AN ACCOUNT OF LOWENFELD TECHNIQUE IN A CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC, WITH A SURVEY OF THERAPEUTIC PLAY TECHNIQUE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND U.S.A.

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE following paper is a description of a form of direct psycho-therapy with children undertaken in a Child Guidance Clinic, and some account of the results achieved in certain cases.

Although direct methods are comparatively little used in this country, they have reached considerable development in America, and the paper closes with a review of the literature dealing with this subject in England and America.

In September, 1937, Dr. C. L. C. Burns, Director of the Birmingham Child Guidance Clinic, desiring a practical demonstration of Play Therapy on the lines devised by Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld, started, with the kind permission of the Birmingham Education Committee, a nine months' demonstration period. This paper is the outcome of that work. The writer would like to express her thanks for the kindness she received from all the staff of the clinic; every facility was given her to make the demonstration a success.

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE WRITER'S WORK WAS BASED.

1. *Function of Play Used as a Therapeutic Instrument.*

(1) It is natural for a child to express himself through the medium of play for the following reasons:

(*a*) The child has little facility in the use of words. It is not as a rule until puberty is reached that the spoken language becomes the most useful means of self-expression. In dealing with the younger child another language must be found, and this is provided by the child's spontaneous play activities.

(*b*) The ideas and feelings which the child needs to express are often almost impossible to put into words. Even adults have great difficulty in doing so unless they have an unusual command of language. Indeed, metaphor and analogy, which are a form of "picture" language, are an essential part of ordinary conversation.

(*c*) In a healthy and happy child a continuous flow of impulse, idea, ambition and feeling expresses itself directly in successive acts of play. These activities follow one another according to the changing impulses in the child, and for the most part without the intervention of much conscious consideration. Such play is a complex phenomenon made up of many elements, such as pure bodily experience, experiment with material, endeavour to understand the environment and experiment with it, the acquirement of skill and of emotional expression. All these form an inter-relating system. Dr. Lowenfeld has suggested that this form of thought might be called the "primary system." This form of thought is personal, multidimensional, irrational, and largely unrelated to objective external fact. Side by side with this there develops the individual's objective relationship to the outside world. The instrument of this relationship is speech. The world of speech, whether interior or exterior, and which Dr. Lowenfeld has suggested might be called the "secondary system," is synonymous with what is usually called the conscious or cognitive aspect of the mind. It is logical and lineal in structure, as opposed to the multi-dimensional nature of the primary system. The "primary"

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system does not cease with the appearance of the " secondary " system, but remains active throughout life, appearing to form the matrix of what is called by other schools of thought the unconscious, and thus closely allied to the basic human drives. The contents of the " primary system " cannot be expressed in ordinary prose, and can only adequately be represented by means of material such as is provided by play, bodily activities or through the arts. It has long been recognized by all schools of psychotherapy, especially that of Jung, that certain aspects of experience can generally be represented better in pictures than in words. The richness of a child's primary world and his lack of skill make the use of drawing as a means of communication, good as it is, of very limited application. The peculiar multi-dimensional character of a child's inner experience can only be rendered with difficulty by this means. It was in the process of attempting to bridge this gap that Dr. Lowenfeld's " world apparatus " and other play material were designed. This apparatus, because of its three-dimensional qualities, the varieties of its mode of use, and the opportunity it gives of representing movement, supplies the child with a means of directly depicting his interior experience. It is not every child, of course, who will find the world apparatus the easiest medium of expression, but the great majority make extensive use of it.

(*d*) The child who comes for treatment has many feelings and ideas he does not wish to face or to express, but through play he can release and work through feelings which have never found a proper outlet. Through such play and the gaining of legitimate satisfaction these desires can become integrated with the personality. Examples of such play are mess, noise and aggression. Alternatively the restless child, through understanding and reassurance, can gain such security in the playroom as will enable him to learn the satisfactions of constructive work and consecutive thought.

(2) During the final stage in the playroom the energy which has been released and integrated into the personality is led into constructive outlets in the external world of feeling, action and thought.

2. *Role of Therapist.*

In this technique the role of therapist is in many ways different from that practised in the carrying out of other techniques. The relationship of the playroom worker to the child does not fall into any category described in the literature already given, but is a development of that described in Dr. Lowenfeld's paper of 1931. To be used effectively it needs considerable experience and grasp of the different relationships that are possible in such a situation. It is very rare that the therapist takes on to the child the character of an actual individual in the child's environment.

(1) In this method the playroom worker, as in other techniques, remains as far as possible neutral. She is part of the playroom equipment, an outside observer joining in the play when required to, and explaining to the child his ideas as they are unfolded. There is, however, a significant difference in that every attempt is made to obviate the development of a specific relationship between the child and the therapist. This has the great advantage that it permits of a change of worker at any point in the course of treatment without disturbance either to the child or to the therapeutic process. The records which follow will illustrate this. Nevertheless it does happen in certain cases, just as in the ordinary play at a children's party, that the worker may be called upon to assume roles of any kind in the child's particular bit of play, such as the unpleasant girl next door or the severe teacher. It also occasionally happens that a child will ally himself with one particular worker : for example, a child newly arrived from South Africa felt homesick ; she allied herself with a worker who was also from South Africa, and together they abused us all in Afrikaans.

(2) On arrival the therapist gives the child an explanation of why he has come to play. The child is then told that thought, feeling and experience can take the form of pictures which build themselves into a language but do not use words. Finally that the clinic in which he finds himself is a place whose purpose is to enable him to set out and come to understand any problems with which he is concerned. Here arises a point of great importance about which there has been a good deal of confusion. It is not the mere provision of material or even a safe

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place in which to use it, at any rate with children over the age of six to eight years, that necessarily results in the expression of the primary system. It is necessary to build bridges between such fragments of the primary system as appear and the secondary system. (A similar point has been discussed by Margaret Gerrard in the publications listed at the end of this paper.) A strict parallel here exists between ordinary conversation, and the conversation of an adult with a friend or adviser to whom he has gone in order to discuss specific and definite problems of his own. It is for this reason that it is unwise to mix forms of play such as educational or socializing play and play used for therapeutic purposes.

(3) In the child who comes to the clinic for treatment, the primary system content is so incoherent and confused, and has often become so incompatible with external reality and inconsistent with the child's later feelings and ideas, that a situation has developed which is difficult to describe. Whatever name is given to this part of the mind, all workers are agreed that it is charged with dynamic energy. Where the content of the primary system is sufficiently in line with what the child's environment conceives to be the nature of reality, the energy infusing the primary system can to some extent discharge itself directly along channels already made for it by the environment. For example, at the moment, thanks to Hitler, the child has a legitimate outlet for the most bloodthirsty feelings, the expressions of which are approved by the community. If, on the other hand, no such channels exist, then something seems to take place which is akin to our spontaneous use of physical experiences as symbols of emotional states (as, for example, the expression, " I am sick of such and such ") ; that is, the energy discharges itself in an allied path such as educational failure, antisocial behaviour, physical states, etc. For improvement to take place these primary system concepts must be brought into line with reality and integrated with the total self. This process is brought about in the method to be described by two activities taking place simultaneously. These are, the expression of the primary system content by the child through play, and the relating of these to the secondary system by the action of the therapist who intervenes with explanations, making the child aware of what he is doing and explaining to him in terms he can understand. The degree of detail and the type of explanation given by the therapist of any individual piece of play will depend necessarily upon the age, education, and temperament of the patient, and the stage which has been reached in the process of treatment. The following is a general summary of the usual steps taken.

(*a*) At first it is the general structure and salient features of a child's " pictures " (expressed through whatever medium he chooses) to which his attention is drawn ; for example, that he always includes water in his paintings, or that none of his fields have gates in them.

(*b*) Next, the exact meaning to the child of the objects in his play is determined. Thus in his " world " men and women may be just people to him or they may have individual significance ; wild animals may be tame or vice versa ; a pond may be just a pond, or, as in one case, poisonous red dye. It must be further ascertained whether the " world " is static or in movement ; for example, soldiers which look the same may be just ready for action or in the act of charging.

(*c*) The main obvious content of his play is then pointed out to the child—for example, that his worlds are fear worlds—but no interpretation is given which presupposes a knowledge in the worker which the child does not share.

(*d*) The relation of any one world to any previous world and to any other kind of work, such as paintings, is traced out with the child. He is thus enabled to see his work as a sequence of primary thought.

(*e*) More detailed explanation of the child's particular problems follows.

It is obvious that any worker with experience will often see a great deal more in a child's play than the ground so far covered with him has revealed, and it is upon his capacity to do so that the thoroughness of his work depends. In time the child must come to appreciate the contents of his own " primary system." This is a gradual process ; the worker's part is to use his greater knowledge and experience to point out to the child such facts about each piece of play as can *immediately be assimilated* by the child.

At this point it is worth noting that the technique deviates from that usually described for deep therapy, where interpretation is given at a point where there is no possibility of its being intellectually understood—that is, incorporated into the

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child's " secondary system." The more gradual use of explanation in the procedure here set out may account for the fact that little resistance is usually met with.

It is here worth noting that the whole of the procedure described has evolved in the actual work of psycho-therapy. At the time when the Institute of Child Psychology was founded, and for several years after, very little explanation was given to the child, as can be seen in the account given by Dr. Lowenfeld in 1931. As time passed, with increasing experience it was found possible cautiously to enlarge the amount of explanation given, the material for such explanation being drawn from increasing understanding of what is now called the " primary system," and continually retested on fresh cases. Parallel with cases where explanation was given, to certain cases no explanation was given, and it was found that although in some highly specialized instances an improvement occurred, yet the scope was limited and the success only partial. It is on the whole, since the development of a definite and specific technique in the use of " worlds " and other play material, that there has been lasting success with the children.

It is perhaps worth noting that in this method stress is laid on the child learning to deal with himself and his environment rather than upon bringing about a change in his environment—a procedure which is often difficult and may be wellnigh impossible. An interesting fact that has often been found is that as the child improves so the parents' attitude changes. This is the moment when the parent can be most easily and effectively helped to alter his or her way of dealing with the child. Often the parents themselves will realize that they have been to blame and will admit this spontaneously.

In addition it is often impossible to tell in what way the parents' attitude should be changed until this has been learnt from the child himself.

Routine Technical Procedure.

All children concerned in the experiment under description attended elementary schools. They came to the clinic twice a week for an hour, and generally after the first interview, except for the younger children, who were brought by their parents, came alone.

While in the playroom each child was, on the whole, allowed unrestricted choice of material, though occasionally a particular type of activity would be asked for by the therapist. The only rules were that the child should not damage himself, other children or clinic property. No notes were taken within the observation of the child, although all the children knew that records were kept of worlds and mosaics.

Out of the available material five cases have been selected to show the working out of the technique. In two of these cases intelligence was above the average, and in the remaining three the I.Q. varied between 78 and 85.

The first three cases show children working out ideas and desires relative to their own bodies and other people, and gaining a sane perspective in relation to them.

The following are studies of five cases referred to the Birmingham Child Guidance Clinic illustrating this method.

Sphere of Work.

The clinic was housed in its own premises and consisted of the following rooms : On the ground floor was an office, a waiting room and two playrooms ; outside was a yard and a small garden. On the first floor were the rooms of the Director, Social Worker and Psychologist, and a playroom out of which opened a bathroom. The ground floor playroom was used for noisy and messy play, and the smaller one for water play. The upper playroom was used for play not involving noise or mess. The bathroom could only be used for very quiet water play, as the floor did not admit of being wet.

The equipment of the playrooms consisted of the following materials : a small house in which children could play ; this contained a table and chairs, a camp bed and a rug. A box of mosaics, two sand trays and a little world material. Excellent painting material, pencils, crayons and plasticine, meccano, and the remains of construction toys. A doll's house, dolls, Russian dolls, brush and pan. Bricks, puzzles, paste, scissors, basins, jugs, jars, acting clothes.

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To these were added many more world toys, doll's household utensils, glitter wax, flour, a Russian pyramid, babies' bottle, hammer, pegs, skittles, cheap carpentry tools, packing cases, carpentry bench, mincing machine, letters of the alphabet. Water toys, such as squirts, tubes, floating toys, boats. Construction material, Bayko, Minibrix, Pica brix, aeroplane construction, sewing cards, leatherwork, ball mosaics, peg pictures, hammering, Figuba and Krazy Ike.

The Play Therapy department was an integral part of the clinic organization, being in charge of the writer, who had assistance from students attending the playroom sessions. Some of the children were also given treatment by a trained pupil of Matthias Alexander. The educational coaching and testing were done by Miss Dove. All the children were under the care of the Medical Director, Dr. C. L. C. Burns, to whose co-operation and courtesy the publication of the present paper is due. In addition to these staff, the social side of the work was in the charge of a psychiatric social worker, while a parents' physician helped with the parents' difficulties when possible.

The general organization of the work in relation to each individual child was as follows: The clinic was open to children every weekday; the hours of treatment were from 9 or 10 to 12, and from 2 to 6. Every day there was a group of children, eight to ten children attended the groups, and it was found to be more satisfactory to divide the groups into two, so that four or five attended for one hour instead of eight to ten children for two hours. Except at the beginning and end of term, there was always one student to help with the groups.

The play of each child was recorded every day, and copies of mosaics, worlds, drawings and newspaper games were kept.

New children and their parents were interviewed during play group sessions and the children came into the playroom and did mosaics and drawings. On the first day the Social Worker obtained a history of the child and the family. On the second day they were interviewed by the Medical Director, and on a third day the child was given an intelligence test, after which the decision about the child was taken. Every other Saturday the staff met to discuss the new children, and there were daily discussions whenever necessary.

Some form of play has always been an element in this clinic. Four months before the work recorded in this paper began the clinic had moved to new premises, and the children had been attending play groups which were in charge of the Social Worker, eight to ten children forming a group.

In September, 1937, with the co-operation of the Institute of Child Psychology, a nine months' demonstration of the method of Play Therapy devised by Margaret Lowenfeld was undertaken by the writer, at the request of the Medical Director.

A mosaic was done by every child who attended the clinic. It is an undifferentiated, unspecific test devised by Margaret Lowenfeld to test emotional stability and temperament. It consists of flat pieces of wood in five shapes—square, diamond, isosceles, equilateral and right-angled triangles. Each shape is made in six colours—black, white, red, green, yellow and blue. The child is shown the material and told to make anything he likes in the tray provided for the purpose. Beyond this there are no restrictions.

Case Studies.

The following are studies of five of these children referred respectively for (1) Arson; (2) fear of school; (3) tic, and fear of doctors and dentists; (4) hysterical paralysis; (5) inability to read.

The first case is a clear example of the difficulties of the parent-child relationship, the emphasis being on the relationship to the mother. The next case is an example of the same difficulty, the emphasis on the father. The two form a striking contrast.

