

DOROTHY BURLINGHAM

TWINS

A STUDY OF THREE PAIRS
OF IDENTICAL TWINS

WITH 30 CHARTS

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DOROTHY BURLINGHAM

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A STUDY OF THREE PAIRS OF
IDENTICAL TWINS

**To my sisters
Comfort and Julia**

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CHARTS

FOREWORD

THE material used in this book was collected in the Hampstead Nurseries in the years 1940-45. The Hampstead Nurseries were a residential war home for children, of any age from 10 days to 10 years, financed by the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, Inc., New York. The living conditions of the children and the principles underlying their upbringing have been described elsewhere.¹ The generous provision made for the Nursery by the Foster Parents' Plan made it possible to receive mothers with their children and to arrange work for them if they wished to remain near their children. This latter point is of special importance for our studies of twins.

Among the 191 children who were resident in the Hampstead Nurseries for varying periods there were four pairs of identical twins, two pairs of non-identical twins, and one set of non-identical triplets. Of these, three pairs of identical twins were chosen for detailed observation. An outline of this case-material will be found in Chapter III.

The observations were made and recorded with the help of Miss Ilse Hellman, (London University, Institute of Education), Sister Sophie Dann, Sister Gertrud Dann, Miss Liesl Wilhelm, Miss Eva Stross, Miss Hannie Koehler, Miss Ursula Fröhlich, Mrs. Joyce Robertson. Of these Miss Ilse Hellman, besides having special care of one pair of twins from 21 months to 4 years 5 months, gave invaluable aid and advice concerning the charts and records of all the children observed. Sister Sophie Dann, who had two pairs of twins under her care from 4 months to 14 and 19 months respectively, was responsible for the feeding-, sleeping-, and the setting up of the development-charts. The other people named contributed their observations and made records during their actual handling of the children.

Miss Anna Freud, Miss Ruth Thomas and Miss Nancy Procter-Gregg have given advice and help in arranging and revising the material.

The purpose of this book is to study in detail the lives of a small number of

¹Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud: *Young Children in War Time and Infants without Families*.

twin children and the environmental and innate conditions which account for the differences between their development and that of ordinary children. But first it may be of interest to touch briefly on the rôle played by twin figures in fiction and in common daydreams and imaginings. These fantasies of having a twin are not the same as the actual relationship of twins to each other; nor is the actual life of twins as romantic and impressive as its reflection in fantasy.

EXPLANATORY REMARKS

The following records were compiled with the aim of giving an overall picture of the twins' development. The observations were not made under experimental conditions and recordings cannot claim validity that would lend itself for statistical purposes.

Method of recording.

Until the children were 20 months old, daily charts and diaries were kept with detailed recordings of the individual child's bodily and mental reactions. Staff and students of the Hampstead Nurseries were encouraged to note on record cards chance observations they made in their daily contact with the children. Such observations were made as a rule when it was felt that a child showed a reaction that—

- (a) confirmed expectations in relation to his age and to given conditions,
- (b) contradicted expectations in relation to his age and to given conditions,
- (c) threw light on certain problems that were in the centre of attention, e.g. twin relationships, separation from mother, etc.

The fact that not one but several observers recorded observations of the same child, eliminates the error of purely subjective interpretation of behaviour.

VOCABULARY:

Junior Toddlers—group of children aged approximately 14 months—2 years

Senior Toddlers—group of children aged approximately 2—5 years.

Parents' Sunday—Monthly visiting day on which parents were brought to Country House by special coaches.

Shelter—Reinforced basement-dormitory in London Nursery.

CHAPTER I

THE FANTASY OF HAVING A TWIN

A COMMON daydream which in spite of its frequency has received very little attention is the fantasy of possessing a twin. It is a conscious fantasy, built up in the latency period as the result of disappointment by the parents in the oedipus situation, in the child's search for a partner who will give him all the attention, love and companionship he desires and who will provide an escape from loneliness and solitude.

