramount.

A husband and wife, as a couple, usually must integrate some of their life with the life of members of their community. If they enjoy the same things, they find such integration easy. Through common interests,

¹ See Terman, Lewis M., *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, p. 186. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938.

attitudes, and ideals a couple can have fellowship not only with each other, but also with other persons.

b. Common Purposes. The mutual helpfulness of a husband and wife who have the same purposes in life renders them appreciative of each other, and, in this way, plays a part in their love. In their striving for the same things they also commend each other, and are mutually sympathetic. Sameness of purpose is essential to any union and to its stability.

In their pursuit of the same objectives a husband and wife need not do the same kind of things; she may, for example, keep the home fires burning while he goes hunting. They may, moreover, have purposes individually, provided they, in pursuing them, do not restrict each other or work at cross-purposes. But they can be most vital to each other if they have in common the chief purposes of their life.

c. Differences. A love object different from oneself may attract a person because of unusualness. Where there has been much segregation of the sexes, masculinity or femininity alone may allure because of its novelty. Any unlikeness that makes men and women striking to each other, provided it does not give rise to conflict between them, may greatly stimulate the love impulse. But unlikeness, however alluring at first, may lose its attractiveness after a period of living together. Differences between husband and wife that have the greatest value are differences in the nature of their achievements, which often enable them to help each other to something new and inspiring, or to supplement each other in the achievement of common objectives.

5. TRUST

Love is, in part, a sharing of lots; and, in sharing lots, a man and woman become mutually dependent and responsible. They cannot, therefore, have a great love without confidence in each other. Woman's deep concern as to whether her suitor or husband really loves her is primarily a concern as to whether she can rely upon him. He has a similar concern; but since their biological roles and the livelihood factor are in his favour, he is less preoccupied with such thoughts. Both of them, however, ordinarily hazard so much in sharing lots that their love is greatly limited by their sureness of each other's intentions. Reliance upon a person is highly essential not only to love for him, but also to the maintenance of his love, for it influences his pride to a marked degree. Love does not necessarily blossom where there is trust; but it cannot blossom fully where there is no trust.

6. AESTHETIC APPRECIATION

Although woman does not necessarily consider aesthetic in a man many of the traits that he considers aesthetic in her, and although the

members of each sex differ more or less in their conception of aesthetic qualities in the opposite sex, everyone has some aesthetic taste and is influenced by it. Dress and personal habits may be pleasing or offensive; and features, figure, movement, tone, often make love resplendent.

Aesthetic appreciation is usually blended with appreciation for various personality traits. A woman may think aesthetic the qualities of a man essential to playing his role as husband, or as a person in the workaday world. A man who likes to dominate sees little beauty in a self-assertive woman. Similarly, no one sees readily nor long the beauty of an unsympathetic or selfish person. And anyone may find a physical deficiency in an otherwise attractive person overshadowed by good qualities.

7. CHEERFULNESS

A person in good spirits may, in different ways, give pleasure to anyone, especially to his mate. Cheerfulness implies being satisfied with life as a whole, and in particular with the person in one's company. It also tends to make one's company good-spirited, for, as everyone may observe, a mood is highly contagious; it tends to spread itself to another person by moving him to sympathetic action, and by arousing in him memories, agreeable or disagreeable. The Roman poet, Horace, has expressed the same thought:

With them, who laugh, our social Joy appears;
With them, who mourn, we sympathize in tears.

A person who has a relish for all the little pleasures that common experiences afford makes for cheerfulness on the part of others also, by interesting them in things they have failed to observe or appreciate fully.

Since an emotion tends to induce a similar emotion in others, it should not be surprising that cheerfulness once received a high rating as a trait by college students. The students were asked to think of people they most liked or disliked and to say why in each case. They mentioned a large number of traits, and the most frequently mentioned as undesirable were conceitedness and deceitfulness; the most frequently mentioned as desirable were intelligence and cheerfulness.¹

Cheerfulness obviously depends much upon love; but love depends no less upon cheerfulness. This is implied in the statement, "All the world loves a lover." Health tends to make people good-humoured, and is a factor in the fullest excitation or expression of love. Where there is a lack of it, there may be intense love, but not love in the fullest signification of the word. Although a good physical condition underlies a blithe spirit,

¹ See Thomas, W. F., and Young, P. T., "Liking and Disliking Persons," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 9, 169-188, 1938.

to have such a disposition one must be more than a good vegetable; one must have interests in life. The love of persons who enjoy few things in addition to each other is precarious. Interests tend to make a person not only cheerful, but also companionable, versatile, and otherwise more attractive.

8. PLAYFULNESS

A playful spirit, which underlies much of the warmth and joy of love, is at times the dominant attraction of a person of the opposite sex. An adolescent girl once remarked: "They say we go with the boys because we're boy-crazy; but we don't. We go with them for fun. That's it!" Although this girl was quite unaware of being influenced by the sexual factor, she sensed, better than do many adults, the play factor in her relationships with boys. The spirit of playfulness, if not deadened by environmental factors, develops in childhood, and persists throughout life. Persons who have lost this spirit, or who have never developed it, are poorly prepared for mating. Presumably all living creatures, when acting freely, are often sportive, particularly with members of the opposite sex. One must, of course, sense the seriousness of love; but cold is the person who cannot do so without being endlessly serious.

A lack of playfulness is not necessarily inimical to love. Where there is a lack of it due to occupational or other worries, love may persist, undiminished, through sympathetic understanding.

A playful disposition is highly integrated with esteem and cheerfulness; they ordinarily depend upon, and give rise to, each other.

9. AFFECTION

Affection—relationships of tenderness—is, as everyone well knows, an attribute and a determining factor of love. It may originate in the sexual hormones—one of the substances produced by the ovaries and testes. These hormones are distinct from the reproductive cells that the gonads also produce. They are not given off with the discharge of the reproductive cells, but are absorbed by the blood. The sexual hormones seem to be produced throughout life, and to have various functions. They promote growth of the body in general and of the sexual characteristics in particular; they stimulate in puberty a complex of internal processes that make for restless and random activity, and they dispose the individual towards relationships of tenderness.

The sexual hormones seem to underlie much affection from the beginning of life. In about the sixth week after birth the infant smiles when its cheeks or lips are lightly stroked or pressed; and as soon as its motor responsiveness is sufficiently developed, the infant gives various indications of desire for stimulation of these and of other sensitive regions

of the body. It may hold up a foot to be tickled and make a pseudo withdrawal of the foot; and when gently and rhythmically stroked or caressed, the infant may extend its arms and coo, gurgle, smile, giggle, or laugh. Soon the infant associates the pleasure experienced when lightly stimulated or caressed with the person who produces the stimulation. Such an association is a factor underlying love in its earliest stage—affection for the person caring for the child. As the infant advances towards puberty, the primary zones of pleasurable stimulation are more localized; and later the pleasurableness of stimulation of any of the sensitive zones of the body may be enhanced through the association of sexual experiences with their stimulation.

Zones of the body that afford pleasurable stimulation, directly or through the association of ideas, are known as *erogenous zones*. These zones vary somewhat for different persons; but for most persons, they correspond largely to the sensitive zones of childhood. Because of their diversity, they make possible multiplicity and variety of stimulation. The pleasurableness of the stimulation of these zones, in childhood as well as in adulthood, has its origin in the sexual hormones, and is a factor underlying much of the affection at any age.

Affection may originate not only in the sexual hormones, but also in various attributes of love. Sympathy, magnanimity, esteem, cheerfulness, playfulness, or aesthetic appreciation may be most potent in its development. Tender feelings may arise from the sensing of aesthetic qualities in anything. This is suggested by the statement, "He loved the beautiful, and was with colour, form and music touched to tears." A charming woman often can at once arouse the tenderest feelings in the harshest man.

What determines the object of affection, as well as how affection develops, is a most important question. Man's desire for relationships of tenderness appears to be at first vaguely directed; directed towards various persons irrespective of sex. Sometimes it is directed towards persons of the same sex. Homosexuality may be due, more or less, to environmental factors; may be due to a home atmosphere that frowns upon contacts between members of opposite sex, to seduction by an older member of the same sex, to antagonism towards members of the opposite sex, to segregation of the sexes. Briefly, in the development of homosexuality, there may be at work various environmental factors.

Some homosexuals are attracted only, or predominantly, by members of the same sex, and have always had, according to their own statements, this preference. Many others are attracted by members of the same sex only under certain conditions; for example, when subjected to homosexual influence, or when members of the opposite sex are inaccessible. There are also homosexuals who are attracted with the same readiness by members of either sex. Some writers think that homosexuality of the first of these types is innate.¹ This view has been neither proved nor disproved,

¹ See Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. II, *Sexual Inversion*. Philadelphia, F. A. Davis Company, 1915.

but the existence of the other types of homosexuality supports the view that all homosexuality is due to environmental factors.¹

Narcissism—erotic feelings aroused, exclusively in some cases, by the individual's own body and personality—also suggests that the environment gives direction to the love impulse. This term was derived from the Greek myth of the lad, Narcissus, who fell in love with his own reflection in the pool, and pined away in desire for it. According to some authorities, this adjustment may lead to love for someone structurally like oneself—to homosexuality.

Love for a parent quite obviously originates in environmental factors. Absence of sexual feeling between brothers and sisters, likewise, suggests that the environment determines what is, and what is not to be the object of affection. The affection that some persons have for animals points to the same conclusion.

The opposite-sex characteristics, likewise, direct the course of the love impulse, and they may be the most potent stimuli towards heterosexuality. Their potency seems to be due to the attraction of unlikeness, and to the realization, arrived at in various ways early in life, that they are the characteristics of a proper object of love. The opposite-sex characteristics may also be inherently provocative of sexual desire; but this view has been neither proved nor disproved.

10. SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Love between man and woman depends much upon what they mean to each other. Because of their mutual dependence for amatory satisfaction, such satisfaction is a major factor in love. The fact that there may be sexual interest with a minimum of love does not gainsay this view.

Sexual feeling is not independent of other feelings, but is affected by elation or depression, whatever its source, especially if it arises in relationships with the love object. The personality interactions of a man and woman are more important in determining sexual interest in each other than is inherent strength of sexual desire. Sometimes a husband or wife thinks the other undersexed when that person is instead suffering from hurt pride. The sexual impulse of human beings, unlike that of animals, is therefore far more than simply physical.

The sexual motive is a need in itself, as well as an attribute of love. But persons of the same inherent strength of sexual desire do not necessarily experience the same tension in continence. The ease of undergoing continence depends much upon its implication; upon whether it implies being rejected. Women who decline marriage in order to pursue a business or professional career can undergo their single life more easily than they could if it implied that they were inferior to other women in charm or

¹ See Brill, A. A., *Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, pp. 554-563. New York, Modern Library, 1938.

other desirable qualities. Similarly, persons who take up a life of celibacy with the view that such a life is for them most praiseworthy find their sexual tension kept down more or less by the meaning that celibacy has to them. Persons who, on the other hand, have a continent life because of being rejected may be affected more by this realization than by continence.

Anticipation of achieving later a happy love life is also a factor determining the ease of forgoing sexual relationships. A young man who defers marriage in order to prepare for a career usually does so in anticipation of a future marriage, and hence he finds sexual abstinence easier than it would be without such anticipation. Likewise, a betrothal upon one's entering the armed services of the country, ill advised as it may be, tends to decrease sexual tension. Hope of later fulfilment of any need makes deprivation in regard to it easier to bear.

The ease of forgoing sexual experiences depends, furthermore, upon the extent of one's gratification of other needs. Many persons have various compensations for continence, especially through achievement in an occupation. There are, however, others who have severe deprivations of every kind. They may also be in mental conflict as to whether to pursue tabooed or unlawful means of achieving one gratification or another.

The extent of one's thoughts of sexual matters, likewise, determines the degree of sexual tension. Preoccupation with such thoughts, although often due primarily to deprivation, is sometimes due to the emphasis put upon sex by the environment. The segregation of the sexes emphasizes the physical relations of man and woman, and so focalizes attention upon them, while the mingling of the sexes, in work or play, emphasizes their various relationships and directs attention accordingly. The mingling of the sexes, moreover, keeps them from developing a narrow conception of love. The teasing of children for being in the company of children of the opposite sex, as well as the segregation of the sexes, tends to focalize attention upon the physical relations of the sexes and to narrow the child's conception of love. Teasing is an inevitable outcome of the occasional mingling of the sexes where there is extensive segregation. Lack of variation in daily routine, or unemployment, furthers the contemplation of sexual matters, as do segregation of the sexes and teasing, and so makes continence especially difficult. On the other hand, variation in daily routine, a satisfying occupation, social contacts, new and occasionally thrilling experiences, or anything that makes life worth while may, by keeping the mind from being preoccupied sexually, and by affording compensations, decrease the tension of sexual abstinence.

Although there are various conditions that somewhat alleviate sexual desire and tension of a continent person, none do so entirely; but whether sexual tension deranges him mentally depends, as was implied above, upon his entire experience. It is, therefore, not deprivation of the sexual segment of the personality, but deprivation of the personality as a whole combined with mental conflict that may lead to insanity.

II. LONG ASSOCIATION

There is love, in a sense, at first sight, and such love may be intense; but a great love is developed only through repeated association. This is because lovers come to mean to each other, not only what they are but also what they have been. As they grow old, their remembrances, as well as other things, keep them from being highly conscious of each other's faded bloom of youth, or from letting it influence their attitudes towards each other. Love in old age depends primarily upon having someone towards whom a person can have the feeling expressed in Burns's poem, "John Anderson":

John Anderson, my jo, John,
When we were first acquent,
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bonnie brow was brent;
But now your brow is beld, John,
Your locks are like the snow;
But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson, my jo.

John Anderson, my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither;
And mony a canty day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither;
Now we maun totter down, John,
But hand in hand we'll go;
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson, my jo.

There is also developed through long association a linking of personalities that makes separation painful. We have no term for an attachment to another person developed in this way, but the term *homesickness* or *nostalgia* is used to designate the distress felt upon separation.

12. CHANGE OF EXPERIENCE

The togetherness of many couples, especially after marriage, makes them subject to boring each other. And bored love is harder to reconcile than is love offended. There are, however, in love, as in other things, preventives of boredom.

a. Versatility of Expression. Much sameness in the expression of love is desirable; but, in all of their relationships, a couple delight each other most if they occasionally express themselves in different ways. Much of the joy of love in any of its manifestations is in being loved in a variety of

ways. Change of expression gives pleasure not simply in itself, but also by implying genuineness. It may, for either reason, make the simplest expression exhilarating; but unvaried expression, although to a large extent desired, when extreme makes an originally exhilarating expression flat and cold. In writing on the subject of marriage, Miles Carpenter says:

The pair may find that the modes of love-making that brought the highest ecstasy early in marriage later seem tiresome and even repugnant. There are literally unnumbered variations and permutations in the art of love. For a pair to keep to one way of making love just because it happened to bring satisfaction in early marriage is no less foolish or unimaginative than for a pianist to confine his repertoire to the numbers played at his first successful concert.¹

Especially enjoyable may be originality. A husband might, by simply declaring a two-day season for celebrating his wife's birthday or their anniversary, please his wife more than he could by giving her something. But because of the warm associations that have been built around the traditional ways of expressing love, such as the celebration of birthdays or anniversaries, or the giving of flowers to a woman, most persons usually prefer original expressions in addition to traditional expressions rather than in place of them. They usually prefer also modifications of traditional words of endearment to entirely new ones. Nevertheless, no expression of love can be most enjoyable that does not have a bit of change from a regular pattern.

Through versatility in the expression of love a couple can afford each other much change of experience. They cannot be greatly bored by each other if it can be said of them, as Shakespeare said of Cleopatra:

Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety. Other women cloy
The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry
Where most she satisfies.

Although all of us are limited in versatility, few are limited in possibilities of becoming more versatile.

b. Casualness. Anyone enjoys casual, rather than highly regular expressions of love because of their unexpectedness and apparent genuineness. Although lovers like much regularity in communicating or in meeting with each other, they prefer to have also some unlooked-for letters or calls. The giving of favours can, likewise, be too regular. A man once said that he had been married for seven months and that he never failed to take home with him a box of chocolates on a Saturday evening. What an impossible husband he must be! His technique obviously would

¹ Carpenter, Miles, in *Marriage and the Family*, ed. Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, p. 324. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1942. Used by permission of the publishers.

have been better if he had occasionally forgotten the chocolates. It would be interesting to know whether this man is still married.

Extreme regularity in love may, because of apparent lack of genuineness, be exasperating. A woman once complained of her husband, saying: "He has a time for making love, as he has a time for everything else that he does; that time is Sunday morning. And if he ever makes love to me again on a Sunday morning, I'll scream." Is the old saying that woman is unpredictable a compliment to her? If she is not fickle, but casual with a calculated desire to charm, she may be most attractive.

c. Change of Clothes. In comparison to versatility of expression, change of clothes plays, of course, a relatively small part in sustaining love; but the part it plays is not insignificant, for any novelty in the love relationships may make for attractiveness. Rotating articles of attire, following the fashion, designing a dress in a new way, dressing in keeping with the situation—in sport, street, formal, warm, or cool clothes—often replenishes love perceptibly.

But in choosing clothes for the sake of novelty, thought must be given also to establishing or maintaining individuality. Too much diversity in clothes breaks up the personality into so many fragments that the one who appears in them has no identity. The wearing of clothes is a form of expression; and there must be congruity in what a person wears, as well as in what he says, if he is to be thought of as having individuality. The one who appears from time to time in such highly different dress that he has no distinctiveness makes the big mistake of bringing out clothes instead of having clothes bring out his individuality. The frequency of change in clothes is also a factor of importance. Change, if infrequent, may give a pleasant surprise, but it may also make the wearer of a new garment uncomfortably conspicuous; change, if very frequent, gives practically no change. Too frequent change also suggests over-emphasis on dress. But different occasions or circumstances call for different dress, and so by dressing for the occasion it is possible to have frequent change in dress without appearing to have change as an objective. Change of clothes, although a minor factor in love, is not a negligible one.

d. Change of Setting. Boredom in marriage is sometimes due less to monotonous relationships than to a monotonous setting. The more artful you are in varying your expression of love, the more you can in the same setting keep it fresh; but you cannot keep it fresh always without a change of setting. You can obviously have change of this order through differentiation of the rooms of your home, and through occasional change in their colour scheme, decoration, or arrangements of furnishings. No less obviously you can have change of setting by changing the menu, the table appointments, by not always having your meals in the identical place, or by sometimes having candlelight. Give a new flavour to your setting, and your mate finds a new flavour in you. Change of setting you can have, moreover, by spending time together outside of the home; and as you spend time, together or individually, outside of the home, you avoid

using the home to the extent of its becoming monotonous. Women who are confined much to the home may think themselves bored by their husbands when they are instead bored by the monotonous setting of their marital relationships.

e. Spaced Togetherness. Success in marriage depends upon the extent to which the husband and wife are with each other; they can be together too much or too little. Excessive togetherness becomes exhausting, interferes with the pursuit of individual interests, forces participation in interests not actually shared, or makes for boredom. No one can be sufficiently interesting to prevent his continuous presence from becoming boresome. Because of dwelling together husbands and wives are in danger of being too much in each other's presence. Most married couples, owing to the occupation of the husband, part company for some of the day, and usually find their parting quite adequate for the prevention of boredom with each other. Those who do not thus part for some of the day should pursue other interests separately for the sake of affording each relief from the other.

Husbands and wives can avoid being too constantly together also by taking holidays separately; or by the wife taking one, should her husband be unable to leave his work. By parting company for a couple of weeks, they can surprisingly refresh their interest in each other. Some husbands and wives are more in need of doing so than others. An annual parting for a few weeks has, however, little value in comparison to daily parting, and so should be had in addition to such parting, rather than instead of it.

Although separate holidays are often desirable, there are advantages in holidaying together. In doing so, a husband and wife can have a new setting, and thus achieve somewhat the same end. Holidaying together also spares them from the disadvantages of holidaying separately, and affords many their most significant companionship.

f. Reasonable Contacts with Members of the Opposite Sex. The restrictions of marriage are not absolute in the sense of limiting two persons to each other in every type of human relationship. Practically all married persons have incidental contacts with a number of persons of the opposite sex; for example, the wife has incidental contacts with sundry tradesmen, and the husband has many such contacts with fellow workers or employees. Together they also have contacts with different members of both of the sexes. Without such contacts most marriages would suffer.

There is always, of course, danger that a person playing on the seashore may be enveloped by the waves before he realizes what has happened. The danger is, however, no greater than is that of excluding a husband or wife from the ordinary contacts with members of the opposite sex. The danger of amenities in incidental relationships, moreover, does not necessarily inhere in the relationships themselves. Where all such relationships are frowned upon, a person who gives the least attention to someone other than his mate may, to justify himself, accuse his mate of having in some way failed him. He may also, with the same purpose, give

his companion the impression that he is unhappily married, and, in this way, inadvertently suggest encouragement. Any extramarital attention may operate against the marriage, especially if given by stealth, without tolerance of one's mate doing likewise, or if given to the neglect of one's mate.

g. Change of Experience in Life As a Whole. What is thought to be a need of variety in sexual relationships often is instead a need of variety in total experience. A person who has a well varied life does not crave the sexual variety that he would crave if he had a monotonous existence. The prevention of boredom is, therefore, not so much a sexual problem as it is a life problem. Variety in other experiences cannot compensate adequately for boredom in marriage, but it can keep the craving for a new love object from becoming abnormal. Persons who have broad interests can help each other to new and inspiring things—to change of experience in life as a whole.

The desire for change of experience in love is not necessarily greater than the desire for ease of adjustment, endearment of long association, and security of affection, and other satisfactions often had through permanency of marriage.

Because of the disadvantages that may attend dissolution of marriage, especially if there are young children, marriage is usually entered into with the hope that it may be permanent. The desire for permanency of marriage is ordinarily far greater than is the desire for the novelty that marriage necessarily precludes. There are, as was pointed out above, possibilities of a couple having variety in their relationships with each other, and of having incidental relationships with other members of the opposite sex that are not incompatible with the stability of marriage, and that instead increase it. Although the desire for change of experience is not the primary interest in marriage, it is involved in most of the interests that a husband and wife have in each other.

In trying to achieve variety in their relationships with each other, and in their life as a whole, a husband and wife apply a principle of all art: the principle that anything most interesting deviates, at least in some detail, from a regular pattern.

13. FREEDOM, SELF-RESTRAINT, AND COMPLAISANCE

The interdependence of a married couple inevitably disposes them towards taking an active interest in the management of each other's life and it gives them a natural right to do so to the extent of their interdependence. Marriage necessitates, therefore, the surrender of much freedom. The right to manage one's own life is, however, such a great requisite to pride and other satisfactions that love cannot withstand much encroachment upon it. Where there is conflict of interest, a successful marriage necessitates that each person be free but mindful of the wishes of the other.

Through a disposition to please or oblige, lovers enable each other to feel esteemed and secure. The pleasure that woman's gracious acceding to a man commonly gives him, Milton implies in saying, "All her words and actions mixed with love and sweet compliance." The more a couple accommodate themselves to each other's interests, rather than insisting upon having their own way or exercising their rights, the greater is their harmony, which is most essential to a happy marriage. "We might suppose," says Robert S. Woodworth, "that wedded bliss would be poisoned mostly by lack of satisfactory sexual relations, as is indeed sometimes the case for various causes, including ignorance of what to expect in marriage; but unhappiness results far more often from conflicting tendencies to dominate."

Complaisance is not necessarily compliance. You can have a disposition to please or oblige and still press your point. A measure of self-assertion is, moreover, essential to one's pride and to winning another's respect or interesting him. But to show genuine complaisance, a husband or wife must occasionally accede to the other's wishes.

Does woman enjoy being submissive to male domination rather than simply complaisant? "You shall never have Sophia unless she can be brought freely to compliance" seems to answer this question in keeping with human nature. Woman often is submissive to man in situations in general, more often than he is to her. There are also many persons of each of the sexes that are submissive to others of their own sex. But the view, sometimes expressed, that woman enjoys submission to actual domination in any of her marital relationships seems based on surface observation. In our culture, woman does not have the opportunity that man has for being self-sufficient, and so she naturally longs for someone whom she could admire for his resourcefulness to share in or assume some of her problems. Such a longing on her part she herself may misinterpret as desire for masculine domination.

Cultural factors of our time give man a superiority over woman in many of the common interests of married life, and so he may often play the leading role to the satisfaction of both. But only when he has her assent can he ordinarily be a general manager of much of their life to her satisfaction. A woman who for one reason or another submits to man's domination without assenting to him is ordinarily irked or irritated in having to do so. She may find it difficult to answer the question posed by Wordsworth:

Say, Dora! tell me, by yon placid moon,
If called to choose between the favoured pair,
Which would you be,—the bird of the saloon
By lady-fingers tended with nice care,
Caressed, applauded, upon dainties fed,
Or Nature's DARLING of the mossy shed?¹

¹ Wordsworth, William, "The Contrast: The Parrot and the Wren."

Not domination and submission to it, but rather mock domination and delayed submission in sexual relationships as stated in Chapter VIII, and freedom, self-restraint, and a disposition to please or oblige in marital relationships in general, make for happiness.

14. BREADTH OF LOVE

Love between persons of opposite sex may vary in number of attributes; may be narrow or broad. But since many of its attributes influence one another, breadth of love intensifies it. A narrow love may, therefore, lack not only completeness but also the necessary fervour to be enjoyed fully and endure. Some persons whose love in its beginning is narrow develop love in a broad sense; others, presumably as many if not more, fail to do so. Such love is therefore a hazardous basis for marriage. To find someone with whom love can be broad, young people need a wide acquaintance. They need, however, also to know what love in the broadest meaning of the word includes, and to strive to develop such love. By affording young people opportunity for making a wide acquaintance, and by letting them have information on the subject of love, much can be done to further the success of marriage.

15. A HARDY DISPOSITION

Happiness in marriage depends upon what one can withstand as well as upon the depth and breadth of one's love. Some persons are, like the character in *David Copperfield*, more easily affected by a smoky lamp chimney than are others. In reference to a ruffling incident that commonly would be soon forgotten an individual having a vulnerable disposition may say, "It burns me up." An irritable and broody person in any human relationship tends to be disappointed with the treatment he receives and to be reluctant to play his part. Inability to endure petty annoyances puts a severe strain on marital relationships; whereas a hardy disposition gives promise of a successful marriage.

16. RECIPROCATION OF LOVE

The love of one for another, to develop fully, must be reciprocated. Unresponsiveness or mere acquiescence is fatal. Pertinent to the view that to be loved, one must love, is the refrain, "I want to be happy, but I can't be happy until I make you happy too." Reciprocation of another's love not only is essential to it, but also gives that person poise. Only love that is mutual, as well as broad, can be great love.

17. THE LIFE THAT LOVE AFFORDS

Although man sometimes seeks one gratification to the total disregard of his other needs, he normally is more or less mindful of his entire welfare. Persons contemplating marriage look for many things in each other, and their happiness in marriage depends more on the fullness of life it affords than upon the intensity of any one of its satisfactions. The number of satisfactions achieved through marriage commonly rests upon the co-operation of the married couple with each other. A poor partnership soon rubs the strongest romance raw. The expression "good husband" or "good wife", that one often hears, implies "good partner" rather than "good lover". Many persons who fail in marriage fail more as partners than as lovers. The success of a partnership is, however, a factor in love, for the more a husband and wife mean to each other, the more devoted they become. When love means much to us, we can say, with Spenser:

Great *Venus*, Queene of beautie and of grace,
 The joy of Gods and men, that vnder skie
 Doest fayrest shine, and most adorne thy place,
 That with thy smyling looke doest pacifie
 The raging seas, and makst the storms to flie;
 Thee godesse, the winds, the clouds doe feare,
 And when thou spredst thy mantle forth on hie,
 The waters play and pleasant lands appeare,
 And heauens laugh, and al the world shews joyous cheere.¹

Love is enjoyed not only as an end, but also as security in respect to various needs; hence the subject of love will be given further treatment in the last chapter of this volume.

¹ Spenser, Edmund, *The Faerie Queene*, Book Four, Canto 10, Verse 44.

MISUSE OF PSYCHOLOGY

IN our human relationships there is not only need of having influence over other persons, but also need of being resistant to those who would take advantage of us. Many self-seeking individuals grossly mislead others by using alluring or alarming, and sometimes highly deceptive methods. They realize that desire or fear makes you suggestible, and that by concentrating your attention upon what you would get, subtly misrepresented, and keeping your attention from what you would pay, they throw you off balance and into their net. Throughout the whole realm of human relationships there are unprincipled individuals who, by the misapplication of information regarding human nature, cunningly victimize other persons.

One cannot help but think, in contrast to such persons, of the vastly greater number of men and women of high principle in every kind of human relationship whose honesty, decency, or magnanimity is too often forgotten by those who have been exploited by someone acting with a sinister motive. Anyone who has a tendency towards sweeping generalization as he reads material on the misuse of psychology should consider whether his cynicism may not be due to having once been victimized. There is, of course, also the cynic who sees simply himself in other people.

Adequate protection against the unprincipled use of information pertaining to human nature cannot be obtained through legislation. Malpractice in influencing people is too elusive to be outlawed. Attempts to prevent deception by legislating against it have been made only in regard to commercial abuses, and have met with disappointing results.

One can, however, be safeguarded against the wiles of designing persons by being informed as to the means by which human behaviour is influenced. Such information enables one to analyse the methods of others and thereby to detect selfish motives that may lurk behind intriguing language and apparently good intentions. And understanding of how the self-seeker lays snares for the unwary should make a person critical and cautious.

Any one of the techniques of psychology can be an instrument of good or evil motives. The method is simply and entirely what the man is who uses it. Therefore, in speaking here about the abuse of certain principles, I do not mean to imply that these principles are not also put to good purposes.

Let us look at the misuse of psychology first from the standpoint of the indirect method. This method, as I have said in pointing out its merits, is effective because it may appeal in various ways, to the need of a sense of personal worth. But it is effective for still another reason. Most people,

having learned through experience to be wary of the judgement and intentions of other persons, are sceptical of ideas that they recognize as coming from someone else. But when an idea is conveyed indirectly—conveyed in such a way that the other person thinks of it as his own idea—he assumes that he must have once accepted it for good reasons, and so is uncritical of it.

That the individual sometimes adheres to an idea simply because it in some way or other got into his mind is suggested by the fact that many people accept as general principles such contradictory sayings as the following:

“You can’t teach an old dog new tricks.”

“A man is never too old to learn.”

“Out of sight, out of mind.”

“Absence makes the heart grow fonder.”

“He who hesitates is lost.”

“Look before you leap.”

“When poverty comes in at the door, love creeps out of the window.”

“Love lives in cottages as well as in courts.”

“Don’t put all your eggs in one basket.”

“Jack of all trades and master of none.”

“Opposites attract.”

“Birds of a feather flock together.”

“Two heads are better than one.”

“Too many cooks spoil the broth.”

“Hitch your wagon to a star.”

“Do not attempt the impossible.”

“A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.”

“Nothing ventured, nothing gained.”

It is not strange that remembered ideas such as these, should take advantage of the unsuspecting mind and smuggle themselves-in as original. Our minds are full of other men’s thoughts that we think our own.

Many persons, knowing that men tend to be critical of ideas that they recognize as coming from someone else, and knowing that they tend to be uncritical of ideas after they have once adopted them, use the indirect method as a means of taking advantage of others. A form of the indirect

method that the cunning person frequently uses to accomplish his ends consists in expressing a thought directly—not to convey that thought, but to lead you to *infer* another thought which he intends you to accept, but which he could not present directly without arousing your resistance. When this method succeeds, it does so because you, centring your attention on what he says directly, and not noticing that he is presenting another idea under cover, do not offer resistance to that idea. The first statement in each of the following paired statements says something directly; the second statement expresses what the naïve would *infer* from the first statement but would doubt if expressed directly:

“We sell for less.” What they sell is just as good.

“What a whale of a difference a few cents make!” What they sell is better.

“Accept no substitutes.” Theirs is the best.

“Compare the values.” Theirs is the best for the money.

“Read what leading critics say.” Leading critics say it’s good.

Although the following statements differ in their *direct* meaning, all have the same *implied* meaning—that great demand exists for what the person making the statement aims to promote:

“Every article merits the confidence of you who, year after year, rely on the ——— label.”

“Since only a limited number will be admitted to the ballroom, you are urged to make your reservations early.”

“To meet the constantly growing demand for ——— . . .”

“The thing people like about ——— is . . .”

“Doesn’t the opinion of hundreds of women count for anything?”

“If your local chemist is sold out, write to ———.”

“Enrolment will be limited to ———.”

“Because of the insistent demand of many people that I do so, I have decided to become a candidate for . . .”

Getting the individual to *infer* that great demand exists for a certain thing is effective, not only because of the indirectness by which this notion is conveyed, but also because of the strong tendency to conform to the opinions and actions of other persons. As a couple, coming out of a cinema, saw a long waiting queue, one of them said to the other, “We must have seen a good picture.” So strong is the tendency

towards conformity that even a direct statement to the effect that an idea is favoured by many people often brings others into line.¹

Getting others to infer that an idea is favoured by a person of prestige, like getting them to infer that it is favoured by many persons, is frequently effective because of the idea expressed and of the indirectness with which it is conveyed. Such practices as the following suggest the possible good uses and abuses of this method:

A prominent person is often put in charge of a meeting, employed to referee a game, appointed to a board of directors, or portrayed in a piece of advertising copy as using a certain article.

Important persons are frequently seated on a speakers' platform.

Sales-people sometimes wear articles from lines of goods they aim to sell.

A manufacturer of an article for household use sends samples of his product to teachers in rural districts for distribution among pupils.

Producers frequently attempt to get the government to use their products.

An article is often named after a distinguished person.

A speaker says, "Let us not overlook the opinions of authorities such as —— who say . . ."

A nurse is pictured carrying on a tray a bottle of a certain refreshing drink.

An advertisement for a patent medicine reads, "Doctors know."

"When your doctor tells you to get ——, be sure that you get the genuine."

"Eat —— if you want to become like . . ."

"In this matter of loveliness I took Hollywood's advice and got ——."

"You will feel safer when you have in your home this great antiseptic that hospitals use."

"Ask your dentist about ——."

"In making your decision on this issue do not overlook the fact that many of the country's leading statesmen are its ardent supporters."

The effectiveness of getting another person to infer that an idea is favoured by someone of prestige is suggested by the statement, "Where Vanderbilt sits, there is the head of the table."

¹ See Dashiell, John Frederick, *Handbook of Social Psychology*. Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1935

Another abuse of the indirect method consists in getting the individual to commit himself favourably to evident truths related to an idea before asking him to act upon it. Usually it is easier to get him to commit himself favourably to a proposition than it is to get him to act accordingly. But after he has once expressed himself favourably to a proposition or some aspect of it, that proposition becomes to a certain extent his, and can later be presented as such. The effectiveness of this method is due to the fact that it makes those who commit themselves to an idea feel that unless they act in conformity with their commitments they lose respect. Getting someone to commit himself favourably to an idea as a means of getting him to act upon it later is, however, not necessarily an abuse of psychology. In some of the examples I shall cite, the motive may be sufficiently worthy to justify the procedure. But the use of this method generally has a shady purpose.

An instigator of discord may say, "Henry, don't you think that we are being treated unjustly?" An affirmative answer lays the basis for the indirect presentation to follow later; namely, "As you agreed, Henry, the last time I spoke with you . . ." Likewise a motor-car salesman may say, of a car: "You like the body lines, don't you? Isn't this new feature a wonderful improvement? You noticed the upholstery, didn't you? Doesn't this car have pick-up?" Similarly, a book agent may say: "You have children, have you not, Mrs. Smith? A lot of work, but certainly a joy and comfort, aren't they? I am sure you feel that your children are entitled to the same educational opportunities other children are enjoying, do you not? And you realize, do you not, Mrs. Smith, that to become truly educated one must have good books to read?"

In like manner, a clothing salesman may say, "You want a garment that's warm but not heavy, that's serviceable, that looks well, and that's comfortable, don't you?" By answering "Yes" to a series of questions such as these, the prospective buyer shares in the idea that the contemplated purchase is a judicious one. Consequently, refusing to buy would involve taking back what he said, would result in a loss of pride.

In many situations we see a more subtle application of this technique of getting the individual to commit himself favourably upon a proposition as a means of getting him to act upon it later. In a political campaign, the voter is given a button to wear in the lapel of his coat. If he is an undecided voter, he may accept and wear the button for no particular reason. But in wearing it he becomes a standard-bearer for that party, which he may later support for the sake of being consistent. Likewise, leaders sponsoring social causes often form organizations, and take people into membership. The individual may join for social reasons, or simply to have something to go to. Whatever his motives for joining, when he becomes a member he commits himself favourably to the ideas for which the organization stands. Later he may support those ideas because of having taken a favourable stand on them.

In like manner, ideas sponsored by certain groups are often put into

song. The individual may sing for the musical effect, or in order to have his voice heard. But as he sings he preaches to himself, and that is the kind of preaching that makes a lasting impression. It has been said, "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who writes their laws." Similarly, in many fields, slogans are devised that will be repeated because they are "catchy", rather than because of the ideas they express. However, in repeating a slogan, one lays claim to the thought involved, and later may support it for that reason. Recently the safety councils of various cities mailed to drivers of motor-cars reply postcards containing the following questions:

"Does the periodical inspection of the mechanical condition of motor vehicles make for safer conditions on our streets and highways?"

"Are expenditures required of car owners for adjustments and repairs justified?"

"Should the city continue to conduct inspection of cars twice a year?"

"Should a nominal fee of about a dollar per year per car be charged to pay operating costs?"

By being persuaded, in one way or another, to make a favourable commitment on a proposition or some aspect of it, an individual is often led or misled into acting in accordance with what he has said.

The statements I have made in Chapter I and here as to why the indirect method is effective might well be brought together at this time. I have pointed out that the indirect method of presenting one's idea may—

- a. Spare another from feeling inferior.
- b. Spare another's feelings of independence.
- c. Give another the satisfaction of having more or less originated the idea.
- d. Make another fear that unless he adheres to the idea with which he is credited he will lose prestige.
- e. Prompt another to assume that he must have once accepted the idea for good reasons, and so makes him uncritical of it.

Not only the indirect presentation of ideas but, as I have said, any one of the methods of psychology is subject to misuse. I shall cite but a few more of these methods—a few that are misused extensively. One of these consists in openly declaring an act creditable or discreditable. Statements such as the following have sufficient force to sell to some persons things that their judgement tells them they ought not to buy:

"The smart woman knows she is judged by her luggage."

"For the man who cares."

"As distinctive as the woman who prefers to drive it."

"It's smart to . . ."

"For scintillating people."

"Don't be a coward."

"A home owner is a good citizen."

"Don't be the kind of person who is easily swayed."

"Men of good taste today wear ——."

"Women of prominence now use ——."

Frequently, instead of openly declaring an act creditable or discreditable, the cunning propagandist or advertiser speaks of that act with a word which connotes approval or disapproval. This method is subtle and, by the same token, effective. The attitude of many a person in regard to a particular idea can be made favourable or unfavourable by speaking of it with words such as these:

concession	appeasement
enthusiasm	fanaticism
bravery	foolhardiness
frankness	tactlessness
co-operation	collusion
helpfulness	officiousness
self-confidence	conceit
freedom	licentiousness
determination	stubbornness
sympathy	sentimentalism
caution	timidity
leniency	laxity
thrift	miserliness
ambition	greed
wit	wisecracking
frugality	stinginess
modesty	shyness
planning	scheming
righteous wrath	hotheadness
loyalty	servility
free enterprise	capitalism
social planning	regimentation
firm leadership	dictatorship
intelligence service	spy system

The victors in a battle that was fought through a wooded and rocky area were referred to by one commentator as having cleverly taken advantage of cover, and by another as having sneaked and skulked behind rocks and trees.

That some words are traps is suggested also by the following comment, which has been attributed to Lincoln:

The world has never had a good definition of the word "liberty", and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. We assume the word "liberty" may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labour; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labour. Here are two, not only different but incompatible things, called by the same name, "liberty". And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—*liberty* and *tyranny*.