The Case of Alfred W—.

Alfred, aged 9½, was referred by the Probation Officer for arson and factory breaking. In August, 1937, he was charged with attempting to set fire to a church. Some time previous to this he had been charged, along with several other boys, for factory breaking; it was then discovered that at Christmas, 1935, he had set fire to the crib in the same church.

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Family background.—The parents were of very different temperaments, and disagreed over the upbringing of Alfred. The father, a canal worker, was a delicate, asthmatic, rather feeble man, who spoilt Alfred. The mother seemed to have common sense, though she was easily upset and " became all of a tremble." The parents, for many years during Alfred's early life, though living in the same house, were separated from each other, during which time Alfred slept with his father, but latterly the parents had come together again.

Alfred was the youngest of a large family; the others were all over twenty. One sister had been married and was separated from her husband, and returning home had brought with her a son aged 7. When the parents began to occupy the same bedroom Alfred slept with his sister and nephew. His older brothers and sisters alternately spoiled and corrected him. The family lived in a very noisy district, but the house itself was clean and comfortable.

Patient.—He was an unwelcome addition to the family and definitely unwanted by his mother, though she said that she had since become reconciled to him. He was not breast-fed; otherwise his development was normal. His mother described him as delicate, and over-clothed him considerably. At six he had whooping-cough and pneumonia. He was always a very bad colour in the morning.

In temperament he was described as solitary; he used to sit a long time in thought. He loved dressing up in his mother's clothes; went to church three times on Sundays and every day to pray by himself.

School report.—He was below the average, easy to manage, friendly, but not a good mixer, as he soon tired of any game. He was timid, underhand and untruthful, and would torment anyone sitting next to him.

Intelligence test.—His I.Q. was 85. The psychologist remarked that he was pale, drawn and tense, and looked miserable. He was quiet, timid, and had little to say; he seemed thoroughly dull and lacking in initiative, self-confidence and vitality.

Treatment.—He made 38 attendances over a period of six months. He was taken partly in the group and partly individually.

For the first session he was very quiet and timid, but by the second session he had begun to change. His play is exceedingly interesting; many themes are interwoven in a fantastic manner, only a few of which were touched on in the explanations which were given to him. The most striking features revealed in his play were the extreme ambivalence of his emotional life, and his attempt to understand the various sides of life by himself acting different characters in turn.

His mosaic was a largish star pattern, unsuccessful in one corner and giving a very spiky effect; the whole indicated the presence of a good deal of aggression.

On his first attendance he made the following drawing:

31.viii.37: He drew a grotesque face with one enormous ear; the other ear had been cut off. Fireworks were going off all round the face, and one was about to go through his neck. He then drew a smaller face with both ears off, the tongue hanging out and fireworks attacking the face. The face was called Tommy Brown—an imaginary person.

It was then explained to him what kind of place the clinic was and why he came and played. He admitted that he had set fire to the altar on Christmas Day; he had found the matches on a statue; he had seen someone put them there. He said that he did not like doing it, but felt he had to. These kinds of feelings were discussed, and a pleased grin came on his face when the worker remarked that it might have been more fun to burn Tommy Brown really.

The next time he came he did a world which consisted of wild animals loosely dotted about the tray. He built solid structures with big bricks and knocked them down, always going for the foundations; this was pointed out to him. He drew ugly faces and dressed up as Mae West, in which guise he had a boxing match with another boy.

Thus from the start he showed that under all his timidity were hidden strong, aggressive feelings.

7.ix.37 (play with Voluntary Helper): He began by knocking down brick structures. Next he dressed up as an Arab Chief and joined a group in the garden. They were making a fire. He was apprehensive about this, in case it was not allowed. Then, beating a tin and making queer antics, he started a ritualistic dance round the fire, later using his hands as if in prayer.

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He chose a tree for a god, and, bowing low, called it Allah. He helped to make dough cakes, which were stuck on the ends of sticks; his cake became a man whom he ate. He demanded that "he" be roasted over the fire; then he led a dance with flaming torches. A worker appeared; she was immediately captured and tied to a tree while he tried to brand her with a burning stick. When she was freed she was told she was quite safe and could not be recaptured.

The writer questioned him about his play, and he said that if people do not bow down to the god they get killed; they have to sign a book when they bow so that the others shall know whether they have done so or not. The people who were roasted were pirates, and pirates are people who catch you and make you work.

It now seemed clear that it was the aggressive aspect of fire which interested him. His aggression was directed against authority, who also had to be propitiated. This would account for the fact that he went frequently to church to pray and yet tried to destroy the church. His idea of authority contains two conceptions—the bad pirates who make you work and a god to whom you pray for things, and one of the things you pray for is forgiveness.

9.ix.37: He did a world in which soldiers in a field with an open gate were being attacked by Indians for their gold. A log was an Arab god that the Indians had knocked down.

14.ix.37: He played by himself in the little house, decorating it according to his liking. He drew a picture for the walls, which consisted of a house, a church with an enormous spire and a blacksmith's forge, where a horseshoe was being made. The people in the picture wore long pointed hats.

Next he drank some wine, found that all his money had gone and caught the burglar; he tied him to a chair and tortured him, only to find that he had not got the money.

He said that some toilet paper was money; he put it under the hot tap and said that was how you made money. (Unfortunately he was with an untrained worker and this piece of play was not taken up with him.) He returned to the house and talked a great deal about the baby and how it had just arrived. He kept on having burglar scares, against whom the doors and windows had to be barricaded.

His drawing contained obvious phallic symbols; this, combined with his talk about a baby who had just arrived, indicated the need for sex instruction; this was accordingly given during the next few sessions.

It is agreed by all schools of thought that neurosis arises out of persistence in later life, in some form or other, of wishes and ideas from earlier times which are inappropriate to the present age. Many schools of thought feel that the expression of these wishes, through the overcoming of resistance to them, and the interpretation to the child of their nature are all that is necessary without any explanation being given to the child as to how this curious state of affairs comes about. According to the technique with which these children were treated, the whole conception is based on the bridging of the gulf between the primary and secondary forms of thought and the assimilation into the child's awareness of the total phenomenon of the mind. (The word "total" is here not used in its literal sense, but pictorially.) It is therefore necessary at this stage in a child's treatment that an explanation be given to the child of the way in which his difficulties have come about. In the technique here employed this is done by means of a diagram. In the diagram three things are explained:

(*a*) The way in which two desires of a child may come into conflict with each other, thus blocking the expression of one.

(*b*) The way in which a wish or desire may become turned into its opposite.

(*c*) The way in which a wish denied outlet can find for itself a disguised expression.

To return to the case. At this point he was given the "wishes diagram." His wish was for a baby's dummy.

15.ix.37: He acted the part of the mother in the house and was also the milkman. He said that it was raining hard, so we had to beware of burglars. Then he darkened the room and blackened his face; then he himself became a burglar stealing chairs—actually he took clothes; he was very afraid while he was stealing, acting his fear realistically, even to the heavy breathing.

The next time he became mother again. He also talked about the misdeeds of his sister. He said he was lonely at home; the children in the streets did not want to play with him.

21.ix.37 (Voluntary Helper): He became the irate father, for whom nothing was right. He dressed up as a bride. He had storms in the water, in which ships were wrecked and ducks were drowned. He dressed up, saying he was an old man, but he looked like a woman; he threw the newborn baby down the stairs; was aggressive to a worker, saying he hated her. He played with water, tying boats together in the docks.

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On this day (21.ix.37) sex instruction given was finished. His attention was drawn to the different ways in which he had been aggressive, burning people, throwing bricks at houses, drawing ugly faces, boxing, being a burglar, drowning ducks and wrecking ships. With most of these children, and specially with a child of low intelligence such as this boy, it is no use saying too much at one time, so the worker did not say any more on this day.

23.ix.37 (Voluntary Helper): A worker was mother, and Alfred and she went to buy Christmas presents for the baby girl. His choice was a toy theatre. He himself then played with this, setting up scenes and looking at the effect; he set up alternately country and castle scenes; he never got to the point of actually acting out the scenes.

28.ix.37: He dressed as a bride and then as a bridegroom. He arranged the scenes in the toy theatre, sewed cards, made storms in the water, then paddled about in it happily.

For the next two and a half months he continually set up the theatre but never actually got to the point of acting a play; he was too restless and dissatisfied; he never got further than being about to act a play.

The next day the content of the last three sessions was gone over with him; he was shown how he was playing out different roles; he was mother and father, a bride and bridegroom, Arab chief, and Mae West, a milkman and a burglar; he played out the roles of both men and women. It was pointed out that when he was mother he was being burgled, but when he acted the burglar he was himself—it was Alfred doing the stealing, so that it seemed that he wanted to rob mother of something; there was something he wanted from her. He was reminded of the "wishes diagram," and that his wish was for a dummy; he agreed that he would like to be a baby.

He built a castle and knocked it down vigorously, the point being to get inside. The idea was put to him that the castle stood for something else, something inside of which he wanted to get. He agreed and went straight to the tube on the tap and squirted, saying "psss." The similarity between the tube and his penis was pointed out; he agreed it was so and pretended to put out a fire with it. So we came to the conclusion that this desire to attack had something to do with his penis wanting to get inside, and is related to fire.

30.ix.37 (Voluntary Worker): While making dough he told stories about imaginary brothers and sisters, who kick him if he does not do as they want. He toyed with the theatre, became a Jack-in-the-box, threw clothes aggressively at his worker and demonstrated how he made his imaginary brother eat dough.

5.x.37: He dressed as a woman of 91 and sucked the baby's bottle; this was likened to the dummy that he wanted. He helped to make a fire. When it was time to go he went into the little house, lay down under the rug on the bed and refused to go home. He said that his parents would not care if he did not go home; they would never notice. He looked tearful. The worker sat by him while he lay comfortably for a while; she then left him in order to tidy the room, and he went home after a while.

As this feeling was based on reality, since as a baby he was not wanted, the appropriate course of action was to treat it as a reality, sympathizing and waiting for developments.

6.x.37: He built a tall house with bricks and knocked it down; then squirted with the tube. He was reminded that we had to find out what this brick house was; he then ran upstairs and brought down paint. He mixed all the colours together and made an ugly brown mess, which he said was poison, to poison a lot of women—when they put the dishcloth on it it would explode. He started squirting and turned the tube on the worker.

The above play was taken up with him. We talked about women and what a lot there were in his house telling him what to do; he agreed to this heartily. He was sympathized with and the worker said that he must feel angry with them; sometimes it would be nice just to poison them.

7.x.37: He made "poisonous" cakes. He fiddled with the theatre and became over-excited paddling in the bath.

11.x.37: By himself he knocked down brick houses. He went into the little house and said there would be no more murders to-day—he was being mother. It was put to him that he felt

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safer as mother and did not need to murder. He said that he had a baby. He made a world of four cross-roads, three of which were culs-de-sac. There were houses, women shopping, traffic, and someone waiting for the tram.

It was pointed out that the roads went nowhere.

It seemed clear now that he felt very ambivalent towards his mother; accordingly ambivalent feelings were discussed. It was pointed out that sometimes he wanted to poison women, and at others he wanted to get so close to mother that he wanted to get right inside her and even become her. He was assured that everybody had ambivalent feelings at times. The following day this ambivalence was again shown.

18.x.37: He knocked down a brick house which he called by the name of his family. It was pointed out that the church which he had wanted to burn was a building like a house. He went to the tube and squirted, saying he would put out the fire. He covered the figure of a policeman with sticky paste and melted glitter wax.

21.x.37: He made a brick structure, which he knocked down in order to get at the cars inside. He made a rough table out of wood, then broke it up; he said he would go upstairs to drown himself. He enjoyed standing in hot water. He hurt his (voluntary) worker by putting her hand under the hot tap; he agreed that he liked hurting people. He covered his head with lather and enjoyed having it dried by the fire, where his worker was motherly to him.

From now on he ceased to be merely destructive and aggressive and began to be constructive, while his worlds became more coherent and detailed.

25.x.37: He enjoyed the feel of glitter wax, did some hammering, attempted to mend shoes, but only succeeded in pulling them to bits. He sharpened pencils, and said he was washing them because they became clean. Broken pencils went into the sharpener without heads and came out with one. He made a world with roads which were carefully made to the edge of the tray because "they had to go somewhere." In the centre of the top of the tray he had soldiers and tents, one for the king and one for the servants and a safe for stores. There are houses, one of which is on fire. People are waiting for the tram, which is held up by a car being filled with petrol. On the right was a fenced pond, over which was a bridge; a milkmaid was coming along the path.

8.xi.37: He made a world of a zoo in which the wild animals were fenced; there were flowers dotted about, and paths in the form of a cross for people to stand on.

This world was very carefully made and took over an hour. It is interesting to compare this world with his first one. In the latter the wild animals were loosely dotted about; it was rapidly and carelessly made and contained no ordered idea. The last world seems to show that he has more control over his hitherto uncontrollable feelings of aggression, but the house on fire of his previous world indicates that this control is not yet complete.

11.xi.37: He spent some time sucking the baby's bottle with great enjoyment.

15.xi.37: He played with wet sand; he built a strong wall across the tray and put water on either side; he attempted to make a tunnel, then smashed the whole. He buried a jug full of sand—he said that this served it right for telling lies; the little jug poured water on it. The big jug was hit for telling lies—it had said the little jug was cheeky and really it was the big one that had been. He put some string inside the Russian doll and said it was his secret; he heard men's footsteps outside and ran away, saying it was a ghost.

29.xi.37: He made a table for a conjuring trick; it had a round hole in the middle, out of which popped rabbits. He was reminded of how babies are born; the rabbit popping out of the hole was like a rabbit being born. He made a world of a farm very carefully; on one side was a ploughed field, and on the right a farm yard containing animals, a pond and women washing.

2.xii.37: He touched on his old occupation of dressing up and water play, then decided to do carpentry.

6.xii.37 (Voluntary Helper): He went on with his carpentry; then he set up the theatre and, for the first time, actually acted a scene of soldiers on parade in the castle. He did the same next time he came.

13.xii.37: He said he played in the street now and only sometimes dressed up; he was going to be a carpenter when he grew up. He was given the "wishes diagram" again; he wished for a titty bottle and a rattle, to break things and to play with mother's toes. As he had lately been looking into things and hiding, etc., therefore worker gave the wish to look behind the curtains and into things one must not look at; he agreed to this. We went over sex instruction; he had forgotten quite a lot, and said that babies grew inside mother's heart from a bit of food; it took him some time to work it out, but he did in the end. He remembered the physiology quite well.

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He made a world of a village in which was a fair with a switchback railway.