The same emotional conditions are the basis for the so-called *family romance*. In that well-known daydream the child in the latency period develops fantasies of having a better, kinder and worthier family than his own, which has so bitterly disappointed and disillusioned him. The parents have been unable to gratify the child's instinctual wishes; in disappointment his love turns into hate; he now despises his family and, in revenge, turns from it. He has death-wishes against the former love-objects, and as a result feels alone and forsaken in the world. This is a situation the child cannot endure; he seeks a way out of his loneliness and finds solace in a daydream. He creates a new family in imagination and builds up a wonderful life around these new imaginary parents who fulfil the wishes (though not the crudely sexual ones) that were denied by the real parents. If these daydreams are analyzed, the resemblance of the new imaginary parents to the real ones can be recognized although they are very much disguised. Details contained in the fantasies can be traced back to experiences of an earlier period of the daydreamer's life, when the child was still happy, before emotional conflicts had disturbed him, when he felt completely secure in the possession of his parents, dependent on his mother, proud of his father, and when there was no need in his life for other consolation.

Another group of daydreams, the *animal fantasies* of the latency period,¹

¹For a discussion of animal fantasies and animal stories see Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*, 1937, Chapter VI; and Kate Friedlander, "Children's Books and Their Function in Latency and Prepuberty", *American Imago*, 3, 1942.

originate in the same manner in response to the oedipal conflicts. The child takes an imaginary animal as his intimate and beloved companion; subsequently he is never separated from his animal friend, and in this way he overcomes loneliness. This daydream is constructed in much the same way as the family romance, with this difference: the child does not here choose a new family, does not repeat a similar experience under improved conditions, but chooses a new companion who can understand him in his loneliness, unhappiness, and need to be comforted. This animal offers the child what he is searching for: faithful love and unswerving devotion. There is nothing that this dumb animal cannot understand; speech is quite unnecessary, for understanding comes without words. These animal fantasies are thus an attempt to substitute for the discarded and unloving family an uncritical but understanding, dumb, and always loving creature.

In the story of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, by Francis Hodgson Burnett,¹ the typical child-animal relationship is described. The author creates a situation where the child is separated from his mother and is therefore extremely lonely. In this situation the child meets a dog and the two make friends. In the scenes between them the dog's awareness of the boy's feelings of homesickness and of pity for others, are stressed. This understanding seals the friendship between them, and thus the child acquires a companion to lessen his loneliness.

In the autobiographical story *Waelder und Menschen (Woods and Men)*, by Ernst Wiechert,² the author describes his friendship with a crane when he was a boy of seven. He says of this friendship that man and animal could not have been more affectionate to each other in the garden of Eden. "We awoke when the sun rose, and greeted each other like two lovers . . . When I had to go away, it stood at the gate and complained of its loneliness. When I returned, it seemed as if it wished to embrace me . . ." The author describes himself as a child, lying in the grass after his midday meal: "It came and stood at my feet; it let itself down on to its knees, stretched its long neck once more, as if it were on the moor, to see whether an enemy was about. Then it lay down, so that its body lay between my arm and my heart, and it hid its head on my breast. From its throat came a continuous dreamy murmur of complete blissful happiness. I stroked its blue feathers as I would stroke the cheeks of a child . . . It seemed as if I were never nearer to God as in the moments when I stroked the feathers of the crane as it lay on my heart, as if we had the same mother."

Child and crane are thus described as if they were lovers; or a mother with her child; or two brothers. Before the crane is ever mentioned in the story, the author describes the death of his youngest brother. He tells how his mother

¹Scribners, 1896.

²Albert Langen, München, 1936. Passage below translated by this author.

called him and another brother to the bed of the dying boy. She tells them to kneel down and pray. His brother kneels obediently, but he himself draws his hand away from his mother's and remains standing. He says of this experience, "It is dreadful to know that I remained like an outsider while my mother and brother prayed to God." This passage throws light on the meaning of the crane fantasy. The death wish against the younger brother, which prevented him from praying as his mother wanted him to, made the boy feel guilty and an outcast; he thought that he had forfeited his mother's love. The gift of a baby crane soon afterwards gave him the opportunity to build up a mother-child relationship with the bird. He identified himself with his mother, and he mothered the crane as he had longed to be mothered; and in identification with the crane he was now able to correct his former behaviour. The crane even goes down on its knees; it can love and be blissfully happy; it can even love its brother. The longing for the loving mother whom the child had lost because of his own evil wishes is the basis of this animal fantasy.