Because of the fact that speaking of an idea with a certain word determines the attitude of many persons towards that idea, the cunning person usually puts his trust, not in the right argument, but in the "right" word. The extent to which such technique may achieve its objective has been found to be considerable.¹

Ridicule is another method that can be used effectively in the achievement of good or evil purposes, and is one that lends itself readily to abuse. Almost anything can be distorted to appear ludicrous, and most people tend to avoid doing what would make them a laughing-stock. Unscrupulous persons therefore often use ridicule to assail views or practices that are, in reality, sound. The most common abuse of ridicule is that of giving an exaggerated account of a view expressed or an act performed. And when ridicule is embodied in a figure of speech it is most effective, not only because a figure of speech is a vivid means of conveying thought, but also because it makes the derision seem well founded. Capital and labour both have used the metaphor "cart before the horse", to deride attempts to bring about general prosperity by legislating to the immediate advantage of the other group. The realization that such an arrangement of horse and cart will never get anyone very far on a journey may lead many people to regard the economic policy referred to by the metaphor as likewise absurd. The misapplication of ridicule, as well as of other methods, suggests that people should, as I have said, understand psychological techniques in order that they may not be misled by them.

The extent to which ridicule can be used successfully for good or evil purposes is limited. This method is usually effective only in cases in which the other person has not taken a favourable stand regarding the course of action derided. In cases in which he has done so, ridicule has an acidity that arouses strong opposition.

A common form of trickery consists in conferring upon someone an apparent favour as an expression of appreciation, when the real motive is to take him in. An act of seeming benevolence is a ready means of making

¹ See Raskin, Evelyn, and Cook, Stuart, "A Further Investigation of the Measurement of an Attitude Toward Fascism," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. IX, pp. 201-206, 1938.

a catch because most people to avoid being rude accept an apparent favour; and then to free themselves of embarrassment they requite the obligation. Unprincipled individuals in every kind of human relationship, by exploiting these human virtues of courtesy and fairness, get other persons to accept unordered merchandise, and make them pay dearly for it. Such artifice is so thin a cobweb that it may be seen through, and yet it catches flies of considerable magnitude.

The person who confers a seeming favour for purely selfish motives reveals himself by his attitude when the recipient is unresponsive to his wishes. The purely selfish person, when not receiving great praise for his act of apparent benevolence, or when not receiving in return the favour he desires, accuses the recipient of ingratitude, or tells others that this person is ungrateful. The one who confers a genuine favour thinks more of giving than of getting, and so is less likely to complain that his favour is unappreciated.

Since the acceptance of things that are not bestowed in the spirit of magnanimity can prove costly, a person has not learned to live unless he has learned to decline many such things. Nor has a person learned to live if he has not learned to bestow small favours in the spirit of magnanimity, for such favours, if not interpreted as charity, have a warmth that makes for congeniality. Favours that please most are those conferred as a return for favours received.

Any means of appealing to the need of a sense of personal worth can be as cogent in trickery as in magnanimity. The possible abuse of all such methods by a designing person can be given sufficient mention here by telling in substance an old fable:

Once upon a time a cookie was left on the table. Having seen what happened to the other cookies, he flopped over, rolled from the table towards the door, out of the door, down the lawn, down the street, out into the open country, and into the forest. There he was stopped in turn by a wolf, a bear, and a lion, each of whom said to him, "I will eat you!" But through cleverness of tongue, he persuaded them all to go their own way. Next he was stopped by a fox who greeted him: "Hello, Mr. Cookie. How handsome you are, and how well baked you are! It is a pleasure to know someone like you. Would that we might become better acquainted." And that was the last of the cookie.

Another common abuse of psychology is to enshroud things in mystery. As Dickens says:

To surround everything, however monstrous or ridiculous, with an air of mystery, is to invest it with a secret charm and power of attraction which to the crowd are irresistible. False priests, false prophets, false doctors, false patriots, false prodigies of every kind, veiling their proceedings in mystery, have always addressed themselves at an immense advantage to the popular credulity, and have been, perhaps, more indebted to that resource in gaining and keeping for a time the upper hand of truth and common sense, than to any half dozen items in the

whole catalogue of imposture. Curiosity is, and has been from the creation of the world, a master-passion. To awaken it, to gratify it by slight degrees, and yet leave something always in suspense, is to establish the surest hold that can be had, in wrong, on the unthinking portion of mankind.

Every principle of psychology can be put to wrong purposes. However, I need not discuss further the misuse of psychology, since the building up of defence against exploitation is served incidentally throughout most of this volume.

Lamentable as is the deceptive use of psychology, equally lamentable is the ineffectiveness of many persons of good intentions in all types of human relationships. Through the use of methods such as those suggested in this volume, good results should be achieved.

PART TWO

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MENTAL HEALTH

CHAPTER XI

REQUISITES OF MENTAL HEALTH

"Education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature, under which name I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways; and the fashioning of the affections and of the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws."—THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

THE subject of mental health is that branch of psychology which studies human nature with the purpose of furthering human well-being. This phase of psychology is the most recent one to receive much attention from men in the field, but it has made significant advancement. It is today a subject of study by many psychologists, and is given an important place in leading colleges and universities.

When we inquire as to the chief requisites of mental health, we find them to be the following:

I. FULFILMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS

Since our primary needs are the source of all our actions and satisfactions, opportunity for their fulfilment in ways advantageous to the individual and to society is the proper objective of a social order. Social planning with this objective in view necessitates constant study of the extent to which man's natural and reasonable aspirations are being realized and the formulation of social policies in keeping with changing conditions.¹

Within the framework of a social order conducive to mental health, the individual still finds the fulfilment of his needs a complex problem. He must act with a proper perspective of all of his needs—both present and future—rather than upon the promptings of a single and immediate urge. Any satisfaction is in the interest of mental health only when it serves the personality as a whole. He must, furthermore, distinguish between genuine and spurious satisfactions, hold to the course leading to the genuine, and develop the resourcefulness and art essential to achievement.

¹ See McCall, William A., "My Philosophy of Life and Education," *Teachers College Record*, 35, 360-372, 1934.

Some frustration is inevitable and is essential to the greatest enjoyment. "If all the year were playing holidays, to sport would be as tedious as to work." More or less thwarting of our nature also furthers activity and character development; but extreme and hopeless frustration discourages and distracts the individual in everything he does. Much of the lethargy and poor work of many persons is due to the endless blocking of their imperative behaviour patterns. Frustration may, therefore, impair mental health directly and indirectly by impeding activity essential to it.

2. MODERATE DESIRE

The extent of desire is not necessarily limited to nature's requirement. Many people who have what could make them happy are unhappy because their wants are excessive. Adults who in childhood were "spoiled" usually feel frustrated, while those who were taught that one cannot have everything tend to be more contented with life.

The individual may have too rampant desire due to having earlier received too much or too little. Some persons who, in childhood, always got what they asked for, or were favoured over other children, expect too much. Unrestrained desire is often rooted in unrestrained gratification. Such desire springs, however, no less from frustration. The lower a person's income is, for example, the more he tends to be dissatisfied with it.¹

Whether that which the individual desires is to him a need or a want depends much upon his situation, and he is often in a better position to judge than is anyone else. He may, however, lack the necessary wisdom to evaluate properly the things he finds of interest.

3. APPRECIATION OF THE THINGS POSSESSED

To see the good in what one has is essential to its enjoyment and also to the limiting of wants. When Emerson was asked why he did not travel abroad to see the beauties of the world, he answered, "Why should I seek the beauties of foreign places when I have not even exhausted the beauties of my own garden?" Unlike Emerson, "Mein Lieber Augustine" is always unhappy, for he wants what he cannot have, and what he has, he doesn't want. Pope says, "Fixed to no spot is happiness; 'tis nowhere to be found or everywhere." A person who has learned, as poets teach, that the seemingly commonplace is often the truly wonderful is never bored.

Many persons do not value highly what they have because of never having suffered from the lack of it. This is suggested by the statement "To

¹ See Cantril, Richard, and Cantril, Hadley, "Income Satisfaction and Income Aspiration," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41: 64-69, 1946.

appreciate a thing you must lose it." Not infrequently do people who have lost something agree that they had never really appreciated it.

A person can be too content with what he has, but to appreciate something does not necessarily mean to be satisfied with it. The finding of some satisfaction in life is, moreover, essential to agreeableness and achievement.

4. FAIR TREATMENT

The mental health of everyone depends, more or less, upon fair treatment. To many persons, nothing is satisfying that does not seem fair. Most employees are as much concerned about the wages of persons with whom they work as they are with what they themselves receive. Complaints arise when wage inequalities do not seem to express appropriately the difference in the nature or in the amount of work done. In a study of industrial unrest, many workers who expressed a grievance about wages referred also to the wages of others and complained chiefly, "It isn't fair."¹ Inequitable treatment affects mental health also indirectly by disrupting amicable or friendly relationships. The favourite has no friend.

5. PHYSICAL HEALTH

Man is a unity of mind and body, two highly inter-related sources of his feelings of well-being. To assure mental health, the body as well as the mind must carry out its natural functions freely and efficiently. Each of these components of man affects his happiness directly and through its influence upon the other. Because of the inter-relation of mind and body, any treatment of the subject of mental health is, at the same time, a limited treatment of the subject of physical health. For the same reason, the subject of physical health, which will not be dealt with directly in this volume, bears vitally on the subject of mental health.

6. FREEDOM

Adequate gratification of vital needs ordinarily requires freedom, and mental health depends much upon the pursuit of satisfaction in preferred ways. Although we all have the same basic needs, we differ in likes and dislikes, in what we find satisfying; we discriminate, for example, in the choice of a love object. So variegated are human interests that they cannot be served adequately by rule of thumb. Many of our tastes are subject to modification through experience and adaptation, and other

¹ See Roethlisberger, J. J., and Dickson, William J., *Management and the Worker*. The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941.

tastes we should cultivate in order to broaden our interests; but nothing yields satisfaction until one has developed a relish for it. Since what satisfies is largely a personal matter, we can say with John Stuart Mill, "The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good, in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their effort in obtaining it."

Freedom not only enables one to pursue satisfaction in preferred ways, but also is in itself a satisfaction—the personal satisfaction of being respected, or of having one's rights as an individual respected. Anyone takes pride in having conceded to him even rights that he does not care to exercise. Coercion, when it enforces privations or distasteful acts, may be resented less for this reason than for the humiliation it engenders. Many a person would rather hurt himself in his own way than do under orders something for his betterment. Much of what is done under compulsion is bitterness because it is degrading.

7. SOMETHING TO STRIVE FOR

Happiness consists in activity, as well as in achievement. Infants and older children need sensory and motor experiences for their development, for the pleasure they find in them, and for the release of surplus energy. Many children suffer more from insufficient sensory or motor experiences, or from an improper balance between activity and rest, than in other ways. In the case of any person, nothing compensates for an indolent life.

Since man is obviously indisposed to exert himself to no purpose, his need of activity requires that he have something to strive for.

There are satisfactions in addition to those of activity and achievement in the pursuit of something thought worth while. Any of one's strivings tends to stir the imagination, and imagination is governed much by desire. Accordingly, the anticipation in active pursuit affords satisfaction that is unblighted and that does not satiate. "It is good to love the unknown." Active pursuit of something of interest also has more or less of the excitement of suspense, provides escape from oneself or anything unpleasant, and has various other satisfactions.

There is the story that a man accidentally touched off an explosion that blew him into a thousand fragments. Upon awakening in the after-world he looked around and said: "Why, I like it here. Things are simply grand. I'm glad it happened." And as he sat surveying with great joy the things about him, an attendant came along and asked, "Is there anything I can do for you?"

"No, I have here everything I could wish for. Thank you."

Two hours later the attendant stopped again and made the same inquiry and received a similar reply. In passing for the third time the attendant stopped once more and repeated the inquiry.

With great delight over his surroundings this man answered, "No, no,"

and then suddenly, "Well—yes. I believe I would like to play some golf now. Will you show me the golf course?"

"We have no golf course here."

"Oh," the man replied, and added, "What are those men at the other end of my cottage doing?"

"They are just completing work on it. We weren't expecting you yet."

"I'll go over and help them."

"No," said the attendant, "they will complete it for you."

"Well, then, I'll plant my vegetables now. I always grew some of the finest on earth."

"I know you did, but here your vegetables will be cultivated and gathered for you."

"All right," the man replied, "I'll grow flowers. I have always enjoyed doing so."

"We have for you also a flower gardener."

"Why, of course, I should have realized that up here there is something else for me to do. What is it?"

"Nothing," answered the attendant.

"I don't understand. No golf, and I'm not to do any work. If I'm not to do anything here, what's heaven for?"

"Oh, mister," said the attendant, "you're not in heaven!"

The necessity of making a livelihood gives most persons something to strive for, and, for this reason, we may agree that necessity is often a blessing in disguise. Much of the enjoyment that people get from their work is in having something to get up for in the morning, something to plan for, something to go to, something to do. "The curse pronounced on Adam is our chief blessing." Between extreme and hopeless deprivation, which kills the spirit of men and makes them lament their birth, and sated desires, which make for indolence, lies the greatest happiness.

These principles of mental health, universal and timeless, permeate the following chapters.

MENTAL CONFLICT

MAN's needs are often in conflict with one another. Everyone is confronted, throughout his awake hours, with alternatives of action. In most situations, a person has a more or less dominant inclination, and acts in accordance with it as a matter of course or without much deliberation. He may see the advantages of doing otherwise; but if he is not thus inclined, he is quite free of mental conflict. It is only when a person feels impelled towards two or more antagonistic behaviour patterns and unable to decide upon one of them that he is in mental conflict.

Although most of us tend to follow behaviour patterns without much thought of doing otherwise, a person may have strong bents that are seriously at cross-purposes with each other.

I. TYPES OF MENTAL CONFLICT

Any human tendency may be opposed by another, and so cases of mental conflict may be as various as are the activities of man. Opposing tendencies are, however, subject to classification:

a. Mutually Exclusive Goals. The making of a choice between desired things may precipitate mental turmoil. It sometimes does so because a person has about the same interest in each of them, but usually the making of such a choice is painful chiefly because it involves the abandoning of something you want greatly, even though you abandon it for something you want still more. A woman might lose ten pounds in trying to reach a decision as to which of several highly attractive men to accept, not because of the difficulty in deciding which she considers the most attractive, but because of the thought of forsaking all other.

Mental conflict that involves mutually exclusive goals is often reduced without abandoning one of them permanently. A young man desirous of an early marriage and of preparing for a career but too limited financially for carrying out both of these interests, may devote himself to study for a career as a means of achieving later a more suitable or more successful marriage than he could now have. In doing so, his preparation for a career becomes not an obstacle to marriage but a means to a fuller realization of it at a later time. Every day most of us resolve much mental conflict in this way, for as we concentrate upon one thing, we put off rather than give up permanently pursuit of something else. Ability to devote oneself to one thing at a time depends greatly upon freedom from extreme frustration, but it depends also upon training. A lesson that many of us are too slow in learning is that he who hunts two hares loses both.

b. Desire and Dislike for Something. It is possible to love and hate the same person, to want to marry and to want to remain single or to defer marriage, to like one's job and to dislike it, to desire to live longer and to die. "To be or not to be; that is the question." Everything has its advantages and disadvantages, but a person who finds them evenly balanced in respect to one of his interests, may be in severe mental conflict.

c. Desire and Honour. Some persons apparently have more honour than others, but many of them may differ from those they seem to excel in this respect simply in what they deem honourable. Everyone has, however, some principles of conduct that he regards vital and tends to abide by. The person who puts honour above every other consideration may suffer frustration, and the one who has little honour may become seriously enmeshed in difficulties, but neither of them is likely to have much mental conflict involving a principle. Only those who have strong ideals and yet are not uncompromising in them are subject to severe conflict of this kind.

d. Desire and Fear of Yielding to It. Some fear or other often is in conflict with desire and is of the same strength. People are not all equally inhibited by fear, but everyone has some conflict of this kind. Only death conquers all fear.

e. Choice Between Evils. Many persons occasionally find themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea, and the necessity of choosing between distasteful things can be more distressing than the necessity of choosing between desired ends, since it entails discomfort without affording satisfaction.

f. Doubt. An unsettled state of mind as to the truth of an assertion or doctrine in matters of vital concern causes a fluctuation of mind that may give rise to much tension. Any rational person, when giving thought to a subject, often has conflict of this kind, and wavers a little before reaching a decision in regard to it.

In mental conflict of any kind, the perplexity of "What shall I do," when prolonged, sometimes makes the individual feel that a bad decision would be better than none.

2. CAUSES OF MENTAL CONFLICT

The many-sidedness of the individual and of his environment should discourage any attempt to make a complete classification of the causes of mental conflict, but certain factors are particularly noteworthy because of the extent to which they make for such mental disturbance.

a. Conflicting Cultural Standards. A complicated and exacting environment is fertile ground for mental conflict. Living in a place of variant cultures, or taking up residence in a new place, may confront the individual with standards quite different from his own. Many young people away from home are so obsessed by the new standards and, at the same time,

by the necessity of adhering to their own that they develop uneasiness and restlessness. There is ordinarily a time-lag between new norms of behaviour and acceptance of them by established institutions. Most institutions remain frozen while life outside of their influence assumes new forms. This may give rise to much mental conflict.

Dickens' opening remarks in *A Tale of Two Cities* are applicable to any cosmopolitan city, and are suggestive of the mental conflict that in it may be rife.

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times; it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness; it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity; it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness; it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair; we had everything before us, we had nothing before us; we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way.

In a culture of settled standards out of harmony with human nature, there may be less mental conflict than in a culture of unsettled standards, but more perversion of human nature.

b. The lack of Guiding Principles. An unstable personality, as well as a complicated and difficult environment, gives rise to conflict. Unsettled attitudes make for indecision, hesitation, vacillation, and endless mental turmoil, whereas settled rules of conduct stimulate decision without much deliberation, and make for constancy of purpose and wholehearted devotion to what one does. This is implied in such a familiar statement as "I don't have to think it over; I know my own mind." As guiding principles become habit, decisiveness increases, and mental conflict is kept at a minimum.

But predetermination of behaviour may result in sameness of action in different or changing situations. Moreover, progressiveness requires readjustment. When we believe, we stop thinking. One's rules of conduct should, therefore, be amenable to reason and change, despite the mental conflict of an open mind. Only simple or smug natures can remain free of thoughts that challenge each other.

c. Abulia—Inability to Make Decisions. There is much chronic indecision in matters of everyday living. A person extremely hesitant may spend hours deciding what clothes to wear, which task to perform first, where to eat; or he may spend the greater part of his life in deciding what occupation to follow or whom to marry. Such a person also seeks advice in trying to settle the most trivial question. Those who find it abnormally difficult to decide things tend to vacillate after doing so. They may, moreover, exhaust themselves in the making of decisions.

A farmer once said to his helper: "Today I want you to sort these potatoes. Put the firm ones over here, those that are a little soft into this bin, and throw the rotten ones into a pile over here."

After working at the task for two hours, the farm hand came to his employer and said, "If you don't mind, I would like to go back to chopping wood."

"I put you to sorting those potatoes because I wanted you to have light work for a change. What's the matter?"

The man replied, "Sorting potatoes isn't heavy work, but making those decisions is killing me."

Inability to make a decision, or to abide by one, may be due to having had one's decisions made for one in childhood, to severe consequences that have come from faulty decision, to unwillingness to forgo anything, to fear of responsibility, extreme fatigue, or to the paralysis of grief.

Protracted indecision, although stifling and disconcerting, is less likely to lead to one's undoing than is hasty decision. A trained intellect ordinarily decides a weighty question only after having determined and evaluated all relevant considerations, which seldom can be grasped or properly appraised when one is first confronted with the question. The seeming importance of the reasons for or against a particular course of action depends much upon the situation in which they come to mind, and so they should all be weighed in different situations. Persons who urge you to comply at once with their suggestions commonly do so because they are aware of the potency of a momentarily dominant impulse over latent motives.

While there is no virtue in rashness, there often is every advantage in making a good decision quickly. To do so requires broad experience, a grasp of the question in its entirety, and the ability to make a decision with finality.

What is the relation between frustration and mental conflict? There may be frustration without much conflict, as in the case of a person who is reconciled to privation or who has a feeling of hopelessness, and there may be conflict without much frustration, as in the case of *abulia*; but severe conflict usually involves extreme frustration.

Since frustration and mental conflict are common experiences of man, a systematic study of human adjustment is of interest to us all.

GENERAL TYPES OF ADJUSTMENT

WHEN the individual undergoes frustration or mental conflict, he makes one adjustment or another to achieve desired ends, for human needs are frequently pressing and are not to be continually denied. Any apparent suppression of them is but a modification of their means of gratification. So forceful and furtive are man's primary needs that if he opposes them, they go through any of a number of different twists or changes and often become unrecognizable to the casual observer. Try to subdue human nature, and you only divert it into other forms of expression wholesome or unwholesome.

Unwholesome adjustments of any of the following types may be designated as wrongdoing or mental abnormality. What wrongdoing is depends somewhat upon circumstances and point of view; but there are certain types of behaviour that most people consider, and that are thought of here as wrongdoing.

The expression "mental abnormality" is used here in its usual signification; namely, a deviation from the normal that is a bad adjustment. Hence it is ordinarily not the trait itself, but the extent to which it has been developed that determines whether a particular person is seriously deranged mentally. It has been aptly said, "Abnormal people are like normal people, only more so."

There is, moreover, no sharp distinction between wrongdoing and mental abnormality. Some of the types of behaviour commonly called "wrongdoing" could with equal appropriateness be designated as abnormal behaviour. The classification of such behaviour is, therefore, somewhat arbitrary.

The adjustments to frustration or to mental conflict made by different persons, or by the same person under different circumstances, are as diverse as are the activities of man, but they all seem to be of types that can be identified as such.

I. COMPENSATORY ACTIVITY

Compensatory activity may be fulfilment of a need in a substitute way, or of a need other than the one in respect to which a person is frustrated. Compensation of the latter type has possibilities and limitations that are only vaguely understood by most people. Do not think of the gratifications in respect to different needs entirely as segments of happiness, think of them rather as being, to some degree, tributaries of the main stream of happiness. Think of happiness as being somewhat dependent

upon the size of the main stream rather than dependent wholly upon the flow of all of its tributaries.

By thinking of happiness in this way you will be able to see that the individual who fails to achieve fulfilment of one of his needs may be moderately happy if he achieves more than normal fulfilment of other needs; that frustration in respect to one of his needs does not necessarily mean corresponding frustration of himself. In comparing the achievement of happiness to a river and its tributaries, one could carry the analogy too far, for although the channels of life's satisfactions connect at various points, they are at the same time more or less separate. Complete happiness would necessitate fulfilment of all of one's needs. Although gratification in respect to one need cannot compensate adequately for frustration in respect to another, such compensation may have much value to the individual. "It is astonishing how little one feels poverty when one loves."

Compensatory activity of either type—fulfilment of a need in a substitute way, or of a need other than the one in respect to which a person is frustrated—may consist in actual gratification, in anticipation of future fulfilment, in reminiscing, in daydreaming, or in irrational belief that one's wishes are fulfilled.

2. DEFENSIVE ACTIVITY

Defensive activity is motivated by a desire to maintain a sense of personal worth in the face of discrediting circumstances. In such a situation the individual, to escape self-censure, distorts his own opinion of himself. Unlike Socrates, who adopted as a motto from the Delphic oracles the phrase, "Know thyself," he heeds the voice within him which says, "Fool thyself." And often the most deluded are the self-deluded. They can escape self-censure when performing acts for which they would censure others and for which the world censures them, and they can remain convinced of their claims to great personal worth even though their claims provoke ten thousand sneers. This is so because the abnormal person, in fooling himself and often others, is clever. When you reflect upon many of the unwholesome types of behaviour that will be discussed in this volume you will share the thought:

How shrewdly men contrive to hide,
E'en from themselves, their wounded pride.
—JOHN Saxe.

In these discussions, you should find many opportunities to smile at yourself. A rough indication as to a person's own sanity is the extent to which he sees himself described in material of this kind. If he does not find in himself traces of behaviour mentioned here, he is in a bad condition; he has impaired his perception of himself by building up strong

defences. Such a person reminds one of the private who in a great rage went to his commanding officer, and said, "Sir, some dirty rat stole our rubber-tyred wheelbarrow!"

The officer, quite bewildered, remarked: "I don't understand. I cannot recall having requisitioned a rubber-tyred wheelbarrow for our company."

"You didn't, sir," replied the private, "I stole it last week from the Air Corps."

Defensive activity may be justified when it saves the individual from unbearable remorse, but it usually is an unwholesome adjustment. Most of our faults are, as we shall see in later chapters, more pardonable than the methods we use to hide them.

Some activity is both compensatory and defensive in nature—activity that affords disguised gratification.

3. ESCAPE ACTIVITY

Unlike ordinary forgetting, which is something that happens to the individual, escape activity is something he does to free himself from distressing thoughts or other experiences. His motive may be more or less unconscious, and may be recognized by the extremeness of his activity.

To be at all effective, or most effective, escape activity must, at the same time, be compensatory, must afford a positive satisfaction.

Escape activity may consist in escape from embarrassing thoughts, as well as from other distressing experiences, and so serve the purpose of defensive activity.

4. ACTIVITY THAT FREES ONE OF INHIBITION

An individual having a desire that he holds in check, for one reason or another, frequently does something that releases him from himself. In making this adjustment he is able not only to do what he wishes, but also to do it without anxiety, and thus to achieve the maximum enjoyment. As we shall see later, there are different ways in which inhibition may be relaxed.

5. VINDICTIVE ACTIVITY

Vindictive activity—activity that expresses resentment of frustration or reproof—is common, as are the other types of adjustment to frustration. It may be, in the first place, an attack upon the frustrating or reproving

agency. In such cases, the attack, if immediate, is usually somewhat proportionate to the severity of the frustration or reproof. Usually, however, the person irritated inhibits his expression of resentment until after he has experienced a number of indignities, real or imagined. If he does so his resentment, when aroused, is cumulative, and hence excessive in relation to the severity of the immediate cause. The mildest deprivation or reproof is sometimes the last straw.

Vindictiveness may be, in the second place, an attack upon a scapegoat—upon anyone or anything that serves as a more available or less dangerous object of attack than the irritating agency. Hence, helpless individuals or minority groups are often made scapegoats by severely frustrated or reproved persons. A boy who feels excessively restricted or chided may destroy things or torture animals; an employee who feels frustrated by his occupation or reproved by his superior may abuse his wife; a husband who feels frustrated or disparaged by his wife may attack a child; a farmer who must undergo privations because of a poor crop may assail the government; and any person frustrated on every hand may enlist in a campaign against an individual or a section of the population, or may even take part in the formation of a terrorizing organization.

The more culturally distinct a person is, as an individual or as a member of his group, the more the vindictive person makes him the object of suspicion or attack. Vindictiveness of man is not unlike the behaviour of the roosters that, when confined together in a pen, fought and established a pecking order, which was in accordance with their position of dominance in the flock. Vindictive behaviour of either type may consist in verbal or physical attack, or in doing such things as breaking up friendship with a person, boycotting a merchant, quitting one's employment, or discharging an employee.

A vindictive person may take various satisfactions in witnessing another derided, or in conflict of one kind or another. Such a person often finds derisive humour most gratifying. A speaker once moved half of his audience to uproarious laughter by referring to his opponent as a specialist, one who studies more and more about less and less until finally he knows nothing. Another illustration of such humour is the derision: When the high school professor says "Good morning," the student replies, "Good morning"; when the college professor says "Good morning," the student writes it down.

Vindictiveness has often been interpreted as an instinct to destroy things or to kill; but the existence of such an instinct seems to be but a figment developed to explain what was not understood.

Although frustration often makes the individual vindictive, it does not necessarily do so. Children who while undergoing great privations are able to feel that their parents love them and do for them all that they can may love their parents dearly without any feeling of bitterness. But many other persons long frustrated or reproved may, upon the slightest provocation, attack severely the irritating agency or a scapegoat.

6. TENSION-RELEASING ACTIVITY

Tension—readiness to act—may be chiefly mental or physical. It is natural to be active after a period of rest, and especially in situations attractive or distressing. By making man subject to becoming highly aroused, nature disposed him towards quick and vigorous action. This view is known as the *emergency theory of emotions*.

As well as stimulating activity, tension may directly affect physical or mental health. Sometimes it is an enlivened feeling most enjoyable; but when it has no adequate outlet, it gives rise to nervous exhaustion and unrest.

Tension is released through the achievement of any satisfaction, but some people have too few satisfactions to obtain through them adequate composure, and so they feel a constant press for activity of any kind. Much behaviour that seems purposeless, lighting a cigarette and throwing it away, swearing, or scribbling on anything, for example, is an outlet for tension.

Any adjustment to frustration or to mental conflict may relax the nervous system temporarily; but an irrational course of action commonly results in far more tension than it momentarily alleviates.

INSOLENCE AND VANITY

INSOLENCE may be born of excessive pride; and, in such cases, it is contempt for other persons. Frequently it is born of feelings of inferiority, and consists in the humiliation of others for the achievement of a sense of importance or self-confidence. A man once said, "I find that there is nothing like berating a lordly waiter to make me quick and positive in my talk."

The haughty person, especially if he sincerely overrates himself, ordinarily has an air of disinterest in your esteem of him, and yet he expects it. Seldom does he accept a compliment with warmth. If you fail to look up to him, he may try to impress or worry you through abusive words or acts.

Vanity—an inordinate desire for the notice, approval, or praise of others—springs from feelings of inferiority, and is an attempt to achieve a sense of importance. The vain person is more eager for recognition than is the haughty one, and he seeks it openly. He desires especially the company of distinguished people, even though he may suffer some embarrassment in their presence, whereas the egotist enjoys such contacts only so long as they are not embarrassing to him. The vain person may be extremely polite, complimentary, compliant or accommodating, while the conceited one is often contemptuous or overbearing.

Excessive pride and vanity, although having distinguishable characteristics, are usually involved in each other. An arrogant individual likes to receive from others, without solicitation, the esteem that he has for himself, while the vain man may be also rather proud, although he is more likely to be pretentious.

Whether behaviour of the following types is insolence or vanity, or merely an attempt to build up self-confidence, depends upon the individual. Such behaviour is also a combination of the general types of adjustment discussed in Chapter XIII, and the particular combination that it represents, likewise, on the individual.

1. CRITICIZING EVERYONE AND EVERYTHING

A common form of behaviour motivated by the need for a feeling of personal worth consists in finding fault with everyone and everything. A man not versed in drama but wishing to make an impression may say, upon leaving a theatre: "The actors are wooden, the settings are offensive, the plot is incoherent, and the whole play is preposterous. The author must be a half-wit." A woman who once attended a musical concert with

a man of this kind was struck by his silence after a performance near the end of the programme. She turned to him, and asked: "What's the matter? Did you like that one?" He replied, "No, I was just trying to think of synonyms for 'lousy'."

A person of this kind who is appointed to an administrative position may proceed at once to reorganize the department and its methods. While he may introduce an innovation for justifiable reasons, he sometimes makes changes in order to criticize thereby the former system or the persons responsible for it. In social relationships of every kind there are a few chronic fault-finders who sit in judgement on the words or acts of other persons, and brand as incorrect or improper almost everything that is said or done. Fault-finding is such a source of satisfaction to some people that they will belittle their own friends and prostitute their own honest opinions for the feeling of importance they gain from playing the role of critic.

Often fault-finding is engaged in, not for the satisfaction that playing the role of critic provides, but in order to disparage that in which the fault-finder is deficient, and thus to excuse himself for his shortcomings. Men physically frail or lacking in physical courage may scorn athletics as a waste of time or as brutal; men surpassed by women in the occupational world may, for that reason alone, say that woman's place is in the home; and anyone unable to adjust adequately to an innovation in industry may, for that reason, declare the innovation unsound. Those who criticize most are often least successful.

Whether chronic fault-finding is insolence or vanity depends on whether the individual criticizes others to put them beneath himself, or to gain attention or recognition. It may even be neither insolence nor vanity, but simply a device whereby the individual tries to build up self-confidence.

2. BEING SNOBBISH

Snobbishness involves avoidance of other persons, but depends upon the motive in so doing. It does not consist in the common practice of evading people simply because of the feeling that they are of a different class. Social interaction based on class differences is inevitable, and, within limits, it is desirable. This is true because the greatest mutual pleasure and benefit are achieved through similarity of interests and attainments. What constitutes a snob is the rebuffing or excluding of others with an air of personal or class superiority. The aloofness of the snob gives him the feeling that he amounts to something.

The snob may keep others at a distance not simply to be impressive, but also to avoid being outdone by them or having them discover his weaknesses. A man may suddenly "high-hat" a woman with whom he has been keeping company because he realizes that through further companionship with him she would discover that what he has told her

about himself is not all true. A person in a responsible position may keep others, especially subordinates, at a distance to avoid having them learn that he is not as competent as his position suggests, or that they themselves are more capable of carrying on his occupation than he is. Much misunderstanding is due to failure to realize that people often hold themselves aloof because they fear close scrutiny. Thus snobbishness may be chiefly compensatory or defensive activity.

3. REFORMING OR CONVERTING OTHERS

The person who devotes himself to reforming others may do so to imply, by his engagement in such activity, that he is on a higher plane than those whom he is trying to influence. Exhorting others to reform increases self-regard very readily, because individual differences in the moral realm are indeterminate. Merely to admonish others to modify their behaviour is frequently sufficient to establish the supremacy of the one giving such counsel, and to enable him to look condescendingly upon them.

Sometimes the individual tries to reform or convert others in order to bolster his own flagging conviction as to the soundness of what he himself professes, and thus to free himself of mental conflict.

There are, of course, persons who in trying to reform or convert others are wholly altruistic in the sense that they seek, not to gain pre-eminence, but to help others find a better way of living, or to share with them something that they themselves enjoy. Persons actuated by these different motives can be distinguished readily by the type of behaviour with which they concern themselves. The person who is actuated by an interest in human betterment and happiness is discriminating in the behaviour he seeks to modify, while the one who is simply seeking self-aggrandisement may attempt to modify almost any act or custom that he witnesses.

4. KEEPING OTHERS WAITING

There are persons who keep others waiting to the extent that they spoil social engagements or menace occupational success. Although the individual who is habitually late in keeping his appointments is usually selfish, dilatory, thoughtless, or irresponsible, he sometimes is insolent. He may fail to meet you promptly in order to give the impression that he is not especially concerned over you, that he presumes you would gladly await him, or that he is unmindful of making a problem for you or of embarrassing you by being late. He may, furthermore, leave you to your own conclusion as to whether he had completely forgotten the engagement, or considered you not worth the thought and effort that punctuality

requires. When such behaviour is an attempt to humiliate you, it is a polite form of insolence.

Some persons lack punctuality because they are vain. A man may be late in keeping an appointment in order to give the impression that he is a very busy person, and a woman may be late at a party for the sake of becoming the centre of attention. The lack of consideration for you that such behaviour reveals makes it especially irritating.

5. DEMANDING SERVICE

Some persons seldom render services to others but usually demand that they be served. In their domestic life they make childish demands upon members of their family. Sometimes they employ persons who are not needed, and style them "servants" simply as a means of gaining a feeling of superiority. They are, moreover, very exacting in the service they demand in general. When they dine or shop, they complain that the service is poor. When they ask for favours they expect others to drop everything at once to wait upon them. When they send clothing to a cleaning establishment or to a laundry they demand "one-day" service. When they wait for a lift they ring the bell incessantly. When they write a letter they expect an immediate reply.

Some persons seem to make exacting demands upon others deliberately simply to build up confidence in themselves.

6. GOSSIPING OR RELAYING RUMOUR

The vain person may gossip in order to occupy the centre of the stage. Because of the intense interest that many people have in the affairs of others, many persons, desirous of attention, give out information regarding another's personal matters and find their gossip a quick and certain means of winning a hearing. If they have few other means of commanding attention, they may even betray confidences in order to do so.

The spreading of rumour is, likewise, vanity's way of attempting to be noticeable, and it often serves that purpose, since many people have an attentive ear for unusual information and give a ready hearing to one who conveys rumour.

The insolent person gossips not so much to attract attention as to show others up. He loves to hear tales, believes them, and repeats them with malice.

The individual may also, irrespective of insolence or vanity, gossip about sex matters for sexual gratification in the guise of sex criticism. Anyone may moreover gossip, not for the direct satisfaction of doing so, but to please or entertain another person. Sometimes there is nothing more interesting to the listening ear than tales about people, especially

people whose lives are mildly exciting; and some gossiping is nothing more than a response to this interest. The desire to please is often so great that a discreet and amiable person sometimes gossips before he realizes what he is doing, and wakes with a start to find that he has impaired the reputation of Peter, who is absent, to please Paul, who is present.

Some persons, thinking that facts are not sufficiently exciting to attract others, add to the rumours they carry, and so make crows blacker than they are; the wolf bigger than he is.

A rumour that gives promise of something desired, or that foretells something feared, is more effective than is one of little concern to one's audience. Repetition also affects belief. In a recent study, the tendency to believe rumours that had been heard before was found to be 33.9 per cent greater than the tendency to believe rumours not heard before.¹ To quote Dooley, "I'll believe anything, if you'll tell it to me often enough."

7. THE TAKING OF UNNECESSARY RISKS

Foolhardiness is a common means of trying to gain notice. If you should ask a person, for example, why he drives his car at breath-taking speed, he is not likely to say that he is trying to display skill or fearlessness in order to attract attention—but that is often the motive for fast driving. The yearning for a place in the sun is so great that people will frequently hazard their lives in attempting to gain it.

8. BEING DISAGREEABLE

The more the individual has been frustrated, the less concerned he becomes as to how he achieves satisfaction. In their desperation for attention, some persons are unpleasant or contemptuous. To keep you from passing them unnoticed, they make themselves disagreeable in whatever way they can. They also show contempt for most of the things you favour. If you express an original thought, it is to them nonsense or something they have always known. In various ways they make a nuisance of themselves. If you chide them, you please them. "Ay, do despise me," such a character once said, "I'm the prouder for it; I like to be despised." Anyone who is totally ignored may abuse you to the extent that you will not only take notice of him, but will remember him long. "The villain's extorted censure is his praise."

¹ See Allport, Floyd H., and Lepkin, Milton, "Wartime Rumours of Waste and Special Privilege: Why Some People Believe Them," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 40: 3-36, 1945.

9. UNBOUNDED AMBITION

There are persons whose ambitions in life are boundless; there is no limit to what they hope to achieve. They aspire to take up occupations that, for one reason or another, are definitely beyond their reach, or aspire to achieve more in what they do than is possible for them or would be possible for anyone else to achieve. When contemplating marriage, they consider only persons who are far more attractive than they. If their thoughts turn towards some social issue, they become ambitious to bring about a world-wide change in social practice. When the overly-ambitious come to realize the futility of their efforts, they turn to other activities with the same intense ambition. Some redirect their energies in this way and achieve nothing throughout their entire lives. Others, still more ambitious, aspire to achieve success simultaneously in many different pursuits; they have many wagons, each hitched to a star. They too, when meeting with defeat, redirect their efforts, and thus they go through life touching upon everything and accomplishing nothing.

Often the over-ambitious, in their choice of careers, give evidence that they are less concerned with what they do than with surpassing others in doing it. To them only one thing matters—to be in every race and to be ahead. The repeated shifting of the over-ambitious from one pursuit to another also suggests that they are less concerned with the nature of their pursuits than with gaining distinction, for normal interest is somewhat persistent and tends towards concentrated application.

The over-ambitious suffer from expectation-achievement discrepancy;¹ and being bent upon gaining ascendancy, they put their friends to flight, and they miss the fun of engaging in some of their activities in a relaxed manner for the sake of the game. As a result of failure in their human relationships and in their occupations they develop feelings of inferiority, and so they find that what they took to be medicine is poison.

Too low an aim also hinders or prevents the accomplishment of anything worth while. One's level of aspiration should be such that one can escape the deep distress of lasting failure and of too cheap success.

