In this lecture I shall reach to no more profound statement than that of Burke, who wrote two hundred years ago that guilt resides in the intention. The intuitive flashes of the great, however, and even the elaborate constructs of poets and philosophers, are lacking in clinical applicability; psycho-analysis has already made available for sociology and for individual therapy much that was previously locked up in remarks like this one of Burke.

A psycho-analyst comes to the subject of guilt as one who is in the habit of thinking in terms of growth, in terms of the evolution of the human individual, the individual as a person, and in relation to the environment. The study of the sense of guilt implies for the analyst a study of individual emotional growth. Ordinarily, guilt-feeling is thought of as something that results from religious or moral teaching. Here I shall attempt to study guilt-feeling, not as a thing to be inculcated, but as an aspect of the development of the human individual. Cultural influences are of course important, vitally important; but these cultural influences can themselves be studied as an overlap of innumerable personal patterns. In other words, the clue to social and group psychology is the psychology of the individual. Those who hold the view that morality needs to be inculcated teach small children accordingly, and they forgo the pleasure of watching morality develop naturally in their children, who are thriving in a good setting that is provided in a personal and individual way.

I shall not need to examine variations in constitution. We have indeed no clear evidence that any individual who is not mentally defective is constitutionally incapable of developing a moral sense. On the other hand, we do find all degrees of success and failure in the development of a moral sense. I shall attempt to explain these variations. Undoubtedly there are children and adults with a defective guilt-sense, and such defect is not specifically linked with intellectual capacity or incapacity.

\[1\] Lecture given in a series as part of the celebrations of the centenary of Freud's birth: at Friends' House, April 1956, and first published in Psycho-Analysis and Contemporary Thought, ed. J. D. Sutherland. (London: Hogarth, 1958.)
THE MENTAL PROCESES

1. A capacity for some of English learned.
2. A good base for the acquisition of English.
3. The rapid acquisition of English, in a short time, by the presence of phenomenal development.
4. The capacity of English to the point of action in individual development.

THE SENSE OF DOUBLE (1992)

For the person in a natural environment who is unable to accept the close relationship between bilingualism and the personal contact that arises.

REFERENCE OF AMPHICTYON, IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT THE CLOSE
Melancholy there is a good collection of cases illustrating the absurdities of guilt-feeling. In long and deep analysis patients feel guilt about anything and everything, and even about early environmental adverse factors that we can easily discern as chance phenomena. Here is a simple illustration:

A boy of eight became increasingly anxious, and eventually ran away from school. He was found to be suffering from an unbearable sense of guilt because of the death of a sibling that took place some years prior to his own birth. He had recently heard about this, and the parents had no idea that he was disturbed by the news. In this case it was not necessary for the boy to have a long analysis. In a few therapeutic interviews he discovered that the crippling sense of guilt which he felt about this death was a displacement from the Oedipus complex. He was a fairly normal boy, and with this amount of help he was able to return to school, and his other symptoms cleared up.

The Superego

The introduction of the concept of the superego (1923) was a big step forward in the inevitably slow evolution of psychoanalytical metapsychology. Freud had done the pioneer work himself, bearing the brunt when the world was disturbed by his drawing attention to the instinctual life of children. Gradually other workers gained experience through the use of the technique, and Freud had many colleagues by the time he used the term superego. With his new term, Freud was indicating that the ego, in coping with the id, employed certain forces which were worthy of a name. The child gradually acquired controlling forces. In the over-simplification of the Oedipus complex, the boy introjected the respected and feared father, and therefore carried about with him controlling forces based on what the child perceived and felt about this father. This introjected father-figure was highly subjective, and coloured by the child's experiences with father-figures other than the actual father and by the cultural pattern of the family. (The word introjection simply meant a mental and emotional acceptance, and this term avoids the more functional implications of the word incorporation.) A sense of guilt therefore implies that the ego is coming to terms with the superego. Anxiety has matured into guilt.

Here in the concept of the superego can be seen the proposition that the genesis of guilt is a matter of inner reality, or that guilt resides in the intention. Here also lies the deepest reason for guilt-feeling related to masturbation and the auto-erotic activities generally. Masturbation in itself is no crime, yet in the total fantasy of masturbation is gathered together all the conscious and unconscious intention.

From this very much simplified statement of the psychology of the boy, psycho-analysis could begin to study and examine the development of the superego in both boys and girls, and also the differences that undoubtedly exist in the male and female in regard to superego formation, in the pattern of conscience, and in the development of a capacity for guilt-feeling. Out of the concept of the superego a great deal has developed. The idea of the introjection of the father-figure has turned out to be too simple.

There is an early history of the superego in each individual: the introject may become human and father-like, but in earlier stages the superego introjects, used for control of id-impulses and id-products, are subhuman, and indeed are primitive to any degree. Thus we find ourselves studying guilt-sense in each individual infant and child as it develops from crude fear to something akin to a relationship to a revered human being, one who can understand and forgive. (It has been pointed out that there is a parallel between the maturing of the superego in the individual child and the development of monotheism as depicted in early Jewish history.)