A little girl in the latency period had a very disturbed relationship to her mother. She had continual daydreams of a better relationship, but in the presence of her mother she could only hate her and provoke her to severity. This ambivalence caused the child great sorrow. When especially angry with her mother, she would withdraw to a fantasy of possessing a dog who would love her devotedly, who would not question or criticize her, who would have understanding for her wicked actions, hostile thoughts, and even dangerously aggressive intentions. In other words, the dog would be aware of her conscious wish to love, and in spite of its additional knowledge of her inability to fight against her unconscious aggression, would love her.

It is evident that the imaginary dog replaces the mother whom she cannot love and who, she feels, cannot love her. She cannot live without love, and the dog now gives her what she longs for, at least in fantasy.

The *fantasy of having a twin* contains the main characteristics of these two groups of daydreams, the family romance and the animal fantasies. They are, as mentioned above, a reaction to the disappointment in love that is experienced during the oedipal phase. The child, unable to accept the inevitable disappointment and the resulting withdrawal of his love from the love-objects, escapes into a fantasy world. The twin is conjured up, not in an attempt to improve on a former experience, as in the family romance, but to take the place of the lost love-object and so to alleviate suffering, as in the animal fantasies. The image that the child creates is, this time, not an animal but a child similar to the daydreamer himself, a twin. This twin is meant to fulfil many of the daydreamer's longings, above all to keep him from solitude and loneliness. The child with a fantasy twin has a constant companion, just as the

child who owns an imaginary animal never lacks companionship. As in the case of the animal fantasies, the two share everything, good and bad experiences, and complete understanding of each other; either speech is not necessary, or they have a secret language; the understanding between them goes beyond the realm of consciousness.

The new element in the twin fantasies is the fact that the lost love-object is replaced by a being who is like the daydreamer himself. This aspect of similarity, or identity, plays a large part in the various twin books, adventure stories, and novels. For instance, in the *Twin Books*, by L. F. Perkins,¹ written for children in the latency period, stress is laid on the identity of the twins, especially in the first of the series. They are described as being so alike that "it is impossible to tell them apart, their own mother cannot . . .", and that "they almost get mixed up about it themselves". The author further emphasizes their likeness by letting them wear similar clothing and by giving them similar-sounding names (Monnie and Mannie). However, this identity is not a continuous element in the stories, but it is brought in, as it were, incidentally, from time to time.

In a novel called *Christopher and Columbus*², seventeen-year-old girl twins, the main characters in the story, are first described as being very much alike, and often mistaken for each other, but are later characterized as being very different. One is efficient and healthy, and holds herself responsible for the other, who is beautiful, delicate and helpless. This story begins with the loss of the twins' mother through death. The twins live out a mother-child relationship, as do the child and crane in Wiechert's story (where the loved mother is felt to be "lost" because of the child's bad behaviour). The happy companionship of the sisters remains undisturbed until one of them falls in love. One twin is in complete despair at the thought of losing the other. The emotional situation of loss of a love-object is thus created again. The author, as if under a repetition-compulsion, brings the twins together again in due course. The motivating force behind the story is the search for the inseparable companion, based on a feeling of loss and loneliness.

A further element in many daydreams of having a twin is that of the imaginary twin being a complement to the daydreamer. The latter endows his twin with all the qualities and talents that he misses in himself and desires for himself. The twin thus represents an ideal of himself, his super-ego. In *Christopher and Columbus* this point is brought out repeatedly. Christopher and Columbus are given dissimilar characters; in their relations with a third person they talk and behave as complements to each other. They are as two sides of a person's

¹Houghton-Mifflin, 1911-1935.