10. POSING

Excessive pride and vanity frequently result in posing—that is, in pretending to have merit, rather than in endeavouring to achieve it. The pride that the individual takes in being “a tin god” is often very great, for he usually deceives himself as to his true nature. Some of the more common types of posing are the following:

a. *Simulating Lofty Ambition.* The person who simulates lofty ambition

¹ See Thomsen, Arnold, “Expectation in Relation to Achievement,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38: 58-73, 1943.

considers himself, and hopes to be considered by others, to be as lofty in merit as he seems to be in purpose. The fact that his purpose is feigned does not necessarily disturb his self-esteem because he may hide his insincerity even from himself. Such a person may also avoid all struggle for achievement in order to avoid the chagrin of failure, which he thinks would be inevitable. The pride of such a person seems to whisper to him: "Nothing ventured, nothing lost."

b. Predicting Events. A common means of posing consists in forecasting events. Prophesying is a very likely means of gaining prestige and involves little risk of embarrassment. Errors in prediction cannot always be foreseen, and therefore the would-be prophet, upon making a forecast, may be given credit for having the uncanny ability to foretell coming events. Should time prove that the forecast was wrong, everyone may then have forgotten that the prediction was made. If on the other hand the prophecy materializes, the individual can say, "I told you so." Forecasting events is so much a "can't lose and may win" proposition that it is widely popular. One sometimes hears people predicting what is going to happen, and hears them adding, with a confident air, "Mark my word," "Wait, and you'll see," "I'd bet anything that I'm right," "If it doesn't come true I'll eat my hat," or "I'm willing to stake my reputation on what I am saying." The foretelling of events in order to gain distinction can be observed widely in unsettled times, when everyone is more or less disturbed and therefore impressionable. A national or an international crisis always produces would-be prophets in abundance.

Often the motive in the making of a prediction is simply that of enlivening an otherwise dull conversation. A man whose usual talk gives his wife a dreary countenance might make her feel less dispirited and forlorn if he, when in a playful mood, described in detail her future husband, told her of his occupation, religion, nationality, of the make of a car he will drive, and gave him a striking name.

c. Trying to Appear Intellectual. It is not uncommon for a man to pose as being intellectual. In affecting intellectualism he may declare excessive appreciation of something. Of course, appreciation of anything prompts most people to tell of their appreciation for it, but there are persons who express admiration of something a hundred times to impress you with their capacity for appreciating it. Such persons mark themselves off from those whose appreciation is genuine not only by the excess of their praise, but also by the things that they praise; they praise things renowned—a sunset, a symphony, or an eminent person—rather than things for which praise has not often been sounded.

Another means of trying to appear intellectual consists in referring excessively to literature in conversation. Distinguished writers are not always quoted because what they say is pertinent, nor because their manner of expression gives variety to the individual's style; often they are quoted to show acquaintance with what they have said. Many persons think that they talk well whenever they connect what they say with the

works of persons of literary fame. Their conversation is guided not by what they have to say, but by their stock of sayings. Should you approach the subject of the weather, one of these persons might delight in the opening to reply, "As Mark Twain said, 'The weather is something that everybody . . .'" Such persons hope to be judged by the company they seem to keep.

Some strive to appear intellectual by analysing things excessively. Analysis is essential to understanding, and correct analysis indicates intelligence; but accuracy of analysis is not always discernible. For these reasons, it is sometimes possible to achieve a sense of importance by any attempt at analysis. There are persons who try to analyse you definitely, or to reduce any artistic production to a few simple principles. Their satisfaction in picking things to pieces is not simply the satisfaction of appearing learned, but also that of appearing more learned than you.

Another means of trying to appear intellectual consists in using showy language or language that is unintelligible to you. Such language may consist of obscure terms or of terms unduly technical, and of a roundabout expression that swells the bulk of such terms. By using showy language the individual hopes to be impressive, and by using language that is unintelligible to you he hopes to make you feel small. Not a few would-be philosophers and scientists put a wall of unfamiliar language around their thoughts in order to make you feel that what they say is magnificent and inaccessible to other minds. They do not use simple language, because it would at once shrivel their thoughts into mere truisms. Their favourite occupation is to distort plain facts into complicated questions. They are like the Scottish professor of divinity who used to say to his graduates. "Now, lads, tak' my advice, and preach aince a year, aince a year and no oftener, a sermon that nobody can understand."

Showy language that is unintelligible is to the one who uses it a mark of his profundity. Whether a man strives to use such language depends upon his intellectual equipment. A person with a wealth of ideas likes to communicate those ideas, and tries to do so in the simplest and clearest language. He knows that to be able to put big ideas into little words is the finest art. He uses technical terms only in so far as they are necessary to convey thought. But a person whose intellectual pretensions are sham is less concerned with conveying thought than with strutting in gaudy or stunning verbal dress. In his own defence, he would have you think of his pompous words as depth, and of the clearness of expression of other persons as shallowness. Since it is widely recognized that technical language is often essential to the conveyance of thought, its use by a would-be intellectual person is a rather inviting form of posing.

d. Boasting, or Flaunting Oneself. Although there is not one wise man in twenty that will praise himself, nineteen out of every twenty insolent or vain persons do so.

Flaunting oneself, being less obviously immodest than boasting, is indulged in more commonly. A boy selling gardenias on a street in New York City capitalizes in a clever way on man's proneness to make pretentious display of himself. He addresses men, "Mister, buy a gardenia and feel important all day." Persons who dress showily, drive conspicuous cars, build extravagant homes, or leave extraordinarily large tips for men of their income are buying gardenias, not because they love them, but to attract attention or, no less often, to bolster self-confidence.

e. Disparaging Oneself. Self-disparagement may appear at first thought the very opposite of posing, but it is in reality one of the many unsuspected ways in which the individual strives to maintain or attain a feeling of personal worth. In disparaging himself the individual may try to gain distinction for humility. The humble person has been extolled in every age. Consequently, self-depreciation has become a means of attaining a feeling of personal worth. As a result there are many persons who humble themselves in order that they may be exalted in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. Such people are proud of their humility; they talk like Dickens' Uriah Heep in *David Copperfield*: "I am well aware that I am the humblest person going."

The story is told that Socrates chided a speaker who had mounted the platform in old and bedraggled clothes, "Young man of Athens, your vanity peers out through every hole in your robe."

Most self-mortification is self-praise. Self-disparagement may also be an attempt to gain recognition for honesty. One of the ideals of society is honesty. Consequently, integrity is a means whereby distinction can be gained. Many abnormal persons are too clever to attempt to gain prestige by openly boasting of their rectitude. They proceed in more devious ways. A man may, for example, confess that he stole a postage stamp, and may simulate remorse for his act. He may do so because he assumes that people will think his standard of honesty must be high when they see him stricken with remorse over his trifling indiscretion. An interesting case of this type is thus described and interpreted by Adler:

A patient of mine, a second child, suffered very profoundly from inescapable feelings of guilt. Both his father and his elder brother laid great emphasis on honesty. When the boy was seven years old he told his teacher in school that he had done a piece of homework by himself, although as a matter of fact his brother had done it for him. The boy concealed his guilty feelings for three years. At last he went to see the teacher and confessed his awful lie. The teacher merely laughed at him. Next he went to his father in tears and confessed a second time. This time he was more successful. The father was proud of his boy's love of truth; he praised and consoled him. In spite of the fact that his father had absolved him, the boy continued to be depressed. We can hardly avoid the conclusion that this boy was occupied in proving his great integrity and scrupulousness by accusing himself so bitterly for such a trifle.¹

¹ Adler, Alfred, *What Life Should Mean to You*, p. 32. Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1931.

Another motive in self-disparagement may be that of gaining recognition for having ability. Sometimes an individual speaks depreciatingly about one of his accomplishments in order to convey the idea that his usual performance is of a high standard. Everyone who engages in sports has heard statements such as "I don't know what's wrong with me today." Similarly, a hostess may declare that her dinner is a failure in order to impress upon her guests the idea that she is capable of preparing an even more delectable meal. Thus it is apparent that self-disparagement is often a means of self-aggrandisement.

11. STRIVING TO BE UNUSUAL

Having witnessed the glory of individuality in certain persons, some of those who are over-eager for distinction develop unusualness at the cost of genuineness of character. They strive to gain distinction by merely being different. Such persons seldom conform to the behaviour of others. Before deciding upon a course of action, they look about themselves, then reject what others favour, and favour what others reject. The desire to be unusual may prompt an individual to dress over-meticulously, shabbily, or in an extreme fashion, to be eccentric in speech or deportment, or to hold tenaciously to a peculiar opinion. Some, to gain distinction, adhere to things of the past. They would not look with you at the new moon out of respect for the old. Such a person is no less vain than the one who takes up everything new.

Often eccentricity is not only an expression of a desire to gain distinction, but also an expression of scorn for other persons. Just as admiration for someone may cause the individual to strive to be like him, so also scorn for someone may cause the individual to strive to be unlike him. Some of those who have little appreciation of people in general are extremely eccentric.

So much they scorn the crowd, that if the throng
By chance go right, they purposely go wrong.
—POPE.

Those who strive simply to be different from others, for the purpose either of gaining distinction or of expressing scorn, are generally laughed at, or disliked because they are irritating, and so they suffer from deflated pride.

12. DOMINEERING OVER OTHERS

Many unpleasant living and working conditions are due to one individual or group exercising arbitrary sway over another. The individual commonly enjoys domineering over others because doing so is an ex-

pression of superiority, and because any compliance with his dictates is admission that he is superior. For the sake of seeing his subordinates dance to his tune, he sometimes reverses the orders he gives them. Such a person may also deprive others of what they have the right to expect or of what actually belongs to them. Those who delight in domineering over others are, furthermore, as unreceptive of another's opinions or suggestions as they are unrelenting in the demands that they make upon him; they are always right and never give in.

The desire to exercise arbitrary sway over fellow beings is manifested occasionally by people at every stage of development. This desire finds expression in situations ranging from childhood strife to international discord. It is often manifested by a desire for an authoritative position. The overbearing individual craves an executive post and, when he gets it, makes a tactless administrator. He does not attempt to lead others by subtle means. On the contrary, he cracks the whip over people's backs in order that his power over them may be obvious. Such a person, when in control of others, likes to see his subordinates bow and cringe before him; and when they fail to do so he hurls at them accusations of insubordination and demands their respect and obedience. He domineers over other persons, not for the purpose of furthering the commonwealth, but for the gratification he obtains from seeing others grovelling at his feet. Such persons are like the Irish schoolmaster who, after he had whipped a pupil, said, "It isn't that I hate ye that I bate ye; it's to show my authority over ye."

Parents sometimes lord it over their children for the satisfaction they get from having their wishes complied with. Such a parent, by ordering a child around, is able to forget, for the time being, the subordinate position that he may occupy in his other human relationships. Bullies in school, on the playground, and in shops, dictatorial husbands and wives, intimidators in business and in the professions, terrorizing organizations, and conquering nations—all are motivated, more or less, by the sense of importance they get from the effective exercise of power.

Despite the extent to which man desires to domineer over others for the feeling of superiority that doing so affords him, it is possible to over-emphasize this desire. Warring nations are sometimes motivated at least as much by a desire to become secure against domination as by a desire to domineer. But a feeling of security does not necessarily prevent the development of this domineering propensity.

13. FIGHTING

There are human beings who will fight, physically or verbally, over something of no consequence to them in order to achieve in the fighting something else of great consequence to them—namely, a sense of importance. Some, to achieve this satisfaction, even provoke others to

engage in combat over nothing. For the same reason, certain individuals would rather acquire things possessed by others through combat than through concession; and certain nations would rather acquire possessions through conquest than through negotiation.

Fighting is also engaged in to break monotony. Some of the emotions, such as fear or anger aroused in an encounter, are in themselves unpleasant. But they are nevertheless exciting and may be enjoyed for this reason. The one who picks a fight is often so steeped in monotony that he would rather be stirred at the cost of being harmed physically or socially than not to be stirred at all. A husband and wife finding each other dull, and having no absorbing interest, may in their desperation quarrel a little to fill the awful void.

In some cases, fighting seems motivated simply by a surplus of energy, and to be enjoyed because of the release of tension it affords.

14. INFLECTING CRUELTY

Acts of cruelty, although the delight of some insolent persons, are often motivated by desire for excitement. In cruelty, as well as in fighting, the abusive person may be threatened with retaliation, and, in that event, he has some of the excitement that he would have if he himself were attacked. He enjoys threatened retaliation, especially if his victim is someone more frail than himself or an animal under control. This is because he can then have the thrill of being pursued or attacked and, at the same time, feel secure.

Sometimes cruelty, like combat, is due primarily to the desire to exercise power, and thus to feel important. But even cruelties motivated chiefly by this desire afford also excitement, which is an additional instigating factor.

In all cases in which the individual enjoys inflicting extreme cruelty, or simply witnessing agony, his satisfaction presumably is, in the main, direct or vicarious revenge for grievances that he feels he has had.

15. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

The adult criminal usually had a delinquent career as a child, and so it is fitting that juvenile delinquency and crime be considered together. A factor underlying such behaviour is a desire to appear clever or courageous. Everyone takes pride in activity through which he can show marked traits of character. Many boys and young men like especially to distinguish themselves in cleverness and courage. Some youngsters do mischievous things, destroy property, "cut" school, or "swipe" something because of a dare, or for the sake of adventure. Some persons of various ages, not finding in normal life opportunities for exercising cleverness or courage,

are lured by the prospect of doing so in crime. Not a few who commit crimes think of themselves as matching wits and courage with the police. If caught and freed after serving sentence, they may turn again to crime to vindicate their honour. The would-be heroes in evil are as adventurous and as persistent as are heroes in good.

Another cause of juvenile delinquency or crime is a desire to be popular. Children may steal pennies in order to buy sweets or toys whereby they may win favour or keep themselves from being outdone by other children who have such things. The more some children are permitted to dazzle the group with spending money, the stronger is the tendency of many others to steal in order to be popular. Children may steal also because they need money to pay their share towards picnics or play equipment. Adults, too, break restrictions—some break almost any restrictions—in order to be popular.

Much juvenile delinquency and crime are expressions of negativism or of vindictiveness. Constantly nagging parents or teachers, "hard-boiled" foremen, and "hounding" officers of the law tend to stimulate either of these types of reaction. Children who take pleasure in setting anything afire have been found to have vindictive phantasies of every type.¹

An adult, as well as a child, may set anything afire as an expression of vindictiveness, and anyone may do so also for excitement, or to achieve a sense of importance.²

Perhaps the most significant cause of juvenile delinquency and crime is membership in a gang. Many delinquents and criminals operate less as individuals than as members of a group. In their gang they experience pressure and rewards as do persons of other groups, and they usually show all the social traits of other groups. They should, therefore, not be looked upon as socially maladjusted, but as normally adjusted to their own group in conflict with society. Those who have much interest in the gang and little interest outside of the gang are, as might be expected, quick to get into difficulty with society and hard to reform.

The earliest gang activities of childhood usually are simply play activities, strivings for interesting experiences. Because of the drab life they lead, children in tenement or slum districts are especially apt to wander along the streets and highways for the thrill of new observations and adventure. What they do tends to get them into difficulty with society. This is especially so when what they do involves truancy, for the truant may be confronted with the necessity of stealing food; and he does not feel the restraints of settled life, and so may get into various difficulties.

Truancy may, however, be due not only to a drab existence, but to various causes. It may be an attempt to make a parent, towards whom the child for one reason or another feels revengeful, worry over him.

¹ See Yarnell, Helen, "Firesetting in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 10: 272-288, 1940.

² See Shea, John P., *Getting at the Root of Man-Caused Fires*, United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1940.

Truancy may also be a protest against not being made the centre of attention at school, a means of escaping ridicule for failure in school work, or the acceptance of a dare to "cut" school. To many children it is a matter of pride to accept a dare. Truancy may, furthermore, be due to failure to take school attendance seriously because of a disparaging attitude of parents towards the school, or because the child was frequently kept from school by parents for their personal convenience. Truancy may also be an attempt to escape punishment from a parent or teacher. Anything leading to truancy awakens interest in the formation of a gang. Thus the prevention of delinquency and crime necessitates the furtherance, through home, school, and community enterprise, of satisfactory child life.

Before giving thought to the prevention of behaviour of the types discussed in this chapter, let us look into the causes of other types of maladjustment.

ENVY AND JEALOUSY

WE are interested here in the nature of envy and of jealousy, and in ways of preventing such rankling and inflammatory states of mind.

1. THE NATURE OF ENVY AND ITS PREVENTION

The word "envy" is used here to mean chagrin and resentment due to being excelled in things desired. The pride of many persons is touched as they see themselves outdone in respect to their accomplishments or possessions. This is especially so when they feel that those who have material advantages over them do not merit those advantages.

A person who acquires possessions or receives special recognition in a very short time is often thought undeserving, and is therefore envied, especially by those who were previously, in one way or another, associated with him. Almost anyone is more chagrined when a childhood playmate, a member of his graduating class, a neighbour, or a fellow worker suddenly eclipses him than when someone with whom he never had anything in common does so.

In different ways the envious person may try to bring those who have advantages over him to his own level. He may give them a cold reception, minimize their attainments, point out and exaggerate their weaknesses, or ridicule their ambitions and even put obstacles in their way. Sometimes a person bent upon doing something original must proceed with caution lest he be held in check by an otherwise ineffectual person who happens to occupy a position of superiority. In extreme cases the envious person may, to remove the disparity between himself and those whom he envies, destroy their property or injure them personally. Some envious persons design their whole life with the aim of harming others.

The nature of envy suggests several means whereby people may avoid growing envious, or keep others from being so. Attempts have often been made to prevent individuals from feeling outdone by others through prescribing more or less uniform living conditions. Various leaders have required the wearing of authorized garments, and have limited, in the case of schools, the amount that may be spent by individuals on a social function. Some groups have even organized themselves into colonies and, in the case of Russia, into a state in which they have standardized somewhat uniform living conditions. Such policies have, however, usually been protested so vigorously by some members of the group that they have in relatively few cases been long effective. But to the extent to which they can be put into practice they keep down envy, even though they may be, for other reasons, inexpedient.

An unquestionably good means of keeping down envy is to develop

appreciation for the things possessed. It is not simply how much a man has, but also how much he appreciates what he has that determines his longing for the enjoyment of other things. Many persons look with contentment upon others in possession of various enjoyments that they themselves do not have. To them the wealth, the power, and the renown of other persons are not disquieting facts. But their contentment is not contentment without what they do not have; it is contentment with what they do have. They are, to borrow a phrase from Second Corinthians, as those having nothing, and yet possessing all things.

Many persons, instead of being sensitive to the possible joys around them, are obtuse to those possible joys. They may work the mine diligently, but they always come forth without ore because they do not recognize it. They may also be unaware of the trying circumstances of other persons. When unappreciative of his own good fortune and of the ill fortune of other people, the individual counts the lot of another a blessing and pines begrudgingly for it. A poor man may envy a rich man for his wealth, while the latter envies the former for his health. Youth may envy age for its power, while age envies youth for its freedom. A single woman may envy a married woman for her home, while the latter envies the former for her career. A wife whose husband devotes his thoughts primarily to his work may begrudge the woman who married a family man, while the woman whose husband gives most of his time to his family may wish that she had married a "hustler". Persons who always count the blessings of others and never their own remind one of the fable of the willow and the river:

The willow and the river
 Ripple with silver speech,
 And one refrain forever
 They murmur each to each:

"Brook with the silver gravel,
 Would that your lot were mine;
 To wander free, to travel
 Where greener valleys shine---
 Strange ventures, fresh revealings,
 And, at the end—the sea!
 Brook, with your turns and wheelings,
 How rich your life must be."

"Tree with the golden rustling,
 Would that I were so blessed,
 To cease this stumbling, jostling,
 This feverish unrest.
 I join the ocean's riot;
 You stand song-filled—and free!
 Tree, with your peace and quiet,
 How rich your life must be."¹

¹ From "Envy", by Louis Untermeyer in his book *Challenge* (1915). By permission of Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York.

Envy can be prevented also by keeping the individual from being constantly reminded of the good fortunes of others, or by acquainting him with the effort and sacrifice they made in achieving success or with the exacting nature of their work. It has been said in a thousand ways, and with some justification, that uneasy lies the head that wears the crown.

The possibilities of keeping the individual from being constantly reminded of the good fortunes of other persons are many. Keeping conversation from drifting to elaborate homes when with the indigent, to costly forms of recreation and to investments when with people in very moderate circumstances, to examples of physical excellence when with the infirm; and encouraging the establishment of residences in places in which the family's level of attainment is the common experience of the community—these practices and other similar ones should serve to keep people of small fortune from being more than dimly conscious of the disparity between themselves and persons of greater attainment.

In trying to keep anyone from being conscious of the good fortunes of others, one should not proceed in a stealthy manner, for stealth, when recognized as an attempt to obscure the things others have, emphasizes them, quickens longing for such things, and is always an affront. Moreover, a deliberate attempt to blind the individual to the possessions of others implies that he has a right to share in them, and so makes him especially resentful. Rather than to proceed stealthily in trying to keep the individual from being constantly reminded of the fortunate experiences of others, one should enlist his co-operation by acquainting him with the fact that he may be making himself unhappy by thinking too often and too long of the personal qualities and possessions of others. There are many people who do not realize that they aggravate their own unhappiness by always comparing themselves to others, and who would discontinue doing so if they understood themselves. By informing people of this self-imposed barrier to happiness one can prevent much envy.

It should be noted, however, that there are some persons who advise the disregarding of the superior position of the more fortunate for purely selfish motives—to reconcile the less favoured to exploitation. People living in destitution ordinarily need to be given opportunities and stimulation to better themselves rather than to be made obtuse to their inferior condition. Therefore, this technique of discouraging self-comparison to others, while serving a wholesome purpose in many cases, is subject to abuse, and should be protested when misused.

Envy can be prevented also by encouraging industriousness. The person who busies himself about his own affairs often develops personal qualities or acquires possessions that lessen his feelings of inferiority. And the more he develops himself, the more he can endure the good of others. He also spends little time in thinking of the greater possessions of other persons, and so becomes less conscious of the disparity between himself and them. But when a person who has little, instead of striving for achievement, walks the streets and beholds the achievements of other

persons, he invariably becomes filled with envy, which the industrious person seldom feels. Whatever other means one may also adopt, one should always look upon the stimulation of the individual to improve his life, in one way or another, as the primary means of keeping down envy.

Envy is sometimes due to unbounded ambition, and so can be prevented from arising in this way by limiting ambition to attainable goals. He who has limited aspirations can be envious only of those who excel him within those limits, while he who aspires to attain superiority in every type of activity and to possess the universe will be envious of all who achieve anything beyond his own attainment. There are many persons who cannot take pleasure in any performances of others because they dream of themselves excelling in them all. If Hadrian, the emperor, instead of being ambitious to gain distinction as a painter and as a poet and as an artisan, had been satisfied to be just a good emperor, he might have enjoyed the works of the artists and the craftsmen which he in envy destroyed.

Often the cause of envy is not the envious person but the one who provokes his envy. When superiority is modest and respectful of persons of lesser achievement, those persons do not feel the chagrin nor the resentment that they feel when superiority struts and disdains them. Many superior persons are envied little, as everyone has observed, because they are unassuming and magnanimous. The allaying of envy involves, therefore, the development of modesty on the part of those subject to being envied, and recognition by them of the worth of those whom they excel.

Another means of counteracting envy is to acquaint the individual with the ill fortunes of others. Recognition that everyone has problems, and that some have tragic problems, seems to have therapeutic value. Note, for example, the greater ease with which people endure adversity in times of national crisis than at other times. There are people who are unhappy because they compare themselves usually with others more fortunate than they; seldom with someone less fortunate. By acquainting such a person with the ill fortunes of others, one enables him to see himself in a more favourable comparison with people in general, and, consequently, makes him less envious. Note the statement of this principle and its application in the following quotation:

In such a world; so thorny, and where none
Finds happiness unblighted; or, if found,
Without some thistly sorrow at its side;
It seems the part of wisdom, and no sin
Against the law of love, to measure lots
With less distinguished than ourselves; that thus
We may with patience bear our mod'rate ills,
And sympathize with others, suff'ring more.¹

¹ Cowper, William, *The Task*, Book IV, lines 333-340.

Religious literature of both the Western World and the Orient emphasizes, similarly, man's kinship in sorrow. In the Hindu scriptures we are told that a woman who had lost her only child came frantic with grief to Buddha, and said: "I have heard that thou art a great healer. Restore my child to life." Buddha replied, "Woman, I will do as thou commanded me if thou wilt bring me a mustard seed from a home into which death has not entered." For weeks and weeks this woman travelled about, but sought in vain for such a home, and finally the idea that Buddha had tried to convey came to her, and her grief subsided.

The medical profession, too, is cognizant of the mental therapy often involved in a realization that there are others in a similar or worse condition. Doctors have found that the burden of a patient can sometimes be lightened by telling of more severe cases, or by letting the patient have contact with them. For this reason a distinguished physician has said that the place for certain patients is in the ward.

A person whose feelings change for the better as he sees himself in a favourable comparison with other persons is not necessarily callous in regard to their misfortunes. To most people, the satisfaction of seeing oneself in a favourable comparison with other persons is the satisfaction suggested by Lucretius, who said, " 'Tis sweet, when the seas are tossed by violent winds, to view from land the toils of others, not that there is pleasure in seeing others in distress, but that man is glad to know himself secure."

Concentrating excessively upon the less fortunate lot of other persons may make for contentment to the neglect of achievement. Many persons need often to be reminded of the accomplishments of other persons in order to be stimulated sufficiently to accomplish something themselves. Although the principle of centring attention upon persons whose lot in life is unenviable is subject to abuse, one should not be blind to the mental therapy involved in doing so. Many unfortunate persons unable to alter conditions can maintain mental health only by knowing of others equally unfortunate. In some cases this method is the most effective one for counteracting envy.

2. THE NATURE OF JEALOUSY AND ITS PREVENTION

The word "jealousy" is used here to mean chagrin or anxiety due to the success of a rival, and resentment of it. A person who sees another having something he himself desires or claims is frequently more mortified than otherwise perturbed; for he may be little interested in a thing and yet be most chagrined upon losing it to a rival. And often the wounded pride of jealousy has the fierceness of a wounded lion and finds expression in violent crime.

Jealousy, like envy, in addition to making for anti-social behaviour,

smothers self-respect. It does so directly and indirectly by making one unacceptable socially.

The prevention of jealousy is a complex problem.¹ Much jealousy is unjustified. Fear of losing another's love makes a person highly receptive to anything that suggests, however remotely, that this may be so. A man doubtful of being able to maintain a woman's love is subject to interpreting many of his observations as indications that he is losing her, even though she and the man he suspects are entirely innocent.

Another cause of unjustified jealousy is more subtle. A man who feels an impulsion towards infidelity, or who has actually committed adultery, may develop a phantasy of the same thing on the part of his wife and accuse her of it. This he may do to justify his extramarital interest or indulgence, and to convince himself, through his denunciation of such conduct, that he is basically moral. If he is an extreme case, of which there are many, he will succeed in banishing from consciousness, by means of his moralizing, all thoughts of his own breach of moral principle. An adjustment of this kind, called *projection*, discussed at length in Chapter XVIII, may give rise to the most amazing accusations of infidelity.

There is also much jealousy that is unjustified in that it is due to expecting too exclusive attention from the love object. An extremely vain person, like the king in "My Last Duchess," may be intolerant of his mate's smiling except for him:

She had
A heart—how shall I say?—too soon made glad.
Too easily impressed; she liked whate'er
She looked on, and her looks went everywhere.
Sir, 'twas all one! My favour at her breast,
The dropping of the daylight in the West,
The bough of cherries some officious fool
Broke in the orchard for her, the white mule
She rode with round the terrace—all and each
Would draw from her alike the approving speech
Or blush, at least. She thanked men—good! but thanked
Somehow—I know not how—as if she ranked
My gift of nine-hundred-years-old name
With anybody's gift.

The expectation of too exclusive attention from the love object may be due also to unawareness of the requirements of life. There is a mingling of the sexes in the pursuit of occupations, and such relationships, to be tolerable, usually must include some expression of sympathy. A husband or wife who fails to understand this inevitably becomes jealous. A realization that jealousy is often unjustified should keep many persons from developing such an attitude.

¹ See Davis, Kingsley, "Jealousy and Sexual Property," *Social Forces*, 14: 395-405, 1936.

The responsibility for jealousy often rests with the one who provokes it. A husband and wife have obligations towards each other, and for either to disregard them is to agitate such a disposition. Employers purport to advance employees in salary and rank on the basis of merit; hence failure to do so tends to provoke jealousy. Teachers have a responsibility to treat students impartially, and they cannot do otherwise without making some of them jealous. For the same reason, parents must avoid favouritism in relationships with their children. A mother may, however, give special attention to a younger child without making an older one jealous if she gives it to him because he needs it, rather than because she prefers him. A mother once said to her older child, "I wish Baby were big enough to walk so we wouldn't have to hold her so much." The effectiveness of her statement is evident in the child's reply, which was: "She can't help it that she's little, can she? We love her just the same, don't we?"

To speak of the younger child as a future playmate for the older one should, likewise, be effective.

In the case of children, jealousy is one of the most common types of maladjustment, and is often due to poor management of children.

In a later chapter on the subject of prevention of unwholesome adjustments in general, we have further suggestions for allaying envy or jealousy.

DAY-DREAMING AND REVERSION TO THE PAST

DAY-DREAMING is an adjustment whereby satisfaction of fundamental needs is sought in the world of phantasy rather than in the world of reality. The person who assuages his desires through day-dreaming does so because he has failed to get out of an actual life situation the satisfaction he craves. Everyone day-dreams, but some do so more than others because they suffer greater thwartings. We are interested here in the nature and significance of day-dreaming, and of reversion to the past.

I. "CONQUERING-HERO" DAY-DREAMING

Conquering-hero day-dreaming is imagining oneself to be achieving importance. People smarting with feelings of inferiority frequently strive to sustain their self-regard by imagining themselves as having some extraordinary quality—a marvellous sense of humour, rare athletic ability, unmatched beauty, a great gift for public speaking, unusual intelligence, death-defying courage, unequalled business sagacity, unparalleled benevolence, or cleverness that baffles the best detectives.

Frequently the individual in his day-dreaming visualizes himself as being some other person, one of distinction in whom he sees a fulfilment of his own frustrated desires. Such a day-dreamer is a conquering hero through *identification*. The conquering hero may, therefore, imagine himself as attaining distinction either through living his own life more fully, or through living the life of the person with whom he identifies himself.

Identification may also consist in imagining oneself to be some inanimate thing in which there is suggested an expression of one's own unfulfilled desires. The boy who simulates the sound and motions of a steam engine is identifying himself with the locomotive and in this way is obtaining a feeling of power. The man who takes pride in the achievements of a machine he possesses is often identifying himself with it.

Many persons utilize physical aids to identification. An extremely deranged man may, to support his imagination that he is Christ, let his hair grow. And quite normal people often use aids to identification in their conquering-hero day-dreams. A boy may smoke a cigarette to support his dream of being a man; an adult male may smoke a cigar to aid him in playing the role of a big business man. I once asked a man why he was always enveloped in, or trailing, clouds of smoke. He said, in all seriousness, "It gives me self-confidence."

Through the process of identification the individual of little accomplishment achieves readily a sense of importance. In making this adjustment he takes as much pride in himself as did the fly that sat on the axle-tree of a chariot wheel and said, "What a dust do I stir!"

Conquering-hero day-dreaming, whether imaginary achievement in one's own right or a form of identification, may be either compensatory or defensive activity. There are, on the one hand, persons who because of sickness, injury, disease, or old age find their intellectual, social, or physical powers waning. To keep themselves from the realization that they are deteriorating, they imagine themselves to be extraordinarily competent. In this way they fortify themselves against a loss of pride. In such cases, conquering-hero day-dreaming is a defence adjustment.

There are, on the other hand, persons who engage in conquering-hero day-dreaming, less in order to counteract a feeling that they are slipping than in order to attain a sense of importance. Children in particular do so. Such day-dreaming is compensatory activity.

In extreme cases, the individual actually believes his day-dream as to his greatness to be true. Such persons have *delusions of grandeur*.

2. "SUFFERING-HERO" DAY-DREAMING

Suffering-hero day-dreaming consists in imagining oneself to be undergoing certain abuses. Day-dreaming of this kind may be due to projection of self-criticism; to imagining one's own criticism of oneself to be coming from another person. Such an adjustment is, as we shall see in Chapter XVIII, a common means of avoiding the unpleasantness of self-reproach.

Suffering-hero day-dreaming may consist also in imagining oneself to be undergoing certain abuses whereby one obtains feelings of importance. Such day-dreaming is therefore similar to conquering-hero day-dreaming in the satisfaction it provides, but differs from it in the method through which the satisfaction is attained. The satisfaction is attained through imaginary abuses, rather than through imaginary achievements.

Suffering-hero day-dreaming may give rise to a feeling of self-importance by imagining complimentary reasons for being abused. Sometimes the suffering hero imagines that he is ill-treated because others are jealous of him. In this way he develops the belief that he is superior to his alleged persecutors in the matter provoking their jealousy. A woman may fancy that her husband is keeping her from attaining distinction because he is afraid of being "outdone" by her; and an unqualified employee may imagine that he is kept in the background by his superior for a similar reason. By developing the idea that he is persecuted because of jealousy, the suffering hero grows in self-esteem. Frequently the suffering hero imagines that he is ill-treated because he is feared, and so develops the belief that he is a person of power. Such a one often fancies that he is

abused not simply by some ordinary individual, but rather by a prominent person or a number of people who have conspired against him.

The thought that a distinguished person or group is trying, in self-defence, to bring ruin to him gives the suffering hero more satisfaction than he could obtain from picturing himself as the victim of a mediocre man. The one who imagines that he is kept by officials from lecturing before large audiences because of a fear of what he might say, gets the pleasant satisfaction of thinking that such persons would be seriously concerned. An employee who fancies he was discharged because the foreman was afraid that he himself might otherwise eventually be displaced by the employee, a prisoner who imagines the real reason he was incarcerated is that the authorities were afraid he might become an effective leader of a revolution, and a person who fancies a number of others are attempting to kill him in order to prevent his disclosing information damaging to them, likewise develop through their suffering-hero day-dreams the belief that they count for something in the minds of many or of important persons, and so grow in self-esteem. Thus we see that suffering-hero day-dreaming may actually involve conquering-hero day-dreaming.

Suffering-hero day-dreaming may give rise to feelings of self-importance also by imagining oneself getting sympathy. Imaginary sympathy affords the suffering hero self-esteem by enabling him to think of himself as the object of attention and to feel that he is considered as a meritorious and blameless person. Suffering-hero day-dreaming may, therefore, afford feelings of importance indirectly through imaginary sympathy, as well as directly through self-esteem. Such day-dreaming is engaged in not because of a morbid interest in the unpleasant, but rather as a means of obtaining a feeling of self-importance.

The suffering hero often tries to make his claims of being wronged seem plausible. This he may do in various ways. In some cases he selects something actually done by another person and exaggerates it. By thus choosing a vulnerable point of attack the suffering hero makes his accusations seem logical, and by enlarging upon the thing done by the accused person he guards against appearing ridiculous in complaining of being wronged. When the suffering hero fails to find a vulnerable point of attack he may even lead his intended victim into a position of plausible guilt and then proceed in accordance with the strategy mentioned above.

By putting the other person slightly in the wrong and then exaggerating his act, the suffering hero makes his claim of having suffered injustice seem truthful and serious. In other cases the suffering hero may misconstrue another's motive for doing what he did. By reading an evil purpose into an innocent remark or act, he provides grounds for making an accusation. Misunderstanding may, therefore, be due to a *desire* to misunderstand. In such cases it is futile to try to convince the suffering hero that he is not the victim of the abuses he claims.

When trying to decide whether the persecutions of which an individual

complains are real or imaginary, one must take into account that the suffering hero is a good strategist in making his accusations appear logical. In determining whether the abuses of which the individual complains are real or imaginary, it is helpful also to observe the extent to which he deems himself ill-treated. If he declares himself to be abused in every way by almost all persons with whom he comes in contact, he may be suffering from abuses that are purely imaginary, he may have *delusions of persecution*. The extent to which the individual considers himself to be treated unfairly is, however, not a dependable criterion for judgement as to whether he is a suffering hero, because the abuses of which he complains, however extensive, may be real.

3. DAY-DREAMING FOR VARIOUS GRATIFICATIONS

Some of the most common day-dreams are of love. A woman once begged, "Tell me, Anne, what Harry said about me, even if you have to make it up." The motivation of many day-dreams includes the desire for change of experience. As Robert Louis Stevenson says, "The clergyman, in his spare hours, may be winning battles, the farmer sailing ships, the banker reaping triumph in the arts; all leading another life, plying another trade from that they chose." People in general seem to fail more in the achievement of a sense of personal worth, love, and change of experience than in the achievement of other satisfactions, and to have day-dreams that are chiefly fulfilments of these needs, or that provide escape from distressing thoughts.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DAY-DREAMING

Day-dreaming may have important and far-reaching effects upon the individual. Suffering-hero day-dreaming, although affording a sense of importance, usually entails consequences that obviously leave the individual in a worse mental condition for having engaged in it. The significance of other types of day-dreaming is less obvious, and so their influence alone upon the individual's well-being need be considered here.

a. The Influence of Day-dreaming on Effort or on Character Development. From the standpoint of motivation, day-dreaming may have either a good or a bad effect. When it consists in an imaginary attainment of the goal towards which one in reality strives it may give impetus to activity, because imaginary success, like actual success, is often stimulating. Presumably many men who have attained greatness have found that by engaging in day-dreaming while climbing the heights, they were incited to press on. A distinguished novelist who, while producing his work, visualized it as being a "best seller", may have found his day-dream an incentive to effort.

Similarly, day-dreaming of the identification type may stimulate a child or young person to emulate the character of the person with whom he identifies himself. This type of day-dreaming should, to some extent, be encouraged and directed because of its possibilities of leading to the development of human virtues.

But although day-dreaming may lead to greater effort or to the development of character, it does not necessarily do so. As Thorndike says, an individual might picture himself as having written a dozen sonnets surpassing Shakespeare's and Milton's, picture the consequent joy of friends, read the praises of reviewers, smell the incense of literary clubs, and yet not move his hand an inch towards the pen nor his mind an iota towards poetic creation.

Under what conditions does day-dreaming stimulate effort? It tends to do so when it simply fills the necessary gaps between periods of actual performance, rather than when it is engaged in to avoid the exertion, the discomfort, or the risk of failure or of embarrassment; when it is a secondary rather than a primary means of gratification.

Frequently the individual, in striving for satisfactions, vacillates between actual performance and day-dreaming, and so his day-dreams become distractions from his actual pursuits. Persons in any occupation may, in this way, enfeeble their efforts, and thus jeopardize their success. It is, however, not only day-dreaming but any diversion of thought that enfeebles effort, and renders it ineffective.

b. The Influence of Day-dreaming on the Making of Decisions. Imaginary experiences, as well as actual experiences, often influence decisions. Consequently a person who has visualized himself as attaining great success in pursuing a certain course is likely to follow that course, even though it is a very irrational one for him to take. This is true, for example, in the choice of a life-work. A person who repeatedly pictures himself as a great minister of the gospel, an army officer, a movie star, a lawyer, or a physician may distort his judgement in choosing a vocation. Many a person has made an unwise selection of a vocation because he allowed his day-dream to become his guiding star. Stories and pictures of the "success" type are responsible for many misfits in the occupational world.

Decisions regarding marriage are often influenced more by the day-dream than by relevant facts. A woman, finding a certain man attractive to her, may thereupon day-dream of a marriage with this man and, in her day-dream, visualize him as a very successful person and a devoted and delightfully entertaining husband. The more romantic novels she reads, the more she is influenced by her air castles in marrying the man she has thus idealized.

Day-dreaming also has an extensive influence on decisions relative to purchases and investments. Frequently an advertiser or a salesman gets his prospect to day-dream of attaining certain desired ends by purchasing the thing offered for sale. By glancing through any popular magazine or by

listening to the radio, one can observe attempts by certain sellers to start day-dreams in the minds of the public. A person who excessively visualizes certain satisfactions before they are realized is likely to be taken in by such sales strategy. A day-dream, although often a pleasant companion, is a wretched guide.