During the next two sessions he got inside things and barricaded himself in a room with another child. He did carpentry, and talked a great deal about a magic lantern he was going to get for Christmas. He made a complicated mosaic which was not entirely successful; it was a hexagon pattern with rectangles at the sides.

The holidays now intervened. At the beginning of the term he came back, looking rosy and lively; the dark rings under his eyes had gone.

10.i.38: He covered over the little house with a rug and stayed inside until it was nearly time to go; he hastily came out because he said he wanted to make a world; he would take down the cover of the house before he went home; this last was welcomed. The world was a desert, camels got caught in a sand-storm and could not breathe; they were buried, then dug out. The camels came to a rock, which was the "Queen's Parlour" (this is actually a rock near his aunt's); over the cave the camels are once more buried and they die; they are dug out and given air and are all right. Once more they went into the cave. Worker remarked that it was much nicer outside caves and cosy places like houses roofed over; it was nice to get out and grow up and do all kinds of things; it got stuffy in these little places.

He got a jug of water, which was thrown down violently because it had lain about wetting the sand. He made a world of roads and houses. There was a pond of water surrounded by fences and gates. All this was welcomed by worker.

13.i.38 (Voluntary Helper): He set up the theatre and made a scene which was an attack on Dudley Castle; black and white soldiers were fighting outside. The next scene was the castle without soldiers and the final scene was of the quiet country. The play was purposeful, and seemed very satisfying to him.

He now seemed to be definitely leaving behind the desire to be a baby and to remain curled up in a cosy place. For the next four sessions he joined other boys at various pieces of play and co-operated well, he was very lively and full of ideas. He also touched on the various themes of his past play, and worker reminded him of the explanations which had been given.

14.iii.38: He made a mosaic of two simple patterns, which were successful and not over ambitious for his intellectual level. He also made a world of a farm with pigs eating; two women were returning from market by crossing the river in a boat. A house on fire had a ladder against it. The animals were frightened and were running away, except for the pigs, who continued eating. Women in carts were ready to go.

He rigged up the theatre very ingeniously and gave a performance to an audience. The play was a noisy piece of burlesque: an elephant with a long nose was hitting someone; a woman had lost a dog; the elephant had killed someone and was trying to get out of it.

He played blind man's buff, co-operating well.

28.iii.38: He played with the others at various games and dressed up as the vicar.

His behaviour in the playroom was now that of a very normal, lively little boy, able to hold his own in a group and to take initiative. He organized the public performance of his play very well, even down to the seats which each member of the audience had to occupy. The performance of his play was a good step forward in his development; the production of plays now gave him a creative outlet for his aggressive feelings.

He was not now giving any trouble at home. His history of his outward behaviour was as follows: After the upset caused by his appearance at Court he was forbidden to go to church; he remained an isolated, difficult and moody child. Since about the middle of treatment he expressed no desire to go to church.

His isolation began gradually to disappear, and on 13.xii.37 he stated that he was now playing in the street. The school reported improvement in his general attitude. The whole boy's outward self had changed; his colour had greatly improved, he looked well, and his face had a bright and eager expression. Although there were signs in his play that anxiety was not entirely resolved, yet owing to the pressure on space in the clinic and as all outward signs of disturbance had disappeared he was discharged.

The Case of Ronald B—.

Ronald, aged 12½ at the time of this treatment, was referred on 1.xii.35 for being too nervous to attend school. After he had been two weeks in a senior school he ran away from the manual class. There was no apparent reason for this, as the master was a kind man.

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Family history.—When the mother first came to the clinic she made no mention of any ill-health or of nervous instability in the family. All she reported about the father, a canal worker, was that he had to control himself in order not to give Ronald a thrashing when he answered his father back. It was not until May, 1938, that the mother admitted that the father was a drunkard who was violent when drunk and had once tried to gas himself, and that his brother had cut his throat.

His mother was very attached to Ronald and liked to keep him by her. She had given up as hopeless the struggle with her difficulties and had accepted life with her husband resignedly.

Patient's history.—Ronald was the youngest of ten siblings, born five years after the ninth child. He was breast fed for eighteen months and developed normally. He slept in his parents' room until he was 5. For the last two years he had returned to the parents' room owing to his bad nights. During these he used to scream out, " Mum, look how big my hands are."

School reported that he was a normal boy in every way and they could not understand why he had run away.

Child himself.—On admission (1.xii.36) the Medical Director reported him to be a pale, rather soft-looking boy, and left-handed. He felt very inferior to the rest of the family; he did not like school, but could give no reason except that the boys were too rough. At home he had plenty of determination and concentration, but at times he seemed to be miles away. He got headaches when he read for any length of time, and was sent to hospital for examination and treatment of his antrum.

An intelligence test revealed his I.Q. to be 82.

Treatment.—From 1.xii.36 he came regularly to play groups under the charge of the Social Worker. On 19.iii.37 he went back to school; he said that he liked it, but on finding that he had to do manual work he did not stay. He said he could not give his mind to manual; when he tried everything went wrong—the lines went crooked, the chisels slipped, fretsaws broke and so on.

On 7.iv.37 he went to school again and ran away from the gym. class and said he was frightened of everything to do with school. He was sent for a country holiday, but ran away because he said he was not allowed to run about and was treated as an invalid.

30.viii.37: Play Therapy was started; he was taken partly individually and partly in the group. From the first it was noticed that his constructive work and carpentry, of which he did a good deal, was excellent, so that there was no real basis for his fears of the manual class.

His mosaic was an anxious, rather feminine pattern, impulsive and unconventional in colouring, being entirely green.

It was explained to him why he came to the clinic and played and the question of school was discussed. He said that he did not know why he was afraid of school; he just could not go. We agreed that we must find out why and that school must stand for something else; that there must be something in himself which made him fear school.

His work in the playroom can be roughly divided into four stages:

Stage I is concerned with violence; he did worlds in striking contrast to the softness of his general appearance. The first two were of unspecified war. These were followed by a number of fantastic worlds about cowboys and Indians. In all there was fighting and aeroplane crashes; one side was trying to get land from the other, and the rivers were full of crocodiles. In the next world the conflict was more localized in that there was a king's castle; the land was invaded by enemies; when the land was at peace once more the king had gone. Picture thinking had been explained to him, and in the discussion of this world we came to the conclusion that the presence of the king had something to do with the reason for the fighting.

The violence expressed in these worlds was so out of keeping with his quiet, girlish appearance that it seemed likely that they represented feelings which he was refusing to acknowledge and of which he was afraid. It was, therefore, put to him tentatively that " the something in himself " about which we had decided to find out might be rather aggressive. The next world confirmed this suggestion:

This world represented a cowboy ranch. On the left was their house; cowboys were walking about, and a little girl who lives with them was riding on a pony. There were two fields enclosed

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by fences; in one were a large number of horses, in the other was one horse. This one horse was shut away by himself because he was so wild he would let all the others loose if he were with them.

He was now given the " wishes diagram." Then we discussed the possibility of there being two sides to the self, one side which we showed to people and another side that we did not like and kept shut away. This side that we shut away sometimes seemed to be wild, and that the presence of the wild horse in his world indicated that he felt this about part of himself. It was pointed out that feelings are a form of energy like electricity; they could be used constructively or destructively, and were neither good nor bad in themselves—it depended on how they were used. The part of himself that he was shutting away was really a fine, strong part that could help him to do a great many things.

Stage II.—His interest in cowboy worlds now disappeared, and he became interested in fire and water.

He started to build a fire engine with meccano; he was asked if he would like to make a fire; he assented eagerly. He made a fire in the yard, and when it was burning well he at once put it out by squirting water with a tube attached to a tap. He remarked that he would like to burn a house.

The next day he also made a fire.

He was asked what he thought about fire and he said it destroyed things; it was pointed out that fire could also be constructive—it could warm a room, and was used for making things in factories. He was reminded of his worlds, and he agreed that the world seemed to him to be a place where everyone fought everyone else; his idea was that if there were no soldiers there would be no war. It was pointed out that just doing nothing did not help; one had to do something towards peace. He himself then linked this up with his refusal to go to school. He remarked that he worked hard at home, but he did not like lessons. We decided that he was a person who only did what he felt like, but, worker remarked, this did not work as one got older.

He now started to play with fire like a cat with a mouse; he douched it and then let it burn up. The fact that water could be both constructive and destructive was pointed out again. Next he became aggressive with water, drowning ducks and dolls, and trying to squirt people. His attention was drawn to the similarity between the tube on the tap and his own penis.

Stage III.—This is concerned with his relations to his mother and his dislike of male authority.

With flour he made cakes and had a tea party. He said that he would like to be a woman, then he could stay at home all the time and help his mother.

In discussing school we found that it was a place where you had to do as you were told, and that the school from which he ran away had masters instead of mistresses. From this it was gathered that it was men in authority of whom he was afraid; this was put to him. The next time he came he did a world.

In the centre was a king's castle, towards which soldiers were going for drill. A road passed round the castle, at one end of which was a school. This was on fire. It is a Sunday; in spite of this all the teachers were present and got hurt. One teacher was lying on the ground; the figure, carefully chosen, was that of a motherly country woman. Ambulances and fire engines were coming to the rescue. In the end the whole village beside the school got burnt and the king decided to go away.

The evidence in this world (that it was Sunday, a day on which teachers are not in school, and the figure of the teacher being a motherly country woman) indicated that the school was a symbol for something else. The king leaving when the village was burnt was a similar situation to the one in a previous world, when the king left when the fighting was over, so that king, school and violence had all something to do with each other. The above was pointed out to him. At this point he was also given some idea of what is meant by symbols; we talked about fairy tales in which the king was often the symbol for father; kings and fathers were people who told one what to do and were therefore like school. He was

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reminded that he did not want to go to school as he preferred staying at home with his mother; school took one away from mother. Similarly fathers could take one away from mother, and could get closer to mother. It was also explained to him that he wanted to get so close to mother that he identified with her (*cf.* cake making), and he wanted her to himself.

His play in the next two visits was as follows:

He made a model of the "Queen Mary" in plasticine, also two tugs; we agreed that they looked like a mother with two children; a fire engine put out a fire on the "Queen Mary."

He made a world of a fight between an invading army and the king; the invaders had much smaller guns. Eventually the king got killed and his son took his place.

With this boy one had to be very careful in doing any interpretation, as he was apt to retire into himself unless care was taken. At such a time he would guard himself by doing construction and talk about what he was doing. For this reason the question of the boy's knowledge of sex had not been taken up. It was not, therefore, thought advisable to deal with this last world except in a general way; it was merely remarked that sons often did want to take their father's place.

Stage IV.—After this he did a good deal of enthusiastic construction work. Arrangements had been made for him to attend an open-air school when he was ready to go; at the beginning of November he went to this new school.

His next world was of China, where the land was shared by many people; a welcome was given to this as a new development. He also made a mosaic of a fine upstanding windmill.

A home report made at Christmas said that his mother was satisfied with his behaviour, although she complained that he went too much to the pictures and sulked if he did not get his own way, but she said that all the family did that.

When he came back after Christmas he continued doing construction work; one of the things he made was two boxers and an umpire—curiously the umpire was active and knocked out the champion.

As the pressure on time and space at the clinic was great a provisional discharge was decided upon, though it was clearly seen that a relapse was probable. This was in January, 1938.

At the end of March he once more ran away from school. He had been at home with a bad cold; when he returned to school he found that he had been moved up into a higher class—he became afraid and ran away. He stayed away from school a week; then he took his nephew, aged 11, and tried to walk to London in order to see how high the Tower Bridge was. They were found by the Police at Coventry and brought back. On the nephew's suggestion they had left a note at home to say that they would take poison. Attendance at the clinic was recommenced.

He was a very inarticulate boy, and had nothing further to say about his escapade. A mosaic he made was a hollow circle of pointed pieces showing a combination of feminine characteristics and aggression. His world made on his first re-attendance repeated the theme of a fight for land. We went over what he had done previously, and also the conclusions we had drawn. For the first three sessions his play was as follows:

He made two swords out of wood, put cotton reels on the points. He floated boats in water and was interested in water going in and out. He arranged the doll's house; he put a woodwork bench in the kitchen with a boy on it, and set a girl on the table; the poor baby in the pram he said had nothing to live on; father was looking out of the attic window and mother out of the bottom.

He made a meccano cruiser with one funnel. He did woodwork. Made a world of a canal, on which were boats you get into for pleasure; a road led from the canal round a farm with a mill, back to the canal; it was guarded by mounted police for fear of accidents.

6.iv.38 and 7.iv.38: Sex instruction was given; he had thought babies were brought by storks and dropped.

8.iv.38: He was given "wishes diagram" again; his wish was to do things, but mother stops him because she wants him at home. He messed about with flour and water, and squirted down the drain.

The next two days' play bring up the aggression shown in his earlier worlds. On the first day he became very active and made curious drawing of a skeleton.

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He then made a rifle with wood and stated it was to shoot people with. On inquiry he made the interesting remark that they enjoyed being shot and found it pleasurable. The likeness between the rifle and the tube he had been playing with was pointed out. On the next day he stated that he had taken home his rifle, but his mother had laughed at it, so he had destroyed it. He made a pistol.

During carpentry he stated that when he grew up he was going to Canada with his mother and leaving everyone behind. Worker reminded him about our talk of symbols, and said that water tubes and guns and things like that were often a symbol for a penis. He had taken his gun home and mother had laughed at it; it was as if she had laughed at his penis. He wanted her to admire it, but his penis was still small. His attention was recalled to sex instruction he had received, and he was reminded of how he put tubes down drains. It was pointed out to him that he was fond of his mother and probably had feelings of these sorts in connection with her.

It was discovered that he still slept in his parents' room, as no other sleeping arrangements could be made. An attempt was here made to get his mother to see the parents' physician, but it was not successful.

The Easter holidays now intervened; when he came back he brought a number of toy cowboys and gave them to the clinic, saying he was now too old for them. He said he had also given up the idea of going to Canada. In spite of this, his next world was a return to the cowboy theme:

26.iv.38: Made a world of cowboys trying to make a railway through a hostile land; they managed to finish it and build a town. The Indians still felt hostile, as they thought the train chased away the buffaloes.

28.iv.38: He made roads with chalk on the table; on these were traffic and road signs and police; a man cleaning a lamp-post was the figure of a woman. In one corner was a "posh" house. He spent the rest of the time moulding glitter wax and melting it. On the next two sessions he made a meccano crane—a large, well-balanced affair. He was now wearing long trousers.

2.v.38: He reported having had the following dream: There was a boat floating on the water in which was a girl of his own age; he tried to get into the boat, but he was too small and the boat sank when he tried to do so. For the next three days we discussed this dream. It was pointed out that he was very girlish and rather soft; the dream probably represented his two sides, the big girlish side of him, and the boyish side which had not grown up and could not keep pace with his girlish self.