²1929, by Countess Mary A. B. Arnim-Russell, the author of *Elizabeth and Her German Garden*, Macmillan, 1931.

nature; one twin representing the expressed, and the other, the unexpressed thoughts.

In a similar manner the twin figures can represent the two sides of an emotional conflict. This occurs in the story of Esteban, in *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*, by Thornton Wilder.¹

The twin brothers, Manuel and Esteban, are characterized by the author in a way that is typical of all twin fantasies: absolute identity in appearance, a secret language, telepathy between them a common occurrence. It is an additional feature in this pair of twins that they are ashamed of being identical, which points to a forbidden (sexual) relationship between them. The first disturbance of their companionship occurs when one of them, Manuel, falls in love. The conflict between homosexual and heterosexual tendencies becomes evident. The other twin, Esteban, who feels forsaken and alone, tries in his turn to leave the brother; but Manuel, when he becomes aware of his twin's intention and of his misery, gives up the woman he loves. There is apparently no question in Manuel's mind which of the two relationships is more precious to him. The homosexual wins over the heterosexual side. But later, ill and delirious, he curses Esteban for separating him from his love. His conscious and his unconscious tendencies struggle with each other. The unconscious heterosexual feelings break through in Manuel's delirium, while Esteban remains throughout under the domination of his homosexual wishes. The problem the author expresses by means of the twin brothers is the fight between the conscious and the unconscious, the homosexual and the heterosexual wishes, each twin representing one side of the conflict. The struggle in Esteban continues after Manuel dies. Esteban cannot face life alone. He takes over his twin's name, trying in vain to unite the two personalities in one. Loneliness drives him to suicide. When this is interfered with, fate, as the power of the unconscious, provides a solution: Esteban is one of the victims of the Bridge of San Luis Rey.

A further important element in the twin fantasies is that of narcissism.² A child who feels himself thwarted and forsaken is thrown back upon himself. He cannot imagine finding anyone more satisfactory than he is. He therefore creates a twin, an image of himself that he can love. This solution also acts as a cover for self-love and as a means of avoiding guilt for self-love. In the disguise of the twin the daydreamer loves himself; narcissism is hidden, and self-love appears under the mask of object-love.

The twin fantasies may be put to still another use, that is, to express great strength and invincibility. This element is found in the adventure stories, in

¹New York, 1927.

²See Otto Rank, "Der Doppelgänger" ("The Double"), *Psycho-analytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*, Vienna, 1919; and Hanns Sachs, "The Community of Daydreams", in *The Creative Unconscious*, Boston, 1942.

which the usual "hero" is replaced by a pair of twins. Two are able to do what one could not have accomplished alone, owing to their combined strength and power. There is some similarity between these fantasies and the fantasy of doubling or multiplying certain parts of the body, which occurs among children, especially in boys when they are passing through a phase of castration anxiety. In their fear of losing their penis or an arm or a leg, etc., they endow themselves with a surplus of these valuable attributes. The daydream of the twin hero expresses the idea: I am small and weak in the face of dangers, but if I were twice as big, twice as strong, twice as clever, there is nothing that I would not be able to do.

To sum up: all three fantasies, the family romance, the fantasy of having an animal companion, and the fantasy of possessing a twin, are found to originate in the frustration of wishes of the oedipal phase. Disappointment by the parents and withdrawal of love from them are the leading elements which seek expression and which the child tries to undo and to over-compensate. The relationship to the imaginary twin represents a partnership that is not threatened with separation. Although the element of loss crops up continually in the twin stories, reunion with the partner is invariably effected (in the case of Esteban it is reunion in death).

The twin fantasy has its further uses for expressing discord and unity within the personality itself, as shown in the examples of twins representing ambivalent tendencies and opposite instinctual wishes of various kinds.