Since day-dreaming usually interferes with the making of rational decisions, it follows that important counsel for many persons is: "Instead of day-dreaming, think."

c. The Influence of Day-dreaming on Contentment with Reality. Day-dreaming is an unfortunate adjustment when it makes for discontent with real life situations, as it often does. Phantasy is an alluring exaggeration of what it represents, and so it makes the real world seem pallid or hard. The greater the individual's air castles, the more disheartening does he find the actual world. All air castles are, moreover, flimsy structures that crumble as soon as they are set up. The relapse that the individual suffers upon termination of a day-dream is often far more disheartening than the moments spent in phantasy were bracing. A man may, for example, go to the theatre and identify himself with one of the characters on the screen or stage. Consequently, he may have the imaginary satisfaction of being cheered by the crowd when he rides by in a luxurious car, of being waited on by servants as he enters his palatial residence, and of being surrounded by admiring friends as he dines in splendour. But after the show, he has to go out into the cold, wait fifteen minutes for a trolley-bus and, when he gets home, be told to poke up the fire. The realization that one is no longer a bird of paradise but a sparrow is most disconcerting. Such realization is likely to make a man feel that life is dealing harshly with him.

Day-dreaming may, likewise, decrease the ardour of love for a person. A woman unhappy in marriage usually becomes a bride of phantasy, and so becomes more and more maladjusted to her husband. There are many husbands and wives who, because of their day-dreams, leave their mates starving for affection that they would give more freely if they were not addicted to day-dreaming.

Discontentment with actual conditions, to which extreme indulgence in day-dreaming gives rise, is well expressed in Edwin Arlington Robinson's poem "Miniver Cheevy":

Miniver Cheevy, child of scorn,
Grew lean while he assailed the seasons;
He wept that he was ever born,
And he had reasons.

Miniver loved the days of old
When swords were bright and steeds were prancing;
The vision of a warrior bold
Would set him dancing.

Miniver sighed for what was not,
 And dreamed, and rested from his labours;
 He dreamed of Thebes and Camelot,
 And Priam's neighbours.

Miniver mourned the ripe renown
 That made so many a name so fragrant;
 He mourned Romance, now on the town,
 And Art, a vagrant.

Miniver loved the Medici,
 Albeit he had never seen one;
 He would have sinned incessantly
 Could he have been one.

Miniver cursed the commonplace
 And eyed a khaki suit with loathing;
 He missed the mediæval grace
Of iron clothing.

Miniver scorned the gold he sought,
 But sore annoyed was he without it;
 Miniver thought, and thought, and thought,
 And thought about it.

Miniver Cheevy, born too late,
 Scratched his head and kept on thinking;
 Miniver coughed, and called it fate,
 And kept on drinking.¹

Although day-dreaming often makes sordid the world of reality, it does not necessarily do so. People differ in the extent to which their day-dreams are to them realistic; the more abnormal the individual, the more he fails to distinguish between reality and unreality. And it is usually only the extremely abnormal whose taste for reality is blunted by day-dreams. To the more normal person, phantasy, being a thing apart from reality, does not make reality sordid; and, by virtue of the diversion from reality which it provides, phantasy gives freshness to life.

d. The Influence of Day-dreaming on Mental Health. From various stand-points, in addition to that of contentment with reality, day-dreaming may have a good or a bad effect upon mental health. When it is engaged in to fill the necessary gaps between the period of actual gratification of needs, and when it is engaged in by old people, invalids, or children to whom real accomplishment is impossible, it is often defensible. In the case of children, however, much is done today in schools to provide means for achieving feelings of self-regard and for meriting recognition, with the result that children are now getting more of such satisfactions out of

¹ From *The Town Down the River* (copyright, 1910, by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York). Used by permission of the publishers.

actual life situations, and so have less need of day-dreaming; and much is done to provide adults with satisfying work and leisure activity. But in the lives of all persons there still remains time that cannot be devoted to actual achievement or other satisfactions; and, in such cases it is often of benefit to the individual to imagine that he is where he is not, and that he is attaining desired ends. A little day-dreaming is also a good supplement to actual gratification in that it hands you a thornless rose without necessarily making the world of reality seem less attractive than it otherwise would seem.

From the standpoint of mental health, day-dreaming is unwise when the indulgence decreases actual achievement. This is because imaginary satisfaction is inadequate, and so it cannot take the place of genuine satisfaction. It takes real water to quench thirst. Furthermore, when day-dreaming becomes a substitute for actual achievement it often defers the development of ingenuity in dealing with real life situations; and, consequently, it makes accomplishment more and more difficult. The boy who spends his time dreaming of being a leader of a gang is not learning how to get along with other boys, and every delay in associating with his fellows makes it more difficult to adjust himself to them. Mental health demands, therefore, that a person, instead of occupying his mind for the most part with imaginary achievements, devote his thoughts primarily to the devising of methods for attaining genuine satisfaction.

e. Day-dreaming as a Preventive of Contention and Strife. Some aggrieved persons desire to revenge themselves, but are unable to do so at the time of the offence. In that event, upon going their ways, they may in imagination squelch the offender with a well-turned phrase or flog him; and after having done so they often feel somewhat revenged and satisfied. Later, when meeting the one who provoked their wrath, they may, because of having retaliated in imagination, refrain from actual retaliation. Any conflict that enables the individual to identify himself readily with a triumphant character often greatly allays his resentment of the person that aggrieved him. Such means of reducing tension may, however, stimulate combativeness or even crime as a general pattern of behaviour. Vindictive day-dreaming is a medicine that, while lessening one ailment, is conducive to another failing. But such day-dreaming is sometimes a necessary and inevitable adjustment of many people.

Day-dreaming may, therefore, be an activity of any of these varieties: compensatory, defensive, escape, or vindictive.

5. REVERSION TO THE PAST

When a person meets with difficulties in attaining satisfaction in actual life, he frequently draws upon past experiences for the gratification of his longings. Any need or combination of needs when not gratified may cause a turning to the past. This adjustment is similar to day-dreaming, in

that it consists in dwelling upon thoughts that are gratifying to one's longings; but it differs from day-dreaming, in that the experiences are primarily recalled experiences rather than imaginary. Some people revert more completely to the past than do others. This will be seen when we consider the following degrees of reversion:

a. Reminiscence. To recall pleasant experiences and to muse upon them is, of course, quite normal. Everyone indulges in reminiscing occasionally. But of two persons, one well satisfied with life and the other discontented, the latter is more likely to reminisce. The woman who goes to the attic, dusts off a box, and takes out old letters, photographs, or keepsakes to enjoy them once more is presumably less happy than the one who throws them into the waste-basket. The one reverts to the past because the present does not satisfy her needs, while the other is indifferent to the past because her desires are gratified in the present. Immoderate contemplation of bygone days is a symptom of defeat in the present.

People of all ages reminisce, but chiefly those who have reached senility. An aged person whose powers have waned often finds the present comparatively barren, and so he turns to the past for satisfaction. Such a person cherishes, for example, old songs that remind him of situations in which he was successful. He likes to unfold the past because to him it is a more fruitful source of happiness than the present. As to the significance of reminiscing, this adjustment may have any of the effects of day-dreaming upon the individual's well-being.

b. Regression. Sometimes the individual failing to gratify his desires in normal ways, engages in activities such as satisfied his needs in an earlier stage of his life. The individual often reverts to the behaviour of his childhood. In extreme cases, he does not merely perform acts characteristic of an earlier period, but actually believes he is living in that period. Such doubling back on one's course of development is a form of insanity. The person making this adjustment may toddle, use baby talk, get down on the floor and play gleefully with toys, may address any real or imaginary person as "mamma" or "teacher", or recite nursery rhymes in childish fashion. The histories of such individuals often reveal that they have suffered severe disappointments in adult life. This adjustment whereby the individual adopts the simpler methods of his earlier life is known as *regression*.

Frequently what is taken for regression is in reality a lag in development—failure to develop at the normal rate. But a lag in development leaves the individual ill-adapted to his environment, and so it disposes him to regress. Therefore, while anyone may under severe conditions regress, a person whose development has lagged is more likely to do so. For this reason, the prevention of regression involves dealing with children so that they will develop progressively through and beyond the various stages of childhood. The regret of some parents at seeing a child grow up often causes them to discourage the child from adopting new and more suitable methods as he matures. An understanding of the dangers of

fostering infantile habits in children should, however, help parents to avoid such mistakes.

Reversion to either of the two degrees is due not only to disappointments experienced in present life but also to satisfying memories of earlier years. The more pleasant the memories, the greater is the inclination to regress. There is, however, a tendency to remember the past as having been more glorious than it actually was. Intervening years throw glamour over the events of youth. The distorted view of former days may be explained by the contrast between the individual's disagreeable present and his more agreeable past, which gives him an exaggerated recollection of the pleasantness of his earlier experiences. It may also result from his having reviewed and thus fixed in memory agreeable events, and from his having kept from consciousness unpleasant events. Both of these views are suggested by Tennyson when he asks :

And is it that the haze of grief
 Makes former gladness loom so great?
 The lowness of the present state,
 That sets the past in this relief?

Or that the past will always win
 A glory from its being far ;
 And orb into the perfect star
 We saw not, when we moved therein?¹

The making of a golden age out of one's past has been aptly described as the "old oaken bucket" delusion. A person who exaggerates the agreeableness of his past is likely to acquire a mistaken notion that he should have continued in his former job, remained in the home town, or that he would be happier if he had married the other woman.

Reversion to the past—reminiscence or regression—may be, depending on the individual's state of mind, any of these kinds of activity: compensatory, defensive, or escape.

Reminiscence, as well as most types of day-dreaming, may sometimes affect the individual favourably; but regression, while affording some satisfaction, always imperils the individual's well-being.

¹ Tennyson, Alfred, "In Memoriam," xxiv.

RATIONALIZATION

RATIONALIZATION is, for the most part, an attempt to maintain self-respect amid discrediting circumstances; an attempt to see oneself in a favourable light. In such cases, it is defensive activity. It may also be an attempt to maintain complacency in any trying situation by viewing it, as well as oneself, in a favourable light. Sometimes this mechanism is a means of overcoming inhibition. There are different ways in which rationalization may serve many of its purposes.

1. MAKING ONE'S IRRATIONAL BEHAVIOUR APPEAR RATIONAL

A person's behaviour is not always rational; he frequently does things without knowing why. But the thought of being irrational is humiliating. He can, however, avoid such embarrassment by inventing reasons for his actions. When a person attempts to explain his own behaviour without really understanding it, he is engaging in a form of rationalizing. Thus, rationalization may safeguard a person's pride, in the first place, by enabling him to think his irrational behaviour rational.

2. JUSTIFYING ONE'S IMPROPER BEHAVIOUR

The maintenance of self-respect demands that one's conduct be proper as well as rational. But a person's actions are not always prompted by acceptable motives. At times one does things for unacceptable reasons. But the thought of being actuated by an unacceptable purpose is generally too humiliating to be faced. Consequently, a person may, when doing something that he considers improper, invent acceptable reasons for his actions. This adjustment, whereby he ascribes acceptable motives to his own behaviour at the same time that he considers this behaviour objectionable, is another form of rationalizing.

When trying to make his irrational behaviour seem rational, a person may at the same time be trying to justify it. These two types of rationalization are generally mutually involved to varying degrees.

In every walk of life, instances of these two types of rationalization can be observed. A mother dependent upon her son for companionship and affection may denounce the woman he contemplates marrying, because she herself is unwilling to give him up. She may or may not be aware of her motive in opposing the marriage; but to appear to be either irrational or selfish in the matter would be humiliating. Consequently,

she invents reasons that will make her attitude seem rational and justified. In doing so she may single out some inconsequential thing in the life of her son's fiancée and make it appear to be detrimental to a successful marriage, or she may misconstrue or exaggerate some remark made by the young woman. By raising such objections to the contemplated marriage the mother is able to deceive herself into thinking that she is rational and justified in opposing it. Likewise, a parent may dominate a child for the satisfaction of exercising control, or of expressing vindictiveness; but he may think that his motive is to discipline the child to respect authority and thus make him a good citizen.

An individual who regards a physical sex interest as dishonourable may marry because he finds the other person both mentally and physically attractive, but think himself actuated wholly by spiritual love. A man may favour a certain political party because of family tradition or because he has something to gain from the success of that party in an election. But he would not admit to himself that he is acting irrationally or with a selfish motive; he is more likely to convince himself that he supports the party because its position on some public issue is for the welfare of the people as a whole. By thus rationalizing he is able to save his self-respect.

Most mortifying acts are ignoble rather than irrational, and so we generally rationalize not so much to make our behaviour seem to us rational as to make it seem righteous. One who because of stinginess is indisposed to contribute towards charity may speak of all charity as demoralizing to those who receive it. A person inclined to punish others for the sake of revenge may declare that punishment is necessary for preventing similar offences. An exploiter of men in industry may refer to those whom he victimizes as uninterested in and incapable of attaining higher standards of living. Those with a lust for power may declare that the masses are unable to govern themselves. A lobbyist interested solely in personal gain may oppose legislation intended to protect the health or savings of the people. In doing so, he may declare that the contemplated bill would, if enacted, have an adverse effect on employment, and he may point out the far-reaching consequences of unemployment. He may also declare the bill to be an encroachment on freedom of enterprise and, therefore, to be un-American. Such reasons as these may be given by the lobbyist not simply to defeat a bill, but also to convince himself that he is not working against the people's interests—that he is, on the contrary, a patriot. In brief, a designing person using strategy to deceive others as to his motives may also use it to keep himself from recognizing his behaviour as discreditable. It is, however, only self-deception that constitutes rationalization.

Rationalization invariably goes with the plundering of another nation. When a nation looks with covetous eyes at territory belonging to another nation, it never admits avarice; and when it takes possession, it makes conquest a noble purpose. The greedy nation that seeks domination on an alleged principle that is noble, does so for the sake of maintaining

self-respect or the respect of the world. But it is only when it cloaks its avarice in a worthy principle for the sake of maintaining self-respect that it rationalizes. A nation, in its ruthless subjugation of other lands, can always to its own good self be true so long as it is able to rationalize its exploitations.

Frequently we try to rationalize our irrational and improper emotional states. A man may be unaware of the cause of the emotion he experiences; and when aware of the cause he may feel ashamed of himself. He may, however, be unwilling to admit that he does not know why he is emotional, and be reluctant to give an improper reason when he is aware of it. To avoid the humiliation of being in an irrational or otherwise unbecoming emotional state, he may attribute his emotion to an incidental factor. This adjustment is referred to as *emotional displacement*.

The cause of the emotional state is often distorted in the case of anger. A man enraged over something in his occupational or marital relations may berate the weather, the city in which he lives, or an innocent bystander. A person who does so is likely to be described by people in general as a man who gets angry over nothing. The correct explanation in many such cases is, however, that the enraged person, in order to hide the real cause of his anger and to make his emotional state appear rational, attributes his anger to an incidental factor.

Melancholia is another emotional state, the cause of which is often distorted. Hart writes that one of his patients who was in an unusually depressed state of mind attributed his dejection to having seen two foreigners brutally treated. Hart's interpretation of this person's case is, however, that the real cause of his melancholia was a breach with his father. The maltreatment of the foreigners, according to Hart, was simply an incidental factor to which the patient attributed his depression in order to conceal its actual cause.¹

In cases of fear, also, one can see the cause of emotional states distorted by the process of rationalizing. A person is sometimes afraid of something that you could in no way consider as adequate cause for fear. In such cases the irrational fear becomes intelligible only when one comes to understand, among other things, the principle of emotional displacement—the tendency of some individuals to attribute their emotional state to an incidental factor in order to make the irrational emotional state seem rational, or to obscure its real cause.

3. CONSOLING ONESELF IN TIME OF FAILURE

Failure to attain worthwhile ends is humiliating. To avoid the unpleasant thought of being unable to meet a situation, an unsuccessful person often attempts to explain his failure in a manner that will keep his

¹ See Hart, Bernard, *The Psychology of Insanity*, p. 88. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1944.

self-respect. This adjustment is another form of rationalizing. Thus, rationalizing may safeguard one's pride, in the third place, by excusing oneself for failure. There are several ways in which, through the process of rationalizing, a person may free himself from blame for being unsuccessful:

a. *Declaring the Unattained to Be Undesirable.* A person frequently declares the unattained to be undesirable in order to excuse himself for failing to attain it. This attitude of denying the desirability of something one fails to attain is often referred to as "sour-grapes" adjustment; the term is suggested by Æsop's fable of the fox who decided that he didn't like the grapes that were in reality beyond his reach.

It is easy to confuse the person who denies the value of a thing because he fails to attain it, with the person who denies its value because his reason dictates that it is not worth while. One cannot always tell whether such a statement as "I wouldn't spend the best four years of my life on the gridiron" indicates the reasoning or the "sour-grapes" form of rationalizing. To decide the matter, one must know whether the person uttering it failed in an attempt to qualify for playing football. Likewise, statements such as "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," "The job doesn't amount to much," "The winner in the campaign may be the loser," and "I'm lucky she turned me down" may be conclusions reached as a result of rational deliberation, or they may simply be attempts to excuse failure, failure due to incompetence or lack of initiative.

The difficulty in knowing whether another person is reasoning or rationalizing can be illustrated further by referring to the stoic and to the ascetic. The stoic makes a vice of interest in things generally thought desirable, as in the charge "Love of money is the root of all evil," and he makes a virtue of not possessing them, as when he says, "To want little is wisdom." The stoic may take this attitude in order to change his own defeat into triumph. The ascetic spurns worldly pleasures for spiritual values. He may do so in order to turn his defeat into sanctity. It would, of course, be incorrect to say that the pronouncements of the stoic and of the ascetic are always motivated by desire to avoid the chagrin of defeat, for often they are solely expressions of genuine belief. This is true especially of devoutly religious people, to whom spiritual matters are of such transcendent value that most earthly pleasures, in comparison with them, quickly pall. But the stoic or the ascetic may, when he least suspects himself, be simply rationalizing indolence or failure. Thus, to be able to distinguish the "sour-grapes" form of rationalizing from reasoning one must know of the individual's aspirations.

b. *Seeing Mainly the Bright Side of Things.* The tendency to look for the good in everything is referred to as "Pollyanna adjustment", because it is exemplified by Eleanor Porter's cheerful heroine, Pollyanna. It is also designated as "sweet-lemon adjustment", the opposite of the sour-grapes attitude. This disposition to see the advantages rather than the disadvantages of one's condition or circumstances is defensive or escape activity.

Many persons having misfortune take the attitude that what they are undergoing is a good experience, reveals strength or greatness of character, leads to an unforeseen good, or is transitory. Others find consolation in thinking upon what they still have; in thinking, for example, "One cannot have everything," "I was lucky," or, "It might have been worse." A woman who has lost her only child may find comfort in the thought that she still has her husband. One writer has gone so far as to say:

They shall be accounted poet kings
Who tell the most heart-easing things.

The individual in an unfortunate situation likes consolation, and so tends to be credulous of it. There are, however, persons who maintain rationality in the most trying circumstances. They can see that adversity usually is offset somewhat by good, or leads somehow to one's betterment; but they do not sugar-coat their situation, nor like to see others do so. They can be comforted much by pointing out the possible advantages or opportunities of their situation, but only after recognizing its bitterness. Most of our misfortunes are more supportable than the remarks, commonly made, by well-meaning persons in regard to them. Solace that denies the unpleasant facts may, because of the spirit in which it is offered, please anyone, but it usually irritates those who think.

The sour-grapes and the sweet-lemon adjustments are usually implied in each other, and so serve, more or less, the same purpose; that of excusing oneself for one's failure, or of making one's situation otherwise more bearable.

c. Attributing One's Failure to Some Other Person, Thing, or Circumstance. By attributing his failure to an extraneous factor, a person excuses himself for being unsuccessful. Everyday life abounds with illustrations of such attempts to save one's self-respect in time of defeat. A parent responsible for the unwholesome behaviour of a child may attribute the child's waywardness to bad influence of other children. An incapable teacher may claim that her classes are not the right size for obtaining good results, that the students were not properly taught in the early grades or that they engage in too many social activities. An outfielder missing the ball may feign sun-blindness. A man failing in his work may say that he got a raw deal, had a bad break, or never was given a chance. Any unsuccessful person may attribute his failure to vicious practices by competitors. Seldom is anyone fairly beaten. Moreover, however much an individual may be responsible for his wretched condition, he may attribute it to fate.

This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behaviour—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains by necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influences; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on.¹

¹ Shakespeare, William, *King Lear*, Act I, scene ii, lines 129-138.

4. OVERCOMING INHIBITION

For overcoming inhibition and thus achieving freedom from mental conflict and satisfaction of suppressed desire, rationalization is commonly engaged in and is a ready means of furthering these ends. Any justification of behaviour that one inhibits decreases one's mental conflict and disposes one towards activity of the desired type. When motivated by desire to overcome inhibition, rationalization is at the same time defensive activity.

In summary, the process of rationalization consists in—

1. Making one's irrational behaviour appear rational.
2. Justifying one's improper behaviour.
3. Consoling oneself in time of failure—
 - a. By declaring the unattainable to be undesirable.
 - b. By seeing mainly the bright side of things.
 - c. By attributing one's failure to some other person, thing, or circumstance.
4. Overcoming inhibition.

Within certain limits, rationalization may be justified. There are times when a person's acknowledgement of his own shortcomings would be so humiliating as to leave him mentally deranged. In so far as self-deception serves as a protection against unbearable self-abasement, it is a worthy adjustment. Almost everyone at some time or other has need of breaking the force of a humiliating experience by rationalizing his behaviour. And rationalization is a ready means of saving face, because self-deception is easy. The danger of rationalizing is that the individual, by justifying his ill-advised action, may be encouraged to make similar mistakes in the future. Self-deception often stunts growth in the making of adequate adjustments to life. As a general rule, rationalizing may be regarded with approval when its conclusions are used to prevent severe humiliation over acts committed, rather than to guide one to further conduct.

ADJUSTMENTS OF VARIOUS TYPES

THE particular types of adjustment to frustration or to mental conflict dealt with here have nothing more in common than that they, as well as those we have already considered, are examples of the general types of adjustment taken up in Chapter XIII. They are combined into a single chapter simply for the sake of brevity.

1. MISPLACEMENT OF EMPHASIS

Foiled long in the achievement of a certain kind of satisfaction, the individual tends to overvalue it, and, if later circumstances permit, to over-indulge in it. An individual frail in childhood may subsequently carry physical training too far. Such a man once showed his muscles and remarked: "Ten years ago they said I would die. Look at me now!" Another example is the common observation that the newly rich rather than those who have always been wealthy are extravagant. Other things the same, persons who have the least of one thing or another want it most.

The individual may over-indulge in satisfaction of a certain kind also because of having been denied other satisfactions. While some persons eat too much because of having been undernourished in earlier years, others glut themselves with food, or drink to excess, because of having few pleasures. They may justify themselves with such remarks as "That's about all you get out of life." A neglected infant may compensate for his deprivation, or a frightened infant may counteract fear, by over-indulgence in the only real satisfaction with which he is able to provide himself: thumb sucking. A rich man who was penniless in his early years, and especially one who is denied most of the satisfactions essential to happiness, is subject to becoming extremely frugal, if not avaricious or miserly. A person failing to attract much attention in other ways may develop extreme orderliness, regularity, or punctuality. A sex addict may be compensating for deprivation of one kind or another. Religious fanaticism is likewise misplaced emphasis, often for the achievement of substitute satisfaction. The narrower the stream of human impulses, the stronger the current. Overdoing one thing because of previous failure in it, or in other things, usually creates such trying circumstances that the compensatory satisfaction it affords is seriously offset by the anxiety it creates.

2. ENGROSSING ACTIVITY

Attempts are often made to free oneself of distressing thoughts by becoming engrossed in some activity unrelated to an unpleasant experi-

ence. Such an adjustment is clearly escape activity, and it may serve its purpose effectively. The more one is absorbed in something foreign to that which one wishes to forget, the more one achieves the desired end. In extreme insanity, thoughts are often completely effaced for long periods of time by unrelated activity.

Effort to blot out unhappy memories through feverish activity can be observed widely. One man drives a car at terrific speed in order to relieve his mind. Another constantly moves from place to place, and in this way tries to forget his disturbing thoughts. Still another may overdo a hobby in order to free himself from anxiety. Someone else may, upon hearing an unpleasant remark introduced into a conversation, talk rapidly about another subject. This sudden change of topic to one unrelated to an unpleasant idea is called *press of conversation*, and is a common device to repel unhappy thoughts. Any engrossing experience may be an escape from something else, as are many over-eager pursuits or passionate attachments.

Some feverish activity consists in exclusive concentration upon one of incompatible thought-patterns in order to overcome mental conflict or inhibition. In extreme cases of this kind, the individual may be wholly inconsistent from time to time without realizing it.

Engrossment in activity may be either commendable or unwise. When one experiences frustration, granted that the frustration is unescapable, it is the part of wisdom to engage in such activity, provided it is wholesome. People in distress are frequently urged to devote themselves to things that will divert the mind from the unpleasant circumstances. Medicine puts much emphasis on occupational and recreational therapy. In hospitals for the physically disabled and in mental hospitals certain patients are coaxed, urged or commanded to do things that will absorb their attention.

When the individual engages unconsciously in this method of freeing himself of unpleasant thoughts and so does irrational things, it is usually detrimental to his well-being. Engrossing activity may, therefore, give rise to mental distress that is far worse than the anxiety it alleviates.

3. SIMULATION OF THE TRAIT OPPOSITE TO ONE'S UNDESIRABLE TRAIT

An individual often strives to free himself of thoughts having to do with a personal deficiency by simulating the extreme opposite qualities or attitudes. A man guilty of thievery may speak vociferously on the importance of being honest, and may become extraordinarily righteous in minor monetary affairs. One who regularly fleeces the public may later give generously to churches or other social institutions. A person wishing the death of another may develop extreme solicitude over his welfare. A timid individual may pretend to be brave. A man feeling

remiss about something may devote himself to it fanatically. A person feeling guilty of sex indiscretion in thought or act may become prudish. Children, when feeling the onset of sex interest, usually react, if other children or adults are present, in a way that to the casual observer would suggest sex aversion. Boys are seemingly reluctant to have girls take part in their play, and girls are seemingly disgusted with the behaviour of boys. But much of this apparent antipathy is surface antipathy, feigned to conceal real interest.

A person who simulates the trait opposite to his undesirable trait usually will not tolerate other persons who manifest the same weakness. This is because seeing his own fault in another tends to remind him of his own shortcoming. The harder he finds the maintaining of a guiltless feeling in respect to the trait concerned, the more he may demand unreasonable rectitude on the part of others. Violent show of antipathy often betrays affinity.

Simulating the trait opposite to one's undesirable trait, as well as becoming engrossed in activity, may have a wholesome or an unwholesome effect. In certain cases it overcomes the undesirable trait, and so removes the cause of anxiety. Generally, however, this adjustment too is made unconsciously and, in that event, is not only carried to an extreme but manifested also in other irrational ways. A person feeling guilty of some improper act may, for example, simulate moral cleanliness by washing his hands incessantly. But he does so often at the price of sanity. Thus the individual making this adjustment may lose far more than he gains.

4. PROJECTION OF ONE'S DEFICIENCY TO ANOTHER PERSON

Frequently an attempt is made to remove the thought of a personal deficiency by projecting that deficiency to another person—that is, by regarding the fault seen in oneself as the fault of someone else. Consider the case of a typical figure, John Doe. This man has a wife and five children. He has been out of work for some time, and is seeking vainly for employment. He and his family are badly in need of food and clothing. The few necessities which he is able to procure are parcelled out very carefully and at long intervals. Doe is a very righteous man to whom the thought of acquiring the necessities of life through unlawful means has never occurred. But now, as hunger grips him, and as he views his slowly starving family, the idea of stealing comes to him. At first he is horrified by the thought; then he regards it as a passing fancy, and brushes it aside as being something foreign to him. Time goes on, and the idea recurs to him repeatedly. Soon it becomes a part of him. But the thought of taking things through theft is intolerable to his self-respect. Consequently, he strives to free himself from the shameful idea of having an inclination to steal.

One means of providing himself with convincing evidence that he is an honest man is denouncing another person for a similar weakness. Accordingly, Doe may, despite his affection for his family, violently attack one of his children for a trivial theft, or may falsely accuse almost anyone of stealing. The fault against which he inveighs is in reality his own inclination to steal. He berates his victim for the weakness as a means of exonerating himself from the trait concerned. Because he denounces another for a fault that is in reality his own inclination, John Doe may be said to project his inclination to that person for the purpose of maintaining his self-respect.

The false accusations that people hurl at each other in every quarrel are generally due largely to feelings of guilt. The more they charge each other with their own injustice, the less aware they are of it. When a marriage goes on the rocks, the person most responsible for its failure may accuse the other of what he himself is guilty of in order to free himself of the feeling of being blameworthy. The abuse of the people of a conquered nation ordinarily is, likewise, an attempt to project into them one's own guilt. Many an old quarrel, whether between individuals or nations, is kept up in order to keep down feelings of having been more or less responsible for it. "He who does you a very ill turn will never forgive you."

Frequently the individual projects what is to him both a fault and a centre of pleasurable contemplation. This enables him to dwell upon such behaviour and at the same time to disown it—affords him disguised gratification. Many persons who gossip repeatedly about real or imaginary sex lapses of others, and who inveigh against the practices of which they tell, are projecting their own inclinations into them, for two kinds of satisfaction—that of thinking themselves virtuous, and that of dwelling upon the subject of sex.

A woman may, for the same satisfactions, project her amatory interest into a man by developing fear of being pursued by him. One thus inclined is highly amenable to suggestion and so, upon hearing a slight sound outside her window at night, is likely to peer out, imagine she sees a man, and call the police. There is a case on record of an unmarried woman, age sixty-four, who imagined she saw attractive men in automobiles circling around her residence and thought that she heard them plotting to take her away in a yacht. She was so frightened that she dialled the police for protection.

Sometimes a woman, similarly motivated, projects her amatory interest by writing to an innocent man accusing him of annoying her with advances, and requesting him to stop doing so. In extreme cases, such a woman may write ardent love letters to herself and sign some man's name to them.

In adjustments of these kinds the individual enjoys his amatory thoughts and, at the same time, repudiates them; is making an adjustment that is compensatory and defensive. We see, then, that when an individual

who has projected his own inclination to another makes groundless accusations regarding that person's character, his motive is not to malign someone else; he merely hangs his fault on another in order that he may feel free of it, or may without compunction centre his thoughts around it.

5. PROJECTION OF ONE'S OWN CRITICISM OF ONESELF TO ANOTHER PERSON

Self-criticism, unpleasant in itself and a source of mental conflict, is often projected by regarding it as criticism coming from another person. Let us take a typical case and call the subject Elmer Smith. He and his wife, with a common purpose, are careful with their money. One evening he leaves for a stroll and meets an acquaintance. They step into a tavern for a drink, and there his companion introduces him to two of his friends. The four decide to have a sociable game of cards. As the cards are dealt, one of the men suggests making the game a little more interesting by playing for small stakes, to which Elmer reluctantly agrees. He wins the first few hands, but soon finds that he has lost heavily, and quits. All the way home he tries to justify himself but finds it difficult to keep down self-criticism. As he enters, his wife asks, in an entirely uncritical tone, "Elmer, where were you all this time?" and says, "I've been terribly worried about you."

"That's right, hop on me," blurts Elmer; "go ahead. scold me some more."

In responding thus, this man is projecting into his wife his own criticism of himself in order to escape remorse. He does so because his self-criticism, which he cannot keep down, is unpleasant.

In extreme cases, the individual may regard his self-criticism as criticism coming from an entirely imaginary person or even from a number of imaginary persons and, consequently, thinks that he hears voices of persons in the next room or outside the house, voices of persons speaking to him "by radio", "by electricity", or "by wires", or that he hears voices of "spirits". Such a person may, but does not often, imagine that he sees those whose voices he thinks he hears. A person who mistakes his self-accusations for accusations of someone else is said to have a *hallucination*. This manner of banishing ideas may prevent feelings of remorse, but as it consists in the making of false accusations, it may lead to disaster.

6. DOUBLE PERSONALITY

Sometimes an individual loses memory of his name and of everything else pertaining to himself. His condition is one of several kinds of memory deficiency all called *amnesia*. He may wander along the streets, or go to a new and distant place—may become a *fugue*. When he does so, he often

assumes another name by which he goes freely, and engages in work or other activity entirely different from what he has done before. Such a person is otherwise normal. He talks rationally, walks or drives heedfully through traffic, makes normal adjustments in travelling, and carries on his new occupation without arousing suspicion.

A person of this kind is said to have *double personality*. He alternates more or less frequently between a state somewhat normal to himself—his *primary* state—and his *secondary* state. When in the secondary state he may remember the primary one but speak of it as the experience of another person. And when he returns to the primary state, he ordinarily remembers nothing about the secondary one.

The individual may develop not simply a double personality, but a *multiple* personality—one that alternates between several mental states. But actual cases of double or multiple personality seem to be rare; far more rare than the number of stories about such cases would indicate.

In some cases, such change of identity seems to be an attempt to overcome inhibition—to free oneself from self-restraint. In other cases, it is apparently an escape from humiliating or otherwise unpleasant experiences. All cases of double or multiple personality have presumably been under severe strain of one kind or another.

7. SYMBOLISM

The individual sometimes vests a thing or an activity with an extraneous meaning, and such a meaning denotes what is called *symbolism*.

a. Symbolic Objects. Many an object acquires for the individual an extraneous meaning. Flags, badges, keepsakes, and religious objects are examples. Interest in such things is derived from the fact that they give visible representation of something intangible or out of sight. Usually the individual is aware that he is interested in the symbol chiefly because of what it represents.

Sometimes the vesting of an object with symbolic meaning is an unconscious adjustment to achieve disguised gratification. In such cases, the individual believes his interest in a symbolic object to be an interest in the object itself, rather than in what, to him, it stands for. A person having a strong sex interest disturbing to him may preoccupy himself with something non-sexual but, nevertheless, suggestive to him of sex. In this way he deceives himself as to his interest in it, and he, at the same time, enjoys its erotic stimulation. Erotic symbolism is, therefore, an adjustment that is compensatory and defensive.

There are things that may be suggestive of sex to anyone; but some persons instead of seeing a sexual likeness in but few things and forgetting them, as does the normal person, find a sexual likeness in almost anything, and they become obsessed with it.

The stronger the object's non-sexual attractions are, the more it

conceals the individual's sexual interest in it. A great painting of the human form, for example, may afford a person appreciative of art much amatory satisfaction that he does not accept as such.

A special type of erotic symbolism is *fetishism*—the fixing of erotic interest upon a part of the body or an article of clothing; for example, upon the foot or shoe of a woman. Some men find themselves stimulated as much by what is to them a fetish as others are stimulated by a normal adjustment. The fetish may even be the most potent factor in such a man's eroticism; the woman as a total personality may be to him quite unimportant. In such cases, fetishism is disguised gratification of erotic impulses due to inhibition of the primary sex aim.

The satisfaction of fetishism or of other erotic symbolism is not necessarily disguised satisfaction. Many persons who must defer or often forgo normal sex adjustment achieve through such symbolism either substitute or supplementary gratification, and are wholly aware of its erotic nature.

b. Symbolic Activity. Often symbolic activity, as well as the vesting of an object with symbolic meaning, is a normal adjustment. A woman who suddenly feels enamoured of a new acquaintance may encourage him to call upon her, but try to conceal her feelings when he does so. If she is highly stimulated by him and yet extremely inhibited, she may give way to her affection but direct it towards a member of her family or any bystander. Such behaviour is symbolic expression of affection for her new acquaintance, and affords her relief from the tension of inhibition. It may afford her also some compensatory satisfaction, but this is presumably a negligible motivating factor.

A less apparent type of symbolic activity is kleptomania—a persistent impulse towards theft prompted by interest in the taking of a thing rather than in what is taken. The kleptomaniac often steals something that is of no intrinsic value to him or that he is able to obtain easily in other ways. A wealthy woman may delight in taking unobserved anything, however trivial or worthless it in itself may be.

The kleptomaniac seems to be extremely inhibited, often sexually, and to find his theft symbolic of liberating his forbidden impulses. In the light of this interpretation, his chief satisfaction is the relief from tension.

For an obvious reason, kleptomania on the part of a destitute person is less likely to be detected than on the part of one who is wealthy. And in the case of an individual, child or adult, who steals something partly because he wants it and partly because taking it is to him symbolic of snatching from a cold world the love he feels he has been denied, the kleptomaniac factor is most likely to go unrecognized.

In the case of a man who sneaks into a woman's chamber and steals some of her clothes with which he later becomes preoccupied, both fetishism and kleptomania may be involved.

A person who collects with avidity things of one kind or another may

do so, likewise, because he finds his activity symbolic of overcoming frustration. Sometimes a collecting mania is, however, chiefly escape activity.

Stereotyped action, a trait of some mental patients, may also be symbolic; symbolic of a deeply stirring experience that they have had. There is the case of a female patient who, according to Young,¹ for many years performed a single stereotyped act. She had never been known to speak nor to take interest in anything around her. All day long, for many years, she sat in a stooping position, continually moving her arms and hands in a manner resembling a shoemaker sewing a boot. Investigation of her history revealed that, as a young girl, she had been betrothed to a shoemaker and that the engagement was suddenly broken off. Her action, symbolic of his, presumably enabled her to relive some of their experiences and decreased her tension.

The same author reports another case of symbolic activity: a man walking with a friend in a village. This man expressed extreme dislike for the church bells, which were pealing at the moment, and which were famous for singular beauty of tone. In further conversation with his friend, this man revealed that both he himself and the clergyman wrote poetry, and that, in a recent criticism, his poems had been compared unfavourably with those of the clergyman. His attack upon the church bells apparently was to him symbolic of belittling the poems of the clergyman, from which he refrained, and it afforded him relief from the tension of his self-restraint.

Thus, symbolism may be regarded as an emotional reaction to something other than its real cause. The chief satisfaction of symbolism ordinarily is disguised gratification or the release of tension.

8. MASOCHISM AND SADISM

The finding of any gratification, especially sexual gratification, in being physically abused or humiliated is *masochism*. This term was derived from the name of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1835-95), who depicted such sexual perversion in a novel. The abusing or humiliating of a person, especially if done for sexual gratification, is *sadism*. This term has a similar origin; it was derived from the name of Count de Sade (1740-1814) who, likewise, depicted such sexual perversion. An old couplet reads:

I beat her; she beats me—
We love each other tenderly.

The sadist commonly is from time to time a masochist, the masochist a sadist; and either may be of the male or female sex.

¹ See Hart, Bernard, *The Psychology of Insanity*, pp. 127-129. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1944.

Sometimes abusiveness is disguised sexual gratification due to inhibition of normal expression. The one who receives the abuses may, similarly, find in them disguised sexual satisfaction. This is suggested by the fact that the individual sometimes takes pleasure in injuring or humiliating a sexually attractive person, or in being injured or humiliated by such a person, without attempting intercourse.¹ The enjoyment of such behaviour may, however, be disguised sexual gratification supplementary to direct gratification. That there may be disguised satisfaction in physically abusing or in humiliating a sexually attractive person, or in being abused by such a person, can readily be understood when thought of in relation to the similarly motivated rough play of some adolescents.

Some men who are weak caricatures of masculinity and who have little self-esteem are unable to enter adequately into sexual relations, and so they may abuse or humiliate women in order to achieve a feeling of masculinity and dominance. If such a person has been repeatedly rejected, or otherwise frustrated, his abuse or humiliation of the woman is likewise to be also vindictiveness. A sadist once explained his behaviour, saying, "Women never give me a break."

There are persons who obtain pleasure through non-sexual cruelty received from anyone. Their attitude often has a religious origin. Religions sanctify, to a greater or less extent, the sufferings of man, and so make them more bearable, but some religions do so to the extent that a highly impressionable adherent may adopt adversity as a goal in life. Others may embrace endless adversity as atonement. The pain addict never finds pain in itself satisfying. His acceptance of it is simply a means to an ulterior end.

Originally the terms "masochism" and "sadism" had only the sexual implications, but their meanings have now been extended as indicated here.²

9. APATHY

Failing in all of his major undertakings, or in constant fear, the individual may keep down anxiety by developing disinterest in the things of life or unconcern as to what may happen to him. The apathetic person moves and talks slowly, often replies to your questions only after much delay, and neglects his work. When you mention something commonly thought pleasant or unpleasant, even if it affects him personally, he shows little trace of feeling in either case. His typical response to good news is, "It's all right" and to bad news, "It doesn't matter." He lets events, whatever their nature, take their course, and he sees in them no cause for joy or worry. Because of his emotional deterioration, he may seem to have deteriorated intellectually to the level of morons.