It was now that it was discovered that his father was a drunkard, who at times became violent. Ronald was asked about this, and he agreed that his father became wild at times; he said that he used to be afraid, but now he was not. It was pointed out that when father is wild one was apt to get the impression that all men were violent beings in general. It was explained to him that when he was small he had probably felt this, and becoming afraid of his own maleness, had cultivated a girlish self.

For some time it had been suggested that he should go back to school; on 6.v.38 he was given a letter to take to school so that he need not give any explanations concerning his absence. During the next week he told lies about having been back to school; he stole clinic property and became very obstreperous. No condemnation was expressed about his actions, but instead the fact that his wild side was now coming out was welcomed.

13.v.38: He went back to school. That evening he attended the clinic and brought back the property he had stolen. He asked to leave early as he had joined a night class for painting.

18.v.38: He asked if he might become a boarder at the open air school; this was accordingly arranged.

From now on he only came to the clinic once a week, as he did not want to miss school. His hero became the modern Highlander; the reason he gave for this choice was that the Scottish people helped us most in the war.

25.v.38: He made a world of a zoo and organized a game of ghost trains.

1.vi.38: He made a guillotine, as he had been reading a story, *The Tale of Two Cities*, in which he said a little girl had been beheaded; he himself beheaded someone for being on the side of the king.

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The next four sessions expressed the idea of restoration; he spent his time mending broken things in the clinic and making properties for the school pageant.

22.vi.38: He made a mosaic of a loose frame, which seemed to be breaking up; in the centre was a pattern which gave an impression of circular movement. The next time he decided he did not like the pattern.

At this time worker left the clinic; the last note made on him was:

20.vii.38: He did another mosaic—a fancy frame with a centre; it was well constructed, but still rather feminine.

He was now looking very well and was much more vigorous. His mother reported at the beginning of July that he was much more confident, less childish, and took pride in his appearance, but she thought he was acting too old for his years (thirteen). At the week-ends he talked a great deal about school, and seemed to be enjoying it very much. So he was discharged from the clinic. In December, 1938, he was interviewed by the Social Worker, who reported that in appearance he was much more boyish and gave a very different impression from when he first came to the clinic. He was still at school and doing very well.

The Case of Peter J—.

This is an example of a child whose difficulties arose in relation to the stages of his own development rather than out of his relationship to father or mother.

Peter, aged 7½, was referred by the family doctor for habit spasms, consisting of head twisting and facial twitching, for fear of doctors and dentists, quick outbursts of temper and a tendency to cry easily.

In this case characterological complaints were the predominating ones and treatment was directed towards these.

Family history.—Father had, all his life, been traveller for a large firm. The patient's circumstances were secure from the beginning. In character the father was egotistic and self-satisfied. He was the centre of the picture at home, and the mother was content that this should be so and agreed with everything he said. The home atmosphere was pleasant, and father was anxious to do well by his children.

Peter was the middle of three brothers; the elder boy, aged 12½, tended to be priggish, like his father, to ignore Peter and to adore the baby, aged 2½. The relations between Peter and the baby were bad. The baby tended to be bad-tempered when Peter came near. Unfortunately there is no information concerning the mother's attitude to Peter.

Patient's history.—He was born in hospital; spontaneous labour; birth weight 7 lb. Breast fed 7 months, weaned easily, development normal. At four weeks old he underwent an unsuccessful circumcision, which had to be repeated twice. For the first eighteen months he slept in his parents' room. Before three he had sustained several blows on the head, accompanied by unconsciousness; at three, it was later discovered, he was isolated in a tent into which the sea came. From 3½ to 5 he had constant bowel difficulty, colitis and worms which, on admission to the clinic, were still being treated by saline injections. At 5 he had measles and tonsillectomy. Bladder control had never been satisfactorily established, and nocturnal enuresis occurred about once a month. At 5½ to 6 he was seen to have erections—he masturbated a little, but not excessively.

History of symptoms.—The tic was said to have begun at the time of the baby's birth. No information was available as to the date of origin of the other symptoms, but the school report described terrible scenes at the appearance of doctors or dentists. At about the same time as the onset of the tic there was difficulty with feeding, as he was afraid of the food being infected with germs.

Temperament.—He was demonstrative, but somewhat unstable in affection, and had a tendency towards secretiveness and hoarding things. He did not show resentment at the birth of the brother when he was five.

School history.—When he first went at five there was no trouble, and he was indistinguishable from the other children. At the time of attendance he was reported from the school to be unable to mix well with the other children, to be

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friendly with the teachers, but ready to adopt any subterfuge to gain attention from them. They complained that he was not very obedient, disliked correction, and showed bursts of excessive energy followed by periods of lethargy. His work was not up to the standard of his intelligence owing to failure in concentration.

Intelligence.—On examination at the clinic his I.Q. was shown to be 137 and his performance age was 11. He was interested in the test, boastful about his ability, and in the performance test was skilful with his fingers.

Child himself.—He was a small, pale-faced, rather worried-looking child, with dark rings under his eyes. He talked a great deal to the social worker about his elder brother, whom he said he disliked and would like to attack if he were bigger; he did not like the baby much either. When he came for consultation he cried, as he did not know he was coming to the clinic; he thought he was going out with his parents. He was restless and unhappy in the playroom and did not like the way the children spoke; he cried about this in front of his parents, but cheered up when they went out.

Playroom.—He made 35 attendances over a period of six months, attending the play group only.

His mosaic was a very neat bungalow, and his first world was exceedingly well planned for his age. It consisted of a road, river and sea on all of which were transport. There was also a farm, garden and petrol station.

His manner at first was very priggish. He was apparently very shocked at the other children, and remarked that he did not like rude talk. Beyond this remark he took no notice of them.

On his first attendance the usual explanation concerning the nature of the clinic was given him and his general situation discussed with him. He said that he hated Sunday School and that there was something his mother told him not to talk about. He agreed that he was afraid of doctors; it was pointed out that this was natural as he had had so many illnesses; he remarked that he was not afraid of bulls and dogs.

On his second visit a drawing of his first world was shown to him and the form of it was pointed out to him. He was shown that it contained two forms of water and a road; the road separated a garden from a farm. He then made a world which repeated the same features in a different design, but this time there was a fire-engine going to a fire and a breakdown car going to an accident, and a buoy to warn people off the mud-banks. In discussing this world he agreed that although the scene looked peaceful there was a good deal of suggestion of danger.

His play now falls into three periods.

Period I.—One month. During this period interest in transport disappeared, and was replaced by a concern with ideas of dirtiness and cleanliness, of aggression, of bodily excretions and ideas about the body. The period began with interest in containers, dirt, and forcible engines as follows:

> A hollow chapel was made out of sand; round it there was a road, a garage and cannons. At one end was a piggery and a heap of dirt on which was a sentry box; the dirt was finally put on the chapel roof.
>
> On this day, watching other children play with water, he expressed great disapproval of them.
>
> 28.i.38: The idea of control of water was added.

He made an aeroplane with which he bombed a complicated world of strips of water and land, with dams to keep in the water.

1.ii.38: On this day paint was introduced and used to colour the fields for a country scene. He then left the world to play with the mincing machine, calling pieces of plasticine which came out sausages. By making one long sausage come out of a pig's behind, which he greatly enjoyed, he reconnected this play wtih the previous country scene.

At this point he was given the "wishes diagram" and asked what wishes a baby might have; the suggestions he gave were wanting to play with potty, throwing things at mother and other naughty things, all of which he said that mother allowed. He also said that babies screamed, and that he screamed to-day at table because mother put some gravy on his plate, which he did not want; he emptied the gravy on to his mother's lap (this, however, was not true). This piece of fantasy should have been related to faeces.

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During this day Peter kept on taking things from other children and calling everyone names.

His world was the same as the previous one of the chapel, but this time it had a spire with a cock on top and mother and father coming out of the chapel.

Land and rivers were prominent in the next world, but the interest centred in a boat and boat-house.

On 11.ii.38 the previous world was repeated with the addition of bridges and the sand was coloured.

Much energy appeared now to be released and he became very lively. He was abusive to an older girl because older girls are horrid and shout things at you; he said that she made him spit on the floor. It was pointed out that no one could make you spit; he must have wanted to do it.

The time had come for a revision of his worlds. It was agreed that they showed an interest in things that went along and in things that went up, in objects contained inside other objects and in " sausages " (faeces).

On the next visit the world showed a village entirely surrounded by water—womb-like in shape; beside it was a river of hot water.

At this point it was put to him that the insides in which he was interested might be his own inside and he was asked what he thought about this. He said that he had worms and was given douches (this was confirmed), and it was fun squirting out the water, specially all over the bed when mother wanted it tidy (this, however, was not true). We talked about eating and defaecating, and how things normally went in at one end and came out at the other; while in his case water was put in the end where things normally came out, it was pointed out that things also sometimes came out of the mouth when we were sick, and it must be all rather muddling.

18.ii.38: On the next visit we talked about worms being live things inside, and that other live things came out of holes, for example, babies; he said that he knew all about that. Discussion of the previous world brought out the possibility that the lay-out of the world might be concerned with urine and faeces.

After this he ran about; he wanted to fill a balloon with gas; he tunnelled through a long-shaped mound in the sand and had a plasticine fight with another boy.

22.ii.38: We discussed the fact that he liked dirtying mother; he said that she did not know that he did it on purpose. He was interested in the gas pipe and sure he smelt a stink.

Period II.—During this period his interest was mainly in water. Throughout the first period this boy had been absorbed in his own play and had little contact with other children. This now changed, and his relation with other children became of primary importance.

On 22.ii.38 he played in the water room with the rubber tube and squirted by blowing through it. He tried to join a group of other children, but remained on the edge of it.

25.ii.38: Some boys painted his face, which he did not like, but he made little fuss. He did not retaliate when he was attacked because he said that he had been brought up not to fight, but he turned and attacked a shy boy standing passively by; his attention was drawn to this behaviour.

His worlds now began to contain symbols of emotion and direct movement.

He made a world of a flood, into which a peninsular bridge projected; on it were wild animals, who were not fierce, boats and cars were in the water; cannons guarded the end of the bridge, so that no one could get off.

1.iii.38: He hit the sand aggressively; he said he would like to hit worker; if he had a long nose like an elephant he would blow bubbles over worker; he would have to carry his nose in a barrow. His attention was drawn to the fact that this was like the tube he had blown through last time.

4.iii.38: He ran away from being attacked, but attacked the passive, shy boy. He was restless, but joined with the two others for a while over water.

Water became increasingly important in his worlds; it was associated with roads and transport, and there was evidence that it was thought of as dangerous.

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He did a world in which water was separated into two parts by a road on which was transport. Crocodiles and alligators were in one part of the water and a lighthouse in the other.

In his next world the sea was thought of as attacking, and a road was guarded from it by a strong wall. Dislike of dirt had disappeared, and he messed about happily with wet sand and blew water from the tube on to other children. At this point the records of his last few worlds were studied with him.

11.iii.38: A new feature appeared in his world.

Once again there was a road over rivers carrying cars, but a new feature appeared—there were islands joined by bridges; on one island was a house in which were water snakes and crocodiles. He would not like to live there; the people on the island had tamed the crocodiles, but they would eat the cat. There arose a hurricane which destroyed the islands.

It seemed clear at this point from his play that he regarded the sea as a terrifying and attacking force, and it was worth while looking into his actual history to see if there was any reason for this.

18.iii.38: His world consisted of an island walled round; on it was a house and one man; a crocodile was coming through a gap in the wall towards the house and a ship was going to the rescue.

The fact having been discovered that at one time he had nearly been drowned by being in a tent by himself when the sea came rushing in he was reminded of the incident, and was shown how the world represented his feelings of the time of the accident, though not the incident itself.

On the next two sessions he played with water; was interested in drains. When he pulled something out of the drain he sang an exultant song with the words "England expects." He played trains, he himself being the train, and he told his worker about a gang of boys at school which he had joined.

1.iv.38 was spent in the construction of a complicated world, consisting of a square puddle with outlets at two corners, which led to more puddles. One end of the land was hollow; water goes into this tunnel and he said air and boats come out.

The fact of his douches were here brought back to his mind, and it was pointed out that air often comes out with funny noises from that hole. He said that mother called that rude, but we agreed that bottoms made these noises without us meaning them to.

5.iv.38: He arrived in tears with violent earache; he had had a sore throat on Friday, which was followed by earache. We discussed the fact that he was always having something wrong with his holes.

8.iv.38: A possessive and dominant attitude towards the playroom environment began to show; he ordered workers about, annoyed other children and monopolized the attention of his favourite worker, who had the same name as himself. He played in the sand with another boy, drew an engine, and spent much time investigating the possibilities of making a stick stand upright.

On 12.iv.38 he began to experiment with water as a force.

After asking to see the drawings of his mosaic and worlds, he played with water; he floated boats, which were moved by currents in the water and got wrecked on rocks. A tube, he said, was an octopus and sank boats by squirting into them; it was also a whale and made spouts. He made a good drawing of a ship.

Easter holidays intervened here.

26.iv.38 was a very confused day. He arrived with his thumb bound up, and told a long story of an imaginary train accident in which the seat had jumped up and hurt him; this was accepted, but no fuss was made over it; instead we discussed all the accidents he had had—the blows on the head, the incident by the sea and his bowel difficulties. After this he went round abusing people; he attacked a girl, but grew afraid when she started to squirt him. Once as he was beside her worker accidentally knocked out one of his loose teeth; he was furious because he said that he would not look so nice without it; he soon recovered his composure and decided to take the tooth home. At his request we went to the world tray; he found a horse with plasticine on its foot and said it was making muck. He made a train tunnel in the sand, beside which was a road and a fire station.

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On the following day he felt free to express his ambivalent feelings.

He would not have worker anywhere near. He did climbing feats, made much noise banging basins and said he had hurt his thumb in the carriage door. He thought the clinic and every one in it were mouldy; he said that evidently worker had taken a great fancy to him, but he had not to her; worker said that things did happen like that sometimes.

The character of his worlds now changed.

He made a world of rounded mounds, which were huts enclosed in a wall with a small entrance in it; it was a fort with soldiers attacking it. The idea of mounds was continued the next day (3.v.38), when he made a large round mound that one went over and round and through, exploring it thoroughly.

He then played with the water tube. This play in association with his interest in solid objects and movement in and out was pointed out to him, and it was agreed that his own body had a tube which he called his " willie winkie "; he said that he could himself make fountains as high as the tube could. It was noticeable that the use he made with the actual water was to attempt to get the dirt off the walls.

6.v.38: He drew an engine and used the water tube to drive boats along.

This day formed the end of Period II.