All the time while conceptualizing the processes which underlie the sense of guilt we are keeping in mind the fact that the sense of guilt, even when unconscious and even when apparently irrational, implies a certain degree of emotional growth, ego health, and hope.

The Psycho-pathology of Guilt-sense

It is common to find people who are burdened by a sense of guilt and indeed harried by it. They carry it round like the load on the back of Christian in Pilgrim's Progress. We know that these people have a potentiality for constructive effort. Sometimes when they find a suitable opportunity for constructive work the sense of guilt no longer hampers them and they do exceptionally well; but a failure of opportunity may lead to a return of guilt-feeling, intolerable and inexplicable. We are dealing here with abnormalities of the superego. In a successful analysis of individuals who are oppressed by a sense of guilt, we find a gradual lessening of this burden. This lessening of the burden of guilt-feeling follows the lessening of repression, or the approach of the patient towards the Oedipus complex and an acceptance of responsibility for all the hate and love that this involves. This does not mean that the patients lose the capacity for a sense of guilt (except in so far as in some cases there may
the continued application of Froyo's method. In the beginning, the individual is an
uncontrollable force, but as time goes by, the individual learns to control
their impulses and eventually becomes capable of controlling their actions.

For the individual who is just beginning to learn to control their impulses,
the process can be challenging. However, with practice, they will ultimately
achieve a level of control that allows them to live a fulfilling life.

In conclusion, the continued application of Froyo's method is crucial for
individuals who are just beginning to learn to control their impulses. With
practice and dedication, they will ultimately achieve a level of control that
allows them to live a fulfilling life.
possible to do justice to the complexities of the concept of the depressive position in a lecture of this length, but I will attempt a very brief statement.

It should be noted that whereas the earlier work of psychoanalysis dwelt on the conflict between love and hate, especially in the three-body or triangular situation, Melanie Klein more especially has developed the idea of conflict in the simple two-body relationship of the infant to the mother, conflict arising out of the destructive ideas that accompany the love impulse. Naturally, the date of the original version of this stage in an individual's development is earlier than the date of the Oedipus complex.

The accent changes. In previous work the accent was on the satisfaction that the infant obtained from instinctual experience. Now the accent shifts on to the aim, as it gradually appears. When Mrs Klein says that the infant aims at breaking ruthlessly through into the mother to take out of her everything that is felt there to be good, she is not of course denying the simple fact that instinctual experiences yield satisfaction. Nor was the aim altogether neglected in the earlier psycho-analytic formulations. Klein has developed the idea, however, that the primitive love impulse has an aggressive aim; being ruthless, it carries with it a variable quantity of destructive ideas unaffected by concern. These ideas may be very restricted at the beginning, but the infant we are watching and caring for need not be many months old before we can be fairly certain that we can perceive also the beginnings of concern—concern as to the results of the instinctual moments that belong to the developing love of the mother. If the mother behaves in that highly adaptive way which may come naturally to her, she is able to give plenty of time for the infant to come to terms with the fact that the object of the ruthless attack is the mother, the same person who is responsible for the total infant-care situation. It can be seen that the infant has two concerns: one as to the effect of the attack on the mother, and the other as to the results in the infant's own self according to whether there was a predominance of satisfaction or of frustration and anger. (I have used the expression primitive love impulse, but in Klein's writings the reference is to the aggression that is associated with the frustrations that inevitably disturb instinctual satisfactions as the child begins to be affected by the demands of reality.)

A great deal is being assumed here. For instance, we assume that the child is becoming a unit, and is becoming able to perceive the mother as a person. We also assume an ability to bring together the aggressive and erotic instinctual components into a sadistic experience, as well as an ability to find an object at the height of instinctual excitement. All of these developments may go wrong in their earlier stages, those stages which belong to the very beginning of life after birth and which depend on the mother and her natural handling of her infant. When we speak of the origins of guilt-sense, we assume healthy development at earlier stages. At what is called the depressive position the infant is not so much dependent on the mother's simple ability to hold a baby, which was her characteristic at the earlier stages, as on her ability to hold the infant-care situation over a period of time during which the infant may go through complex experiences. If time is given—a few hours maybe—the infant is able to work through the results of an instinctual experience. The mother, being still there, is able to be ready to receive and to understand if the infant has the natural impulse to give or to repair. At this stage in particular the infant is not able to deal with a succession of mindsers or prolonged absence of the mother. The infant's need for opportunity to make reparation and restitution, if oral sadism is to be accepted by the immature ego, is the second contribution of Klein to this field.

Bowlby (1958) has been particularly interested in making the public aware of the need of every small child for a certain degree of reliability and continuity in external relationships. In the seventeenth century Richard Burton listed among the causes of melancholy: 'non-necessary, outward, adventitious, or accidental causes: as from the Nurse'. He was thinking partly in terms of the passage of noxious matters from the nurse via the milk, but not entirely so. For instance, he speaks from Aristotle who '... would not have a child put to nurse at all, but every mother to bring up her own, of what condition soever she be: ... the mother will be more careful, loving and attendant, than any servile woman, or such hired creatures; this all the world acknowledged. ...'