¹ See Stekel, Wilhelm, *Sadism and Masochism*, Vol. I. New York, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1929.

² See Reik, Theodor, *Masochism in Modern Man*, p. 4. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941.

In extreme cases, the patient for days or weeks sits expressionless or with a forced smile, remains in bed, often in a peculiar position and with eyes open but not blinking, refuses food, is insensitive to pain stimuli, engages in stereotyped speech or action, or becomes mute. He is not unconscious, for he is able to notice anything that takes place in his presence. Patients who hold themselves in one posture for long periods of time, remain mute, and refuse to eat are said to be cases of "catalepsy", or to be in a "catatonic stupor". They sometimes remain in whatever position you may put them.

Apathy, whether mild or extreme, involves a withdrawal from the world of reality to the world of phantasy, presumably as a compensatory or defensive adjustment.

10. THE USE OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

The motives of different people in drinking alcoholic beverages, as in most types of activity, are various, and any one person may have different interests in doing so. Many persons who use alcoholic liquor, do so, however, to achieve one or more of the following ends:

a. Relief from Unpleasant Thoughts. An immediately effective adjustment to frustration or mental conflict is the use of intoxicating beverages, which depress the higher brain centres, and so blunt sensibility and understanding. Many persons suffering from petty disturbances, or from slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, imbibe to seal the mind against thought of them. When asked why he got drunk so frequently, a labourer in the Chicago stockyards said, "It's the quickest way out of Packing Town." The individual who drinks to make himself insensitive to his distressful life ordinarily makes his life, as everyone knows, even more distressful; but because of extreme tension, he may knowingly hazard all for the sake of present relief.

People do need relief from unpleasant experiences. But since intoxication gives only temporary relief and usually drives the individual into a sea of trouble, it is a short-sighted striving for complacency, and suggests inferiority or desperation.

On festive occasions, and at other times when the chief purpose is pleasure, the individual may drink to free himself of disagreeable thoughts, not because they are especially hard to bear, but because they keep him from having the fullest pleasure on such occasions. If his companion is disagreeable or talks unnecessarily of unpleasant things, he may also urge him to drink in order to keep him from creating a dreary atmosphere. But alcohol decreases alertness and adaptability, and so those who imbibe may miss much of what the occasion has to offer them, or become victims of over-indulgence.

b. Attention. Many people enjoy the self-expression of an intoxicated person or achieve vicariously release of tension by observing his behaviour,

and so they provide an amused or sympathetic audience. Drinking publicly is, therefore, a ready means of becoming conspicuous. In a community in which there is considerable tolerance of drinking, even to excess, an individual in a semi-intoxicated condition sometimes goes so far as to sit in a crowded street sipping intermittently while exchanging remarks with onlookers. In any community the commotion and comment that the inebriates stir up obviously is, to many of them, a satisfaction.

c. *Forbearance of Other Faults.* Addicted to intoxication, the individual often can follow his inclination of the moment without incurring severe or lasting censure. He may work irregularly, quit his job without taking up other work, or avoid any distasteful situation or responsibility with less criticism than he could do so in sobriety. He may also indulge in tabooed or unlawful activity, or by his intoxication worry someone dependent upon him, without being dealt with severely. Such a motive in becoming intoxicated is suggested by the statement one sometimes hears, "I guess I had a little too much."

d. *Freedom from Inhibitory Thoughts.* By depressing the higher brain centres, which have, as one of their functions, the inhibition of behaviour, alcohol leaves the emotions in control, and then words or acts normally held in check burst forth.

One of the motives, often highly unconscious, in reducing inhibition through intoxication is the furtherance of conviviality. An individual may, by drinking, overcome thoughts of being inferior, and in this way have the self-assurance necessary to engage anyone in conversation. Everyone is important or interesting in his own eyes as long as he does not have thoughts to the contrary. Some persons lack conviviality because they accept their companions with reservations. Such a person may drink to blind himself to what he does not like in a companion. Drinking is, therefore, a social equalizer in that it overcomes feelings of inferiority or the thought of another person's deficiency. A man once said, "The trouble with me is not that I'm that way when drunk, but that I can't be that way when sober." By serving as a social equalizer intoxicating beverages can make almost anyone a jolly good fellow. But usually the individual is accepted as such only by persons who also are intoxicated. Others find him garrulous and artless rather than stimulating or interesting, although they may be amused by his fearlessness. Those who share the bottle often find conviviality in a social brawl.

Drinking on the part of persons in occupations that involve personal relationships may be similarly motivated, by desire to overcome timidity, and thus to have sufficient self-confidence to approach anyone with calm. But the use of intoxicating beverages, in addition to reducing inhibition, may make the individual insensitive to the wishes of other persons, and hence makes him antagonistic or disgusting to them. Self-assurance to give rise to effective effort must be accompanied by clearness of judgement.

An individual desirous of doing something tabooed is often inhibited or unable to enjoy the tabooed activity because of self-criticism or fear.

No pleasure flourishes in such emotional states. But in a state of intoxication scruples and fear vanish as readily as do feelings of inferiority or other inhibitory impulses.

Some persons are normally insufficiently inhibited; and so, by unleashing themselves through inebriety they often become a liability to themselves and to those whose lives they touch. Others need to have some of their self-imposed or socially imposed shackles removed; but by removing them through intoxication, they remove them indiscriminately and frequently to excess. Thus they too imperil their own lives and the lives of other persons. Better ways of attaining a full life are for the individual and society to work together towards personal development and towards the adjustment of conditions and of social attitudes in harmony with human nature.¹

II. COMPLEXES

The individual having a complex—a dominant and persistent behaviour pattern—may be conscious of it, as when he pursues a love object to the neglect of his other interests, or when he follows an occupation or a hobby to the same extent. The question as to why objects fall to the ground was to Newton a complex of which he was conscious, for he said, when asked how he discovered the law of gravity, "I thought about the falling of the objects all the time." Such singleness of purpose often gives zest to life, and is essential to great achievement.

Often a complex is compensatory or escape activity. After a battle, a machine-gunner went to his sergeant, and said: "Sarge, that partner of mine is driving me nuts. He talks about his stamp collection all the time."

The sergeant casually went to the other man, and asked, "How are you?"

He replied: "Oh, I'm all right, and I don't mind the fighting, but my partner is driving me nuts. He just goes on and on talking about his wife. He doesn't even hear me when I say something."

A similar case is revealed in the following transcript of a letter:

GENTLEMEN:

I am writing a few lines to ask you if you would please help me out. I need help bad. I want to buy a small farm about 5 or 10 acres of land close to the city of ———, but I haven't the money to make the down payment, I wonder if you could help me in this case? I wish you would. If I had the down payment on a small farm then I could make the monthly payments.

I want to go into poultry raising I am crazy about poultry I am a lover of poultry I know everything about poultry there is nothing that I don't know about poultry. Poultry is my hobby I would be the happiest man that ever lived if I

¹ For further discussion of the subject of Alcoholism, see Carney Landis and M. Marjorie Bolles, *Textbook of Abnormal Psychology*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946.

could get a small poultry farm close to the city of ———. I am a real poultry man. I could stand for hours and hours looking at poultry. I like to look at poultry. I am born as a poultry man it's born right in me. I even took two courses in poultry to know more about poultry, no one can fool me in poultry. I know good poultry when I see them, I am a good sober man and honest man. Please could you help out a good honest man I am a Civil War Veteran.

I need the money to make a down payment on a small poultry farm close to the city of ———, and buy poultry and maybe I can get enough money to pay cash for a small poultry farm. All what I ask for is to get a start on a small poultry farm. You will never be sorry by helping me out. You will get all your money back in monthly payments I am a good worker.

I sure would in joy it to work on a small poultry farm of my own. There is nothing that I love so much to work around poultry I read and take all the poultry magazines I can. I do love to read about poultry.

I am a married man and my wife loves poultry as much as I do. I am 45 years of age but I don't look it. I won't give up until I get on a small poultry farm close to the city of ———. I will do anything so I can get a small poultry farm. There is a small poultry farm for sale close to the city of ——— but I haven't the money to pay down on one. I wish I were on a small poultry farm right now I am wishing every day I were on a small poultry farm. I wish my wish would come true. All what I think of is about poultry. I sure will take pride in raising chickens.

Because I take interest in poultry I will make very good on a small poultry farm and that is the kind of work I like and want to do I will feel better and I will look better if I were on a small poultry farm. If I were on a small poultry farm of my own I would feel so good that I try to jump over the moon. I never did like the city life. The country life for me, I am awful lonesome because I am not around poultry. I am not contented until I get on a small poultry farm I am thinking every day if I will be able to get on a poultry farm near the city of ———. Please will you be so kind and let me know about this please do sir.

Because of its emotional character, a complex is easily aroused; it may be touched off by something that at first glance seems unrelated or foreign to it. A complex, being a dominant thought-pattern, also keeps the individual from concentrating long on anything unrelated to it. Mind-wandering in conversation or work, familiar to everyone, is often due to the distraction of a complex. In extreme cases, the individual becomes so engrossed in his dominant pattern of thought that he is oblivious to his environment and unmindful of the ordinary needs of the body.

An *inferiority* complex—a sense of personal inferiority continually affecting the individual's behaviour—is manifested in different ways. One symptom is touchiness. A lapse in attention to a person having such a complex in favour of other persons is to him a slight; and a request for a change of appointment, or tardiness in keeping an appointment with him, is to him an indication that he is considered unimportant. And should your delay in keeping your appointment with him be due to your being occupied with someone else, however necessarily, he becomes jealous. Such a person also considers suggestions, disagreements, or criticisms as affronts, and simply cannot take a joke. In response to the

most humorous thrust he may feel deeply and sulk long. Over the face of a touchy person there may come at any time a cloud. When it comes, your engagement with him, if it is a social engagement, loses its promised zest; if it is a business or professional engagement, it becomes strained.

The person having an inferiority complex is also timid; and by avoiding everything that may prove embarrassing to him, he never achieves anything. Afraid of being thought ignorant, he refrains from asking for information or advice; afraid of being thought wrong, he never speaks at all; afraid of being declared unqualified, he refrains from asking for a good job; afraid of being rejected, he refrains from making advances to the opposite sex. As a result of his inhibitions he never gets anywhere, and so he grows more sensitive. His increase in sensitiveness is followed by increase in timidity, and hence a demoralizing circle is set in motion.

A person having an inferiority complex is, moreover, unable to concentrate long on anything but himself, and so he usually fails in what he does attempt.

Some persons have a sense of inadequacy without being dominated by it. Those who, aware of their shortcomings, admit them calmly and devote their thoughts and energy to other things do not have an inferiority complex. Such persons usually have, however, something to compensate for their deficiency, or they are under little pressure.

The individual who has an inferiority complex sometimes develops an unjustified sense of importance; a *superiority* complex. Such a person is sensitive and censorious; he is as quick to give offence as he is to take offence. He is censorious of you for any real or imaginary neglect of him or unfairness to him. Often he is ridiculous in his reproach of you. He finds you at fault in matters of no consequence, he objects on the most trivial grounds to what you say, he quarrels with you over nothing and speaks of not taking anything from you or of vindicating his honour. Being captious, such people find everyone vulnerable, and would wound the pride of everyone with their thrusts.

It should be recognized that a superiority complex is not necessarily the eruption of feelings of inferiority. It is in keeping with desire, and therefore comes into being naturally. Contradictory experiences do not necessarily break down a superiority complex, for it rests, in many cases, upon the solid foundation of unflagging bias in one's own favour; upon family, religious, national, racial, occupational, or other prejudice ingrained into the mind from childhood.

A complex may be centred around any human interest, and almost any adjustment to frustration or to mental conflict may be carried to the extent of becoming a complex. In some cases of mental abnormality that we have considered, for example, in the simulation of the trait opposite to one's deficiency, one complex is developed as a defence against another disturbing one, or as an escape from it.

Many of the adjustments to frustration or mental conflict that we have considered, it will be recalled, are patterns of behaviour that the

individual devises to free himself of distressing thoughts. Such devices operate on the same principle as recall. A thing is reinstated in the mind as one thinks of something with which it is associated. When holidays are discussed, one recalls a particular trip. Similarly, one may prevent the recurrence of a thought by refraining from giving attention to anything associated with it. Any thought fades out for the time being, is non-existent, when the attention is fully occupied with something else, just as one movement of the arm is discontinued when another movement is made.

Deeply rooted in the past is the view that ideas are not simply reactions of the mind that are discontinued when the mind is otherwise engaged, but that they are living things, which the individual, when disturbed by them, "represses" into a "subconscious", from which they come welling forth when he is off guard, and dominate his thinking. This view may have developed originally through the substitution of "disturbing thoughts" for "devils", which, according to our forefathers, often possessed man. It is noteworthy that Sigmund Freud and other prominent psychologists do speak of "repression into the subconscious" as a means whereby the individual frees himself of thoughts that give him unrest. Despite the difference of opinion as to whether the individual "represses painful thoughts into the subconscious" or simply engages in behaviour that counteracts such thinking, there is general agreement as to the different devices that are used to obtain relief from mental disturbance. The generally recognized devices that different distraught persons may employ to obtain satisfaction, or relief from mental disturbance, include all of those mentioned in this volume.

PSYCHOSOMATIC DISORDER

THE term "psychosomatics" is derived from the Greek words "psyche" and "soma" and means mind-body integration. An obvious example of bodily factors in mental disturbances is the case of a sick person being irritable or morose. Just as the mind is subject to being disturbed by ill health, it is also subject to producing bodily disturbances. The fact that excitement brings about an increase in heart action, and the fact that a narrow escape from danger makes for trembling and sometimes for dizziness or nausea, are obvious influences of the mind upon the condition of the body. One sometimes hears the remark, "It just makes me sick to think of it." Another indication that the mind affects the condition of the body is man's enormous endurance in physical or mental work that he enjoys, and his tendency to break down physically as well as emotionally, if required to work long hours at something he dislikes, or that worries him.

The mind and body are not separate entities influencing each other only under certain conditions; they are closely interacting aspects of a highly unified organism that always affect each other, favourably or unfavourably. Many disabilities are of course chiefly mental or chiefly physical, but none remain long disorders of only mind or body. To take an overall view of the individual when studying his behaviour or the condition of an organ is to make a psychosomatic study of it. Psychosomatics is, therefore, not a separate branch of psychology or of medicine, but a view that any disability can be fully appreciated only after it has been looked into for physical and for mental causes of it. All modern study of patients having mental or physical symptoms is, in fact, psychosomatic in approach.

Psychosomatic problems, which are as various as are the problems of life, are of vital concern to us all.

I. MENTAL DISORDER DUE TO PHYSICAL CONDITION

There are mental abnormalities for which there is no known organic basis. Adjustments to frustration or to mental conflict of the types considered in previous chapters of this volume are not necessarily traceable to an unsound body. That such adjustment may be made to extreme deprivation and stress, irrespective of physical condition, seems entirely intelligible, and is confirmed by experiments in which animals subjected to severe laboratory conditions developed similar behaviour-patterns.

Structural change may, however, underlie mental abnormalities of the types previously considered, and is the primary cause of other

types of behaviour disorder. Physical impairment of one kind or another may affect the mind directly, or through the frustration and strain it entails.¹

2. PHYSICAL DISORDER DUE TO DESIRE AND SUGGESTION

Desire for a disability is obviously an anomaly, since the normal person likes to be in a good physical condition; but the individual who wants a disability wants it only to achieve some ulterior end.

a. *Desire to Escape Honourably from a Responsibility.* There are times when a person is confronted with a situation that he may be unwilling to meet for any of a number of reasons. In such cases, he tries to think of a means of escape, preferably an honourable one. A possible means of evading a responsibility without a loss of self-respect is the development of a physical disorder, and such a method is often resorted to by desperate persons. In times of war, men motivated by a desire for self-preservation, and possessing sensibilities and humane feelings, find it difficult to adjust themselves suddenly to military service. Moved by an overwhelming fear and horror of combat, many of these men desire to escape duty; but they do not wish to be considered as "slackers" or deserters. Their fear and horror on the one hand and their pride on the other lead to a desire for temporary physical disability, which is the only means of escaping honourably from service at the front.

Such a desire in itself does not bring about a disability, but it makes the individual very receptive to suggestions that he is physically impaired when he receives, for example, a minor blow from an exploded shell; and it prompts him, in many such cases, to bolster up the thought of being disabled by lying prostrate and more or less immobile. He, moreover, seems to have extruded from consciousness the thought that he desired the disability, and hence to have made it easy for him to believe that he is disabled. A significant fact is that the disorders of which such persons complain are generally in parts of the body that are essential in military life.

In civilian life, too, there are persons who develop disabilities in order to become honourably released from unpleasant responsibilities. Many persons who consider their tasks disagreeable or their efforts futile wish to give up the struggle for existence. But since it is generally considered disgraceful for an able-bodied person to shrink from work, an individual who desires release will often magnify a minor ailment into a disabling one in order to evade his responsibility honourably.

Cases of this type are similar in development to those of soldiers who acquire disabilities in order to escape military service. Likewise, children frequently develop disabilities for the purpose of evading a task without incurring censure. In a cartoon, "Sonny" was pictured on his knees with

¹ For information as to the types of organic disorder that lead to mental disorder, directly or indirectly, see Carney Landis and M. Marjorie Bolles, *Textbook of Abnormal Psychology*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946.

his hands pointing heavenwards, saying, "Dod, make me sick on Monday morning." Children frequently try to evade school by complaining, "It hurts here," or by giving a more dramatic expression of illness through the development of a habit of vomiting. The parent who is often influenced by such methods sows the seed of a similar and more serious adjustment problem in adult life.

That a physical disability may be brought on by a desire to escape honourably from a responsibility is suggested by the readiness with which such a disability sometimes disappears when the desire for it no longer exists. Soldiers relieved from active military service because of being disabled ordinarily make slow recovery if they are likely to be pressed into service when their symptoms subside. Many who do recover develop symptoms again upon being taken to a replacement centre. Soon after the termination of war, most of the patients having functional disabilities, especially those who are able to look forward to a satisfying civilian life, make rapid and marked recovery. They throw away their canes, refuse medication, or give other signs of improvement. Their desire for a disability having given way to a desire to return home in good condition makes the rapid disappearance of their symptoms wholly intelligible.

Children who have complained of a physical disability, likewise, often show marked signs of improvement when, through change in circumstances, they are freed from the responsibility for which they developed the disability.

b. Desire for Attention. Another ulterior motive in the development of physical disabilities is desire to get attention. A person of mediocre accomplishment is likely to be overlooked by his fellow men. Such a person may resort to physical disablement as a means of getting the attention he desires. He may do so because he has learned that when he is incapacitated he becomes an object of attention from his associates in general, and makes his family solicitous about his condition. Such a person may develop his disablement in ways similar to the ways in which disablement is developed to escape honourably from a responsibility. In so far as this adjustment gives the individual a feeling of importance it is compensatory activity.

This tendency to develop a physical disability as a means of getting attention is widely recognized. It has been made the theme of comic strips in newspapers, skits on the stage, and of novels and plays. The repeated inquiry in *Abie's Irish Rose*, "Have you heard about my operation?" serves as an illustration.

In discussing one of his patients of this type Morgan writes, "Many times she would gather the family round her bedside, saying that she was dying, and would bid them all an affectionate farewell, only to recover and repeat the heartrending performance later."¹

¹ Morgan, John J. B., *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*, p. 192. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924.

This adjustment often has its beginning after a period of illness. When a child recovers from a sickness, he recalls that a fuss was made over him when he was ill. Consequently, to be pampered again, he may develop another ailment. Sometimes a child who notices how another child, through sickness, becomes the centre of attention and affection will wish to be sick himself, and will even kiss the sick child in hope of contracting the disease.

Usually the individual who develops a wished physical disability to get attention is one who considers himself neglected, and who, for this reason, feels resentful. He may, therefore, develop the disability also to worry the person whose attention he seeks.

c. Desire for Compensation. Slightly injured in an accident for which another person or a corporation is responsible, the individual may, to receive compensation, develop symptoms of the injury that are far in excess of the injury, and that persist long after no organic effect remains. But desire for a disability, whether the ulterior motive is to receive compensation or to achieve some other end, does not in itself develop symptoms of the disability. Such a desire makes the individual receptive to suggestions that his condition is serious, and it prompts him to bolster up the thought of being disabled by, for example, brooding over it. Moreover, in the development of a disability to receive compensation, or to achieve some other end, the individual seems to extrude from consciousness the thought that he desires the disability, and so finds it easy to believe that he is disabled. And believing that he is disabled, he is functionally, not organically, disabled.

d. Desire to Cover a Personal Deficiency. Man frequently makes his physical body the scapegoat for other personal shortcomings. The tendency to develop physical disorders as a means of hiding failure to measure up to certain standards in other respects is defence activity.¹

This adjustment is very common. Its beginning stage is sometimes revealed when an individual, upon meeting with defeat because of a lack of ability or initiative, says that he was not feeling well. The more such a person develops a physical disability, the more he is able to think of himself as confronted with an insurmountable barrier to success; and hence the more he is able to excuse himself for accomplishing nothing. Sometimes the disorder is developed to counteract a growing realization that one is losing one's mind. Persons upon becoming mentally deranged are likely to complain of physical ailments in almost any part of the body, and to develop characteristic symptoms.

A question naturally arises as to whether the disabilities described are real, or whether they are mere pretences. Presumably in the beginning stage of most cases the individual is simply malingering, but the deliberate simulation of a disability progresses readily to a state where it takes on the character of reality. Scientific tests, in numerous cases, show that the

¹ See Hadfield, J. A., *Psychology and Morals*, p. 59. New York, Robert M. McBride & Co., 1923.

wished physical disorder is as real to the individual as any ailments that are wholly physical in nature.

3. PHYSICAL DISORDERS DUE TO FEAR AND SUGGESTION

Fear of acquiring a physical impairment, as well as desire for one, makes a person open to suggestion that he has such impairment. Anyone seriously alarmed over an inconsequential injury to the eye is as subject to developing functional blindness as he would be if he were, instead, desirous of temporary impairment of vision. Fear alone is, however, as inadequate as desire alone for developing symptoms; suggestion always plays a part in physical disabilities that have either of these emotional sources.

If greatly perturbed as to the condition of a certain part of his body, the individual tends to concentrate his attention upon it, and in doing so he is prone to interpret a normal function or a minor ailment as a disabling one. By continually giving his attention to a part of the body he may also interfere seriously with its normal functioning, and so develop symptoms. The more he concentrates upon his heart action, the more he imagines it to be defective and produces irregularities in it. Doctors realize that when their procedure in examining an organ suggests to the patient that the doctor thinks it defective, he may develop symptoms accordingly.

The potency of desire or fear, combined with suggestion, in affecting bodily changes is emphasized in case reports of some pseudo pregnancies, cases in which various symptoms of pregnancy develop presumably through the operation of either of these emotional factors.¹

It has been said that a medical student may, as he studies about diseases of one kind or another, develop symptoms of them. There seem to be, however, relatively few cases of this kind, presumably because a highly suggestible person is unlikely to take up the study of medicine. Such a person even avoids, in so far as he can, visiting the sick or reading about diseases, for he has learned through experience that doing so unsettles his mind as to his own condition, if it does not actually bring on symptoms.

A man once had a second paralytic stroke as he was visiting a friend who was at the hospital for a similar reason. We realize of course that this fact in itself proves nothing. One must always guard against the human failing of being carried away by one's observation of a single case. The patients on record as having developed a disability in this way are too few to warrant a generalization, but they are of a sufficient number to justify further study of the part played by fear and suggestion in the development of physical impairment.

¹ See Moulton, Ruth, "The Psychosomatic Implications of Pseudocyesis," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 4: 376-389, 1942.

4. PHYSICAL DISORDER DUE TO TENSION

Not only desire for a disability or fear of acquiring it, but tension of any kind, if continuous, will impair bodily structure or function. It does so by overtaxing some functions and by hindering other functions. Many a person has observed that a pleasant situation relaxes the muscles or tones up the system without affecting adversely any of its parts; whereas an agitating situation makes for pain in the pit of the stomach, retards digestion, disturbs heart action, interferes with sleep. There are on record many cases of serious derangement of structure or function in which tension apparently plays an important part. Many patients who have symptoms of hypertension, high blood pressure, have them during periods of emotional stress and are not found to have a defective heart. Others whose hypertension is basically organic are always subject to aggravating their condition by worrying about it or some other things. Physicians find that the blood-pressure reading of a patient apprehensive of his condition is higher than it is after he has been calmed down by a favourable medical examination. Accordingly, they make allowance for the first blood-pressure reading of a new patient. The load that the heart carries from day to day depends much upon the individual's dominant emotional pattern. The heart and circulatory system may be overworked more from a swivel chair than from the rower's seat, since the tension of anxiety is continuous, whereas that of exertion ceases with every cessation of work.

Not only anxiety but also resentment, sudden or prolonged, for which there is no adequate outlet may develop hypertension.¹ It is possible that aggrieved persons who carry grudges are more likely to have high blood pressure than are those who, without compunction or fear of retaliation, avenge themselves, or who free themselves of tension through absorption in work.

That stomach or intestinal disorder is frequently due to an emotional experience is quite obvious. It has been estimated that more than one-third of the disorders of the alimentary canal are due to malfunctioning of the nerves controlling it. Such disorders often have far-reaching effects, since the natural processes of this tract affect the condition of the entire organism.

The part that the emotions play in the development of peptic ulcer—chronic ulceration, intermittent in symptom, of the stomach or duodenum—is less clear than is the part they play in the development of some of the other disorders of the alimentary tract. In their study of such ulcers, clinicians have observed, among other things, that tension is characteristic of the patient. This does not, of course, indicate that ulcers are psychosomatic problems, for any serious ailment tends to make the individual

¹ See Schwartz, Louis Adrian, "An Analyzed Case of Essential Hypertension," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 2: 468-486, 1940.

emotional. The history of the emotionality of patients previous to the onset of their ulcers is, however, significant. In a study of two hundred and five cases of peptic ulcer, it was found that eighty-two per cent had developed symptoms only after severe emotional experiences, while only twenty-two per cent of a control group of patients with hernia had similar histories.¹

The recurrence of ulcers may often be due chiefly to indiscretions in diet, excessive smoking, or use of alcoholic beverages, irregular habits, or infection in other parts of the body, but it seems reasonable to assume that it is always furthered by tension.

It has long been observed that goitre sometimes develops after an intense emotional experience, and there is today much scientific interest in the question as to the extent to which goitres are psychosomatic problems.

The emotional life of the individual may contribute more or less towards his development of a bodily disorder of any kind, or towards his recovery from it. This view is not new, it is implied in many of the teachings and rituals of every religion and in most of the medical practices of all ages. As to how and to what extent the emotions may bring about symptoms of physical disability of one kind or another, we need fuller information than we now have, which science is seeking to provide.

¹ See Davis, D. T. and Wilson, A. T. M., "Observations of the Life History of Chronic Peptic Ulcers," *Lancet*, 2: 1353-1360, 1937.

PREVENTION OF UNWHOLESOME
ADJUSTMENTS

ALMOST everyone is deeply interested in understanding behaviour disorders, whatever their nature. This interest may spring from a desire to improve one's own adjustments, or to help other persons improve theirs. Few problems confront and baffle more people than does that of getting along with or managing an unwholesomely adjusted person.

Psychology lays no claim to formula for transforming all maladjusted persons into well adjusted beings. Scientific knowledge is still inadequate ; it does not enable us to deal effectively with the majority of behaviour problems. There is, nevertheless, much practical information for managing the milder cases of many types of maladjustment met with by most people in everyday life.

Viewed in its complexity, the treatment of unwholesome behaviour might seem to be a problem that should be left to the specialist. Many laymen are, however, in constant association with persons whose behaviour is not what it should be, and, therefore, must deal with them in one way or another. For this reason, the question is not whether the average person should deal with problem cases, but whether his technique of doing so can be improved by the dissemination of information on the subject. People who have some scientific information, provided they realize that their information is limited, make fewer errors in dealing with those inclined to or making maladjustments. Moreover, psychiatrists ordinarily do not cure behaviour disorders; they only help the patient, or the person responsible for his behaviour disorder, reorganize his life along better patterns. Often the problem child can be helped only by treating the parent. A laity informed in regard to the prevention of aberrations of personality is, therefore, most essential to the furtherance of mental health.

As to wished physical disabilities, since they are developed to achieve ulterior ends, their prevention involves making them unnecessary and unprofitable. The one who develops a disability as a means of escaping honourably from a responsibility should be released from the responsibility without letting him know why he was released. A soldier, for example, might be transferred from the front to the safety zone, on the alleged ground that his record revealed qualifications for another type of work for which a man was needed there. Sometimes one should do the opposite—refuse to excuse the individual from a responsibility despite his complaining of physical ailment. In many cases the development of a physical ailment is an adjustment that the individual has found to be an effective means of accomplishing his objectives. He must be taught that it is no

longer effective. In choosing between this and the aforementioned technique, discretion is necessary.

In counteracting the development of a disability in an attempt to gain attention, one should, in the first place, withhold attention when the individual is manifesting the disability, but give him all the attention of which one is capable when he is not doing so. The individual manifests the physical disorder because he has found it a means of getting the attention he craves. He must now be taught that the adjustment is unprofitable and unnecessary. Many persons in treating a patient who developed disabilities to get attention make the great error of withholding attention when he manifests the physical disorder, without giving him the desired attention when he is not doing so. It must be borne in mind that the patient making this adjustment may not be getting the attention he needs, and that no treatment can be deemed adequate that does not supply the need.

The tendency to develop physical disabilities to receive compensation can be reduced through early and fair settlement of the question as to the compensation to be paid to a claimant, thus making the adjustment unnecessary and unprofitable.

Treatment suitable for counteracting the development of a physical disorder as a means of covering some other personal deficiency depends partly on the trait that the individual tries to hide in this way. To prevent the development of physical disabilities designed to cover a loss in mental fitness, we must remove the stigma often attached to mental peculiarities. In the early days an incapacitated mind was considered to be due to evil spirits or to sin. Consequently, mental deficiency became associated with depravity. Today we recognize that the individual may be no more responsible for a deranged mind than for a broken bone. Furthermore, mental deficiencies are being elevated to the respectability of actual physical impairments by designating the institutions in which persons are kept as "mental hospitals", and by using the expression "mental patients" in referring to the inmates. When society comes to realize that it is no more degrading to be mentally ill than to be physically ill, the victims of mental abnormalities will not find it necessary or profitable to further complicate their condition by developing physical disabilities as a smoke-screen to hide their real condition.

A treatment effective in counteracting the development of any wished physical disability consists in providing a dignified means of recovery. The circumstances of life often change so that a disability no longer serves the purpose for which it was developed. If, however, the individual should let his trouble disappear suddenly without receiving some special treatment, he would put himself in a bad light; he would make it evident that he had developed the disorder for an ulterior end, and consequently, would be humiliated. To get the individual to give up his ruse of developing disabilities, one should enable him to do so without embarrassment. This can be done by having him move to a community in which his

symptoms are not known, or by transferring him to another hospital. Transferring patients is a recognized technique of therapy. Other dignified means of recovery that can be provided consist in having the patient take medicine, visit a physician, or go to a resort renowned for effecting cures.

One should, moreover, provide the patient with a treatment suggestive of healing power. Such treatment is most effective for those whose disabilities no longer serve the purpose for which they were developed, and who now wish to recover. The desire to get well can become as effective in making the individual receptive to suggestion that a certain treatment will effect a cure, as the desire for the disability was effective in making him receptive to suggestion that a certain event had a disabling effect upon him. It is today considered plausible that treatments intrinsically ineffective but suggestive of healing power have wrought cures for those who wanted to be free from the disabilities that they had brought upon themselves by wishing for them. Many cures of such disabilities have, presumably, been effected through the power of suggestion by pills, massages, or other treatments from a doctor whose personality inspires confidence; by prayers, the royal touch, and by healing springs or sanatoriums with reputations for effecting cures. Wished physical disabilities are furthered by the acceptance of bad suggestions, and the cure seems to involve suggestion that recovery is at hand.

As to physical disabilities that have their primary source in fear of acquiring them, there are important preventive measures: a minimum of scare copy in the advertisement of patent medicine and of life insurance, emphasis upon health rather than upon illness in instruction in hygiene, and a sense of proportion in such instruction. To function well and to remain intact, our autonomic processes need to be free of close scrutiny. Some persons should, as a famous physician once said, rather than give more attention to their physical condition, develop judicious neglect of it. An important preventive measure is periodic physical examination, which would not only reveal a possible malady that could be corrected, but would also dispel many irrational fears, and, consequently, the functional disabilities they generate.

The prevention of disorders due to tension depends upon a social order in harmony with human nature, and upon intelligence in meeting the problems of life.

There are other preventives of psychosomatic disorders that are also preventives of disorders wholly mental in symptom; ways of preventing unwholesome adjustments of any of the types taken up in this volume. Getting the individual to understand himself is an effective preventive measure in the treatment of behaviour disorders of every kind. Great caution should, however, be exercised in acquainting the individual with himself. To inform him directly as to the nature of his adjustment, even when doing so sympathetically, may disparage him to the extent that he will refuse to admit the facts in his case. If you should tell a person who

has delusions of grandeur that his belief in regard to himself is merely a compensation for feelings of inferiority, he would likely develop further delusions in regard to himself in order to convince himself and you that he actually is the distinguished person he claims to be. If you should explain to a person having a wished physical disability the nature of it, that person might develop further symptoms of the disability in order not to appear to be malingering, and thus save his pride. Hamilton states, "The nervous patient is apt to be on the defensive as to the reality of his symptomatic discomforts and disabilities, and I have known cases where it has been evident that the sceptical attitude of the family and attending physician has driven the patient to a defensive bed-invalidism."¹ Man, especially abnormal man, is too vain to be receptive to ideas presented in a manner discrediting to him.

When instructing a person regarding the origin of his difficulty, one should generally proceed by the indirect method. One might, without revealing one's purpose, give him access to literature describing cases like himself. The inoffensiveness of this procedure should further its effectiveness. A woman who once was treated by this method went so far as to say: "I've been thinking that there's something here that describes me. I guess I have been trying too hard to make an impression. I wouldn't let anyone else tell me this, but I can see it now."

Another indirect way of helping a maladjusted person is to let him explain to you, from time to time, his trouble entirely as he himself sees it. When silently brooding, some persons fabricate, in self-defence, the most fantastic explanations of their difficulty, as in the case of suffering-hero day-dreaming; but when they talk of themselves to another person, they commonly are more rational, for they realize that gross mis-statement of fact would be recognized as such. Each time they tell of their trouble they may worry a little over having laid themselves open to question, and therefore avoid doing so to the same extent in later talk about themselves.

Letting the individual make his own diagnosis and plan of readjustment in the light of information upon which he can draw, while sound in approach, is also the most effective way of getting him to modify his behaviour. The only plan of action that the individual, normal or abnormal, ever carries out persistently is the plan that he makes himself. Readjustment requires not a single decision, but repeated decision in ever varying situations as they arise. The person who does not make his own general plan will not do what is later called for. The most valuable help that the psychiatrist can give many patients is that which is the most difficult to give them; namely, training in self-reliance.²

Most unwholesome behaviour, whether it is a minor or a serious maladjustment, is an attempt to assuage fundamental needs, usually

¹ Hamilton, G. V., *Introduction of Objective Psychopathology*. p. 297. St. Louis, C. V. Mosby Co., 1925.

² See Rogers, Carl R., *Counselling and Psychiatry*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942.

various needs highly and subtly inter-related. Prevention of such an adjustment necessitates therefore, the removal of its underlying cause by helping the individual achieve wholesome fulfilment of needs. In attempting to keep one child from bullying another, teachers strive to give children opportunities to reveal ability through general school-work, dramatics, music, committee work, directing of traffic, and athletics. They recognize that one of the best ways to keep an individual from becoming a problem case is to give him some acceptable activity in which he can excel. The introduction of sports into our schools has done more to decrease fighting than any other factor. In our plans for "fighting the crime-wave on a hundred fronts", we should equip our schools adequately to enable every child to manifest ability in one way or another.

Sometimes you can help the individual achieve a wholesome adjustment by modifying the situation. In doing so, you may make it more satisfactory to him, or provide him with an excuse for modifying his conduct. The technique of changing the situation is often effective in dealing with recalcitrant persons, for there are many such persons who want to reform but are kept from doing so by their pride. The applications that can be made of this technique are many.¹

A maladjustment may have its beginning in childhood. Children frequently adopt unwholesome means for attaining satisfaction and, finding them effective, they continue such ways in adulthood. The behaviour of a badly adjusted adult is often simply the behaviour of a child carried to an extreme degree. This fact indicates inadequate knowledge on the part of parents, teachers, and others as to how to proceed in training the child to satisfy his primary needs in acceptable ways, and thus forestall the development of aberrations of personality so common among adults.

In some cases, the individual benefits from an understanding of the cause of his behaviour disorder because he learns, in this way, that such behaviour on his part is unnecessary; that it is an adjustment he has unwittingly developed to achieve some ulterior end and that he can, by the same token, correct it. If his condition is remediable, to know this to be so, without knowing precisely what brought it on, always furthers recovery and may be in itself adequate for bringing about a cure. It should be obvious, for example, that a person who has an unjustified inferiority complex would overcome it to some extent if he read the third section of Chapter VII of this volume, even though he were unable to determine precisely why he himself feels inferior. Discouragement may make the individual incurable, while confidence of recovery that is possible may effect a cure and is ordinarily essential to recovery.

Persons having behaviour disorders commonly feel insecure, and, for this reason, they may benefit by the interest the counsellor takes in them, as well as by his suggestions. This view James S. Plant takes, saying:

¹ See Rogers, Carl R., *The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child*, pp. 63-275. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939.

All of those who work with people are pretty much confused today over the conflicting claims of various schools of psychiatric and psychological theory. But the theories themselves are not half so disconcerting as the fact that they all, quite without exception, work. One who wonders "which is right" must stand in blank amazement before the fact that children and adults seem to get enormous help from whatever practitioner they happen to attend.

There can be only one answer to this—that it is the time and interest given rather than the particular theoretical formulation that is important. Probably this has always been true, but in these days of extreme specialization perhaps people feel more lonely than at any other period. If the matter that counts is that for a time we walk along a little way with our patients, that for a time we see the world through their eyes and care that they are troubled by its complexities, perhaps here lies today's greatest contribution to theory and social practice.¹

A person may suffer less from the abnormal way in which he gives expression to his nature than from the thought that he is odd. He may even be severely shocked over normal behaviour on his part that he thinks makes him a peculiar person, as in the case of the adolescent who has been given the impression that his occasional discharge of semen is a symptom of a disordered body or deranged mind. A person who is mentally unbalanced can, therefore, be freed of much tension and helped towards recovery by acquainting him with the fact that he differs from others only in degree. Psychology is today furthering significantly the mental health of many persons who are more or less deranged by discouraging the incorrect and ominous classification of people as "normal" or "abnormal".

The development of unwholesome behaviour often lies beyond the ill-advised methods used by parents, teachers, and others in dealing with the individual; it is frequently due to social attitudes and conditions. The prevention and correction of such behaviour, therefore, is an intricate community enterprise. It requires in particular thoughtful consideration on the part of those who would intelligently design our institutions. One cannot expect an individualistic therapy to cure a social malady.

This discussion of the preventing of behaviour disorders should not be concluded without a word of warning to the layman. Remember that there are such things as disorders basically organic, and that to treat a person that has such a disorder, of structure or function, as if he were basically a mental case is to harass him and to aggravate his condition. A thorough physical diagnosis should always precede a psychological interpretation of a person complaining of a physical ailment.