Period III.—This was a social period, and was concerned with his relations to other people. Owing to the exigencies of group work carried out with only one trained worker, rich material here could not be used as the following game was played with an untrained voluntary helper.

He played a game with others, during which he felt things were unfair and always appealed to a grown-up for support. With his worker alone he played robbers; he shot her with a sleeping draught and robbed her of bank-notes; he was put in prison for ten years, protesting his innocence. Later he became invisible, but worker was given notes when she protested that she could not feed her children now he had taken the money; the notes floated down to her apparently from nowhere.

He now contracted mumps, and during this period worker left the clinic, but is indebted to the psychologist in charge, who made the following notes:

28.vi.38: He came back with wild tales of his illness and of the naughty things he had done in class. He told everyone he was back and made rude remarks to attract attention. He made a world of a harbour and of boats having a fight.

During the next two sessions he joined the other children in games of hospital and robbers. In the hospital he was the patient and the windows of the house had to be covered. On one day he was disgusted because his favourite worker was not there; he tried to chop bits off the wall; on another day he would not let a girl into the house.

12.vii.38: He was less aggressive to the girl in reality and in play was freely aggressive with water, shooting at a target with a water pistol. His last world was of roads and traffic made in an ordinary boy's way, and on this day he made a mosaic of a beetle—it was a good attempt.

Owing to the great improvement that was shown at home and at school he now ceased to attend the clinic. The home reported the habit spasms had disappeared, his health had improved and there seems to have been no further trouble with his bowels. The fear of doctors and dentists had also disappeared. His father and mother found him much improved; he was more boyish, less tearful, and far more detached from his elder brother. An opportunity of studying his behaviour occurred when the family were away for Easter; they noticed with satisfaction that he had grown in independence.

The school reported that he appeared to have conquered his lazy fit and to have normal concentration. There were now no scenes in connection with doctors. He was in a very bright class and did not stand out in any way. The only point in which he was different from other children was in certain aloofness in his manner, and he did not mix as well as he should with other children.

From the material brought up it is clear that only a portion of this child's primary system has come to expression and that, were the circumstances ideal with

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adequate opportunity for skilled work and no pressure on space, it would have been more satisfactory if this child's case could have been carried further. The rapidity of movement, on the other hand, and the child's capacity for assimilating his own primary system thoughts, suggests the probability that, provided that circumstances are not too unfavourable, normal processes of growth and development now started will continue into adult life.

The next two children provide examples of the way in which the same mechanism can express itself in totally different ways. These children did not want to grow up; in one the shrinking from life expressed itself as hysterical paralysis, in the other as a failure to read.

The Case of Ivy K—.

Ivy, an only child, aged 9½, was referred at the end of November by the Assistant School Medical Officer for hysterical paralysis. The history of the complaint was as follows:

Six weeks before she was referred to the clinic, she had complained at school that she had knocked her hand on the cloakroom pegs. It was impossible to move it from her side, she held it so rigidly, though there appeared to be nothing wrong with it; she did not move her arm for over a week. Then her leg from the knee down became stiff; she was admitted to hospital and kept there a fortnight; she was in bed the first week and walking the second.

At the beginning of the year she had been treated for acute rheumatism; her legs were wrapped in cotton-wool and she was carried from room to room. She was sent away to an aunt for a holiday and the "rheumatism" cleared suddenly. When she returned to the aunt with whom she lives, she once more complained of pains. Unfortunately it was not discovered whether the pains were in the arms or legs, or whether the pains had continued and cleared up before the incident of the pegs.

Family history.—The family is Irish, and they lived in Ireland until the mother died of tuberculosis three years before. Previous to her death she had been a semi-invalid for several years. The grandmother used to live with them and looked after Ivy; but a year before the mother's death she died. For the final year a succession of aunts took charge of the child. After his wife's death the father came to Birmingham with his daughter; he lived with a member of his family apart from Ivy, who stayed with another aunt. He saw her once a week and seemed really fond of the child. He was busy courting and hoped to get married, but was vague about his plans. In temperament he was said to be irritable; he resented Ivy's illnesses, as he had to pay the bills; when she had pains he told her to forget them.

The aunt, who was Ivy's guardian, was a large, ungainly woman of most unprepossessing appearance. She was rather resentful of Ivy's presence in the house, since she had only taken her temporarily and did not know at the beginning that she would have her for three years; Ivy's father only paid 8s. a week for her keep and her aunt said that she ate more than that. To make matters worse, Ivy was always ill.

The patient.—No early history was available. She remembered her mother dying when she was 6½ and could describe the death scene vividly, although at the time she was in another room listening; she was present at the wake. She is said to have tried to commit suicide by attempting to run under a train after her mother's death.

When she was left with her aunt she screamed and kicked, saying to her father: "Mummy said I must live with you." On arrival in Birmingham she was quite healthy; since then she has had measles, mumps and tonsillitis; suffered also from intermittent rashes described by the aunt as red patches and lumps, which disappeared as suddenly as they came. Although, to us, the aunt appeared resentful, yet she had very much pampered Ivy during illnesses.

In temperament she was said to be excitable; she always dreamt after any excitement and wore holes in the sheets with her feet. She had dreamt of black men who killed her mother, and also of her father getting married again. She liked her future step-mother, but would rather her father came to live with her aunt, of whom she was very fond.

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School report.—She was usually top of her form, but was inaccurate in handwork. She was friendly, but shy and retiring with children of her own age, and apt to play with younger children.

Intelligence test.—I.Q. 111. Her performance age was between 10 and 11. She was methodical and neat, but seemed rather babyish in expression and manner.

Treatment.—She made sixteen attendances over a period of three months; during this time play therapy was given in the play-group only.

In appearance she was a cheerful, round cheeked, healthy looking little girl, but her aunt stated that she was coughing a good deal at night. In manner she was frank and natural. She was interested in her aunt's many operations and illnesses, and determined to get her due in life. She showed a good deal of insight into emotional problems. Her mosaic was of a good growing type, but very simple for her age and intelligence, and placed slantingly on the paper as if the balance had become upset.

Her first world (7.xii.37) was a straightforward picture of conflict. The tray was divided into half; one half was sea, the other land; the white people from the sea were fighting the black people on the land.

In discussing why she came here and played she said it was because " things happen and you don't want them to." Picture thinking was given, and it was pointed out that she had made a picture of two things fighting each other, and that this might be a picture of two bits of herself; for example one sometimes wanted two things at the same time and the two wishes fought each other. She immediately gave an example of this, saying that once she had been asked to a party and also to go to a Shirley Temple film both on the same day; she had not known which to choose.

On 8.xii.37 and 14.xii.37 she made worlds of a park or pleasure garden outside of which were houses, roads, etc. In the park were people enjoying themselves and a man was selling ice-cream. There was also a little girl going to school; she had to leave the park to do so. She emphasized the fact that one had to pay to get into the park.

16.xii.37: She made a world of a farm; the house had a garden round it. The cows were being milked and one milkmaid was just fed up with work; she would like to go and sit in the garden.

From the worlds, it seemed that her desire was for a life of idle pleasure and no work. Her previous worlds were gone over with her and linked with her latest one. We remembered that the little girl in her previous world had to leave the park in order to go to school, and that the park was just a place where you enjoyed yourself; outside the park you had to do all sorts of things like work. She was asked if she was not rather like the little girl who did not want to leave the park to go to school. She said that she was; she would like to have nothing to do but go to parties, and at school she liked the concerts. Worker said that there were many ways of getting out of work; one way was by being ill. Ivy then told worker about a girl at school who got headaches and had a lovely time; but Ivy said that she just pretended to have headaches, but that she herself did not pretend to be ill; she really was ill. Later she said that she often had pains, but they went away when she wanted them to.

She then related a dream in which her father got married; she did not want him to marry as she would have to live with him and then she would have to work. So we came to the conclusion that being ill meant you could do what you liked. She said that she did not like it when she had to stay in bed with an illness like mumps—that did not go away when she wanted it to. We talked about her mother's death; she said that she had been in the room when her mother died—her cot was in the opposite corner from her mother's bed. She said that when her mother was ill her mother did not have to work, but Ivy had to get up and light the fires. The implications of this were pointed out.

On the next visit she did some crude paintings of girls playing at different games and constructed a house with Minibrix. The Christmas holidays now intervened. On return:

11.i.38: She did a painting of a garden in which were flowers and a swing.

13.i.38: She did a world of a seaside where people were just enjoying themselves; she agreed that this was her ideal place.

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We discussed what we had done last term, and remembered that we had found that people became ill so as not to work; she remarked that it was not nice being kept in bed, and we thought about the idea that there were other and better ways of having a good time, and that even work could be very nice. She thought about this for a while, then agreed, saying that she liked scrubbing floors.

18.i.38: She was given "wishes diagram" and worker said that she thought Ivy had two wishes which fought each other; one was to be a nice strong girl who could do all sorts of things, and the other was to be ill so as not to go to school. She said that she did not really like being ill now, as she had to go to bed; what she really liked was lying on the sofa and reading, but her aunt said that she must be tired when she did this and sent her to bed.

The next time she came she spent her time making more and more difficult models out of Figuba. Worker told her that there were two kinds of pleasure—the passive, sensuous pleasures and the active, striving, creative kind, and that the latter gave great satisfaction—we needed both types to get the most out of life.

27.i.38: She did a world of a farm; the farmer has a garden, into which he goes on Sunday. A maid is fed up—you can tell that because she has her hands on her hips. She is fed up with milking and would like half a day off to go to the park, though she would not mind scrubbing the floors. When asked she said she would like to be a queen but not a princess; she likes the story of the "Seven Wild Swans," but the princess had a horrid time. If she was a queen she would wear pretty clothes and drink lemonade. She was told about the limited, hide-bound lives that queens in reality led.

During the next two sessions we talked about father; it appeared that he was most unsatisfactory; he would not even make a doll's house for her; she had found this out about him long ago, but it had been specially marked since they came to England; worker agreed; he was not even able to look after her. In Ireland her mother used to see that he did as Ivy wanted.

At this point her aunt was interviewed by the Medical Director. She was full of resentment against Ivy's father; he seemed to be making no move to get married and was behaving in a very irresponsible manner. She was advised to give Ivy more scope and to isolate her if she were ill and not indulge her too much.

10.ii.38: She did a world of the Mourne Mountains in Ireland, near where she used to live. The English and the Black and Tans were always fighting. She said that people over here did not quarrel so much; her father used to quarrel a lot. We agreed that the family were quarrelling over her, and it was suggested that things were not so nice as they might be; she replied that sometimes they were not and sometimes they were even nicer than that.

During the next three sessions she did some difficult puzzles and played house games in which she was the efficient housewife and mother. We also had the following talk: She had dreamt that she had lost her aunt; she telephoned her and could not get through to her. She agreed that her aunt did talk to her father about Ivy going to live with him; this must feel as if her aunt did not want her, but worker said that her aunt would never leave her until her father got married. Then it came out again that she did not want to live with her father because she would have to work every day. She does not mind working now and then, in fact she likes it; but in Ireland she had to get up every morning to light the fires. She was reminded that we had decided that she was ill so as not to work because her mother did not work when she was ill. But she realized that people were sometimes ill and had to work; her aunt was not well, but she had to get up.

She did not come for several sessions. A home visit was made, and the aunt reported that Ivy's cough had disappeared and, moreover, if she had a cold she refused to go to bed but preferred to carry on as usual. Owing to the improvement in her general attitude her aunt had decided that she need not attend the clinic any further.

The Case of Jimmie G—.

Jimmie, aged 12, was referred by the school for being backward in reading. His reading reached only the five-year level.

The home surroundings were very unsatisfactory. The father, a very rough-looking man, was an unskilled labourer, in and out of work. When in work he was lavish with his money; when out of work the children had little to eat.

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The mother died when Jimmie was between three and four, and for four years he was put into a home. Then the father married a large, rough-and-ready Irish woman; she had a grown-up family of her own, who had all been in cottage homes until they were wage earners. She was little at home with the children, as she was a cleaner in a public-house, but she was said to be very fond of the children, who, indeed, always spoke of her warmly.

Of the children, a sister of 14 and a brother of 13 were both normal; a sister of 9 was attending the clinic for pilfering. They all looked neglected.

The house itself was in a slum, but was reasonably well kept and furnished. It was very noticeable that the adults were much better cared for than the children.

The patient.—He was the third child. Very little information could be obtained regarding his early history. When he was two his mother was in a sanatorium; she died when he was between 3 and 4. Up till then he had been a delicate baby. For the next four years he was in an institution and gave no trouble. As regards his behaviour at the time of referral, his father and step-mother had no complaints to make.

School report.—One year before admission to the clinic he had been recommended for a special school on account of his backwardness. He was only able to read a few words of two letters; his writing was poor and his arithmetic inaccurate. He was said to be troublesome, crafty, untruthful and defiant. He was tested and his I.Q. was found to be 78. The father denied that Jimmie was troublesome and refused to co-operate.

On admission to the clinic he was reported to be reading words of four letters, his arithmetic was below average, while his handwork was fairly good but untidy.

Performance tests.—These were given at the clinic and his results were normal. The psychologist reported that he was interested, quick and neat. He chattered a good deal about what he was doing and seemed normal in behaviour except that he was childish and undeveloped for his age.

Treatment.—For three months he attended the playroom and was also given special coaching, but his reading did not improve. In September, 1937, Play Therapy was started; he made thirty attendances over a period of 7¼ months. During the first half of the period he was taken in the group and afterwards individually.

In the playroom the most striking thing about him was his gentleness. He was a quiet child, kindly and polite. It was with surprise that one realized that he was twelve years old; he appeared to be not more than nine.

The following are the main points revealed in his play: He wanted to remain a baby in order to escape from the horrors of life, the fighting and the danger which really surrounded him in his bad slum environment; he also dramatized his struggle to grow up. He had a fear of his own natural feelings of anger, which he was apt to turn against himself. His mosaic, worlds and newspaper game were very undeveloped for his age.

His first world expresses his feeling that the world is a dangerous place, and even apparently commonplace and safe things are really not to be trusted.

31.viii.37: The sand tray was divided into two by a road, on which two cars had crashed. On the right was a mountain, through which went a tunnel which ended in a trap; it was the scene of a fight between black and white men with animals joining in the fray. On the left was an apparently peaceful farm, but Jimmie said that soldiers could easily climb into the farm, and the pond from which the horse was drinking was really poisonous red dye.

In his second world (21.ix.37) an army was coming into the jungle to get animal skins. One elephant was going up the mountain, while the other was going into the cave; he said the latter was going the easier way.

21.ix.37: After making a confused world of a fight he put his hand in worker's and said: "I am a little baby." We went and played with baby toys for a while and he finished up with construction work.