The observation of the origin of concern is better made in the analysis of a child or an adult than by direct observation of infants. In formulating these theories we do, of course, need to allow for distortions and sophistications that come from the reporting back that is inherent in the analytic situation. We are able, however, to get a view in our work of this most important development in human individuals, the origin of the capacity for a sense of guilt. Gradually as the infant finds out that the mother survives and accepts the restitutive gesture, so the infant becomes able to accept responsibility for the total fantasy of the full instinctual impulse that was previously ruthless. Ruthlessness
The sense of guilt is a peculiarly strong and organizing principle in the development of the individual. We must not look for a guilt
developed at the beginning or a guilt that is developed in the course of development. All that we mean is that the sense of guilt is
the organizing principle of the individual. We mean not that the individual has a sense of guilt as a result of any particular
experience, but that the sense of guilt is the organizing principle of the individual. The individual is the product of his experience,
and the experience of the individual is the product of his development.

In the development of the individual, the sense of guilt is the organizing principle. The individual is the product of his experience,
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responsibility for id-impulses, and dependence is near absolute. If there is satisfactory development in the earliest stages, there comes about an ego integration which makes possible the beginning of a capacity for concern. Gradually, in favorable circumstances, a capacity for guilt-sense builds up in the individual in relation to the mother, and this is intimately related to the opportunity for reparation. When the capacity for concern is established, the individual begins to be in a position to experience the Oedipus complex, and to tolerate the ambivalence that is inherent at the later stage in which the child, if mature, is involved in triangular relationships as between whole human beings.

In this context I can do no more than acknowledge the fact that in some persons, or in a part of some persons, there is a stunting of emotional development in the earliest phases, and consequently an absence of moral sense. Where there is lack of personal moral sense the implanted moral code is necessary, but the resultant socialization is unstable.

The Creative Artist

It is interesting to note that the creative artist is able to reach to a kind of socialization which obviates the need for guilt-feeling and the associated reparative and restitutive activity that forms the basis for ordinary constructive work. The creative artist or thinker may, in fact, fail to understand, or even may despise, the feelings of concern that motivate a less creative person; and of artists it may be said that some have no capacity for guilt and yet achieve a socialization through their exceptional talent. Ordinary guilt-ridden people find this bewildering; yet they have a sneaking regard for ruthlessness that does in fact, in such circumstances, achieve more than guilt-driven labour.

Loss and Recovery of Guilt-sense

In our management of antisocial children and adults we can watch the loss or recovery of the capacity for guilt-sense, and often we are in a position to assess the variations in environmental reliability which produce these effects. It is at this point of loss and recovery of moral sense that we can study delinquency and recidivism. Freud wrote in 1915 (referring to adolescent and preadolescent acts, such as thefts, frauds, and arson, in people who have eventually become socially adjusted): ‘Analytic work ... brought the surprising discovery that such deeds were done principally because [my italics] they were forbidden, and because their execution was accompanied by mental relief for their doer. He was suffering from an oppressive feeling of guilt, of which he did not know the origin, and after he had committed a misdemeanor this oppression was mitigated. His sense of guilt was at least attached to something’ (Freud, 1915, p. 332). Although Freud was referring to later stages in development, what he wrote applies also to children.

From our analytic work we can roughly divide antisocial behaviour into two kinds. The first is common and closely allied to the ordinary naughtiness of healthy children. In terms of behaviour the complaint is of stealing, lying, destructiveness, and bed-wetting. Repeatedly we find that these acts are done in an unconscious attempt to make sense of guilt-feeling. The child or adult cannot reach the source of a sense of guilt that is intolerable, and the fact that the guilt-feeling cannot be explained makes for a feeling of madness. The antisocial person gets relief by devising a limited crime which is only in a disguised way in the nature of the crime in the repressed fantasy that belongs to the original Oedipus complex. This is the closest that the antisocial person can get to the ambivalence belonging to the Oedipus complex. At first the substitute crime or delinquency is unsatisfactory to the delinquent, but when compulsively repeated it acquires the characteristics of secondary gain and thus becomes acceptable to the self. Our treatment is more likely to be effectual when we can apply it before secondary gain has become important. In this, the more common variety of antisocial behaviour, it is not so much the guilt that is repressed as the fantasy that explains the guilt.

By contrast, in the more serious and more rare antisocial episodes it is precisely the capacity for guilt-feeling that is lost. Here we find the most ugly crimes. We see the criminal engaged in a desperate attempt to feel guilty. It is unlikely that he ever succeeds. In order to develop a capacity for guilt-sense, such a person must find an environment of a specialized kind; in fact, we must supply for him an environment that corresponds to that which is normally needed by the immature infant. It is notoriously difficult to provide such an environment, which must be able to take all the strains resulting from ruthlessness and impulsiveness. We find ourselves dealing with an infant, but one who has the strength and cunning of the older child or adult.

In the management of the more common typical case in which there is antisocial behaviour we are frequently able to produce a cure by rearrangement of the environment, basing what we do on the understanding that Freud has given us.

I shall give an example, that of a boy who was stealing at school. The headmaster, instead of punishing him, recognized that he was ill
THE CAPACITY TO BE ALONE

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THE MATURATIONAL PROCESSES

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