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

IN considering the psychological relationship between twins one must take account of outward circumstances which may bear on the subject of twins and therefore indirectly influence them. The mother's relationship to twins must be investigated for influences dissimilar to those which she has on her other children. The brother and sister relationship towards twins may comprise factors not otherwise present in sibling relationship. This investigation includes not only close emotional ties, but the more casual and general contacts which make up the world in which twins live. Here the influence may not only work through direct contacts but through more subtle and indirect ones, as for instance through the general view that all twins love each other. Even the twin fantasies which I have described in the foregoing chapter may have a very marked effect on twins. As mentioned above many people have had a period in their childhood when they enjoyed the fantasy of having a twin. Such fantasies may determine the behaviour of these persons towards real twins, may encourage and perhaps even enforce the real twins to take over the fantasied rôles. The effect of such fantasies passed on to twins may be even more powerful than their own twin relationship.

The Impression of Twins on Adults.

To observe adults when they are unexpectedly confronted by a pair of boy or girl twins gives striking evidence of one form of outside influence on twins. Adults generally show surprise and interest when they meet twins of a young age. They gaze from one twin to the other, making mental comparisons. Often their observations are accompanied by remarks and exclamations to the adult in charge of the twins, such as "How charming", "How interesting", "How odd", "What a trouble they must be"; and questions follow: "Are they alike?" "Can you tell them apart?" "How do you manage?" The twins as a

pair are made to feel different, unique; and the fact of their twinship is continually forced upon them in the form of comparisons.

Children with deformities, too, call forth reactions of surprise and interest from the outside world, but these feelings are quickly followed by pity and often disgust. The child feels these reactions as painful. The impression that twins create is almost always pleasurable.

It would seem natural for adults who have had twins in their own families, or as playmates or schoolmates, to react differently from adults who never have been in contact with twins before. They would have impressions already formed from former experiences and find twins familiar and more ordinary. It is therefore astonishing to find that twins have as great a fascination for these individuals as for those who meet twins for the first time. The fascination apparently is not produced because identical twins are rare, but because two similar individuals make a sudden appeal, probably a spontaneous identification with the twins sets in, initiating the absorbing train of thought, "If I had a twin". The fascination decreases as twins grow older. Adult twins who remain identical in looks, and especially those who stress their similarity by dressing alike, are stared at as oddities and curiosities, but they have lost their appeal as twins. They cannot be fitted into the "fantasy of having a twin", since the desired twin of that childhood daydream is always a child.

The Impression made by Twins on Young Children.

The following examples show how little children notice the identity of twins and desire to stress this fact.

Examples taken from the Hampstead Nursery:

When Josephine, one of non-identical triplets, was put into her shelter bed, a child called out from one of the other beds "Other Ronnie" (the name of the boy triplet). At another time these same two triplets had been separated owing to illness and when Josephine re-entered the toddler nursery the other toddlers of about two years showed surprise, calling out, "Two Ronnies"; Lydia, two years, two months, said: "Not want two Ronnies". Another example of an older child of three-and-a-half years: She saw her twin playmates Margaret and Anne in the garden. She called to Margaret: "Other Anne, other Anne, come here." As Margaret did not respond she got cross and called even louder. When asked what was the matter she complained, "The other Anne won't hear when I talk to her." And on being asked why she did not call her Margaret she replied, "Because she is another Anne."

Little children who come into contact with twins for the first time express their astonishment and show that they are fascinated. They stand still and

point from one twin to the other. Often another element is added, that of consternation.

Richard, a little boy of three, confronted with twin boys for the first time, a little younger than himself, pointed first at one and then at the other: "Boy, boy," and then added, "me not two Richies." It was a definite shock to him that he too might be double.

It is perhaps not surprising that twins themselves are fascinated by other twins.

Twin boys of ten years met a nurse wheeling a baby carriage with twin boys of eighteen months. The boys stopped and observed the twins with great interest, asked the nurse many questions about them and remained with them for a long time. From then on, whenever these twin boys met the twin babies on the street they would join them and remain with them as long as they could. It was quite clear how attracted they were by the fact that these babies were twins, two individuals who were in the same situation as themselves.