Remember as well that the individual sometimes develops a disorder, mental or physical in symptom, as a crutch for getting what he needs, or as a shield for warding off what would bring to mind intolerable thoughts. If you should force him to give up his adjustment while he still believes his

¹ Plant, James S., "Social Significance of War Impact on Adolescents," *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 236: 7, 1944. Used by permission of the publishers.

situation unbearable, he would produce a new symptom or develop extreme anxiety.¹

Keep in mind also the fact that many abnormal personality traits are profoundly intricate and subtle. Symptoms of any of the types that I have discussed in this volume may have various and highly elusive causes. It is, therefore, dangerous to attempt to treat an individual before all of the possible causes of his symptoms are known and correct diagnosis is made. Anyone may well use the methods discussed herein as *preventive* measures, but only those whose knowledge extends beyond the information given in this volume can safely attempt *remedial* work.

Any wholesome gratification of fundamental needs is, at the same time, a preventive of unwholesome gratification. Hence, the remainder of this volume, which is devoted to the positive side of the subject of furthering mental health, should be thought of also as a continuation of the subject of preventing unwholesome adjustment.

¹ See Stekel, Wilhelm, *Technique of Analytical Psychotherapy*, pp. 2-4. London, John Lane, 1939.

INTERESTING EXPERIENCES IN GENERAL

To be most enjoyable, life must be interesting—must have variety. Although variety cannot make attractive what is displeasing in substance or form, it is part of every pleasure. A thing that is diversified or unlike other things, as well as a person who is many-sided or unlike other persons, gets immediate attention and often is enjoyed. And to anyone the doing of things that broaden experience gives pleasure. In any type of sensory impression or of activity, variety quickens attention and often makes life interesting.

Another way of looking at man's need of variety is to view it from the standpoint of his aversion to extreme sameness. The eye grows weary when it has no scope, the ear when it has no choice, and the mind when engaged in endless routine. Sameness of any kind tends to go unheeded and to make life dull.

There is too little realization that extreme tedium lies heavily upon the mind. In writing about dejected people whom he had known as a physician, Hamilton said, "The introvert is not apt to overlook unsatisfied cravings for clearly defined and highly valued satisfactions, but it has been my experience that country people and women everywhere and in all walks of life suffer a great deal from the thwarted cravings for *adequate variety of stimulation*, and that this familiar cause of nervousness is too often not identified by physicians."¹ One may have variety—change, novelty, or contrast—of sensory impressions, emotional experiences, thoughts, or of other activity. A few glances at human drama reveal that man enjoys having, through actual or imaginative experiences, at least a taste of every emotional state. A person who has had a cheerful life may take pleasure in a gloomy mood for a change. He may enjoy "blue" songs and find fiction dealing with failure more satisfying than fiction dealing with success. There are also persons who fly to a fire or to a scene of human conflict, or who follow dramatic representations of such events, for excitement. Many persons, for the same reason, expose themselves to danger; but they do so also for the thrill of escape from harm. Many young people have such fun—the thrill of danger and of escape from harm—in attending an amusement park where they enter an apparatus that jerks them in zigzag fashion, thrusts them into the air and brings them down with a thud, or that tumbles them over unexpectedly and sends them rolling. The more perilous their bodily movements seem, while they at the same time feel secure, the more fun they have.

Many persons enjoy adventure—activity that affords them excite-

¹ Hamilton, G. V., *An Introduction to Objective Psychopathology*, p. 288. St. Louis, C. V. Mosby Publishing Company, 1925.

ment and a sense of importance. Such persons may, for the sake of adventure, drive a car at breath-taking speed, ride a dangerous horse, engage in various hazardous sports, travel and explore in perilous regions, make a daring investment, gamble, smuggle something, steal something, burglarize, have an illicit love affair, quarrel or fight, take any chance. Persons who bet on the outcome of an election or a game heighten in this way their concern for its outcome. They usually anticipate winning, and their optimism gives favourable colour to the stirred-up feeling of suspense. The anticipation of winning is not, however, a necessary motive for betting. Some persons are more concerned about making a wager than they are about their chances of winning. To them it is better to have bet and lost than never to have bet at all. Ennui has perhaps made more gamblers than has avarice. Much of the child's interest in the cinema, radio broadcasts, comics, and other forms of reading is largely interest in vicarious adventure, or in simply witnessing dramatizations of exciting scenes.¹

Some persons enjoy turbulent weather, as evidenced by sentiments like this: "As far as I myself am concerned, the stormy elements of nature most interest me. Rather than frighten me, they awaken all my senses and give me a feeling of being on tiptoe. I do enjoy being where the tempest blows."

Although children and adults often enjoy excitement, they ordinarily do so only when their feelings of security prevail over their feelings of fear. Young children in particular, to enjoy anything unusual must feel secure. Any experience, if mild and apparently harmless, pleases the infant; if sudden and intense, frightens it. But anyone beyond infancy who has an extremely monotonous existence may hazard his life for excitement. Note the following:

I passed some years in the most contemptible of all human stations, that of a soldier in time of peace. . . . I suppose every man is shocked when he hears how frequently soldiers are wishing for war. The wish is not always sincere; the greater part are content with sleep and lace, and counterfeit an ardour which they do not feel; but those who desire it most are neither prompted by malevolence nor patriotism; they neither pant for laurels, nor delight in blood; but long to be delivered from the tyranny of idleness. . . . I never imagined myself to have more courage than other men, yet was often involuntarily wishing for war.

—From *The Idler*.

I had been settled in South America in a job which soon became monotonous. The excitement and glory of the Pacific War seemed to be an answer to my boredom. Realizing the danger, but not fully comprehending it, I applied for duty in the Pacific and got it. When I finally did get into combat, I fully realized what it was and naturally became frightened. After the battle, getting back to the rear area found me looking upon my former terror only as a thrill. With this attitude I found myself looking forward to the next battle, which fortunately

¹ See Witty, P., "Children's Interest in Reading Comics," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 10: 100-104, 1943.

never came, with curious anticipation rather than dread. The novelty of the situation so changed the pattern of my dull existence that it almost overshadowed the danger.—A SOLDIER OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

Often imaginative experiences of a hazardous nature are preferred to actual danger, since such experiences can be highly exciting without being strenuous or perturbing. Many children enjoy *Little Red Riding Hood* in particular as she suddenly comes upon a wolf, and many adults enjoy fiction no less exciting to them. One of the functions of literature is to depict human action of every emotion—the dark and wild passions as well as the bright and the gentle. In doing so it presents various situations, characters, and incidents. The good novelist and the good dramatist give such a broad picture of life that their works create a wide range of intense emotional effects. There is much interest in such literature.

In every type of experience, the greatest variety includes sameness; sameness amid diversity or between series of variations—arrangements common in music, for example. Sameness is a counterpart of the greatest variety in any type of sensory impression or activity. A thing that consists only of diversity or change is not art. Ruskin said: "The enormous influence of novelty—the way in which it quickens observation, sharpens sensations, exalts the sentiments—is not half enough taken note of by us, and this is to me a very sorrowful matter. And yet if we try to obtain perpetual change, change itself will become monotonous."

The greatest variety includes also simplicity. After having for some time undergone highly varied sensory impressions, or after having engaged in many different activities, staying at home alone and doing nothing in particular provides novelty. Likewise, after having had a variety of food and table appointments, a person can have change of experience by having a one-dish meal at the kitchen table. No less remarkable is the fact that simplicity of dress and of architecture can be striking.

While greatly attracted by novelty, man frequently forgoes novel experiences in favour of familiar experiences. He may do so because he finds familiar experiences more meaningful and often more endearing. The longer a house has been lived in, the more it may become a home; the longer a church has been attended, the more it may become a place of worship; the longer an object has been owned, the more unwillingly one may part with it—the longer persons have been associated with each other, the harder it may be for them to part. The endearment that often arises from the repetition of an experience may be greatly preferred to the novelty that more varied experiences would afford.

Man may forgo novel experiences in favour of familiar experiences also for the sake of ease of adjustment. To live continually in the same place, do the same work, have the same associates, simplifies life; and simplicity of life is not necessarily boresome. To undergo, on the other hand, endless change is exhaustive and disconcerting. Frayed nerves frequently result from perpetually being stimulated by different things, doing different

things, talking with different persons. Man may, moreover, prefer a familiar situation to an unfamiliar one because it is less hazardous.

Although everyone requires, from time to time, something different, it is easy to be ensnared by the new. The individual often misjudges his enjoyment of the novelty of a thing to be enjoyment of the thing itself. Novelty is also evanescent. It is most perishable. Unless the new has some value in addition to its novelty, it loses its attractiveness quickly. A new thing without quality can be as deceptive as it is momentarily delightful. A person under its influence is often completely out of his normal mind. To him nothing is so attractive as that which is new. He may fall in love with a new thing that later gives him no flush of agreeable thought or feeling, but only reason for regretting his acceptance of it. He may even be so deceived by the newness of an otherwise worthless thing as to exchange an enduring value for it. When the bubble bursts, he is left with nothing. "Novelty is always handsome."

Does man enjoy a change from one bad situation to another situation equally bad in itself? People who are forced to live in dreary and disagreeable places and to do tedious and disagreeable work find, during the first few days and weeks, aversion staring from every corner, and the hours seem endless. The longer they live and work under just about the same conditions, the less they notice the disagreeableness of those conditions. As they become thus adapted, their depression, which had blocked their thinking of other things, decreases. They become free for mind-wandering or other diverting activity, and the wheels of time turn faster. A change to disagreeableness in another form would reawaken their original thoughts of their plight. "Old chains gall less than new."

Sometimes, instead of becoming accustomed to annoyances, we build up a strong emotional reaction against them. In regard to such cases, we can say with Washington Irving that an even exchange is often a gain. "There is a certain relief in change," said he, "even though it be from bad to worse; as I have found in travelling in a stage-coach, it is often a comfort to shift one's position and be bruised in a new place."

There are still other angles to this subject of interesting experiences. What pleases us is well varied unity rather than simple variety. Connected variety in which each new appearance seems introduced by what preceded it, and in which all of the adjoining parts seem to have some natural relation to one another, is agreeable. We like unity because we crave for some comprehensive plan which gives meaning to details and makes them clear.

To be most interesting, anything must be appropriate, and have in particular also balance or symmetry. Complete uniformity of corresponding parts would, however, be monotonous, and would suggest too mechanical an arrangement. A familiar example of interest created through variation in symmetry is woman's dress. The two sides of her dress are usually not identical. Complete symmetry is prevented by means of a skirt pocket, a sash tied to one side, an ornament to the right or left

of the waist ; or her hair may be parted on the side, she may wear a bracelet on one arm, a flower in her hair, or a tilted hat. A variation in symmetry does not destroy symmetry, but makes it felt.

Since variety does not in itself make life interesting, let us not proceed with a blindness to all other values or with indifference towards them ; let us not ring in the new that is otherwise bad, nor always ring out the old that is otherwise good. For anyone to carry the banner of variety into every phase of life would indicate a simple or disturbed mind. But this does not gainsay the view that all that pleases is free of monotony. By having well varied experiences and by providing well varied experiences for other persons, we make life for ourselves and for others interesting.

ENJOYABLE WORK

INTEREST in work depends upon the satisfactions in addition to material returns that pursuing it involves. It is difficult to sum up a in few pages the things beyond material gain that make work pleasant or unpleasant; for they have to do, directly or indirectly, with living a happy life, and that takes in almost everything. We also differ as to the kind of work we like. What is to one person a dull job may be to another an inspiring occupation. It may be said, however, that most persons enjoy in particular work of one or the other of the following kinds:

1. WORK THAT MANIFESTS ABILITY

Everyone desires some distinction, and the occupation contributes much towards its achievement. The manifestation of ability is, as we have noted in Chapter V, a major source of a sense of importance. Through the exercise of ability one may also win social recognition that contributes towards various satisfactions. The more a person's occupation brings into play his talent, ingenuity, or skill, the more he enjoys his work.

2. WORK THAT IS OF SOCIAL BENEFIT

Most people have an inner decency; they would rather advance their interests by means that are of service to other people than by means that take unfair advantage of them. There are persons who think only of their own interests, of course. They ordinarily make their living at the expense of other persons, not necessarily out of preference for achieving it in this way, but because they are unable to carry out their purposes with equal success as honest workers, who play the game fairly. Ultimately they develop feelings of inferiority, and look with envy upon persons who really serve others and win their admiration and respect.

There is also the desire on the part of many persons to contribute towards the progress of humanity. A person who stops to think how much his life has been built upon the labours of other persons, both living and dead, likes to feel that he is giving in return at least as much as he has received.

Anyone who desires a career which will enable him, while acquiring a living, to live in the sense of enjoying the greatest self-esteem, must look to the social value of vocations; must try to recognize socially useful courses, and try to pursue such a course.

3. CREATIVE WORK

Much of the satisfaction of creative work comes from the tangible and enduring results of such work. The individual's interest in tangible evidence of his accomplishment is apparent in schools. Manual training, home economics, and the fine arts offer notable examples. The construction of charts and maps in geography, and the dramatization of certain facts of history are also examples of activity that is pleasurable because it leads to palpable results. Likewise, 4-H Club work—in which boys and girls do not simply listen to talks on how to cultivate corn, to feed calves, or to can fruit and vegetables, but actually engage in growing corn, raising calves, or canning food—is interesting to them because it results in concrete accomplishment. Creativeness furthers interest in any occupation. One writer tells of the pride of the builder who sinks his piers to the solid rock and sends his steel to the sky, and another says:

And now I close my work, which not the ire
Of Jove, nor tooth of time, nor sword, nor fire
Shall bring to nought. Come when it will that day
Which o'er the body, not the mind, has sway,
And snatch the remnant of my life away,
My better part above the stars shall soar,
And my renown endure for evermore.
Where'er the Roman arms and arts shall spread
There by the people shall my book be read;
And, if aught true in poet's visions be,
My name and fame have immortality.
—OVID.

Because of specialization and other factors, not many people can build monuments to themselves, but almost anyone can be given comparable satisfaction through the use of symbols; records of accomplishment, or insignia of merit. The pleasure taken in such evidence of merit is widely apparent. Entering marks earned by students in the registrar's books, inscribing scholastic or athletic attainment on parchment or on metal, keeping "no-accident records" for employees, or making awards for activity of any kind adds to the enjoyment that proficiency gives by providing lasting evidence of it.

4. WORK THAT AFFORDS CHANGE

In the occupation of many men and women there is much sameness. Those engaged in unskilled labour, office routine, or drudgery of any kind sometimes complain of monotony in their daily rounds of activity. Work

in various occupations is becoming more and more repetitive, and so the effect of monotony is of growing concern.

Sometimes dissatisfaction with work is attributed to its unvaried nature when, as a matter of fact, the real reasons for the dissatisfaction are quite different. A person may complain of the monotony of his daily routine when he is disturbed mainly by other factors—perhaps low wages or low satisfaction in the spending of earnings, uncertainty of employment, little opportunity for learning or advancement, loneliness or social irritation, the feeling that the work engaged in is degrading, unpleasant surroundings, home circumstances, fatigue, or a narrow life due to long hours of work.

There is much to be said for unvaried work. There is satisfaction in mastery of a job in doing it well, and such satisfaction is often built up in highly repetitive tasks, though the operations involved may be simple. There is also the satisfaction of doing useful and honest work that has to be done as part of the common life, especially if it is appreciated. Monotonous work does not soon become tedious if it brings gratitude from someone upon whom you feel dependent or whom you love. And sometimes in unvaried work the mind is free to range far beyond the borders of the task in hand.

Is sameness in itself ever enjoyed? Sameness in itself is presumably never enjoyed either in work or in any other activity. Children insist upon unvaried repetition of a story or game because of interest, not in sameness, but in being able to correctly think it through in advance or detect error. Similarly, we find identical twins interesting, not because of their identity, but because of their unusualness. We also enjoy, at times, music that is but slightly varied, not directly because it approaches a monotone, but because it is soothing. Some persons have gone into ecstasy or a trance over certain monotonous rituals, but they have done so because such stimulation is different from their ordinary experiences and is extremely suggestive. It seems, likewise, correct to say that, although many persons like work that requires little change of thought, no one likes the sameness of such work for its own sake.

There are different experiences that break the monotony of work, incidentally, or according to plan:

a. Change of Pace. For the individual in a particular occupation there is an optimum rate of work, and usually somewhat close conformity to this rate is for the good of the individual and of the organization. But circumstances often necessitate a change of pace, which may remarkably break monotony. Presumably everyone has, at some time or other, consciously or unconsciously changed his rate of working, driving, or walking to break the monotony of regularity, and anyone would find dancing without change of pace intolerable. Investigations have shown that the rate of work is more irregular in uniform tasks than in tasks that are somewhat varied. Although the rate of work should ordinarily be, for various reasons, quite regular, there is usually a range of variability that

is not objectionable. Within that range, change of pace should sometimes be made, since the pace that never changes is hard to endure.

b. Change from One Task to Another. The practical demands of life sometimes necessitate change from one task to another, and so provide variety, and a rest of certain muscles. Alternation of tasks not called for by practical considerations may nevertheless be justified not only from the standpoint of the prevention of tedium and fatigue, but also from the standpoint of accomplishment. The effect of change in work upon accomplishment has been investigated in a number of laboratories and plants. In one plant, for example, handkerchiefs were folded in two styles—in the oblong and in the French styles—and the style of folding was changed every hour. On other days, the folding was done in only one style throughout the day. Obviously the two styles of folding involved fairly similar movements, but the two styles of folded handkerchiefs differed in appearance. Accomplishment was slightly greater on the days in which the handkerchiefs were folded in the two styles. In similar investigations the results varied somewhat with the process and with the workers; but the results of most of these investigations show a general tendency towards greater accomplishment when the work is somewhat varied. The results show also that most employees prefer such a programme. In most highly repetitive work there should be some change in work presumably about every one and one-half hours. More frequent changes usually are excessive from the standpoint of interest and of accomplishment.¹

In education, as well as in industry, working alternately at repetitive tasks is necessary for keeping down dissatisfaction with work. Many investigations have been made to determine the proper length of lesson periods for children of different ages. These, together with observation of children at school, reveal that young children are incapable of giving prolonged attention to any subject, and have resulted in frequent change of study for them. It is recognized that in the case of high school and college students certain studies, such as mathematics, should not be continued for more than an hour; crafts, such as drawing and needlework, may be continued much longer without a decrease in interest or accomplishment.

Throughout the educational system some change of subject seems necessary to break monotony and to maintain interest. But change of subject before a thread of thought has been well formed or before a pattern of thought has been completed may result in wasted effort. In education, as in industry, change of work can be too frequent, as well as not frequent enough. It is vexing to some learners to be forced to lay aside a subject before they are ready to do so, as it is vexing to others to be kept constantly on one subject. And accomplishment may be hindered as severely by too frequent change as by too continuous application to one

¹ See Wyatt, S., and Fraser, J. A., *The Comparative Effects of Variety and Uniformity in Work*, Industrial Fatigue Research Board, Report No. 52. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1928.

subject. The frequency with which a new subject should be taken up depends on the subjects studied and on the student himself. The only general rule that can be laid down is that one should be mindful of the need of change and mindful of the need of connected study, and that one should vary the work with discretion.

Varying the programme in school has value more as a preventive of boredom than as a means of instilling interest. Change of task ordinarily affords too little novelty to greatly interest children. To become interested in school-work, the learner, regardless of age, must find his work meaningful and significant to him; he must find that what he studies is significantly relevant to goals in which he has become interested.

c. Exchange of Tasks with Others. Exchange of work with other employees is, of course, often objectionable to an employee or to the management; but exchange of work can sometimes be made to the satisfaction of all. When this is the case, such an adjustment to monotony should be made, or encouraged, for the prevention of wearisomeness. A woman working in a meat-packing plant once said to her companion, "I'm so tired of taking the same bone out of the same ham every day." Her companion replied, "So am I." They then decided to ask the foreman if they might exchange jobs, a good idea.

Employees are often thus shifted around in order to train them for an emergency that might arise, and so they have incidentally change of experience that may noticeably improve their morale.

d. Transfer to New Employment. Incidental to transfer within an organization or to new employment for any of various reasons, change of experience is had by many persons. And the novelty of the new position is a factor in its enjoyment. Frequently transfer or change of employment is sought for the sake of change. Since turnover is usually costly to employee or employer, other means of breaking monotony should be had by most workers. Occasionally change to an entirely different type of work is made; but such a change usually involves too much to justify one's making it for the sake of change. However, a man may, in this way, gain more than he loses if to him twenty years' experience has been one year's experience repeated twenty times.

e. Mind-Wandering or Conversation. Persons who are cheerful and have had significant experiences may enjoy unvaried work because it enables them to let their minds wander; and persons who are adequately adjusted socially may enjoy such work because it makes conversation easy. Those who enjoy each other or their mind-wanderings can enjoy the work period even though they may not enjoy the work.

Persons engaged in repetitive work should establish a routine for doing it, so that they can be free to go wandering mentally or to converse. Establishing a routine in carrying on work—for example, deciding upon a place for everything and putting everything into its place, having regular times for doing things, performing the parts of a task in regular sequency—relieves the mind from unnecessary attention to work. Reducing work to

routine, moreover, results in the doing of work in less time. Establishing a routine for work sometimes sets the mind free to the extent that change of work is not greatly needed.

Enjoyable mind-wandering may consist in listening to a musical or other radio programme. Much attention is currently being given to studies of recorded music as one of the psychological factors related to the efficiency and satisfaction of factory workers.¹

f. Daily Intermissions. A brief respite in routine several times a day may keep down tedium by relieving the worker before he becomes really bored. Teachers give children recess periods because they have long known that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. The housewife who puts her work aside occasionally for a walk to the corner store or for a short drive; the business or professional man who saunters, now and then, around the block or merely watches the stream of traffic from his window; and the office or factory worker who is given a brief intermission, all find that the breaking of the day averts boredom. The value of recess periods has been a subject of much investigation in industry, and such studies indicate that short intermissions have a favourable effect both on accomplishment and on the feelings of well-being.² It is apparent that intermissions serve mainly one of the objectives of leisure: that of refreshing the individual so that he will find it easier to continue working. They are too brief to enable the doing of anything of particular interest, and so other apportionment of leisure is also necessary.

g. Short Work-Days. A decrease in working hours may, like daily intermissions, avert tedium by relieving the worker before he becomes really bored, or by giving him adequate time to overcome whatever wearisomeness he acquired during his work-day. It has been predicted that the labourer will soon have a five-hour or a six-hour day. If this prophecy comes true, there should be little boredom in industry, for work does not become monotonous when repeated for the first few times, but only after prolonged performance of it. Short work-days also afford time regularly for doing some other things of interest, and so enable the individual not only to work for a living, but also to live.

h. Week-Ends and Holidays. Week-ends and holidays may serve effectively both of the objectives of leisure. Such periods of respite from toil can be sufficiently refreshing to maintain the individual's original adjustment to his work. Week-ends and holidays, however, provide ordinarily more leisure than is necessary to overcome the evil effects of work, and are desired mainly because they enable the doing of things that cannot be done on work-days. The enjoyment of such occasions is suggested by the extent to which people wait and plan for an annual holiday. Every employee needs to be a free man for a day or two each week. Those who

¹ See Kirkpatrick, Forrest H., "Music in Industry," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 27: 268-274, 1943.

² See Vernon, H. M., and Bedford, T., *Rest-pauses in Heavy and Moderately Heavy Industrial Work*, Industrial Fatigue Research Board, Report No. 41. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927.

are not tend to grow morbid, and to question whether life with its restrictions is worth-while.

i. *Annual Vacations.* A yearly vacation makes possible the doing of things that cannot be done in any of the shorter periods of leisure, and is eagerly sought after and highly enjoyed for this reason. A vacation should also promote accomplishment in one's occupation. "You cannot do a year's work in twelve months, but you can do it in eleven."

Many school children live under greater restrictions during the summer months than during the school year, and so their vacation is of little avail to them. Communities that cannot provide activities of interest to the children in the summer ought to conduct school throughout the year as some do. They might make the study periods shorter and the recreational periods longer. Many grown-ups likewise fail to profit materially from a vacation because of having no satisfactory way of spending it. They may, when on vacation, be heard saying, "I'll be glad to get back to work." To them a long vacation provides variety only in the sense that it provides a different means of being bored.

Although annual vacations are highly enjoyable to those able to spend them advantageously, they cannot take the place of daily, week-end or holiday leisure. These more frequent, although more limited, leisure periods for doing things of interest are essential to mental health. An annual vacation must *supplement* the more brief and frequent leisure periods; it must not *supplant* them.

The individual's need of interesting occupational experiences depends much upon the nature of his leisure activity, for it is a varied day and year, rather than a varied work period, that is desired.

5. WORK THAT MAKES FOR PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

We like to feel that, while carrying on our work, we are learning something. Such a feeling gives self-respect and a sense of security, which are hard to maintain in personal stagnation. Often an unvaried task fails to satisfy, not because of the nature of the work, but because it keeps the worker from advancing in knowledge or skill.

Personal development, it should be remembered, is not denied to the employee who has a simple job and a short work-day. For one thing, he has leisure and can use it, or part of it, for self-improvement.

6. WORK THAT AFFORDS A MEASURE OF FREEDOM

Great as is the desire for freedom, man is often satisfied with just a taste of it in his work. A little freedom in work or other activity involving human relationships usually is feasible.

a. *Freedom in a Particular Sphere of Activity.* Freedom limited to a particular sphere of activity still is, in a sense, freedom. Letting the individual, for example, decide upon methods of procedure in work assigned to him gives him a feeling of independence that may largely overshadow the

restrictions that are actually upon him. Complete control over the individual, moreover, seldom falls logically to anyone; hence it would be interpreted as a usurpation of rights. It is not primarily restrictions but unwarranted restrictions that people resent. A person in charge of others, in work or other activity, should manage to keep them aware of the areas in which they are free, as well as of the areas in which they are restricted, and should make it evident that their freedom will not be encroached upon. Mindfulness of the rights of people when imposing restrictions upon them tends to keep the restrictions from being received as indignities.

b. Some Freedom in Any Sphere of Activity. Anyone can usually be allowed a measure of freedom in any area. There is practically no position of authority in which it is always necessary to give directions to subordinates; and there is practically no partnership in which one cannot occasionally be a silent partner. A teacher or foreman who waives his prerogative by telling those in his charge to use their own judgement keeps it from weighing heavily upon them. A woman managing a home who lets her help make decisions in regard to their work keeps them from feeling needlessly subservient. A husband who frequently waives his rights as a partner makes his wife feel respected. Anyone who occasionally lays aside his authority or his rights keeps himself from becoming oppressive. By sometimes waiving your prerogative or your rights as a partner, you not only further another's happiness; you also increase the possibility of control at other times.

Authority is of short duration for those who demand complete subservience. A man is never more in danger of being ruled over by a woman than when she promises to obey; a woman is never more in danger of being made slave than when a man is at her feet; a conquering nation is never more in danger of eventually being conquered than when she rules excessively over the affairs of the vanquished. Human nature does not tolerate complete submission. People have overthrown even gods who were too arbitrary. In every position of authority, whether absolute or joint, *he governs longest who does not govern always.*

c. A Choice Between Alternatives. Usually anyone can be allowed a choice between alternatives. An individual who has no preference still likes to have a choice of what he is to do, of time for doing what is expected of him, or of what he is to receive as a benefit. Sometimes it is possible to give the individual a choice so broad that it affords him a feeling of complete freedom. The privilege to choose between alternatives is often enjoyed primarily because it respects the individual's judgement, and keeps authority from becoming oppressive. Letting the individual have a choice is a technique that one can frequently employ in human relationships, for seldom does the attainment of one's objective in dealing with others necessitate that one be arbitrary.

d. A Share in the Planning of Work. The satisfaction of achievement consists not simply in executing a piece of work, but also in having a part in the planning of it. There is little satisfaction in doing anything in which

the worker is merely the instrument of someone else, for in such a case the enterprise does not become the worker's enterprise, and consequently achievement is not credited to him.

Recently a mother remarked that her daughter had no interest whatsoever in helping her with the housework, and asked, "Why is it?" In talking with her I found that she took her daughter into the kitchen and said: "Mary, peel the potatoes. Now, Mary, slice the cucumbers. Put the potatoes on the stove. Now set the table. Slice the bread. Now, Mary, mash the potatoes. Mary, get me the salad-dressing. Now, Mary, pour the water." This daughter found housework uninteresting because in it she was made subservient to a plan not her own. By being told what to do, how to do it, and when to do it, she was denied the possibility of having achievement credited to her. Had she been allowed to prepare and serve a meal in her own way, she might have enjoyed the work. Many servants, likewise, find their work unpleasant because they are denied freedom to plan it. Woodworth says:

The main difficulty with the master-servant relation is that the servant has so little play for his own self-assertion. The master sets the goal, and the servant has submissively to accept it. This is not his enterprise, and therefore he is likely to show little zest for the work. . . . When the master, not contented with settling the main goal, insists on bossing every detail, continually interfering with the servant's work, the servant has the least possible chance of adopting the job as his own. But where the master is able, in the first place, to show the servant the objective need and value of the goal, and to leave the initiative in respect to ways and means to the servant, looking to him for results, the servant often responds by throwing himself into the enterprise as if it were his own—as, indeed, it properly is in such a case.¹

For anyone to take the greatest pride in his accomplishment, it must be his own.

Freedom to decide upon ways of procedure also enables the individual to exercise his ingenuity. A leashed dog never hunts well.

Above all, we need freedom for personal development—independence of thought and action. "By long association with mankind the sheep has lost all his natural intelligence."

Because of the extent to which a satisfying life centres around work, to have an occupation that one likes is of first importance.

There always is, of course, the question as to whether one is choosing wisely. If a person is thinking favourably about a career of which he has little knowledge, his interest in it may lack a sound basis. He may be disposed towards it because of its prestige, because somebody else wants him to follow it, because a friend is engaged in it, or because he has pleasant day-dreams about it. Vocational counsel is therefore sometimes necessary. But a good counsellor always gives much consideration to the individual's genuine interest.

¹ Woodworth, Robert S., *Psychology*, pp. 277-278. New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1929. Used by permission of the publisher.

ENJOYABLE LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY

LEISURE is time in excess of that required for making a living, and is essential to the welfare of man. It makes possible recovery from the evil effects of work and the doing of various interesting things. The happy life is a life that affords considerable leisure to do what one wishes to do. The amount of leisure needed depends on the extent to which the occupation provides the satisfactions essential to complete living; the fewer the satisfactions which work provides the greater the need of leisure for doing things apart from work. The occupations of many people today provide merely subsistence, and the need of subsistence is not half of the needs of life. Persons constantly leashed to the job, especially those whose work is of an uninteresting kind, find very limited opportunity for the pursuit of happiness. *To provide people with leisure in order that they may live more fully* is one of the highest social objectives. As a people, we must be not only "work-minded"; we must be also "leisure-minded".

The doing of things for the pleasure they afford has not always been looked upon with favour. The pioneers' hard struggle in the wilderness left them little time for diversion, and so they developed a philosophy that extolled work and opposed recreation. They did countenance some leisure, but only to the extent which made possible the resuming of work more effectively. Energy devoted to recreation that was fatiguing, and hence rendered the individual less able to work, was called mis-spent. Puritanism denounced the pursuit of the pleasures of life as worldliness, and so it too was a factor in the establishment of the belief that not recreation, but only toil, was honourable.

The change of view regarding the respectability of engaging in pleasurable activity is due, on the one hand, to the simplification of the problem of production, which now makes long hours of toil unnecessary. With the decrease in the need for labour, a more tolerant attitude regarding the doing of other things for enjoyment was inevitable. The acceptance of the view that time should be provided for recreation is due, on the other hand, to a growing realization that a diversified life is essential to mental health; that no one can be happy who is for ever in a groove.

Society now has much free time on its hands. It is equally true, however, that there are many people who are poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly clothed and who have inadequate medical care. Much of our spare time as a people should be devoted to procuring the things that physical well-being requires. But apart from the time needed to procure such necessities, society has much leisure time that may be devoted to serving the individual's mental and emotional needs, and more leisure due to greater economies in production seems to be in the offing. We as a people,

therefore, are not confronted with the problem of obtaining more leisure. The free time that we have is, however, not apportioned properly. Our problem is to distribute it more equitably.

The subject of enjoyable leisure-time activity includes many considerations, some of which are arbitrarily selected for treatment here.

1. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE RECREATION

Active recreation consists in doing things; passive recreation consists in merely receiving impressions. There is need for both forms. People generally find more pleasure in recreation in which they play an active part than they do in that in which they are passive. They may prefer such recreation because it gives them something to do or a sense of importance.

Many forms of active recreation are enjoyed also because they involve physical activity. Man, being constructed to use his limbs, finds doing so, like giving expression to any other native tendency, satisfying. The urge towards gross bodily activity is especially apparent in the child, to whom the most unreasonable request is that he sit still. The desire for physical activity, although waning at the approach of middle age, exists throughout life, and is a significant factor motivating various types of activity on the part of adults. Sports of all kinds, the different manual arts, gardening, shovelling snow or mowing a lawn may give pleasure because they involve the use of the body. The more sedentary the regular work, the more enjoyable is recreation involving physical activity.

Active recreation, in addition to being pleasurable, makes the individual self-refreshing. The more proficiency he develops in forms of diversion, the less dependent he becomes upon other persons or things to give direction to his thoughts and actions. Those who have no capability for anything are paupers in recreation. Speaking of such persons someone has said, "They for ever cry, 'Tickle and entertain me or I'll die'." There is no more pathetic spectacle than that of a person unable to find amusement for himself—one so unresourceful that he can bear neither momentary silence nor occasional solitude. Such a condition does not exist when people are skilled in recreation.

Recreation that involves "trying the hand at things" has the further advantage of uncovering talent which with further development may contribute something of value. No one will ever know how much potential ability on the part of men and women has been wasted because of unawareness of it. A recreational programme that provides wide choice of activity should bring out latent ability.

Recreation cannot always be classed as active or passive solely on the basis of what is done. A person who listens to music simply for the sensory impressions that it affords is in a passive state; the one who studies the art of the composer while listening to a performance of his composition is, to that extent, in an active state. Likewise, reading a novel purely for

enjoyment is passive activity, while studying any book critically is an active process.

Although everyone needs chiefly active recreation, the range of experience would be greatly limited if people could have only recreation of this type. An elderly person could have few athletic or theatrical experiences, and none could view a landscape, listen to music or read simply for idle amusement. Everyone is greatly limited in the active forms of recreation that he can have and needs passive forms as supplementary experiences. Passive recreation may be enjoyed also because of an interest in witnessing perfection. Athletes often leave their own fields and travel many miles to see the performance of other and better athletes, and any pianist would leave his instrument to hear a Paderewski. But if the individual studies the art of the performer while observing him, he plays, to that extent, an active part.

Even though recreation to be enjoyed need not necessarily be of a participating type, some previous participation in a form of recreation increases the spectator's enjoyment of it. Those who have performed in music and those who have taken part in athletics may enjoy such performances on the part of other persons more than they would if they had never taken an active part in such recreation.

People in general have more recreation in which they are passive than recreation in which they are active. This is not because they prefer it, but because active recreation is less available to them. The preponderance of passive recreation is a condition that should be rectified in the interest of mental health.

2. HOBBIES

A hobby is a favourite non-vocational occupation to which one reverts continually. It may consist in continually thinking or talking about an interest, or in continually doing something of interest. What satisfactions are achieved through a hobby? And who needs a hobby?

a. Satisfactions Achieved Through Hobbies. Chiefly two fundamental needs may be fulfilled through the pursuit of a hobby—the need of an interesting life and the need of a sense of personal worth. Because of their unlimited possibilities for exhibition of proficiency, hobbies may afford great self-esteem. Many a person's relish of a hobby is due primarily to his capability therein. The longer a person has been engaged in a hobby, the more he may become interested in building it up as something with which he can proudly identify himself. And a hobby, by affording something to do in leisure hours, by affording a change, and by diverting the mind from distressing thoughts, may contribute as much (or more) towards an interesting life as it contributes towards a sense of personal worth. Uninteresting as the individual's work may be, his life can nevertheless be interesting if, after his working hours, he turns to a hobby.

Should a hobby be related to the individual's work or wholly different

from it? The more anyone's recreational activity differs from his occupation, the greater is the change of experience it provides and the more it enables him to forget his work and whatever unpleasantness there may be about it. Largely for this reason, some persons adopt unusual hobbies. Unusual hobbies are, however, adopted also for the purpose of receiving more attention than could be had from a familiar line of activity, such as stamp collecting. Persons who have strange hobbies often get greater recognition for the nature of what they do than for their proficiency in doing it. They may be regarded as queer, but even such an attitude towards them is recognition. The great diversion and esteem experienced when engaging in a strange hobby often make it very satisfying to them.

Although hobbies wholly different from work give definite satisfaction, hobbies closely related to work also have decided values. They are less likely to interfere with work. There is always the danger of becoming so interested in a hobby as to neglect one's work; but hobbies closely related to work make for capability in it, and are easily developed because the work, conversely, has a bearing on the hobby. A hobby in line with work, moreover, can be pursued without embarrassment. The person whose hobby is foreign to what he does in his occupation often feels apologetic when caught devoting time to it. The one whose hobby has kinship to his work can say that his hobby helps him in his occupation. But to look askance at someone engaged in a non-vocational pursuit is often wholly unjustified. People need to be educated to an acceptance, in many cases, of the value of a hobby for its own sake. Hobbies closely related to work have a further value. They suggest interest in work; hobbies wholly different from work may suggest lack of interest in it. And obvious interest on the part of an individual in his work is necessary to create interest on the part of others in what he does, or confidence in him. The person who is known to like his work ordinarily needs to say little to convince others as to the worth of what he does. Hobbies similar to the occupation and hobbies different from the occupation have advantages over each other. The type of hobby that should be chosen depends upon the individual and upon his occupation.

Frequently a hobby to be pursued at all must of necessity be closely related to work. This is because many occupations are of such a nature that those who engage in them need to grow in their work if they wish to continue in it. An individual having such an occupation cannot have also an interest wholly unrelated to it. He must choose a hobby that has a bearing on his career, or get along without one.

How the individual rides his hobby is as important as is the nature of his hobby or the extent to which he rides it. A person who, with writing as a hobby, asks everyone again and again to read or listen to what he writes, or who has a literary group put him unwillingly on a programme, is not a pleasing character. A similar remark may be made in regard to the pursuit of any hobby: he who continually talks his hobby or about it destroys himself socially. But one should not, as a rule, urge the individual

who abuses his hobby to discontinue it; rather, one should induce him to carry on a hobby with discretion. Frequently the need of a hobby is so real and its benefit to the individual so great that his personal well-being requires that he continue it with undiminished application.

In addition to the need of hobbies on the part of some, there is need of diversified interests on the part of others. Everyone should have a somewhat rounded life; everyone should have physical, cultural and social activity. The person whose occupation or hobby does not provide such experiences needs other interests that do so.

Some persons try to pursue several hobbies and many other diversified activities in addition to an occupation. But those who strive to encompass the universe in their lives ultimately break down their nervous systems and never achieve anything but variety. Edison was once asked why he accomplished so much when other men accomplish so little. He said: "I don't do more than other men do. The point is I do one thing, and other men do many things." When questioned in regard to diversion, he replied, "My work is my recreation." But just as too much diversification frequently results in an unfruitful life, so also the doing of one thing to the exclusion of everything else is dangerous. "Shun not toil to make yourself remarkable by some one talent—yet do not devote yourself to one branch exclusively." Everyone should seek to attain what is for him, from the standpoint of accomplishment and from the standpoint of enjoyment, the proper balance between concentrated and diversified activity.

Valuable as hobbies are, they may sometimes be unwise expenditures of energy. When an individual engages in a hobby to the extent that he neglects to qualify himself for work, he is acting unwisely. To forego preparing oneself for a career in favour of a pet pursuit, is a sign of weakness, because it generally means that the easier course leading to less possible satisfaction is being pursued. Since taking up hobbies sometimes is misdirected effort, prudence must be exercised in engaging in such activity.

What is a good hobby? To be enjoyed, a hobby must be chosen, not because of its prestige or popularity, but because one likes it. Love for a hobby should be the first consideration in adopting it. Another essential of a good hobby is that its possibilities for development be unlimited. A hobby that must eventually be discontinued because it can be carried no further should seldom be chosen in preference to a more lasting one. A good hobby is also one that is convenient, and that is for persons in moderate circumstances, inexpensive. Some hobbies have social value, and such hobbies are especially enjoyable because everyone likes to feel that he counts for something in the lives of other persons.

b. Persons in Need of Hobbies. Unfortunately many persons find their occupations so simple, and regard them as so limited in social value, that they take no pride in what they do. This is so in the case of various persons.