A word might here be said about the use of construction toys in work of this kind with children, as their value is sometimes disputed. A shy child will often start by playing with construction or simple pattern-making toys. These give him a feeling of safety, and in quietly working he becomes accustomed to the playroom, and gains confidence. The discouraged child, who has never been able to succeed in gaining adult approval, will, after a while, do some simple construction. If he

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finds that he is successful he will go on to more difficult work, until he finally realizes that he can do as well as others. In the same way a child who has been referred for inability to concentrate will gradually come to set himself tasks as treatment progresses. When he finds that he can decide to make something and actually carry out his intentions and finish a model he has started, then he is well on the way to improvement. The presence of adequate material helps him to canalize the energy, which was formerly aimless and scattered, into constructive channels. Again the child who, like Ivy K—, has always thought of work as unpleasant, can learn that this is not necessarily true.

There is also another very valuable use for construction toys which is illustrated in this case. Very often after a child has had an aggressive outburst, has been very messy or behaved in a babyish manner, as in this case, he will, for a short time, turn to construction work. In this way they, so to speak, pull themselves together, they relate the two parts of themselves which are incompatible, the childish part of the self and the older part, the destructive with the constructive, and this serves to prevent the arousal of an undue amount of anxiety or guilt, which can lead to resistance to further treatment.

To return to the case. On 23.ix.37 we discussed why he came here and played, and we discovered that reading was his only difficulty; he gave worker a lesson on the eye which he remembered very accurately, relating the details and carrying out quite good drawings of what he was describing. From his second world and the fact that he was so young for his age, it seemed probable that he liked taking the easy way when he could. He was shown the drawing of his world, and reminded that the elephant going into the cave was taking the easy way, while the elephant going up the mountain was having a more difficult time. The idea was put to him that if he climbed the mountain he would have a much more interesting time than if he went into the cave, where he could see nothing.

5.x.37: He sucked the baby's bottle and behaved like a baby.

12.x.37: He was given the "wishes diagram" and we found that he was interested in the body and how it worked; so we talked about this and sex instruction was started. His knowledge of how babies are made was culled from the catechism.

There followed a series of confused worlds, all of which were divided in two by water.

9.xi.37: Water again divided the world; it was the Red Sea which a man was busy making. On the far side of the sea there was a petrol station and a great deal of fuss over traffic which could get nowhere. A horse was being whipped for being afraid to cross a bridge.

24.xi.37: The sea divided the tray again, but it went from top to bottom instead of from right to left. On the right was a Chinese village in which lived a lazy elf (he chose a Chinese figure for this), who enjoyed looking round. There were bridges over the sea, two of which one had to pay to use; the third was free but unsafe. On the left was an English farm, which contained, among other things, a "mad-headed" bull and "greedy pigs."

At this point all his worlds and other play were gone over with him, and the various points noted. It was also pointed out that water seemed to him to be both precious and dangerous, and that the lazy elf was like the elephant who went into the cave. The traffic in the world of 9.xi.37 was likened to himself, who was always busy about something, but never got anywhere, though the man who was making the Red Sea was showing a more creative desire. Following on this he did a very dramatic piece of water play.

1.xii.37: He filled the sink with water. He chose the Chinese figure (before used as the lazy elf) and said it was a little boy. A little boy and girl who were brother and sister (his sister also attended the clinic and was very babyish) were under water. There was a man with a whip (the same figure who had whipped the horse in the world of 9.xi.37), who could go under water and come up again when he liked. He pulled the children up from under the water, but they fell in again; once more they were rescued and rode on a duck's back, only to fall in again; this struggle took place several times, and at last the girl managed to stay above water, but not the boy. Finally they both managed to stay above, but had to be hidden inside a boat which was covered over to prevent them being shot at by men at war.

We rejoiced over the final victory, realizing that it was easier to stay below, specially when it was dangerous up above, but that the children lost a lot by not

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coming up. It was pointed out that the elf and the little boy were very likely a picture of himself.

8.xii.37: He once more did a world divided into two by water. On the left was a farm with pigs eating; a small horse escaping from the big ones was going to get a drink; men were either fighting or getting on with their work. On the right was an aerodrome; aeroplanes came and bombed the farm. Then the aerodrome became a jungle, which was itself attacked and all were put in prison. The whole world was then destroyed, and Jimmie remarked, with great satisfaction, that the world was now upside down.

The next time he came we finished sex instruction. He was reminded of the water play; we discussed the struggle he had depicted and how it is like the struggle of birth. Growing up was like being born again; one had to leave baby things behind; it was a struggle, and one had to make an effort comparable to the effort made by the elephant who went up the mountain, while the elephant who went back into the cave was like the boy falling back into the water.

He played with the Russian doll, and he pointed out to worker how the seed grew up into a little baby and then grew bigger until he became an old man. Jimmie made the baby knock out the old man. When the dolls went inside each other he said they were in prison. He made a world in which there was a statue of a woman milking; the baby doll tried to climb up the statue and succeeded, but the man with the whip knocked him off. There followed a confused muddle of men being aggressive to each other and everything kept on being put on roofs.

While this play was in progress worker kept up a running commentary on what he was doing, pointing out that a mother gives milk and that babies want to get to her; in his world a man is preventing this.

22.xii.37: He made a lorry out of meccano, put a man in the lorry and made it go up a slope and crash down on the other side; the man in the lorry did not like it, but had "to lump it." This play continued the whole session to his evident satisfaction.

The Christmas holidays intervened.

12.i.38: He started off by making a world of a farm full of things attacking and being attacked. On the right was a river, over which went bridges. He decided it was a pond and put a windmill beside it. Whenever it rained the pond overflowed its banks and the windmill took the surplus water out and put it back in the river. Two horses were put in the stable because they ran away from their masters and had to take their punishment; two others, however, were escaping. Another horse ran away from the trap, but had been caught and put back. In the pig-sty there was one big pig, who was greedy and must have one big trough to himself, but his baby shared it. A rabbit was at the entrance to his burrow and a stork was about to peck him. Two wild bulls were fighting and a soldier was about to shoot them, while a mad bull was jumping over a sheep with a lamb and a soldier was shooting him. Some men were making horse-shoes and nails. The little elf was sitting on the wing of the windmill and was having rides; at one point he fell into the pond, but managed to clamber out into a fishing boat.

All this showed the sense of danger by which he felt surrounded. In the discussion which followed the elf was likened to Peter Pan, who would not grow up like Jimmie. In talking about his play and the idea that under water was safe and above water dangerous, it came out that people at home were sometimes rough; it was pointed out that to a small boy this must have felt as if everyone wanted to fight everyone else. He said that the greedy pigs in his world were what he was sometimes. For the next few sessions he did construction work of a rather babyish kind that he used to do in the infants' class. Worker talked about passive and creative pleasures and the merits of both of them.

Jimmie now said that he was better at reading and was getting half marks at school. The school also noted improvement, while his coach said that he was better, but erratic; one day he would be good and the next day very poor at his reading. The home situation, however, was, if anything, worse.

16.ii.38: He made a world of a river in one corner heavily fenced round to prevent boys falling in. On the far side were wild horses; on the near side was an army getting ready to fight black people who want the land. He made a remark to the effect that water was the most important thing in the world.

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This last remark was taken up; water was both necessary to life and dangerous. When he sucked the baby's bottle he was drinking water; that was a picture of drinking milk from mother. This was the valuable aspect of water, but it became dangerous when the desire for it kept one a baby. We talked about his mother; he said that she had died when he was four; she used to read to them. Worker found that he never attempted to read for himself; it was suggested that he might start to do so.

His inability to read was, therefore, connected with his mother, and was a symbol of a desire to return to those happy days.

The next day we discussed the wildness in his worlds and how the wild horses were shut away, and that sometimes we felt that a bit of ourselves was wild and we wanted to shut it away; but this did not do; we must allow this wild side to come out, etc. Referring to a previous world in which mad bulls attacked and horses escaped from stables, it was said that we must learn to face mad bulls and to escape from stables. He then did his most coherent world.

He did a world which consisted of roadways; men were putting up telegraph posts; a fire-engine was putting out a fire. There was a break-down car going along the road and a milk cart was upset.

6.iii.38: He did a world of a terrific fight between black and white, which was carried on on both sides of the river; animals joined in the fight. Everything got knocked about and the wind blew the trees down. He then did a painting, which he called a "picture of changing colours."

23.iii.38: He made a house out of Bayko, white steps leading up to the dungeon on the top of the house; from this a man is committing suicide because he had stolen something.

The next time he came worker asked him if he ever felt like committing suicide; he said that he did when he was angry at his father hitting him; father used to be horrid, but he was not now. We talked about angry feelings and how we all had them, and that it was right to feel angry when people were horrid to you. He spent the rest of the time making a steam roller run over a policeman.

6.iv.38: In the sand tray he made a picture of a fight, and we agreed that it was much better to fight than to commit suicide, and that when father was horrid it was better to be cross.

13.iv.38: He told worker that he was now getting tough; he belonged to a gang that fought another gang. We agreed that it was good to be a little tough, as long as we were not the kind of person that went round fighting everyone else. He said that he was now reading the printed matter under the pictures in the *Daily Mirror* and working out the words for himself.

7.iv.38: A school visit was made and the headmaster reported that Jimmie had improved considerably during the last six months and seemed more cheerful. He was being given special work suited to his capacity.

As worker was leaving the clinic it was decided to discharge him, although he required more treatment. But as he was now making an effort to grow up, the improvement would probably continue.

Results of Cases.

This is a suitable point at which to consider the aim of treatment. The importance of the symptom lies in the fact that it is the means whereby the child comes to the clinic. The disappearance of the symptom for which the child was referred does not necessarily mean that treatment has been effective; while, conversely, the result may be satisfactory though the symptom may remain. In considering the results of the cases outlined we can see whether or not the aim of treatment has been achieved. In January, 1944, a home visit was paid on each case.

Peter J—: Both parents were very pleased with Peter, now aged 13½. They considered that he was much better in every way than he was in 1938. He has lost all fears of doctors and dentists, and faces without fuss situations which he anticipates will be unpleasant. He is very resourceful, is a leader and organizer, and makes many friends wherever he goes. He is keen on sport and doing well in his work at school, but he is apt to be critical of others. Formerly he was very awkward with his hands, but now is dexterous. He is still very demonstrative, and sometimes weeps when upset. The parents were a little worried because he formed friendships with older girls, such as the lift girl in a shop who gave him rides.

Some anxiety, however, still remains. Occasionally he shows traces of habit

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spasms when he is tired or over-excited, and sometimes he gets dark rings under his eyes when he is worried. He has also occasionally wet his bed. As was stated before, Peter should have had a longer period of treatment, and for such cases an occasional return to the clinic after discharge would be valuable.

Ronald B—: Ronald is now nearly 19. His mother is very pleased with him. He enjoyed his last years at school and still visits the staff when he is on leave. He joined the Home Guard when he was very young and the army as soon as he was old enough, insisting that his mother should give her consent. He is now in the Middle East, enjoys army life, and the sergeant says that he is a smart chap. He can stand up for himself and no longer bothers about his father, who still drinks heavily. He has a girl, whom he hopes to marry in September. From his photograph he appears rather older than he is—looks quite grown-up, and has a certain " air " about him.

This case seems very satisfactory; he has been able to accept completely his manhood, and to go forward in these exceptionally difficult times with courage and cheerfulness.

Alfred W—: He is now 16 years old. There has not, of course, been any return of the arson and factory breaking, and until he started work he seems to have kept well and fairly cheerful, but he has not been able to stand up to the very great difficulties which have come his way, and the case is, from our point of view, a failure.

In 1940 his mother and father died within five months of each other; after this he seemed bewildered and became quiet. He went to live with a married sister, who is a slattern. Their house stands in the midst of a badly damaged part of the town. He works in a boot and shoe repair shop, where he likes the work and gets on well with the men. He was not upset by the blitz and, appropriately enough, enjoyed putting out incendiary bombs; he hated being in the shelter.

He has, however, returned to the state in which we found him; he is withdrawn and depressed, is a bad colour and has frequent attacks of bronchitis. In addition he shows mitral disease of the heart, which he has probably had for three or four years. He has few friends, and rarely goes out except to the pictures. Occasionally during the interview he became animated and seemed then a different person. He has since been seen at the clinic, where physical treatment has been arranged for him.

Ivy K—: She is now 15¼. Her father remarried in 1939, and Ivy went to live with him. She did not get on with her step-mother, and was jealous of the step-brother, so three years later she went back to live with her aunt, where she would like to remain. There has been no return of the paralysis nor of the pains in the legs, and the persistent cough has disappeared. She has occasionally small ailments, but soon forgets about them. She is still excitable and moody, and talks in her sleep, though she no longer wears holes in the sheets. She works in an office, where she has been given an excellent character and is very keen on her work. She has joined the G.T.C., which she enjoys and goes to socials, where she mixes well with the boys.

This case is fairly satisfactory in that she has been able to deal with her rather difficult situation without reverting to her former symptoms, and she has learnt to enjoy work, but she has not been able to accept her father's remarriage, and remains moody and restless at night.

Jimmie G—: The stepmother reported that Jimmie, now 18, had played well with other boys, could stand up for himself and did not any longer give in to everyone. When he left school he worked on a woodcutting machine and was earning £5 before he was 16. He looked after his own interests at work and saw that he got his rights. He is very good with machinery and made beautiful toys, which he designed himself. He joined the army as soon as he was old enough, having attempted to join when he was 16; he passed " A " for a driver.

He never really learnt to read or write until he went into the army and wanted to send letters home. Considering his low intelligence (I.Q. 78), the fact that he was not interested in learning to read is not very important, and did not interfere with his good mechanical abilities. In spite of the fact that the symptom for which he was referred did not disappear, yet the aim of treatment was achieved—he did grow up and become a thoroughly responsible and useful member of the community.

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Review of Literature on Therapeutic Play Technique up to 1942.

For the proper understanding of any piece of new work it needs to be seen against a background of work of the same kind which is already in existence; a review of the current literature in Great Britain and U.S.A. was therefore undertaken. It is realized that this survey omits all reference to work done on the continent of Europe which has not been translated—war conditions making such reference impossible.

The sources consulted by the writer were confined to the English language journals contained in the library of the British Psychological Society and such books as she has been able to obtain. It has been difficult in war time to read the available literature while holding a full-time post; in consequence some of the literature may have been missed. The writer would like to apologize in advance for any such omission.