The Relationship of Brothers and Sisters to Twins in the Family.

An elder child will have very much the same reaction of jealousy when his mother has twins as he would have if only one baby were born. The jealousy is caused by the mother's preoccupation with the new babies and the withdrawal of the accustomed attention and love from the older child. The fuss and excitement over the twins not only by the mother but by everybody who comes into contact with them can only increase the jealousy.

A mother writes of her boy of three, realizing his suffering because of the attention the twins received.¹ (The twins are fifteen months younger than the boy.)

"In Bob's interest I gave them the minimum attention. Whenever I took them out, the pram was surrounded by admirers, all admiring the twins, of course; few people had the sense to say a word to Bob. So I usually came home furious! I have a huge pram, and the babies were together at one end and Bob the other. He seemed such a forlorn little creature, I always made a point of talking to him and fussing him while people enthused over the twins at the other end."

The fact that there are two babies, twins, that this is an unusual occurrence, that they are two while the elder child is only one, must intensify emotional reactions.

A five-year-old girl knew that her mother was going to have a baby and she hoped that it would be a girl. When she heard that twin girls had been born,

¹This and the following letters are answers to an inquiry sent out by *The Nursery World*, a weekly periodical for mothers (London).

she was heard to murmur, "Three girls." A few days later she came to her mother and asked her if she could not have another baby, hesitated, realizing that this would not solve her problem, and then added: "I will go back in your tummy to be born again." It is likely that she wanted to be twins too. She probably felt that she was at a disadvantage in being only one.

A child who has twins as elder brothers or sisters may feel that it is quite natural and usual that there are two children in the family of the same age. He will gradually observe the extra attention paid to the twins, notice the remarks about their likeness, and realize it is because they are two. But the younger child will be impressed above all by the fact that the twins always have each other as companions, that they are never alone, and that they make an intimate pair just as the parents do. The child may believe that the world is made of couples, feel left out, and decide that he is lacking something and at a great disadvantage in consequence. He may feel his oneness as a state of incompleteness, and have yet another situation in which to play out his fantasies that he has been deprived of some essential part of his own body, *e.g.* castration complex. Consequently he will look for other objects and try to make up for his deficiency either in real substitutes or in fantasy relationships. Parents, too, may react to loneliness in their child and try to produce a playmate for it.

The Spontaneous Wish in Children for Beings similar to Themselves.

Children are not only eager to find substitute twin relationships for themselves when in contact with twins; they also seem to have spontaneous desires that induce them to look for beings similar to themselves at a very early age.

When a little child is first introduced to a baby brother or sister he is often surprised that the baby is not as old as himself and is bitterly disappointed to find it so tiny. The idea that the baby should be similar to the child himself is probably brought about by remarks made by the parents: that they would like to have another child; that it would be nice for the child to have a playmate. The child then thinks of himself and imagines another similar being. School children often make spontaneous friendships with children who have the same birthdays as theirs, or with children who have names similar to their own. It is as if the slightest reminders of identity were the greatest attraction to them.

Under the domination of another fantasy children like to pretend that they are their mothers' twin. They like to dress like her, imitate her in voice and gesture and even say to her, "I am your twin." Similar dresses for mother and daughter were sold in American stores for a while and were very popular. This fantasy, under the domination of the oedipus complex, is a method of attracting the father; the child attempts to be like the mother.

Other twin fantasies have been mentioned in Chapter I, those which serve to overcome feelings of loneliness or a sense of limitation and ineffectiveness in the children themselves.

For all children who imagine other children or adults as their twins, or fantasy a twin to overcome their loneliness, the sight of real twins must appear as the prototype of what they had imagined for themselves, a relationship in every way superior to the one they had painstakingly built up and artificially created for themselves. Thus twins are made to feel that they possess something which is attractive and interesting to other children, in some way superior to ordinary friendships; and that they are envied for their twinship.

The Mother's Reaction to Bearing Twins.