Workers in industry who have unskilled and seemingly unimportant jobs fail to achieve through them a sense of personal worth; and in many cases lose self-esteem. The central fact in the life of many unhappy

employees in industry is that since they are not engaged in effective or useful work, they have never been able to convince themselves or others that they amount to something. In a study of the causes of dissatisfaction of five hundred workers, Fryer concludes, "The dissatisfaction seems more the result of a general thwarted desire to be 'somebody', either in the environment at large, or especially in the occupation."¹

A routine task in industry often fails to sustain pride, not only because of the nature of the task itself, but also because it keeps the worker from advancing in knowledge or skill. To understand labour unrest fully, one must appreciate the fact that self-respect blossoms in personal development, and shrivels in personal stagnation.

There are also many married women, who, because of the nature of their housework, fail to maintain self-esteem. They may appreciate fully the value of their work to other members of the family and yet take little pride in it because it does not provide opportunities for using all of their abilities, and because much of it can be done easily by unskilled help. The present-day housewife seems to be suffering more than did her grandmother from lack of opportunity to use ability possessed. Today she lives in an apartment consisting of one room and several nooks called rooms by the landlord; she purchases ready-made clothes, household furniture, and prepared foods; and she has mechanical devices for doing the work that is to be done. But in former generations when the home was more self-sufficient and equipped with fewer mechanical aids, the woman, although she may have been shamefully burdened with household drudgery, nevertheless found in her cooking, sewing, laundering, rearing of a large family, more opportunities for using her ingenuity and skill than the woman of today finds in the home situation. That housewives desire occasions for revealing their talents is suggested by such common statements as, "I should just like to do something once," or, "I'm tired of doing only housework." At the root of much of the restlessness and instability of women today is the thwarting of the desire to manifest more of their abilities and to play more important roles in life than their housework alone makes possible. The more talented the woman, the more she desires to play a significant role in life.

The pride of housewives who are tied down to long days of household routine, like that of many labourers in industry, is diminished not simply by the nature of their work itself, but also by the realization that what they do keeps the level of their intellect from rising. And the pride of housewives who have no children, and who by choice, or because of public opinion are not engaged in occupational life outside of the home, is diminished even more than that of those engaged in endless routine because they are unable to keep down completely feelings of futility.

More than the employees in industry and the housewives that I have

¹ Fryer, Douglas, "Industrial Dissatisfaction," *Industrial Psychology*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 28, Jan., 1926.

referred to, the unemployed lose self-esteem, for they come to feel wholly impotent and worthless. Especially the unemployed who are not self-sustaining suffer embarrassment, because no indigent person can think himself half a man. The unemployed do not compare favourably with even the most unskilled workers. Therefore, work of any kind, as against unemployment, may be pride-sustaining activity. But the pride taken in unskilled work is of short duration; it soon subsides and gives way to a feeling of being unimportant, but not to the feeling of worthlessness to which unemployment gives rise. The greater the lack of skilled work, the greater the need of a hobby to sustain pride.

Many persons who because of age are retired likewise fail to maintain self-esteem. Such persons are likely to feel the years weighing heavily upon them, to find life empty, and to wander about disconsolately. Their distraught minds are less a direct result of advancing years than a result of boredom and feelings of futility. To escape such distressing experiences, persons retired because of age need a good hobby. Since the age for retiring is being lowered, people are becoming dependent upon a hobby earlier than formerly. A retirement plan that affords the retired person only subsistence (that does not afford him something to do) overlooks an important factor in mental health.

Elderly people, upon being retired or widowed, often take up residence with relatives, and, in doing so, sometimes create a severe in-law problem, a problem that is frequently due to boredom. Persons who upon being taken into the homes of relatives have hobbies can amuse themselves and be interesting to other members of the home, and hence can avoid creating tedious relationships. If there is anything worse than being bored, it is to bore other persons. A hobby is as much of a protection against the latter of these evils as against the former.

Hobbies for the retirement period must be acquired before the retirement age is reached, because old persons are not facile in acquiring new interests. One of the wisest provisions for retirement consists in laying up in the early years a store of interests from which a hobby may spring when needed, or in developing early a hobby that persists to the end of life.

Thus, at almost any age and especially in the period of retirement, to maintain self-esteem, to divert the mind from distressing thoughts, to have an interest in life, or to avoid boring other persons, the individual may be much in need of a hobby.

3. SOCIAL CONTACTS

"I shall never regret," said Mr. Pickwick in a low voice—"I shall never regret having devoted the greater part of two years to mixing with different varieties and shades of human character, frivolous as my pursuit of novelty may have appeared to many."—CHARLES DICKENS.

We are interested in people because we are eager, as was noted in Chapter VI, to understand them; but the human interest in broad social contacts is a complex of various interests, and usually involves interest in change of impression and of expression. By meeting many people much change of impression may be had, for, as is said in an early writing, "Many Men Many Minds," translated by Lawton, people differ, and the differences are remarkable:

Why, pray, did he who made us, as 'tis told,
And all the beasts besides—Prometheus—give
To other animals one nature each?
For full of courage are the lions all,
And every hare, again, is timorous.
One fox is not of crafty spirit, one
Straightforward; but if you shall bring together
Three times ten thousand foxes, you will find
One character is common to them all.
But we—so many as our bodies are,
No less diverse our natures you will find.

A little girl once standing near an army and naval training school was asked by a sailor, "What are you doing here?"

She replied, "Watching the sogers and the sailors."

"Oh, don't watch the soldiers; watch only the sailors."

"No," she said, "I watch the sogers and the sailors."

This girl was four years old, but that is irrelevant.

So great is our interest in change of impression that in fiction even if a plot and incidents or setting are old, they may regain their original freshness when the characters are new.

Equally great is our interest in change of expression. We like to express ourselves on all subjects of interest to us, and we like to express the emotions we feel. But when with only one or a few persons, we are limited in what we can talk about; and, either because of the subject of our conversation or the attitudes of the people we are with, we are limited in emotional expression. The attitude of our company may limit our emotional expression because of our tendency to conform to the behaviour of others, and also because it takes various attitudes on the part of our company to bring out of us various emotions.

It is remarkable how our emotions sometimes remain dormant or freeze because of the company we are in. We realize, of course, that we must limit our expression of thought and emotions; but in a narrow social environment we are often unnecessarily cramped in expression. And the narrowness of our own expression can be as tedious to us as is the narrowness of expression of our company. Many persons, due to limited social experiences, grow to maturity inexpressive or awkward. But people who have broad social contacts usually have someone calling out a trait of their

nature that they wish to express, and permitting them to deviate from the talk, or pattern of emotional expression, to which others limit them. A person may desire conversation with new acquaintances also because such conversation enables him to be more interesting or impressive than he could be in conversation with someone familiar with his pattern of talk or with his weaknesses. A meeting of persons who do not know each other may give them much of the pleasure of a masquerade.

Social contacts are sought after not only because they can be informative and interesting, but also because they are essential to the fulfilment of many of our purposes. Most of our needs have a social element or are fulfilled only in a social setting.

It is also noteworthy that, to many persons worried about their condition or circumstances, the stimulation of them by other persons is their most effective diversion.

Since a broad social life is revealing and interesting, facilitates self-expression, and furthers various other purposes, one can understand why Cowper wrote of solitude :

I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute ;
From the centre all round to the sea,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.
Oh, solitude ! where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face ?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms,
Than reign in this horrible place.¹

A man was once asked what he would do if left stranded on an uninhabited island with his favourite woman. He replied, "I'd build a ship."

The movement of the population from rural districts and small towns to cities is, of course, due primarily to the choice of occupation the city affords, to the conveniences and greater freedom of urban life, and to a desire to be identified with the city rather than with the small town or farm ; but it is due also to a desire to be within view of and in contact with people to a greater extent than is possible in the more sparsely settled localities. Many persons who long to live in the heart of nature because they love nature and because they are racked by the tumult of the city, are, nevertheless, held to the city by the attraction of fellow beings.

Great as is the desire on the part of most persons for social contacts, it is not as great as the behaviour on the part of some persons might suggest. It should be remembered that any abnormal desire is a symptom of frustration.

Because of interest in contacts with different people, provision should be made for broad social contacts. Big affairs such as receptions, band

¹ Cowper, William. From "Verses."

concerts, community picnics or public celebrations enable everyone to touch elbows with others. People have always enjoyed the diversity of stimulation afforded by large gatherings. Organizing people may make it easier for them to get together. Membership in an organization brings into the company of others some who would otherwise seldom meet anyone. But this means of furthering a social life has shortcomings; it tends to limit the individual's range of acquaintance to the members of the organization. It should, therefore, be supplemented with big community affairs or other means of bringing unacquainted people together, such as an occasional joint meeting between different organizations or open house on the part of a group.

Getting acquainted involves more than coming together. At almost any meeting there should be a definite programme for having people mingle. Without some management there is danger, for instance, that the Smiths upon seeing the Joneses at a party will rivet themselves to the Joneses; that Henry and Helen, who come together to a dance and go home together, will also dance together the entire evening. Such practices enable the persons concerned to meet about as many people at a social function as they would have met if they had had a private meeting at home. To prevent individuals or couples from staying paired throughout the whole evening, hostesses or directors of social functions may employ various means for getting people to mingle. They often pair persons arbitrarily. But in doing so, frequent change of partners or a very brief partner programme is necessary to avoid the possibility of somewhat uncongenial persons "getting stuck" with each other. There are people who realize that in entertaining groups it is quite unwise to have just persons who see each other every day, and so when planning a social function they aim to have a guest or two unfamiliar to the other guests. A strange person or couple can do wonders towards enlivening a gathering. Some bridge clubs are made up of an odd number of couples, so that each hostess has to contribute a fresh pair of faces to the occasion when it is her turn to have a party. A good social leader, by directing the talk, also does much to bring people into conversation.

The interest in different people can be served at any meeting by having different persons, in one way or another, take part in the programme. Classroom procedures, church services, and radio broadcasts often become more interesting when different persons take part than they otherwise would be. A diversified programme, and from time to time a change of programme, are usually necessary to keep a meeting from becoming dull. In deciding policies in regard to meetings of any kind, do not overlook the enlivening effect of anything different from the customary, of especially a new face or voice.

General personal development or a specialized interest is essential to the achievement of an adequate social life, for, to be liked, one must have something to offer. Persons not interesting to others may, by developing a talent of one kind or another, become interesting to them. Hobbies are

sometimes the only effectual means through which those left out of social life can make their companionship wanted. Anderson, speaking of his clinical experiences, says:

The social relationships of withdrawn and unsocial children are not improved by telling them to be more social, or even by inviting other children to their parties. In my observation, the best procedure is to examine the child's own repertoire in order to find a skill or potentiality that, if developed, will give the child prestige in his own group. Thus, one withdrawn boy had much musical training because his mother valued piano-playing highly. But his associates did not regard piano-playing as significant. We persuaded the mother to purchase a trombone for him; shortly he was playing in the school orchestra and mingling with the other boys. The trombone-playing won their respect and made associations possible. This is an indirect rather than a direct approach to building social relations and is consonant with the practice found effective by many adults. A strongly developed interest, hobby, or activity facilitates the making of social contacts.¹

No one with a good hobby, unless he makes himself obnoxious by continually talking about it, is likely to be elbowed to the wall.

4. READING

Reading is a means of extending experiences. New impressions, new ideas, and new emotions may be had by turning to the printed page. Our experiences outside of reading often fall far short of what we desire, and we ask of literature many of the things we lack. Most persons are much in need of this means of extending the scope of life, and everyone able to read can thereby make his life fuller and more effective. Literature, satisfying now some needs and now other needs, is often the most ready means of gratification.

What we get through reading is sometimes precisely what we need and want, and, at other times, it may be only half as good and half as bad as an actual experience would be.

Reading gives you readily society in solitude. With well-selected books you can, in a way, meet all kinds of people, for a good library makes you an inhabitant of any nation and a contemporary of any age; and it brings the wisest, the wittiest, the tenderest across your threshold. What a narrow life man would have if he could know the thoughts and feelings of only those whom he actually met! Contacts with others through the printed page have an advantage over direct human relationships in that the persons between the covers of books may suit one's mood of the hour; they stand ready to come and ready to go at one's bidding. Everyone occasionally chooses a book in preference to an available companion, and many do so regularly.

¹ Anderson, John E., "The Development of Social Behaviour," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV, No. 6, p. 581, May, 1939.

Although the people between the covers of books are often the most stimulating people that you can meet, they are, in another sense, unsatisfactory to you. Instead of conversing with you, they (outside of the field of fiction) talk to you. Impress your reactions on the margin of the book, and the author, nevertheless, disregards what you say. You do not take his disregard of you personally, but you do feel the lack of opportunity to contribute towards the development of the subject, of getting the author's reaction to what you think, of getting at grips with the author, or of impressing him. Moreover, the satisfactions that you get in fiction are sometimes merely the husks of what you need. But although the people between the covers of books do not serve all the purposes of human relationships, the purposes that they serve they often serve better than do other people.

Through reading you can also have trips when unable to travel. There are books that take you roaming, and thus afford pleasing change of scene. On the pages of books of travel new lands rise, new seas roll, and you may have June in January. Travel by means of reading does not afford the degree of satisfaction obtained from actual travel, but most people cannot physically take the trips they desire. Everyone is limited in the places to which he can actually go, and many, for one reason or another, cannot travel at all. But a library provides an open road to all geographic and human scenes, and enables everyone to go abroad at home.

5. RADIO BROADCASTS

We are interested here in the subject of radio broadcasts in so far as they free individuals and groups from isolation and make possible the sharing of experiences in general. Radio is the greatest means of enlarging life that has been devised since the invention of the printing press. It has remarkable possibilities for freeing people from the dullness of an otherwise narrow environment, and for giving them things they enjoy. By means of radio broadcasts, information and entertainments can be carried from any part of the world to any other part, and at a low cost per person. For giving out news, the radio, although inferior to the press in that it is less detailed and makes no record of news, is superior to the press in that it is quicker; broadcasts go over the air in less time than is required for wide distribution of newspapers. The immediacy of news is always a factor underlying its enjoyment. The listeners can, moreover, have reports of an event as it progresses, and so enjoy the suspense and surprise that are had by the onlookers.

The value of the radio for education depends much on how the school of the air is conducted. Any learning process is more than a listening process; it requires saying, writing or doing what one would learn; it requires knowledge and correction of errors; and it requires, in the case of young children, immediate personal recognition of accomplishment.

Subject matter should be individualized in accordance with the personal needs and interests of everyone. A teacher who has direct contact with the learners is in a better position to apply these principles of education than is the speaker before the microphone. The schools of the air are devising ways of putting these principles into operation, but they cannot do so to a sufficient extent to enable them to displace classroom teaching.

Radio seems to have greatest educational value when used as a supplement to classroom teaching. By means of the radio the best talent—the most outstanding speakers and artists—and material not otherwise available can be brought to the classroom, the school can be kept in close touch with events of the day, interest in public affairs can be created and broadened, appreciation of and interest in the subjects taught in school can be developed, and routine can be broken in interesting and profitable ways. As supplementary to classroom teaching, radio broadcasts have possibilities for enriching education, and are now to some degree serving this purpose.

Radio has much value as a medium for bringing music to people in sparsely settled places or to anyone unable to pay high admission for hearing it. Many people would know nothing of the music of Beethoven, Mozart, or Wagner if radio did not bring it to them from the concert halls and the opera houses in which this music is played. Isolation or poverty is no barrier to listening to a composition by any of the masters. Radio not only brings the best music within the hearing of everyone; it today, because of mechanical improvements, also transmits music very satisfactorily.

From the standpoint of amusement, listening to the radio is inadequate diversion because it usually constitutes a passive state; it consists in being entertained, rather than in doing something for one's own entertainment. But the amusement value of active participation on the part of the radio audience is becoming appreciated. Most broadcasting stations occasionally bring people to their studios for the purpose of staging information contests, such as spelling bees or competitive responses to true-false statements, in which the radio audience can in a very significant sense participate. Many radio stations also stimulate listeners to do such things as cast a vote for their favourite entertainer or to comment by letter on the programme.

Radio, by means of the auditory impressions it gives, suggests companionship, and so frees isolated persons from much of the feeling of being alone. It does so more than does a book, because the spoken word is evidence of a living human being behind what is said, while the written word is no such evidence. The feeling of being alone is decreased also by hearing the applause of the audience in the sending station, by the conversational method of broadcasting, by being directed to do things, and by knowing that there are thousands of others listening to the same programme. And the familiarity of the voices of some of the radio characters and of the announcer makes the listener feel not only that he is in the

company of other persons, but that he is in the company of acquaintances. In a questionnaire on the subject, 83 per cent of the persons who responded said that, when by themselves, listening to the radio made them feel less lonely.¹

Although radio broadcasts give a sense of being in the company of other persons, they fall far short of satisfying completely the desire for the presence of other human beings. Persons who feel lonely fly quickly, except when held back in one way or another, from the radio to join a crowd. Group functions in which the social element plays a considerable part are not affected much by the radio. Those who seek the human touch will always regard listening to a broadcast as being less desirable than being actually present at an event that is attended by many persons.

Listening to broadcasts has another disadvantage as compared with actual attendance in that only auditory impressions can at present be sent widely over the air, and so the listener does not see the form and colour of the setting from which the broadcast comes. But a skilful announcer gives much vision to the ears, and so makes listening to a programme on the air somewhat like taking in the programme directly. He may, moreover, get the radio audience to picture in imagination a more interesting setting than actually exists at the sending station. There are many things that are more emotionally effective when not seen.

Listening to radio programmes has a number of advantages over going out to take in things in person and may be preferred because of these advantages. In addition to the possible advantage mentioned above, taking in programmes by means of the radio saves the inconvenience, the time, and the expense of going out. It also makes unnecessary the unpleasantness of being bored, for you can always walk out on a radio programme without discourtesy to anyone. A broadcast enables you to go unobserved, by anyone outside of the home, to almost any church, political meeting, theatre, or to a prize fight if you care to listen to one. It, moreover, provides many people, as previously stated, with better talent than is directly available to them.

Listening to a broadcast has advantages and disadvantages also in comparison with using a library. Persons on the air seem more real than those in books, but those in books are more frank. Those on the air may be more personal because their style is more conversational than the usual style of writing. Radio programmes consist largely of what appeals to people in general; libraries satisfy every taste. Broadcasts must be taken largely as they come, but reading material may be selected.

Listening to broadcasts is easier and less troublesome than is selecting books and reading them, and so those who have no special interests prefer the arranged menu of the air. A book may be read at one's convenience, rapidly or slowly, and when one is in the mood for reading it, but listening to a broadcast is inflexible. In reading a book one can pause

¹ See Cantril, Hadley, and Allport, Gordon H., *The Psychology of Radio*, p. 102. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1935.

to re-read; in listening to the radio one must go along with the speaker. Reading requires the entire attention, while broadcasts may be taken in as a background to the doing of other things. Many persons listen while they work. By making it possible for persons whose tasks are long and of a routine character to take in programmes while at work, radio serves a purpose that radio alone can serve.

Radio furnishes the greatest attainable auditory variety. But radio's offerings are varied more to catch the interest of different groups than to please any particular group. To each individual the variety of a series of radio broadcasts is mere variety; variety that is foisted upon him with marked disregard for his taste. The chief evil of broadcasts is that everyone must take the bitter with the sweet, or turn off the radio.

In America the cries of some advertisers are the chief annoyance of most broadcasts. Advertisers realize this, and many of them try to avoid irritating the listener with direct advertising. They provide "goodwill" programmes devoted to things of wide interest and in which but brief mention is made of the sponsor's product. Other advertisers, however, feel that the use of the radio is more profitable as a means of direct advertising, and devote much of their time to crying their wares. Should radio advertising become more of the goodwill and less of the direct advertising type, listeners would be spared much annoyance.

Radio broadcasts give rise to many severe clashes of interest on the part of members of a household. Children are enthusiastic over programmes for which adults have equally strong dislikes. Adults often find their interest in a particular radio programme conflicting, and the interest of one adult in listening to a broadcast differing sharply from another's interest in reading, conversing or in doing something else about the house. Considerable family irritation originates in clashes of interest in regard to radio broadcasts.

Much of the dislike for broadcasts is due not entirely to their nature, but also to having had an excess of broadcasts. People who must hear radio programmes long after they have grown weary of auditory stimulation dislike what might otherwise please them. Radio beats so incessantly upon the ears of many persons that they feel relieved when it is turned off. To keep radio refreshing it is not enough to improve the broadcasts; it is also necessary to prevent over-exposure to them.

Although radio causes much annoyance, it is accepted because it extends and enriches experience.

6. TRAVEL

Persons who live in green fields find the city's huge crowds, its hustle, its incessant clamour, and its flashing lights most attractive; those who live amid skyscrapers are drawn by the open spaces. And anyone may enjoy travel not simply because of the newness of the destination, but also because of the ever-changing series of impressions en route.

Generally the main attraction of foreign travel is the strangeness it provides; different speech, different coins, different clothes, different food, different architecture, different means of transportation, and different attitudes and customs. Going abroad wrenches anyone out of the humdrum of his customary life, and, however trying foreign travel may become, it is usually preferred occasionally by most people to the comfortable uniformity of a sleepy existence.

The desire for taking a long trip is often intense. There is a song which tells, in substance, that a railway porter, after announcing a train for a number of stations and all points west, said to himself in a subdued voice, "There comes, I believe, a travelling salesman—he's probably going all the way to the coast," and then muttered, "but I never go anywhere." Later the porter announced a train for the other stations and all points east, and then to himself remarked, "There comes a honeymoon couple—they're heading for Niagara Falls, I'll wager," and mumbled, "but I never go anywhere." Next he announced a southbound train, and uttered: "There come some policemen with a prisoner for Leavenworth, I suppose. That fellow looks angry. But why should he be mad? He's getting a trip out of it." Then the porter was injured fatally in an accident, and his dying words were, "Well, after all, I'm going somewhere!"¹ Although this story overstates people's desire to travel occasionally, the desire that it emphasizes is real.

Travel is, however, not essential to the enjoyment of a vacation. Some people in carrying on their work go about considerably from place to place, and so have change of scene throughout the work-day. And most people have considerable change of impression in going to and from their work. This is so especially in the case of those who live in large cities, where different routes may be taken and where a beaten path, although often annoying, never becomes very monotonous. But especially in need of travel once in a lifetime at least are persons who work where they live. A woman who never got far from her residence in forty years once said, "Seems sometimes ef I could see the ocean, or a real big city, 'twould help."

7. PRIVACY

Although everyone desires direct social contacts, many persons often feel a great need for privacy. To be in constant communication with other persons makes you tense and deprives you of opportunity for reading or independent thought. For some people there is seldom a time, from one year to another, that they are alone. You may lack privacy because of cramped home conditions, or because of failure on the part of members of the family to recognize your need for privacy. No one can be said to

¹ Hart, Lorenz. "All Points West" (Music by Richard Rodgers).

have a home in the true sense of the word who does not have a room of his own, or who does not occasionally have the home to himself.

You may lack privacy also because of someone who, having no means of self-enjoyment, visits you too often and stays too long. He consumes all of your leisure time and leans heavily upon your working hours. Inspecting a timepiece or speaking of urgent tasks is an insufficient means of getting such a person to rise after he has once sat down. Like an autumn rain, he can be counted on to last for hours. The more courtesy you show him, the more he leans upon you for stimulation; call upon him, and he will repay your visit a hundredfold. Since he calls on you so often because he has no other means of engaging himself, he is usually most unstimulating; and so he not only prevents you from having privacy but also tires you. Experiences like the following are not uncommon:

Again I hear that creaking step!
He's rapping at the door!
Too well I know that boding sound
That ushers in a bore.
I do not tremble when I meet
The stoutest of my foes,
But Heaven defend me from the friend
Who comes—but never goes!—JOHN SAXE

Not only persons who are dependent upon you for stimulation, but also those who are eager to touch the hem of your garment may intrude seriously upon your privacy. Men and women of prominence when preferring to be alone must continually fight a human tide that beats incessantly against their privacy, and that would sweep it away completely.

Everyone must, of course, expect to have his privacy invaded occasionally for the privilege of invading that of others. But a greater understanding of the need for privacy would result in fewer intrusions upon it. Such an understanding would also result in better feelings on the part of persons towards each other, because it would make for a realization that to fly from someone need not mean a lack of appreciation for him.

8. CONTACT WITH NATURE

The earth was made so various, that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change,
And pleas'd with novelty might be indulg'd.—WILLIAM COWPER.

Nature affords man many striking changes from his other experiences. Its vastness contrasts with the limited indoor space; its serenity, with the disquietude of much urban life. Nature is also infinite in its variety. The world consists of innumerable kinds of things, and each kind is made up of myriad gradations between wide extremes. The surface of the earth is

irregular and consists of different substances, each highly varied. No two mountains, valleys or waters are alike, and the differences in rocks are as numerous as are the rocks. Vegetation everywhere affords a varied spectacle, and to the traveller a continual change of scenery. Trees differ from each other in detail or kind, and flowers vary in colour, form, size, texture, and scent. Fruits and vegetables are of more than one taste and texture, and differ in every other quality. The species of animal life are countless, and the individuals within each species differ in every trait. The sky has many wonders, and those who behold them delight in the view and find it refreshing. The colours of the earth and sky are myriad, and the most general tones are varied throughout their extent; no leaf or mountain has but one hue, and the sky has the rainbow and the sunset. Differences in light and shadow render objects still more various. Nature's sounds also are diversified, and vary throughout their duration. All animals, winds, waters, and thunder far and near have different voices, and seldom is a tone of nature a monotone. No imitator would attempt to mimic the entire range of sounds. To each of the special senses of man nature affords pleasing diversity.

To the variety of impressions afforded by a thing observed from one position, change of impression is added as one observes it from different points. And when a person approaches something or recedes from it there is a continual change of impression.

Many of the things of nature are varied to such a degree that they contrast with one another. Some flowers are poised on firm stalks, and others sway on delicate stems. The day brings light and shade, and the night gives us darkness and the light of the moon. We have also the low notes and the high notes of living creatures, trickling and gushing streams, and we have the stillness before the storm. For a number of sharply contrasting scenes, take a trip through the Dakota prairies, through the Canadian Rockies, down the coast by boat, visit the California forests, come back through the Arizona desert, stop at the Grand Canyon, and return over the plains.

Nature gives variety also in the form of action. Floating clouds, flashing lightning, swaying trees, blazing fires, erupting volcanoes, and the various activities of the animal kingdom, especially those of man, give richness to the view. The diversity of the attributes of nature is amazing, but the diversity of nature in action is infinite.

Nature, moreover, undergoes continuous change. Autumn leaves modify their tints, the clouds unceasingly alter their form, colour, or movement, and many other scenes of nature change while you look. The seasons shift in a cycle in which they bring in turn the green, the red, the gold, the grey, and again the green, and give us the rain and the snow, and sometimes Indian summer. All living things grow for a time and so differ from day to day in the process of maturing, and the earth undergoes continual modification. Through nature's range, things in time are transfigured. Ever changing, ever new, how could nature tire one!

Much of what I have said on the subject of variety in nature can be summed up by the following quotation:

Certainly no one can say that life on this planet is stale and monotonous. . . . In the first place, there is the alternation of night and day, and morning and sunset, and a cool evening following upon a hot day, and a silent and clear dawn presaging a busy morning, and there is nothing better than that. In the second place there is the alternation of summer and winter, perfect in themselves, but made still more perfect by being gradually ushered in by spring and autumn, and there is nothing better than that. In the third place, there are the silent and dignified trees, giving us shade in summer and not shutting out the warm sunshine in winter, and there is nothing better than that. In the fourth place, there are flowers blooming and fruits ripening by rotation in the different months, and there is nothing better than that. In the fifth place, there are cloudy and misty days alternating with clear and sunny days, and there is nothing better than that. In the sixth place, there are spring showers and summer thunderstorms and the dry crisp wind of autumn and the snow of winter, and there is nothing better than that. In the seventh place, there are peacocks and parrots and skylarks and canaries singing inimitable songs, and there is nothing better than that. In the eighth place, there is the zoo, with monkeys, tigers, bears, camels, elephants, rhinoceros, crocodiles, sea-lions, cows, horses, dogs, cats, foxes, squirrels, woodchucks and more variety and ingenuity than we ever thought of, and there is nothing better than that. In the ninth place, there are rainbow fish, swordfish, electric eels, whales, minnows, clams, abalones, lobsters, shrimps, turtles and more variety and ingenuity than we ever thought of, and there is nothing better than that. In the tenth place, there are magnificent redwood trees, fire-spouting volcanoes, magnificent caves, majestic peaks, undulating hills, placid lakes, winding rivers and shady banks, and there is nothing better than that. The menu is practically endless to suit individual tastes, and the only sensible thing to do is to go and partake of the feast and not complain about the monotony of life.¹

Many of the aspects of nature are not discordant, but are harmoniously related; they differ, and still they agree. And it is not simply nature's variety that we enjoy, but its varied unity.

Nature is, of course, often harsh and cruel, and there are snakes in the grass, mosquitoes in the woods, and bees in the clover; but although nature may vex you exceedingly, it never bores you.

The earth never tires,

The earth is rude, silent, incomprehensible at first, Nature is rude and incomprehensible at first.

Be not discouraged, keep on, there are divine things well envelop'd.

I swear to you there are divine things more beautiful than words can tell.

—WALT WHITMAN.

Since nature has an inexhaustible store of highly pleasurable novelties, it is possible to refresh the lives of people by bringing them into contact with nature.

¹ Lin Yutang, *The Importance of Living*, p. 280. New York, John Day Company, 1937. Used by permission of the publisher.

The individual frequently inhabits richer surroundings than he realizes, and, when this is the case, his lack of interest in the things about him may be due to the fact that he is not very observant. Some persons notice only huge mountains, deep gorges and great waterfalls; others notice little effects of every sort; the return of a bird, the opening of a bud or the work of ants. To see and to hear much it is necessary not only to have eyes and ears, but also to look and listen. The person who observes well enriches his life greatly in a momentary glance or in a short stroll; he sees millions of details that to others go unobserved. He echoes the sentiment, "How nature delights and amuses us by varying even the character of insects; the ill nature of the wasp, the sluggishness of the drone, the volatility of the butterfly, the slyness of the bug!"

Failure to observe nature may be due to lack of knowledge in regard to nature. Through their courses in nature study, schools do much to make children more observant. It may be due also to the need of heeding incessantly the call to labour, to ill health or to malnutrition. Mark Twain said, "Nothing improves scenery like ham and eggs." Failure to be observant of nature and interested in it may be due also, as the following quotation implies, to the human tendency to under-value reality in comparison with the fictions of the mind :

It is amazing that no one ever questions the truth of the story of a lost Paradise. How beautiful, after all, was the Garden of Eden, and how ugly, after all, is the present physical universe? Have flowers ceased to bloom since Eve and Adam sinned? Has God cursed the apple tree and forbidden it to bear fruit because one man sinned, or has He decided that its blossoms should be made of duller or paler colours? Have orioles and nightingales and skylarks ceased to sing? Is there no snow upon the mountain tops and are there no reflections in the lakes? Are there no rosy sunsets today and no rainbows and no haze nestling over villages, and are there no falling cataracts and gurgling streams and shady trees? Who, therefore, invented the myth that the "Paradise" was "lost" and that today we are living in an ugly universe? We are indeed ungrateful, spoiled children of God.

A parable has to be written of this spoiled child. . . . He came to God and complained that this planet was not good enough for him, and said he wanted a Heaven of Pearly Gates. And God first pointed out to the moon in the sky and asked him if it was not a good toy, and he shook his head. He said he didn't want to look at it. Then God pointed out to the blue hills in the distance and asked him if the lines were not beautiful, and he said they were common and ordinary. Next God showed him the petals of the orchid and the pansy, and asked him to put out his fingers and touch gently their velvety lining and asked if the colour scheme was not exquisite, and the man said, "No." In his infinite patience, God took him to an aquarium, and showed him the gorgeous colours and shapes of Hawaiian fishes, and the man said he was not interested. God then took him under a shady tree and commanded a cool breeze to blow and asked him if he couldn't enjoy that, and the man replied again that he was not impressed. Next God took him to a mountain lake and showed him the light of the water, the sound of winds whistling through a pine forest, the serenity of the rocks and the beautiful reflections in the lake, and the man said that still he could not get excited over it.

Thinking that this creature of His was not mild-tempered and wanted more exciting views, God took him then to the top of the Rocky Mountains, the Grand Canyon, and the caves with stalactites and stalagmites, and geysers, and the sand dunes, and the fairyfinger-shaped cactus plants on a desert, and the snow on the Himalayas, and the cliffs of the Yangtse Gorges, and the granite peaks of the Yellow Mountains, and the sweeping cataract of Niagra Falls, and asked him if He had not done everything possible to make this planet beautiful to delight his eyes and his ears and his stomach, and the man still clamoured for a Heaven with Pearly Gates. "This planet," the man said, "is not good enough for me." "You presumptuous, ungrateful rat!" said God. "So this planet is not good enough for you? I will therefore send you to Hell where you shall not see the sailing clouds and the flowering trees, nor hear the gurgling brooks and live there forever till the end of your days." And God sent him to live in a city apartment.¹

To bring into contact with nature or with reality in general an individual who undervalues reality, we must refrain from teaching sweet falsehoods in regard to things remote, and acquaint the individual with the fact that distant pastures seem greenest.

Getting in touch with nature is often a very simple matter: a matter of providing a window with a view. The view of merely one tree silhouetted against a short stretch of sky gives much enrichment to a home. People who spend a large part of their time indoors need greatly the refreshing experience of gazing out upon nature, and of seeing the changes wrought by the weather and the seasons. Such persons often value a window that gives them an exceptional landscape more than they do the rest of the house. The desire for a window with a view is not simply a desire to see the outdoors. A room without a window gives a pent-up feeling. Such a feeling is not pleasant; we desire, on the contrary, a feeling of freedom from restraint. Persons who have been confined to a room without a window have experienced a desire to push out the walls. A spacious view enables the mind to range at large. The desire to be unrestricted and the desire for variety combined make very urgent a window with a view.

Getting in touch with nature is a simple way of increasing interest in life, for nature abounds on every hand. And when you get in touch with her, you get in touch with a refreshing friend.

9. ACTIVITY THAT ONE PREFERS

The enjoyment of leisure necessitates choice of activity, for the recreational needs, as well as the occupational interests, of one person may be far different from those of another. Most people are not free in the spending of their leisure; they may be governed by various factors in taking up diversions. Some find it necessary to devote their spare time

¹ Lin Yutang, *The Importance of Living*, p. 277. New York, John Day Company, 1937. Used by permission of the publishers.

to the furthering of their occupational interests. A man may on many a day spend all of his free time playing golf, not with a partner of his choosing, but with a business prospect or with a superior to whom he feels he must cater. He may also join a church other than the one he prefers and attend services regularly because he finds that in doing so he gets some of his best clients. Babbitt confessed that he never in his life did anything he wanted to do.

The aspiration to climb socially, like the economic motive, leads many to seek the company of someone of influence rather than the companionship of an enjoyable person. This desire also prompts many husbands and many wives to require their mates or their children to do likewise. So frequently is this fact portrayed in the comic strip that it need not be dwelt upon here. Fashion and convention may also lay down a narrow and rigid routine, and so lead the individual into spending his leisure in one way when he prefers doing something else. Club membership is another factor that may involve the forfeiting of much freedom in leisure hours. When a member of a group sets a pace in entertaining that others follow because they feel they must, the social club becomes a chain gang.

To profit by freedom in leisure hours, people must be given a variety of recreational activities from which to choose. And offerings must be made with regard to different interests on the part of different ages and on the part of persons of each age. There must be made available a broad range of physical, of social, and of cultural activities. Many of those in charge of recreational activity of one type or another know the value of freedom to choose from broad offerings, and strive to make such choice possible. Librarians have found that a variety of reading material and freedom to select books and magazines stimulates interest in reading, and so they display books, prepare printed lists of books, and aid readers personally in making selections rather than attempt to direct their reading.

A wide offering of wholesome recreational activity and freedom to choose the activity desired do not, however, assure wise use of leisure. To prevent the abuse of leisure, choice of activities must be made intelligently. Schools can develop in the early years an interest in the better forms of recreational activity. They can do so most effectively by aiding children in acquiring some proficiency in desirable activities to which their might later devote their leisure.

Usually skill is necessary for the enjoyment of any form of activity that involves self-expression. Without some adeptness in a leisure pursuit, it can be as uninteresting as the most routine work. But high proficiency in recreational activity is not essential to making it interesting. Just enough information or skill in a form of activity to enable the individual to feel that he can perform somewhat successfully in it is often enough to get him to take it up as a leisure pursuit. Preparing for the use of leisure has always been recognized as an objective of the school. Because most work today is unskilled and because fewer hours than formerly are being

given to such work, vocational training is now less important for many people than is training for the use of leisure. Such training is, however, vocational training for those who may later make their leisure pursuits their vocation.

Some limitation of freedom in the spending of leisure is essential to gregarious life; it is only in solitude that the individual will ever be able to do as he pleases with his spare time. But since spontaneity in the doing of things is a factor in their enjoyment, unnecessary curtailment of freedom in the choice of leisure activity should be carefully avoided, and every effort should be made to enable people to have the kind of socially acceptable leisure activity they desire.

A LIVELIHOOD AND SENSE OF SECURITY

MAN obviously needs a livelihood, but what an adequate livelihood is depends somewhat upon the individual's standards. Everyone has a conception of an economic level that he considers adequate, and his mental health is determined considerably by his achievement in relation to that standard. The need for a sense of security—security in respect to all of one's needs—is revealed by the extent of man's struggle and sacrifice of immediate gratification to achieve it, and by his anxiety when he feels that a deprivation is pending.

Some insecurity is inevitable, and it stimulates industry and personal development; but extreme insecurity is demoralizing. A person who feels that his goal is surrounded by a sheet of thin ice, falters at every step and becomes so absorbed in his safety that he fails to devise means or to develop the necessary skill for the achievement of his objectives. Extreme insecurity also discourages long-time planning. War, for example, by making heavy demands for short-run adjustments, and by giving rise to uncertainties, indisposes many persons to plan for the future. Under any conditions, plans are made only when they give some promise of fulfilment.

There are many psychological factors that contribute towards the acquisition of a livelihood, or towards a sense of security in respect to various fundamental human needs.

1. BROAD SOCIAL SYMPATHY

Sympathy—putting oneself in the place of another person and participating in his feelings and problems—makes one considerate of him. As we share in each other's problems we become harmless or helpful to each other, depending upon our degree of sympathy. Where there is no sympathy, individuals and groups commonly fight over the good things of life, as in early childhood. Once a little girl playing in the sand with a boy held up a spoon and said to me as I was passing, "He wants the spoon but I want it too!"

"What are you going to do about it?" I asked her.

She glared at me in amazement and exclaimed, "Why, I'm going to keep it!"

A person cannot have the same concern for mankind that he has for someone close to him, but he can develop sufficient fellow feeling for people in general to keep himself from harming them. Such sympathy is most essential to harmonious relationships, and should be sedulously

fostered in the interest of security. There are different sources of sympathy.

a. Awareness of Similarity. People cognizant of having something in common tend to develop fellow feelings for each other. The slightest acquaintance may be sufficient to reveal a similarity, and thus to further sympathy.

Taking a cosmopolitan interest in meeting people or in reading about them, travelling with an eye for universal human traits as well as for the exotic, acquainting oneself with different people's literature, art, folk-songs, or other media of self-expression should awaken us to our common motives and problems, and to the similarity of the adjustments we make to frustration or to mental conflict. The more we study, for example, the lunatic, the more we find that he resembles us.

Agencies of information should endeavour to acquaint people not simply with different cultures, but also with their similarity; similarity of behaviour or of motive. Schools, libraries, cinemas, newspapers, and radio stations have great responsibilities for furthering the individual's knowledge of other people. Many colleges afford such information, not only through reading material, but also by having exchange professorships, exchange scholarships, travelling fellowships, and international student-residence halls.

b. Reasonable Conformity. Acquiescence in the behaviour of others is commonly conducive to mutual sympathy. Much of the concern that people in general have for each other is due to like-mindedness. Sympathy does not necessitate conformity in all behaviour patterns, but it cannot be strong without conformity in some of them.