As so often happens with new discoveries, that play could be used therapeutically was guessed at twenty to thirty years before its discovery by psycho-analysis. In the Mitchell Library at Glasgow, by accident, the writer came across an extremely interesting booklet entitled *What is Play?* by Dr. John Strachan, published in 1877. In this booklet the author urges the need for more play in schools to better the physical and mental health of the children. In addition, in a chapter entitled "Play in Education and Training" he makes the following remarks: "The time to reform our criminal classes is while the mind is being formed, when, through the agency of play, much might be done to make it grow in conformity with the requirements of society. The associations of a child during play and spontaneous mental activity will inevitably lead the mind into corresponding channels of development, and no amount of school instruction will alter the children thus formed."

Strachan further suggests that there should be a building where the young criminal would have more chance of play than anywhere else. He remarked that it would need no officer to compel them to attend, and much influence could be exerted on them in their play.

John Strachan, therefore, antedates Froebel and Groos by nearly twenty years, and the first paper on the therapeutic use of play by fifty years.

Play in Psychoanalysis.

The first analysis of a child was undertaken by Sigmund Freud, first published in Germany, 1909, and in England, 1925, in *Collected Papers*, vol. iii, under the title, "The Analysis of a Phobia of a Five-year old Child." The analysis was mainly carried out through the agency of the parents. Between this date and the date of writing (1942) two main schools of thought have developed within the body of psychoanalysis, which are associated with the names of Melanie Klein and Anna Freud. Also within the framework of the Psychoanalytic Society and with a loose general adherence to one or other of the main schools of thought a number of variations in technique have been reported on by various authors.

The first to undertake systematic child analysis was H. Hug-Hellmuth, whose paper "On the Technique of Child Analysis" (*International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 1921, vol. ii, parts 3 and 4) is the first publication of systematic case material. She maintains that the aim of child analysis is character analysis, and the restoration of the psyche to health and equilibrium and the adaptation of the individual to his life and vocation. In all children it is mainly psycho-analytic education which takes place, and no analysis proper can be carried out with children under 6 or 7. Play enacts an important part during the whole of analysis under the age of 7, but after that is purely the bridge to treatment. The technique, however, can never be rigid, and should not go too deep for fear of rousing too great anxiety. She gives many extracts from cases of girls and boys of all ages, and points out that in the case of children, avowal, without the use of words, in a symbolic act is often quite sufficient.

In attempting to achieve a coherent account of the development of a special technique for the analysis of children, only those papers which contain a definite reference to a specialized form of technique have been reviewed. Reference has, therefore, been omitted to papers concerned with mental mechanisms of childhood without sufficient description of the method used to show the technique.

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In 1927 appeared Melanie Klein's paper, " Psychological Principles of Infant Analysis " (*Int. J. Psychoanal.*, vol. viii, part 1). This is her first paper to put forward a systematic play technique for the analysis of children. She maintains that the principles of analysis are the same for children as for adults. She gives her reasons for the technique employed and supports her point by illustration from different cases.

In the same year appears a " Symposium on Child Analysis " (*Int. J. Psychoanal.*, vol. viii, part 3). Those taking part were Melanie Klein, Joan Riviere, M. N. Searl, Ella Sharpe, Edward Glover and Ernest Jones. In this symposium Anna Freud's technique is criticized, and a very clear exposition of their own point of view is put forward. A historical summary of child analysis is given by Melanie Klein.

In 1932 appeared Melanie Klein's work, *The Psychoanalysis of Children* (Hogarth Press), which sets out in detail her technique with children of all ages. This work is so well known there is no need for further description of it.

In her paper " On the Theory of Child Analysis "(*Int. J. Psychoanal.*, 1929, vol. x, part 1) (read at the International Psychoanalytical Congress, 1927), Anna Freud, agreeing with Hug-Hellmuth, maintains, in contrast to Melanie Klein, that though some children can be treated purely analytically, others need the analyst to use her influence in an educational manner, to provide the child with new ideas, to change the demands made on the child by the outside world, to correct the child's environment, and even sometimes to remove him from it during analysis ; since in children, Anna Freud maintains, the super-ego is not fully developed, and anxieties are often due to the strictness of the parents rather than of their own super-ego. She illustrates her point by two cases. The first, a boy, aged 11, a feminine, masochistic type, whose occasional aggressive acts were followed by remorse and depression, due to dread of castration by father, is an example where the purely analytic approach was needed. The second, a girl, aged 6, who was apathetic, had screaming bouts, obsessions and fears, illustrates the need for the other approach. Her fear was of the loss of mother's love after the birth of other babies, to whom she was first hostile and later " good." The friendliness of the analyst allowed expression of aggressive wishes and their acceptance without the necessity of interpretation.

Anna Freud's book, *Introduction to the Technique of Child Analysis* (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph series No. 48, 1928), is now out of print ; the writer has been unable to obtain a copy from the library.

Further Developments.

Hyman S. Lippman, in " Technical Difficulties Encountered in Child Analysis " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1935, vol. v, part 1), discusses the difference between the methods of Melanie Klein and Anna Freud. He accepts Anna Freud's view that the child must be prepared for treatment, and that interpretation must not be given before the child is ready for it or there will be resistance. He gives two cases in detail illustrating this point.

An analytic survey of the differences between Melanie Klein and Anna Freud is given by Tallman and Goldstein at the beginning of their paper, " Play Technique " (see below), and C. H. Rogerson, " Play Therapy in Childhood."

Margaret E. Fries, however, in " Play Technique in the Analysis of a Young Child " (*Psychoanal. Rev.*, 1937, vol. xxiv, part 3), maintains that toys are the stepping-stones to the true analytic situation of lying on a couch, and that free play rather than a controlled play situation brings out the valuable material. She only interprets what can be related to the child's own experience, and finds that even young children can recall and reproduce their own traumatic experiences. The important result of this method, she states, is the character changes which take place after one month without any " deep interpretation " being given. She gives a case in detail of a boy, aged 4½, with feeding difficulties and fear of remaining in a room alone.

Estelle Levy, " Psychoanalytic Treatment of a Child with a Stealing Complex " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1934, vol. iv, part 1), in describing the case of a boy, aged 8¾, living with foster parents, stealing and lying at home, but with a good school record, relies mainly on words, but also uses fantasies and drawings. Owing to the child's resistance, early interpretation could not be given.

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Melitta Schmideberg, writing about the same time, says in " Reassurance as Means of Analytic Technique " (*Int. J. Psychoanal.*, 1935, vol. xvi, part 3) that she does not consider that there is only one type of correct analytic technique, the technique employed depending largely on the personality of the analyst. Since the paper deals mainly with adults, its importance in relation to the play analysis of children is that in contrast to Melanie Klein she advocates the giving of reassurance.

The next major worker is Margaret W. Gerard, who has written the following papers: " Child Analysis as a Technique in the Investigation of Mental Mechanisms: Illustrated by a Study of Enuresis " (*Am. J. Psychiat.*, 1937, vol. xciv, part 1); " Enuresis: A Study in Etiology " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1939, part 1); " Symposium: A Case for Discussion " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, part 1). In the same volume, part 3, she also contributes to the " Section on Play Therapy." The writer discusses the difference between psychoanalysis and other forms of play technique, and deplores the fact that the two are often thought of as synonymous. She describes very clearly her analytic technique, which she states differs from the techniques of both Melanie Klein and Anna Freud. We owe to Margaret Gerard the first clear definition between play used in a general way for what she terms " superficial treatment," and play used for deep analysis on a basis of a psychoanalytic outlook. Her description of the different forms of play and the difficulties encountered in " superficial treatment " are admirable. Her material is drawn exclusively from a study of enuresis, and in her three papers gives details of over seventy cases; the particular characteristic of her work is its delicacy of touch.

There are two points of interest to note. First the cases who were treated by psychoanalysis were not only cured of enuresis, but showed character changes as well. Second, the clinic where she works now has a group under treatment by use of a play therapy technique in which the conflict is worked through in a more superficial way, and they hope to develop a treatment method which will take a shorter time than psychoanalysis, but be based on the present understanding which has been gained through analytic studies.

Eric Homburger, in the same " Section on Play Therapy " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, part 3), also says that the only real interpretations are those done by psychoanalysts. He holds that play alone is valuable, but that interpretations which do not reveal hidden meanings are futile, and are therefore not dangerous but merely superfluous.

In the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* the following have described individual cases in a fair amount of detail. In 1935, vol. iv, Berta Bornstein, " Phobia in a Two-and-a-half-year-old Child." Steff Bornstein, " A Child Analysis": the writer discusses the reasons for his remarks and actions during the analysis. Editha Buxbaum in " Exhibitionistic Onanism in a 10-year-old Boy " shows how her technique had to be varied, as owing to the child's limited intelligence it was impossible to get his intellectual co-operation. Editha Sterba, " Excerpt from the Analysis of a Dog Phobia," and in 1936 (vol. v), " An Abnormal Child ": she shows how the treatment had to have a different aim from usual; the patient had to be educated to a normal sense of reality. Agnes B. Grieg, in " A Child Analysis " (1941, vol. x), maintains that it is not always necessary to put children's play expressions into words, and discusses when interpretation should and should not be given. She advocates a free use of humour.

The next two papers discuss analytic treatment in a school setting: " Profound Disturbances in the Nutritional and Excretory Habits of a 4½-year-old Boy," A. Pertl (*Psychoanal. Quart.*, 1935, vol. iv); " Franzi," Herta Fuchs, translated by Sidney Biddle (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1934, vol. iv, part 2).

Review of Non-analytic Play Technique.

A paper by H. Whitman Newall (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1941, vol. xi, part 2) with a valuable bibliography lists and examines the non-analytic variety of play therapy. These he divides into two types, the free or spontaneous and the controlled or standardized. He suggests the spontaneous type is best described by F. H. Allan, Phyllis Blanchard, Maxwell Gitelson, Margaret Gerard and C. H. Rogerson, and the controlled by Joseph Salomon, David Levy and Jacob Conn. The paper finishes by describing the advantages of each form and the indications for the use of them.

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F. F. Tallman and L. N. Goldenstein in " Play Technique " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1941, vol. xi, part 3), who also discuss many forms of non-analytic play technique, describe a form of play used :

" The rules of our play technique are simple, yet difficult to execute. The therapist to be reassuring must be a warm, mature person, who is not frightened either of children or adults, and has enough maturity to allow a constructive interpersonal relationship to develop. Certainly no one who is very insecure or anxious should work with children, nor should people who have a need to punish or who owe too much of their own security to ritual and dogma . . .

" The worker must know clearly that her role is that of an understanding person, that she is not to use her own super-ego in the manner of Anna Freud or interpret symbols *à la* Melanie Klein, that she is to handle children as passively as is consistent with security."

The writers then continue to say that the child must be allowed free choice of play material, even when there is a temptation to use the dramatic approach :

" As the play goes on and transference is organized, projections and identifications rapidly occur, so that the therapist may become father, sister, mother, sibling, teacher, or the patient's self. Children rarely utilize an object as a single symbol."

The child is told why he comes to the playroom, and that he may do as he likes, except that he may not injure people or destroy material.

They describe a form of training which has been initiated in the hospital and emphasize strongly that :

" Workers who use toys, art materials, dramatic effects, or other such media, should know definitely in what category they are functioning. Are they using the technique for establishing rapport, diagnosis, catharsis, or for more inclusive and deeper therapeutic purposes ? Having decided how far it is intended to go—for play is fantasy in action and a good technique is capable of all the various phases above enumerated—the worker should consider the all-important matter of training, background, and adequate control. We wonder if this phase of the problem is always taken into sufficient consideration. Since any approach to children through the media that really touch the child's deeper psyche have a tremendous force for good or evil, it is safe and right to say that no one should ' play ' with play therapy. It is not a simple, easy-to-learn technique, but an approach that needs training, experience and, above all, continuous supervision by a competent psychiatrist who uses the method himself. We strongly deprecate the rather diffused tendency which seems to be current to think that this approach is a knack or a trick easily mastered by anyone, regardless of background. We are convinced that with a satisfactory set-up many workers can safely be trained so that more children may have more psychiatry that is truly child psychiatry."

They describe also the equipment of the playroom.

Carl R. Rodgers, in his book, *The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child* (George Allen & Unwin, 1939), part 4, discusses in a general way a number of forms of techniques and gives an excellent bibliography.

Specialized Forms.

1. *Relationship Therapy.*—In America experiments have been made in a manipulation of the relationship between the child and the therapist. This appears to have been originated by John Levy, who called his approach " relationship therapy " (see Dr. John Levy's *Relationship Therapy as Applied to a Play Group by Helen Durkin*). Two writers give considerable space to this form of therapy : F. H. Allen in " Therapeutic Work with Children " and a case for " Symposium " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1934, vol. iv, parts 2 and 3) (" Section on Play Therapy," 1938, vol. viii, part 3, and " Trends in Therapy," part 4, " Participation in Therapy," 1939, vol. ix, part 4), and Jessie Taft in " An Experiment in a Therapeutically Limited Relationship with a 7-year-old Girl " (*Psychoanal. Rev.*, 1932) and *The Dynamics of Therapy* (Macmillan, 1933).

In her book Jessie Taft elaborates the views expressed in her paper, making drastic criticisms of the child analysts in general. To the writer the only possible goal in treatment is for the child to undergo whatever new experience is permitted in the living present in relation to the therapist. The object of analysis is for the child to get something out of the interviews as an individual, and be enabled to grow and develop freely wlihout reference to cure or socialization. Two cases, both of

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7-year-old children, are reported in full. She is particularly interested in the relation of the time-limit of the therapeutic session to a child's acceptance of reality.

Reference may also be made to Lowson G. Lowrey and Phyllis Blanchard in " Section on Play Therapy " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, vol. viii). Also Lowson Lowrey in " Trends in Therapy " (*ibid.*, 1939), " Evolution, Status, Trends," and Phyllis Blanchard, " Case for Discussion " (*ibid.*, 1937).

An interesting variant of this method is reported by Helen E. Durkin (" Dr. John Levy's Relationship Therapy as Applied to a Play Group," *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1939, vol. ix, part 3), who worked with a group of eight pre-school children on these lines, the essential of this therapy being :

> " In the therapy the pivotal factor upon which all movement depends is the ' interpretation ' of the relationship between the patient and the therapist. . . . It is based on the assumption that the patient will sooner or later ' try ' on the therapist all the attitudes he typically uses to build up his day-to-day relationships. These have become distorted or limited, he may be aggressive or submissive, in any case he will respond in the same way to the therapist. Wrong attitudes will not work with the therapist, yet will not count against him. The therapist will point out to him what his real feelings and needs are. The ' wrong ' attitudes bounce back, so to speak, and so become clarified and eventually drop off, leaving his personality to function more fully.
>
> " The therapist does not respond to factual material but to the sense significance of the feeling behind it. Thus, if the patient asks a barrage of questions, such as ' How can I keep Johnny from biting his nails ? ' if it is spoken defiantly he may answer, ' You want to put me on the spot to-day.' If the child is annoyed at the therapist's impersonal behaviour, ' You feel I am not giving you what you want '."