The patterning of one's behaviour after that of the group has further value in that it saves energy for developing other patterns of action. No one who always tries to be different from others does anything of great significance. Conformity also saves energy in that it makes for co-operation.

Participation in the activity of others, although conducive to feelings of at-homeness, may be inimical to greater values. When prompted by the belief that whatever others do is advantageous, by extreme desire for approval or fear of scorn, or by desire to think oneself like the model one imitates, conformity may be a road to ruin. And when extreme, it retards personal development or social progress and makes life dull. Sometimes the greatest glory is that of individuality.

But nonconformity is not necessarily a virtue. There are persons who adhere to patterns of action that make for pointless differences in culture. Their behaviour is usually due to suggestion or habit, and sometimes, as we have noted, to scorn of others or vanity. Such persons might well re-evaluate their ways of life with the view to giving up possible trivialities that keep them from living harmoniously and sympathetically with others.

The implication here is not that one should conform, but that one should avoid wasteful, pointless, and absurd nonconformity as a means to one of life's values, not its greatest value—a sense of security.

c. Recognition of Interdependence. To the extent to which people feel

interdependent, they are in sympathy with each other. This is apparent on every hand, and is suggested by the development of sympathy for animals. Towards birds children were cruel until they learned to enjoy them, and learned that many of them destroy insects harmful to man. Similarly, as anyone becomes aware of the different things that trees do for us, he, instead of wantonly destroying them, nurtures them. People who have common interests feel more or less interdependent. Affiliation with an organization, as well as affiliation in love, occasions common interest, and hence a feeling of interdependence that may eventuate in much sympathy. But when there is antagonism between groups, their members become unsympathetic with the members of the rival group. Because of the extensive rivalry that exists today between groups, many of them are not a constructive force in the development of broad social sympathy. Rivalry between groups does, however, intensify the sympathy of the members of a group for each other. People tend to become mutually sympathetic, not only through affiliation, but through common experiences of any kind.

We are more or less dependent upon other persons in the achievement of various gratifications; and the more specialized our activity, the more interdependent we are. The specialization of industry of today makes us highly dependent upon each other in the achievement of a livelihood. The various agencies of education should, in the interest of broad social sympathy, give more emphasis than they have been giving to our interdependence as individuals and as groups.

A realization of the interdependence of man tends to further not only sympathy but also a sense of responsibility, and thus to increase action in keeping with sympathy.

d. Respect for Mankind. We can see in other persons little more than we are willing to see in them. Disrespect for the members of a group dims the individual's vision for the similarities that exist between himself and them, makes distasteful to him any conformity to their culture, and keeps him from recognizing his dependence on them. Where there is little respect there is little sympathy. Disrespect for other persons also makes the individual antagonistic towards any deviation in their culture from his own, and makes him insolent in his relationships with them. Such attitudes can be highly inflammatory. "I am sure from all I have ever seen or read of social revolt and unrest, that this injured self-feeling, or defence against the sense of personal inferiority, while not the only motive, is the most powerful one at work."¹

Disrespect for other persons may be due, as has been noted in Chapter XVIII, to a superiority complex, or it may be simply a rationalization of one's maltreatment of them. A nation that subjugates another nation is most likely to consider its members to be of an inferior stock.

¹ Martin, Everett Dean. *The Behaviour of Crowds*, pp. 171-172. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1920.

A person may be entirely disinterested in his judgement of other people and yet fail to recognize their worth because of propaganda against them. Children who grow up in a community in which class differences are misrepresented ordinarily do not remain open-minded. This is especially so when the misrepresentation is in the guise of education, as it unfortunately is to a great extent. A college woman once said to her father: "Dad, you have been teaching history for years, and you have written books on history, and yet you are unwilling to have me major in your subject. Why?"

"I'll tell you, Betty, why I would like to see you major in something else. Most of us in the field of history realize, more or less, that we teach or write much that isn't so."

The propagandist's motive may be simply that of inspiring patriotism; but however worthy the motive, the method is ill-advised, since it creates class antagonism.

In journalism, there is a tendency at times to put a group in a bad light in order to create interest in the news. Such journalism appeals to many persons because it decreases their feelings of inferiority, gives them ready-made invectives for freeing themselves of tension, or because it is sensational. Will Rogers once remarked, "The trouble with you boys is that you want to write headlines instead of news." The temptation to distort the facts in order to create interest in news, and the gravity of doing so, are observations made by a news commentator, John W. Vandercook, who has said:

News in our society is a saleable commodity. The worse it is, the more saleable it is. Journalism in our time has fallen far too often into the habit of disseminating facts, near facts, or rumours that are palatable or inflammatory, and of disregarding or giving little emphasis to the decency, the co-operativeness, and the heroism that exist in the world. Social abuses and danger spots should be sedulously sought out and publicized, but those who continually give a base slant to the motives or actions of anyone or any nation, whether because of design or the lack of complete information, do not serve the common good.

It would be pointless to deny actual differences in human worth, but there is always the question as to the extent to which difference between two groups is due to conquest and exploitation of the one by the other. Where there is complete understanding, there always is some sympathy.

The modes of communication and transportation of today make possible a wider acquaintance on the part of people in general than they formerly had. But our channels of communication give the propagandist opportunity for unprecedented influence, and our means of transportation make the need for broad social sympathy more urgent than ever before.

2. THE SYMPATHY OF FRIENDSHIP

Since friends participate more in each other's feelings than do people in general, they are more likely to understand and encourage each other. Their sympathy, alike in joy and in sorrow, is noteworthy.

A pleasant experience is most enjoyable when had with someone who also appreciates it, or when made the subject of conversation with him. The exchange of glances between friends who are delighted by a scene always makes it more thrilling. In the enjoyment of something with another person we have, as Adam Smith suggests, two sources of satisfaction :

When we have read a book or poem so often that we can no longer find any amusement in reading it to ourselves, we can still take pleasure in reading it to a companion. To him it has all the grace of novelty ; we enter into the surprise and admiration which it naturally excites in him, but which it is no longer capable of exciting in us ; we consider all the ideas which it presents rather in the light in which they appear to him, than in which they appear to ourselves, and we are amused by sympathy with his amusement which thus enlivens our own.¹

As to sorrow, it is often somewhat relieved through sympathy. Feeling with a person in distress suggests understanding of his situation or warmth for him, and so gives him a sense of security. Although joy is commonly doubled when shared, sorrow is more often halved in this way, for most people are in greater need of having their wounds healed than their pleasures augmented.

Sympathy does not necessarily ease another's sorrow. When he sees in it much self-pity, as is often the case, it tends to depress and irritate him. Moreover, any sympathy with a person in distress may increase his sorrow by emphasizing his condition. If the person undergoing misfortune knows that you are gladly standing by him, he wants you, not to give way to grief, but to create a cheerful atmosphere in which he can share. Holmes said, for nurses :

And last, not least, in each perplexing case
Learn the sweet magic of a cheerful face,
Not always smiling, but at least serene.
When grief and anguish crowd the anxious scene,
Each look, each movement, every word and tone
Should tell the patient you are all his own.
Not the mere artist, purchased to attend,
But the warm, ready, self-forgetting friend
Whose genial presence in itself combines
The best of cordials, tonics, anodynes.

¹ Smith, Adam, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, pp. 11-12. London, Cadell and Davis, 1812.

What an unhappy person really likes on the part of others is neither sympathy nor complacency alone, but cheerful devotion to him.

The desire for sympathy, in joy or sorrow, is frequently manifested by the eagerness of many persons to talk about their experiences. When deeply stirred by a pleasure, they cannot resist opening their hearts to a close friend, and when tense with anxiety, they tell of their circumstances to any receptive ear. They may, however, do so chiefly for relief from tension. Some persons have, as Shakespeare implies, much need of someone with whom they can share their irritations.

Give sorrow word. The grief that does not speak
Whispers o'er the fraught heart and bids it break.

Although a person may free himself of tension by talking about his troubles, if he relates them repeatedly, he may hurt himself socially and thus develop more tension.

Privately giving way to tears, likewise, relieves tension, but it lacks the consolation of friends. It is also true that private lamentation, or the unburdening of oneself upon a friend, can only ease sorrow; its cure requires, as Adam Smith suggests, escape and compensatory activity:

Are you in adversity? Do not mourn in the darkness of solitude, nor regulate your sorrow according to the indulgent sympathy of your intimate friends; return, as soon as possible, to the daylight and to the world of society.

The best way to express sympathy is to help the individual overcome the need of it. True friendship consists, therefore, in sharing, not simply in another's joys and sorrows, but also in his problems. Such expression of sympathy is often essential to keeping the individual from developing feelings of hopelessness.

3. THE SYMPATHY OF LOVE

The sympathy of love, the deepest fellow feeling of mankind, is needed by everyone and is to many persons, especially to children, their greatest security. The child in helpless infancy and through the years of limited self-sufficiency is quick to develop various apprehensions, and so has need of repeated affection and assurance that he will receive all necessary care. Institutional children who receive no affection, and unwanted children in homes, are pathetically grateful to any stranger who shows the least affection for them.

An unloved child not only suffers from feelings of insecurity, but he also fails to become congenial. Studies of orphanage children have shown that babies do not develop friendly personalities, nor flourish physically,

until they have been given attention and affection.¹ A doctor once suggested, in conference with a mother regarding her frail daughter, "Try loving her every two hours." To fondle, caress, and carry or rock the baby, and to talk or sing to him tenderly is to meet a requisite as basic to his entire well-being as food is to the body.

It is difficult to distinguish between the infant's physical and psychological needs, for the hand that makes him physically comfortable expresses, at the same time, feeling for him. Every detail in caring for the infant is a means whereby his conception of the world as friendly, hostile, or indifferent is developed. If he is fed or bathed in a perfunctory manner, whether because of preoccupation or a lack of warmth for him, he grows unhappy and listless. Babies who have not had normal mothering smile little, are late in beginning to vocalize and to talk, and seldom develop smooth speech.²

Does one spoil the young infant by giving him attention when he cries? He needs the realization that he has a language that works in time of need. The more uncertain he is as to the effectiveness of his crying, the more likely he is to test it out, or to wail in despair when in distress. If you frequently go to him when he is quiet, he learns that he can depend upon your coming, and so crying becomes to him less important. Going to him also in response to his cries does tend to spoil him, and therefore requires moderation and judgement in doing so.

The child is sensitive to genuineness of affection, and when he seems to be crying too much for attention, he may, instead, be crying for attention that is real. You can often keep such a child contented when alone by repeatedly devoting yourself to him exclusively.

What is the danger of expressing too much affection for children? A child that receives extreme affection may develop such a high opinion of himself that he tends to make unreasonable demands of other persons. Having always been observed, amused, and cuddled, he may expect too much and to have his way in too many things. He may, moreover, take correction or denial of his expectation as a personal insult, and grow sullen and peevish. To keep your love for the child from spoiling him, love him in the spirit that all children are worth-while, and that he is no exception.

A child that receives extreme affection from a parent may also develop a *fixation* upon the parent—an attachment that subsequently interferes with other love. A young man who has a fixation upon his mother may fail to marry because of being unable to find an available woman resembling her; or, if he marries, he may be dissatisfied with his wife because she does not think or do things as did his mother, and he may become apathetic or adverse towards her. A woman having a fixation upon her

¹ Taylor, Katharine Whiteside, in *Marriage and the Family*, p. 450, ed. Howard Becker and Reuben Hill. New York, D. C. Heath & Co., 1942. Used by permission of the publishers.

² See Ribble, Margaret, *The Rights of Infants*, pp. 20-21. New York, Columbia University Press, 1944.

father may, similarly, fail to achieve marital happiness. But an attachment upon a parent that is not a fixation does not necessarily interfere with normal affection for a mate. A parent who when winning the child's affection permits and encourages the child to develop bonds of affection with other children, and on a continually widening scale, is no hazard to the child's later becoming adequately adjusted in marriage.

It is not affection, but exclusive affection, for a parent that conditions the child unfavourably for a normal marital adjustment. Moderate affection for the parent tends to increase the child's possibilities of later happiness in marriage.¹ This may be due to a tendency on the part of children moderately attached to their parents to develop congenial personalities, as orphanage children who receive little affection fail to do.

Although some children are poorly prepared for life because of receiving too much affection, most children that are "spoiled" through affection are spoiled, not by the amount they receive, but by the ways in which they receive it. Moreover, it is usually children who receive little affection that are spoiled in the sense that they engage in various and often serious misdeeds.²

The behaviour of such a child is generally an attempt to wrench from a cold world the satisfaction he has missed, or to express his resentment of frustration. Symonds' findings for a study on parental acceptance indicate that acceptance or rejection of the child is a significant factor in the development of his personality. The accepted children of his study are socialized, co-operative, friendly, loyal, stable emotionally, and cheerful. They care for their own property and the property of others. They are honest, straightforward, and dependable. The rejected children of his study are entirely different, and, in some cases, they are decidedly anti-social.³

An adult, as well as a child, may at times be profoundly moved by the sympathy of love, chiefly because of the feelings of security it gives him.

4. SELF-RELIANCE

A livelihood depends much upon self-reliance—readiness to decide and to do things for oneself—and so does a sense of security in respect to various needs. Self-reliance, as well as many other personality traits, is largely acquired; not purposively, as one acquires information or skill, but incidentally in the making of adjustments. It is a resultant of varied and repeated experiences. Usually the self-reliance of an adult is simply a continuation of the self-reliance of his childhood. Great as is the responsibility of parents to care properly for children, it is no greater than is their

¹ See Terman, Lewis M., *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, pp. 212-229. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938.

² See Aichhorn, A., *Wayward Youth*. New York, Viking Press, 1935.

³ See Symonds, Percival M., *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships*, pp. 54-80. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939.

responsibility to train children to care for themselves in a gradually increasing number of things, and by gradually increasing degrees.

Basic to self-reliance is self-confidence, which is, as we have noted, an outcome of many factors. It is, however, not only through the development of self-confidence, but also through the development of a sense of responsibility for waiting upon themselves that children become self-reliant. Most children take pride in growing up—in becoming more and more self-reliant—and need only opportunities to do so. But some parents, for one reason or another, keep their children from becoming duly independent of them. They may do so because of over-solicitude. Parents who consider their children always on the brink of disaster, direct, help and protect them to such an extent that they always anticipate and await such care. The more a parent bustles in caring for the child, the more the child becomes imbued with the thought of being dependent upon the parent. Parents may also keep their children from becoming somewhat independent of them for the satisfaction of being needed.

All of us like to feel needed, and when we feel wholly dispensable, we take little satisfaction in living. The desire to be needed may make a parent coddle children against his better judgement as to their welfare. A mother having little to do and that monotonous, may, similarly, spend all of her energy on a child, and keep the child dependent upon her as long as possible, in order to postpone the days of relative emptiness. Such a parent may coddle the child to the extent that he, when confronted with a problem, lies endlessly in wait for guidance. A child who, for one reason or another, has been excessively relieved from caring for himself and managing his life may later be seriously deficient in disposition and in ability to do so.

Bad as it is to coddle the child, it is equally bad to thrust him into new surroundings without preparing him for them. Unless the child feels that he is big enough, strong enough, experienced enough to accept new responsibilities, he likely will not do so. A child that is pushed too abruptly towards self-reliance may even revert to an earlier stage of dependence because of a loss in self-confidence, or in order to regain parental care and the affection that it expresses. A child whose mother refused to lace his shoes a single time after he had demonstrated his ability to lace them himself, once said: "I made a terrible mistake. I shouldn't have done it in the first place."

What the child can do for himself depends not simply upon his maturity but also upon the suitability of the material things of his life. Children who have easily managed clothes and toys, low shelves and hooks for their things, suitable equipment for their daily routine, usually can assume much responsibility for themselves at a very early age.

Over-regulating the child, as well as coddling him or thrusting him into new surroundings without preparing him for them, may keep him from becoming self-reliant. Schedule all his hours, or oppose all his enterprising action, and you keep him from learning to stand alone.

Moreover, a parent who keeps the child from thinking for himself and acting upon his own decisions in certain areas should not be surprised to find him later being misled by others.

The extreme opposite of over-regulating the child—letting him have his way in everything—would also be faulty training. Symonds compares families in which there is strict and rigid control of children with families in which control of the children is lax. He states the implications of the findings of his study as follows:

At first glance the characteristics of the dominated child seem to be all "good" and of the neglected, indulged child "bad". The dominated child is polite, courteous, obedient, honest, dependable, careful—all qualities much admired and sought after by parents. The dominated child is "good" in this sense. The neglected and indulged child, on the other hand, is disobedient, aggressive, rebellious, stubborn, careless, self-confident—a difficult child to manage—a "bad" child. But the careful reader will note in addition that the dominated child is troubled, self-conscious, submissive, shy, retiring, lacking in initiative. The neglected child, on the other hand, is independent, resourceful, creative. Parents certainly want their children to be obedient and polite, but are there not also greater virtues in independence and initiative? . . . The strictness of the old-fashioned discipline may produce model boys and girls, albeit somewhat uncertain of themselves. The modern progressive school which insists on freedom may produce self-reliant and confident youngsters who may also be wilful and disrespectful, and reject authority. There are values and dangers in both extreme positions and the wise parent and teacher will take a middle course.¹

To make the child self-reliant, do not coddle him, do not thrust him too abruptly towards self-reliance, and do not over-regulate him nor give him unlimited freedom; but see that he has successful experiences, let him have independence of you in keeping with his growth and maturity. express confidence in his ability, and keep alive his natural interest in growing up—in becoming more and more self-reliant.

5. FAMILIARITY OF ENVIRONMENT

Feelings of security depend on familiarity of environment. Young children when alone in a new place show, as everyone has observed, feelings of insecurity. As they become familiar with a situation their fears decrease. When they are in a new situation with the mother or another familiar adult, they tend to feel secure, notwithstanding the unfamiliarity of their surroundings. Even an object familiar to the child, especially one of its toys, may lessen the child's feelings of insecurity in a new place.²

The patterns of reaction of adults to an entirely new situation, or to a

¹ Symonds, Percival M., *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships*, pp. 139-140. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Used by permission of the publishers.

² See Arsenian, Jean M., "Young Children in an Insecure Situation," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38: 225-249, 1943.

new situation that includes a familiar person or object, seem to bear a high resemblance to the behaviour of children under similar circumstances. A person away from home usually likes to see a familiar face or object, and many persons in a new place develop the feeling of being insecure. Any separation of persons who have been together long ordinarily gives rise to feelings of anxiety that may be reduced by the mere presence of someone familiar. Animals especially feel insecure in an unfamiliar place, and when frightened, they usually rush to their familiar haunts. A horse may shy at anything on a new road, and cannot be led from its stall if the stable is on fire. Strangeness of environment tends to make for solidarity of animals of a kind, and of people. The greatest feelings of security always involve an element of familiarity.

6. MEMBERSHIP

Membership of any kind affords a feeling of being accepted by other persons, or of belonging to them, and hence may afford feelings of security, as well as self-confidence, previously mentioned. The desire for security is sometimes the chief motive in the joining of an organization.

There are various things that give or augment the feeling of belonging to a group: imitation of its members, induction ceremonies, the wearing of an emblem or uniform, the carrying of an entrance key, participation in work or other activity of the organization, contributing financially towards the support of the organization, being assigned to a desk or equipment for work being referred to in the organization with the pronoun "we", receiving a news-letter.

7. PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

An accomplished person ordinarily has little difficulty in achieving either a livelihood, or security in respect to any of his needs. He is usually wanted by someone, and seldom is he completely dependent upon anyone. The person who, on the other hand, has little to his credit ordinarily sees, as he stands viewing the barren landscape of his past, only more of it before him, and feels sweeping over him a cold wind.

Although some persons indulge regularly in gratification of the moment in preference to sacrificing occasionally such gratifications for personal development, anyone enjoys less what simply amuses him than what, while amusing him, also advances him in knowledge or skill. To many persons the greatest pleasure often is the pleasure of personal development. Since everyone has at least a small degree of interest in improving himself, opportunity to do so should be made a part of many leisure-time programmes. This is done extensively, but not to the extent desired.

More and more opportunities for self-improvement are, however,

being extended to many people of all occupations. Educational institutions, through their evening schools and correspondence study departments, offer a large variety of courses to adults. There are also industrial organizations that provide such services for their employees, or encourage and financially support their employees in attending evening classes of educational institutions. Many adults who take up study, with instructors trained and experienced in the teaching of adults, say with deep feeling that they obtain more enjoyment from their study than they could obtain from anything else to which they might devote their leisure. All should have opportunity to devote leisure to learning, since personal development is one of the most enduring kinds of security. "An art is greater than a heritage."

8. A FEELING OF JOB OWNERSHIP

Most occupations of today are carried on in a superior-subordinate relationship. Any arbitrariness in giving employees continuity of employment or in promoting them makes many of them feel insecure, regardless of their qualifications. Management can and often does, by showing interest in the employees and a disposition to treat them fairly, make them feel reasonably secure; but because of the extent to which this is not the case there is need on the part of labour, as on the part of any group having a common interest, for united effort in the interest of security.

9. THRIFT

Although self-reliance and accomplishment afford much security in respect to various needs, thrift is essential to adequate security. No matter how self-reliant or accomplished one may be, one cannot without thrift count upon always having the necessities of life, and so one must be prepared for an emergency.

Through thrift the individual may achieve security not only directly, but also through winning the respect of other persons. Poor Richard said, "Now I have a sheep and a cow, and everybody bids me 'Good morrow'."

For the individual to develop thrift he must be somewhat dependent upon himself financially. The child becomes thrifty through receiving periodically a fixed amount of money rather than through usually receiving money when he asks for some. And the adult is kept from becoming thriftless through a realization that, should he become indigent, not relief but employment would be available to him.

10. JOINT ENTERPRISE FOR SECURITY

Most people, enterprising as they may be, are unable to achieve much security individually. Their savings are at best too paltry to enable them

to withstand unemployment, especially if it involves illness, for more than a very limited time; and, realizing this, they live in constant dread of want. They may also, because of the futility of their trying to achieve much security through thrift, become extremely thrifless, and so make their future more precarious. With maturity there is usually an increase in foresight and in responsibility, and hence in apprehension. The thought often expressed that one should not worry about the future, may do much to keep down worry; but it is a sedative rather than a constructive social policy.

Although most people cannot have adequate economic security through individual enterprise, they can have it through joint enterprise, because what provides adequate security for a group is less per person than what provides adequate security individually. Whether the joint enterprise in the interest of security should be managed by private insurance companies, by the Federal Government, or by other agencies, and whether there should be compulsory saving for security, involve too many considerations to be dealt with here. These considerations are, however, treated well elsewhere.¹

II. HOPE AND FEAR

Feelings of security necessarily include hope—expectation of maintaining what one has, or of achieving what one lacks. Hope makes pain or privation temporary; it never fails to yield man in the darkest grips of calamity beams of security. The enjoyments of some people are so few and transitory that they would feel unbearably insecure were they not endowed with hope. Expectation of future fulfilment may further feelings of security, not only directly, but also indirectly by stimulating achievement, and by making for composure, which usually increases the probability of success. Many persons win because they think they can. A person may even live because he expects to, or die for a similar reason. There is marked disparity between the hopes and probable realization of many people; however, hope in excess of probable realization may be justified because of the achievement it stimulates.

When attainment is impossible, expectation of attainment may result in disappointment, wasted effort, and despair. The more hope misleads you, the greater may be the toll it exacts of you. Rational hope is, therefore, a safer guide than that which springs eternal in the human breast.

Fear may, as well as hope, stimulate achievement, but it does so only as long as there is some hope. As to the direct effect of fear upon feelings of security, this is always negative. The more hope misleads you, the greater may be the toll and it may be as pronounced as that of hope.

Hope or fear may originate in any of man's experiences. Many hopes and fears have their source in religion. The term "religion" is highly

¹ See Rubinow, I. M., *The Quest for Security*. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1934.

abstract; it is a generalization of the greatest diversity of attitudes, beliefs, and practices. But most religions include belief in the existence of a super-human being (or beings) upon whom man is dependent, and by whom man is rewarded or punished in this world or in an after-life. Hence, religion may significantly increase or decrease feelings of security. It arouses much expectation of happiness in a supernatural world. Such expectation, unlike expectation of fulfilment in the natural world, cannot make for disillusionment in one's earthly life, and it is the only significant satisfaction of many persons. It may, therefore, be justified in that it makes life for many persons more bearable. But when hope of fulfilment at any future time relaxes effort unduly, it is an unwholesome adjustment.

Religion that has the greatest value does not emphasize simply the existence of a providence that is beneficent, but of a providence that gives strength to achieve a fuller life, and hence courage and initiative. That religion should strengthen, as well as comfort man, is, of course, well recognized. In the Christian and Jewish religions, clergymen repeatedly emphasize that God is not simply man's refuge but also his strength; and that unless man does his best, he cannot expect God's help. Religion that develops not a passive attitude towards most problems of life, but an aspiring and rational attitude towards problems within one's power of solution, may be a most potent factor in the furtherance of security.

The satisfaction of a religious life is, in most cases, accompanied by the satisfaction of church membership, which may contribute greatly towards feelings of personal worth and security.

12. FREEDOM

In order to achieve and maintain what human welfare requires, freedom is essential. Domination, especially if prolonged, stultifies and thwarts man; and most persons, if continually prohibited from doing certain things or compelled to do other things, are depressed or incited to violent revolt by the clanking of their chains.

Freedom requires ability to exercise it advantageously, involves responsibility for one's actions, and is often hard to maintain. Hence, some persons willingly surrender it for the ease, the irresponsibility, and the peace of letting someone else decide things for them. The greater the supervising care of the person to whom they subject themselves, the more willingly they become stall-fed domesticated brutes. They ordinarily do so, however, only as long as they feel secure; when their subjection makes them feel insecure, they prefer to fend for themselves. The love of freedom burns brightly in a dungeon.

Restriction upon everyone, as well as freedom for everyone, is essential to security. Freedom for all members of society is a right that is shared, and so necessarily involves restraint. "We are all the law's slaves in order that we may be free," said Cicero. Limitations upon all, if imposed to

protect the freedom of all, do not degrade the group as a whole. Our paramount social problem is to bring about internal restraints, and to impose upon individuals and groups external ones that make for the greatest possible freedom and security for all.

Freedom for mankind as individuals or as nations depends upon our pulling together for its attainment rather than against each other. A nation may become free through domination of other nations, but only at their expense. The security achieved in this way is, moreover, precarious, for, as history reveals, one conquest is likely to necessitate another until finally the ruling nation, which originally had no intention of extending its sway as far as it did, disintegrates through sheer size, as did the Roman Empire, or meets with a powerful alliance of other nations and is in turn subjugated.

We must sometimes fight fire with fire. But there are other fire-extinguishers, such as those taken up in this volume, which, although less thrilling and spectacular, are effective and less likely to lead ultimately to self-destruction. Let us increase our use of them.

CONCLUSION

PSYCHOLOGY in living—in personal relationships, and in the achievement of mental health—centres around our primary needs, the source of all our actions and satisfactions. The dynamic nature of our needs is often highly intensified by the emotions. But the emotions are not separate motivating forces; they are the stirred-up condition of the individual when his needs are aroused, and their function is to further activity in satisfaction of those needs.

Reason also determines behaviour; it may greatly resist or change the expression of needs. But reason is stimulated by man's needs, as are the emotions, and its function is to help him to sources of fuller and more solid satisfaction than he would ordinarily find through impulsive behaviour in itself. Needs alone as determinants of behaviour would generally be futile or dangerous; reasoning unprompted by needs apparently does not take place.

Much of our behaviour is habitual, or is due to a complex. Habits and complexes are not, however, primary actuating forces; they are patterns of behaviour developed in the service of needs. Habits that are no longer satisfying ordinarily do not persist long, and complexes are reduced as the needs underlying them are fulfilled.

Any of man's primary needs may at times, or with marked regularity, dominate the behaviour of an individual, but none of them can be said to be dominant for mankind.

Human needs include or depend upon one another. Love is a complex of needs, and unless it is nurtured by most of them it withers. Take away from love esteem or interesting experiences, for example, and Cupid's bow is strained or broken. Pride is part of every pleasure and some security is essential to them all. The needs of mankind exist in themselves, and at the same time as parts of one stupendous whole.

The fundamental needs are persistent; they cannot long be completely stilled. When apparently suppressed, they are instead diverted into other and often highly disguised means of gratification; means deceptive especially to the individual himself, for he often evades recognizing the motives of his actions.

Happiness does not necessitate complete fulfilment of needs, and some unfulfilment is a necessary stimulus to wholesome activity; but anyone who finds the joys of life only fifteen per cent of what they might be is seriously distracted, and he may make various irrational and otherwise lamentable adjustments.

Since our basic needs are the source of all our actions and satisfactions, an understanding of them should make us more effective and our outlook

more sound. This is presumably what Pestalozzi meant when he said, "What man is, what his needs are, what elevates and what degrades him, what invigorates and what weakens him, this is what is necessary for the highest and for the humblest to know."¹

THE END

¹ Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, "The Evening Hours of a Hermit."

SELF-TESTING EXERCISES

Each of the following statements pertains to the chapter under which it is listed, and reference to the section of the chapter to which it pertains is given after the statement. Many of these statements are related also to other topics; but unless you think of the topic indicated, as well as of other topics, you must consider yourself to have lost in this game with me.

CHAPTER I: THE PRESENTATION OF IDEAS

- a. "Which of the methods discussed in this volume do you use most frequently," a teacher asked his students. 1, a
- b. "Here is something in line with what you have been saying." 1, c
- c. "May I offer a few suggestions." 2, b
- d. "I'm a fuddydud. I believe in a balanced diet." 1, j
- e. "We often destroy worth by failing to recognize it." 1, b
- f. "Praise the sea, but keep on land." 1, j
- g. "What I am going to say does not, of course, apply to all of you." 2, d
- h. "I like the implication of your statement." 1, d
- i. "Conformity to custom may cause another to break it." 1, i
- j. "This is the way we are supposed to do it." 2, c
- k. "I forgot to ask you which brand you preferred, and so I may have brought you the wrong kind." 1, j
- l. "We should aim simply to speak the truth, without ostensibly trying to bring others to our view." 1, f
- m. "Believe that story of another false that ought not to be true." 1, a

CHAPTER II: INOFFENSIVE OPPOSITION TO IDEAS

- a. "There are three short and simple words, the hardest of all to pronounce in any language, but the man or nation that is unable to utter them cannot claim to have arrived at manhood. These words are—I was wrong." 17
- b. "The world may have a few blacks and whites, but most of it is made up of greys." 1
- c. "Kindness can pluck hairs of a lion's moustache." 12

- d. "Do not say, 'It is bad'; say, 'I personally do not like it'." 7
- e. "You may be right. Who knows?" 13
- f. "Do you realize how fast you are driving?" 8
- g. "Better be sure you are right before going ahead." 3
- h. "Though you have truth on your side, beware of barking too long at the heels of error." 12
- i. "That's a thought." 13

CHAPTER III: ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF PERSONAL WORTH

- a. "To be right all the time is definitely not a social asset." 3, h
- b. "A bore is one who when you ask, 'How are you?' tells you." 3, a
- c. "We're counting on you." 3, j
- d. When asked, "How are you?" A certain man sometimes replies, "And you?" 1, a
- e. "A man may ask the way he knows full well." 3, e
- f. "You can get children to do anything if you will but play with them." 3, d
- g. "I wish I had your musical talent." 3, i
- h. "I care for nobody, no, not I if nobody cares for me." 3, a

CHAPTER VI: INTERESTING EXPRESSION

- a. A boy may smoke in order to smell like a man, some of the younger members of a business or professional organization may smoke in order to smell like some of the older members, and there are persons who refrain from smoking in order not to smell like the "common herd." 12
- b. "There isn't much we can do to change the weather." 4
- c. "We're a novelty band; we play music the way it was written." 16, d
- d. "Later in my talk you will see why I say this." 14
- e. "Through not spending enough we spend too much." 16, a
- f. "I do." 10
- g. "At every interview their rote the same. The repetition makes attention lame." 2
- h. "It is possible to have a diversity of information that is amazing and yet be appallingly boring." 19
- i. "To use too many circumstances, ere you come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt." 6
- j. "Swiftly flies each tale of shame or folly." 10

- k. "More pleased are we to see a river lead His gentle streams along a flowery mead, Than from high banks to hear loud torrents roar With foamy waters on a muddy shore." 11
- l. "There's something in the paper this evening that would interest you. Here is the paper. Find it for yourself." 14
- m. "You can win more arguments with a friendly voice than by sound logic." 17
- n. An army officer, when asked what he planned to do after the war, said, "I'm going to sit on my porch for six months, and after that, I'll start rocking." 4
- o. "I can maintain the thread of conversation while taking many sallies." 7
- p. "He knew the art of sailing against the wind." 12

CHAPTER VII: MODESTY AND SELF-CONFIDENCE

- a. When asked to what he most attributed his success, a man said, "To others." 1, c
- b. "To please others and to enjoy them you must be a little pleased with yourself." 2
- c. An athletic coach said, in reference to a game in which his team was to participate, "I won't try to pick the winner, but I'll keep on hoping." 1, e
- d. A young woman who was rated as one of the best dressed, said, "I would rather be a pin-up girl." 1, d
- e. An expert skier said, "I was raised with it. There's nothing to it if you keep on practising." 1, b
- f. "If you wish your merit to be known, acknowledge that of others." 1, g
- g. When asked which his best statue was, a sculptor said, "The next one." 1, a

CHAPTER IX: LOVE

- a. "Give me for a mate one with a sense of humour that includes a good sense of nonsense." 8
- b. "As affection without esteem is volatile and capricious, esteem without affection is languid and cold." 14
- c. "What is seen as beauty is more than skin deep." 6
- d. "A husband and wife should take the attitude, 'What is mine is yours', and not, 'What is yours is mine'." 2

CHAPTER XI: REQUISITES OF MENTAL HEALTH

- a. "Fly the pleasure that would bite tomorrow." 1
- b. "Happiness is where you find it." 3
- c. "Avarice is always in want." 2
- d. "Certain it is that the individual engaged in a type of work that offers gratification of his dominant needs is, all other things being equal, the happiest." 1

CHAPTER XII: MENTAL CONFLICT

- a. "Repose is agreeable to the human mind; and decision is repose. A man may be more thankful to another who confirms him in his error, than to the one who instructs him at the expense of tranquillity." 1, f
- b. "Force me, and I shall commit no sin." 1, c
- c. "A cat was once left a million dollars, payable at a certain time, provided the cat in the meantime annoyed no one, not even a mouse." 1, a
- d. "The painful pleasure of matrimony." 1, b

CHAPTER XIII: GENERAL TYPES OF ADJUSTMENT

- a. "Mystery stories help me forget my rheumatism." 3
- b. "Some writers who are chaste in their lives are licentious in their writings." 1
- c. "The unexamined life is not worth living." 2
- d. "Better knot straws than do nothing." 6
- e. "I must lose myself in action lest I wither in despair." 3
- f. "Hope is born in tears." 1
- g. "I can keep a secret. It's those I tell it to that blab it all over." 2

CHAPTER XIV: INSOLENCE AND VANITY

- a. "Usually we are satirical more from vanity than from malice." 1
- b. "There are those who despise pride with a greater pride." 10, e
- c. "Aloofness often passes off dullness for depth." 2
- d. "Most miserable is desire that's glorious." 9
- e. "Often we praise people to show discernment." 10, c

- f. "The race by vigour, not by vaunts is won." 9
- g. "Some loathe everything others delight in." 11
- h. "Who ever heard of a man in the army that as a civilian had made less than \$100 a week?" 10, d
- i. "To offend is my pleasure. I love to be hated." 8
- j. "A man that does what no other man does is wondered at by all." 11
- k. "He that sips of many arts drinks of none." 9

CHAPTER XV: ENVY AND JEALOUSY

- a. "What should they of their own lot know who only their own lot know?" 1
- b. When asked to characterize their teachers, children, in surprising proportions, comment on their "fairness". 2
- c. "True love never did run smooth." 1
- d. "We congratulate ourselves upon seeing others in unfavourable circumstances." 1
- e. "The favourite has no friend." 2
- f. "Wisdom is not in doing without what others possess, but in enjoying what one has." 1

CHAPTER XVI: DAYDREAMING AND REVERSION TO THE PAST

- a. A policeman inquired of a librarian, "Got any detective stories in which the cop solves the murder?" 1
- b. "Examine well the course of action that your desire favours." 4, b
- c. "Time is a good story teller." 5, a
- d. A mental patient, upon overhearing a conversation regarding the country's war debt, asked, "How much is it?" and wrote on a scrap of paper a cheque for the amount. 1
- e. "The daydreamer sees the sea but not the rocks." 4, b
- f. "Men take pride in fancying themselves abused in order to persuade themselves that they are worthy to be the butt of fortune." 2
- g. "The final test of fame is to have a crazy person imagine he is you." 1
- h. "Grief fills the room up of my absent child, Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me; Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words, Stuffs out his vacant garment with his form. Thus have I reason to be fond of grief." 5, a
- i. "Last week I imagined myself telling my boss just what his shortcomings are. He took it, and I felt satisfied." 4, c

CHAPTER XVII: RATIONALIZATION

- a. "If I cannot brag of knowing something then I brag of not knowing it." 3, a
- b. "A smooth sea never made a skilful mariner." 3, b
- c. "There are two sides to every question that we are not especially interested in." 2
- d. "The unsuccessful man often becomes astrologist." 3, c
- e. "Nothing seems foul to those who win." 2
- f. "To dignify his sufferings man often deceives himself." 3, b
- g. "He who has no inclination to learn will be very apt to think that he knows enough." 3, a
- h. "However great the tide it ebbs." 3, b
- i. "A nation learns least from its own history." 2
- j. "Which came first: the view you express or the reasons you give?" 2

CHAPTER XVIII: ADJUSTMENTS OF VARIOUS TYPES

- a. "When a man repeats a promise again and again he may mean to fail you." 3
- b. "To a drunken man the sea is only knee-deep." 10, a
- c. "Paul's opinion about Peter tells you more about Paul than about Peter." 4
- d. "Confidence in another's integrity is no slight evidence of one's own." 4
- e. "Get me a handkerchief from her bosom—a garter of my love." 7, a
- f. "Offenders never pardon." 4
- g. "When I feel the first symptom of worry, I switch my mind to something different, something constructive and interesting." 2
- h. "A man may denounce as indecent woman's dress that he enjoys." 4

CHAPTER XXII: ENJOYABLE WORK

- a. "Great is work which lends dignity to man." 2
- b. "Freedom and arts together fall." 6
- c. "Much of the dissatisfaction with work arises not from what it makes us do, but from what it deprives us of." 4, g
- d. "Nothing impairs authority more than too frequent use of it." 6
- e. "The reward of a thing well done is to have done it." 1
- f. "Short is my date, but deathless my renown." 3
- g. "Enlarge your satisfactions by making the satisfactions of others yours." 2
- h. "Authority, to be maintained, need not be pushed to the extreme." 6

CHAPTER XXIV: A LIVELIHOOD AND SENSE OF SECURITY

- a. "I'm tired of always doing what I want to do." 12
- b. "Freedom in the true signification of the word is a collective enjoyment." 12
- c. "The great end of education is to dignify rather than furnish the mind; to train it to the use of all of its powers rather than to fill it with the accumulations of others." 7
- d. "This country will not be a good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a good place for all of us to live in." 1, c
- e. "Some lives never meet Though they go wandering side by side through time." 1, a
- f. "The comforts of some primitive religions are almost entirely concerned with promises of protection from the very fears they evoke." 11
- g. "Enlightened self-interest includes interest in the welfare of others." 1, c
- h. "I was so homesick that I could have given anything to hear a home-town dog bark." 5
- i. "No man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself." 1, c
- j. "What is history but a fable agreed upon." 1, d
- k. "Nothing is more inimical to human welfare than the insensibility which wraps a man up in himself and his own concerns, and prevents his being moved with either the joys or the sorrows of another." 1
- l. "The best service man can render to man is to teach him to help himself." 4

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