The general principles of the techniques are :

(1) The therapist should be passive as to group activity, but highly active in sensing and pointing out feelings and attitudes. Specially important are feelings that are unconscious as anxiety is connected with them, so that it is important to reassure when pointing them out.

(2) In order to establish the therapeutic situation it is necessary for the children to play and fantasy with as few inhibitions as possible, so as to make the motivating needs obvious.

(3) See the parents often and be strictly professional and thus help the parent to relieve anxiety and guilt feelings.

The writer holds that the problems which arise are due to the therapist not being completely objective. She also suggests that this technique would be useful as a new nursery school technique in preventing much later troubles by dealing with the great strains of normal tiny children.

Owing to the close relationship between the principles given above and certain aspects of the work in first part of paper described, the principles of this approach have been given in detail.

An interesting comment upon Helen Durkin's paper is formed by that of Annie B. Weiss-Frankl (" Play Interviews with Nursery School Children," *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1941, vol. xi, part 1). Children volunteered for play interviews whose aim was diagnosis and educative therapy. The child was free to choose among " flexible material " and the therapist took whatever role the child made for her. Much valuable material was obtained which could be used in school and to help the parents.

Reference may also be made to " Therapeutic Effects of a Play Group for Pre-school Children," Susan Burlingham (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, vol. viii, part 4). Further reference to group work will be found later.

2. *Release therapy*.—This is a form of " controlled therapy " referred to by Whitman Newall. In this method a dramatic topic of standardized design is initiated by the therapist, the child being encouraged to develop the theme as he wishes. D. M. Levy, however, does not confine himself to this tool alone, but finds it useful to combine it with spontaneous play. He maintains that the children selected for this type of therapy must have problems which are not of long duration, and which are due to a family situation in the past. The method was used on thirty-five children referred for a variety of symptoms.

D. M. Levy has described the use of the technique in the following papers in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* : " Use of Play Technique as Experimental

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Procedure," 1933, vol. iii, part 3; "Hostility Patterns in Sibling Rivalry Experiments," 1936, vol. vi, part 2; "Trends in Therapy: Release Therapy," 1939, vol. ix, part 4.

A similar method is used by Joseph Solomon and called by him "Active Play Therapy" (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, vol. viii, part 3). He confines his children to play situations which are created for them by dolls. Fifty cases have been treated in this manner. In 1940 (".Active Play Therapy, Further Experiences," *ibid.*, vol. x, part 4) he modified the technique by the addition of a doll called by the therapist's name and introduced some play.

Another example of the same type of method is given by Jacob Conn in "A Psychiatric Study of Car Sickness" (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, vol. viii, part 1). Car-sick children were presented with motor cars and a figure to represent the child and were asked what the doll felt about the car. Their reactions were different from those obtained from children who were not car-sick.

3. *Spontaneous play.*—"Clinical Experience with Play Therapy" (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1938, vol. viii, part 3), by Maxwell Gitelson and collaborators, is a long and interesting paper which gives an excellent description of spontaneous play with minimal interpretation mainly confined to reality situations. He pleads for an open mind, specialized personnel and a sensitive technique. He gives a description of the play room. At the end of the paper there is a discussion by other therapists.

Another interesting paper on the value of the free play situation is given by Paul Homer in "Use of the Play Situation as an Aid to Diagnosis" (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1937, vol. vii, part 4).

Also a pamphlet by C. H. Rogerson (*Play Therapy in Childhood*, Oxford Medical Publications, 1939) discusses the value of this method used on a number of highly selected cases in which no interpretation was given.

J. Louise Espert, *Children's Emotional Problems* (State Hospitals' Press, 1938), Part 5, "The Playroom," describes the use of a play room in a hospital for mentally ill children where play is valuable as a means of motor expression and affective abreaction and as a means of obtaining information about the child. The equipment is given.

Specialized Tools.

1. *Art.*—(*a*) The earliest example of the use of drawings with children is in a paper by Kenneth E. Appel, "Drawing of Children as Aids to Personality Studies" (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1930–31, vol. xi, part 2). He starts with blots which lead to drawings of home, parents and siblings, then dramatized drawings of three wishes, money bags and dreams and the use of magical power. A number of reproductions of drawings are given.

(*b*) *Finger Painting*, by Ruth Faison Shaw (publ. New York, 1936). Using paste paint and wet glossy paper, Miss Shaw allowed children in her school to manipulate this material with fingers and hands, using the widest range of bodily movements to produce any result they wished. She found that some children reproduced their fears and fantasies and would gradually talk about them and their difficult home situations. Through her great sympathy with children and her keen intuition she was able to adjust many children's problems by using this easy plastic medium. Her work is remarkable for delicacy of handling and very real understanding.

(*c*) "Child Art as an Aid to Diagnosis of Juvenile Neurosis," Ernest Harms (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1941, vol. xi, part 2). This is a detailed description of a very interesting method in which the writer makes use of the theories of Freud, Jung and Adler, and which he advises should not be used by anyone who has not been trained in its use. First the child is asked to do abstract or contentless art, using only colour and form. He is asked to express words by lines. Secondly, he is given words with an emotional content to depict. Thirdly, he is asked to paint in a realistic way what has occupied him most during stage 2, or he is told to rest and then paint his first thought, or what he fears most, or a recent dream. Many photographs of the drawings are reproduced with details about the children. The writer discusses the different meaning the symbols have for children and adults.

(*d*) "The Analysis and Treatment of a Case of Neurotic Conduct Disorder in a

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Young Child. Illustrating the Value and Use of Drawings in Child Guidance Technique," H. Edelston (*J. Ment. Sci.*, 1939). The author maintains that drawings are particularly valuable to describe complicated and confused mental processes for which words are inadequate. A case is reported of a girl, aged 7¾, referred for troublesome behaviour in which drawings are mainly described.

(*e*) " Clinical Application of a Test of Imagination to Neurotic Children," Eva R. Blake and Adrian H. Vender Veer (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1942, vol. xii, part 1). The test material consisted of " twelve pictures suggesting conflictual situations to which a variety of fantasies could readily be associated." They were presented to 40 children between the ages of 5½ and 15, I.Q. 82 to 150. The children were told to tell a story with the picture as a basis. Many examples of the stories are given along with details about the child. It is useful as an aid to diagnosis.

(*f*) J. Louise Despert, *Children's Emotional Problems* (State Hospitals' Press, 1938), part 3, " Drawings."

In a hospital for mentally ill children drawings were done daily in the quiet hour after lunch. The difference between the drawings of neurotic and psychotic children are discussed with many illustrations.

(*g*) Drawing is one of the techniques mentioned in Edward Liss's paper below.

Puppetry.—" Finger Puppets and Mask Making as Media for Work with Children," R. L. Jenkins and Erica Backh (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1942, vol. xii, part 2). The purpose of the paper as described by the authors is to present a description of the material, and its use to stimulate interest in the possibilities of these media for use in individual treatment. A highly interesting development of puppetry is given below in Group Play.

Plastic material.—(*a*) " The Use of Plastic Material as Psychiatric Approach to the Emotional Problems of Children," Lauretta Bender and Adolf Woltman (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1937, vol. vii, part 3). This is a fascinating paper describing plasticine models made by children illustrated by photographs. The symbolic meaning of the models is discussed. The authors maintain that this material is more valuable than drawing because of its three-dimensional qualities. The work was done in a group.

(*b*) J. Louise Despert, *Children's Emotional Problems* (State Hospitals' Press, 1938), Part 2, " Using a Knife under Certain Definite Conditions." By means of a knife children reduce cardboard to fine pieces and thus relieve aggressive impulses. By the addition of water and glue these same pieces can be made into modelling material and used creatively.

"Worlds."—" The World Pictures of Children: A Method of Recording and Studying them," Margaret Lowenfeld (*Brit. J. Med. Psychol.*, 1939, vol. xviii, part 1). This is a report of some of the main features brought out in the play of children and adolescents by the use of three-dimensional material already described in the writer's book, *Play in Childhood.* A discussion of twenty worlds with reproductions is given, and a discussion at the end of the paper brings out the comparison between the underlying assumptions of this piece of technique and other forms of technique used in therapeutic play.

" Treatment of Emotional Problems in Childhood," W. H. Whiles (*J. Ment. Sci.*, 1941, vol. lxxxvii, p. 359). The work was done in an ordinary psychotherapeutic outpatient department, in a playroom equipped with various toys. The main piece of apparatus used was Lowenfeld's " worlds," on whose method the work was based. The technique is illustrated by one full case of a boy, aged 8, referred for lack of energy and interest in anything varied by bouts of excitable behaviour. Diagrams are given of very interesting " worlds." No direct interpretation of symbolic play was given, but the child was talked to in his own symbolic language, e.g. there was a discussion on the dangers of floods, and he was asked what other adventures the lamb had. The writer discusses the fact that sometimes children show resistance; a period full of fantasy will be followed by a dull period of reality play. If the child sticks to reality play, then, the writer maintains, no further advance can be expected from play therapy.

Ordinary office equipment.—" Use of Ordinary Office Equipment in Play Therapy," M. B. Durfee (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1942, vol. xii, part 3). The typewriter, telephone and dictaphone were found to be of great use, particularly the last. The method was used on children of 10 years and over. The questions and answers in the interview were recorded on the dictaphone, and stories told into it

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by the children and the therapist. The dictaphone provides an objective record of what has been said; the child hearing it often makes comments on what has been said.

Microphone.—" Treatment of Fearful Children," Jacob Conn (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1941, vol. xi, part 4). The writer discusses a play interview method to supplement other investigations. The child is set before a toy house in which a microphone is concealed; the opportunity is given to the child to speak for a number of dolls and thus reveal thoughts and fears.

Story forms.—(*a*) " Play Technique in Child Analysis," Edward Liss (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1936, vol. vi, part 1). Experience in a modern progressive school led the writer to the conclusion that play material used was too limited. He describes with examples three pieces of technique: the use of dramatization through puppets; drawings and rhymes; literary forms. He stresses the fact that as well as the analytic there is also the synthetic element in play.

(*b*) *Emotional Problems in Children*, J. Louise Despert (State Hospitals' Press, 1938), part 1, " The Story: a Form of Directed Fantasy," consists of the reproduction by children of popular stories, or stories told by teacher, or stories made up by the children on a theme given by physician.

Bricks.—" Configuration in Play," by Erik Homburger (*Psychoanal. Quart.*, 1937). In an extremely interesting paper the writer points out that spatial configurations are the important characteristics which differentiate psychological material obtained through play from that communicated by words. He suggests that further deciphering of play hieroglyphics may offer valuable help for the understanding of the prelinguistic and alinguistic strata of the mind. He gives five very interesting examples of children from 4 to 12 in which ideas of the body are shown in the architecture of houses built with bricks. Other examples are given of the use of play and of the play constructions of college students.

The writer has also written " Studies in the Interpretation of Play: Clinical Observations of Play Disruption in Young Children " (*Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1940, vol. xxii, No. 4). This is a long, intricate and very interesting treatise which it is impossible to summarize, in which the writer continues the arguments begun in " Configuration in Play."

Group methods.—No attempt is made to deal with material describing socializing group play.

1. *Methods used in children's wards of mental hospitals.*—(*a*) " Use of Puppet Shows as a Psychotherapeutic Method for Behaviour Problems in Children." Lauretta Bender and Adolf Woltmann (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1936, vol. vi, part 3) devised a technique for the presenting of puppet shows to children of 2 to 16 years. All types of problems are represented, but the majority are behaviour difficulties. The giving of puppet shows on which the audience commented freely and helped to find solutions to the situations presented was found to be of great value both in itself, and as a basis for further discussion with the psychiatrist. Classes in which puppets were made and plays invented were also held. The writers discuss the meaning the different characters, real and fantastic, have for the children, and their reactions to the plays. Another paper by Lauretta Bender (" Group Activities in a Children's Ward as a Method of Psychotherapy," *Am. J. Psychiat.*, 1937) includes also music, art and play activities.

(*b*) " Drama as a Therapeutic Measure in Adolescents," Frank J. Curran (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1939, vol. ix, part 1). The writer in a similar situation used drama with boys of 12 to 16. The boys wrote and acted their own plays, which were discussed after the performance. Boys who, from the evidence of the plays, had the same difficulties were seen alone together and asked how they came to write the plays. Several examples are given.

J. Louise Despert: *Children's Emotional Problems: Collective Fantasy*, part 4 (State Hospitals' Press, 1938). Between supper and bed-time a group of boys were given the theme of the building of a sky-scraper about which they were asked to fantasy. A group of girls chose as their theme, Xmas. The fantasies were elaborated by the children and took many forms of expression, such as words, gestures, drawings, drama, etc.

In clinic.—Finally of particular interest in reference to the method of play considered in this paper is a contribution by Betty Gabriel, " An Experiment in Group Treatment " (*Am. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1939, vol. ix, part 1). Six boys and

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girls, aged 9 to 11, would turn up at the clinic without appointments during individual sessions. The idea of a group was welcomed. The therapist sat aloof and the children knew that she took notes. She interpreted when necessary either before the others or apart; they were also given individual treatment. The winter sessions are given in detail and are very interesting. In 1931 appeared Margaret Lowenfeld's paper " A New Approach to the Problem of Psycho-neurosis in Childhood " (*Brit. Journ. Med. Psychol.*, vol. viii, part 3). Working in pediatrics at the consultation school children's centre of the Marylebone Dispensary, the writer found an unexpected response by children to the use of play materials and in 1928 decided to experiment. In the paper the results are described of a combination of group and individual play very similar to that described by Betty Gabriel. The play room is described and the method illustrated by extracts from the play of three boys and three girls, aged 3 to 11, all referred for physical symptoms. The play was spontaneous, but played out in the presence of an adult. At this time very little direct explanation of play was given to the children.

1935: *Play in Childhood*, by Margaret Lowenfeld. This book does not deal with therapeutic play, but is an account of the forms of play shown by normal children. Mention is included here only because much of the illustrative material was drawn from records of children at the I.C.P. and gives useful accounts for reference of the use of the specialized instruments, such as " worlds," etc., developed in the Institute of Child Psychology.

Summary.

1. A short account has been given of the reasons why children naturally express themselves through play and the use that is made of this form of expression.

2. The function of the therapist in the Lowenfeld technique has been described and the manner in which explanation of his play is given.

3. A description has been given of the routine technical procedure used in the Lowenfeld technique and at the Clinic and Playroom in Birmingham, where a demonstration of the use of the technique in a Child Guidance Clinic was carried out.

4. An account has been given of five cases treated by the Lowenfeld technique and the immediate and remote results obtained.

5. A classification of the literature on Play Technique in England and America has been attempted.

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