A mother of twins will have previously formed a certain attitude towards twins as a result of her own life experiences. She may have had twins in her own family, or met them outside her home, or had a fantasy of possessing a twin herself. These factors will influence her thoughts and determine her behaviour towards her own twins. They may even overshadow the importance of her position in her own family constellation, which so often is a determining factor in influencing a mother's behaviour towards each of her children.

Twins will be a great shock to a mother, if she lives in straitened circumstances. There is not only a quantitative difference between two unwanted babies and one unwanted baby. Twins mean more care and more worry not only because there are two babies, but because twins are often very delicate. A mother who cannot afford help must find them a very great burden.

A middle class mother of good circumstances who had just borne twins and was delighted with them found herself in a maternity home where all other mothers were of poorer financial circumstances than herself. She was very surprised when the mothers in the ward one after the other came to her with words of consolation and sympathy.

A mother writes: "I felt dismay that I should be inflicted with twins, when it was my first pregnancy and I should be single handed."

Another mother writes: "How perfectly frightful. We had no domestic help or prospect of it, the thought of additional expense horrifying and to add to our troubles, I had absolutely no experience of babies."

For the father in such circumstances twins only mean more responsibility, more mouths to feed.

A wife writes: "I was thrilled to bits. My husband was furious with me and refused to speak to me . . . He persisted it must be all my fault and none of his."

There are some fathers however who feel very proud of what they have accomplished. A wife writes: "My husband was very proud of himself."

By some parents, whether rich or poor, to produce twins is felt as something to be ashamed of. They consider it lowly. For some women even the idea of having twins is revolting and disgusting.

There are, however, many mothers who are pleased to have twins, even if taken aback for the first moment when told of the possibility. They also show great pride in their achievement.

Three mothers of twins write:

(1) "My husband and I were both thrilled and full of anticipation."

(2) "If there was a way of guaranteeing the conception of twins, I should undoubtedly be one of the first to try it."

(3) "When I knew that I was going to have twins I was very pleased and naturally proud of myself."

Mothers adapt with pleasure to this event and enjoy the preparations and the planning for the future of their babies. The mother, beside having maternal feelings which arouse love for her babies, enjoys the extra fuss and attention that she receives because of her twins. She responds with pleasure and pride and delights in showing them off. Through the reaction of the outer world to her twins she gains a feeling of importance. She herself has achieved something unusual and her twins have become precious possessions which other people are interested in, wonder at and even envy. The curiosity and interest that twins create affects not only mothers who have accepted the twins gladly but all mothers of twins. Even if to some mothers having twins has appeared as a narcissistic injury, they find that in reality it affords a narcissistic pleasure.

This may be one of the reasons why some mothers have a tendency to emphasize the similarity of twins. Twins are often given similar-sounding names, are dressed alike, have their hair cut and arranged in the same style, and have everything done by their mothers to "increase" their twinship. This is so with non-identical as well as identical twins, so long as they are babies and toddlers; later, as the non-identical twins look less alike and develop individual personalities, the mothers respond to this change in them and treat them more as individuals. Identical twins are kept alike much longer. If a mother hears remarks about a dissimilarity of her identical twins she will often behave as if a disparaging remark had been made about them and react by pointing out their likeness. Their similarity has become an occasion for her exhibitionism.

But mothers have the opposite tendency as well, that is, to look for differences in their twins. This may start immediately after their birth. The mothers search for any dissimilarity in looks, in behaviour, in character. They consider that one twin looks like the father, one like themselves; one is more beautiful, one is more intelligent, one cries more, one is more greedy. The mother will often be convinced that she can tell her twins apart because of some such

peculiarity that she has noticed, though in reality she often confuses them. In the Hampstead Nursery where there were four pairs of identical twins, two pairs of non-identical twins and a set of triplets, it was observed how very often the twins and the triplets were mistaken one for the other by the mothers, as well as by the nurses. A mother is likely to be mortified when she realizes her mistake. It is as if she feels that a mother should be able to distinguish between her babies, and that it is a serious failing on her part when she cannot do that—it shows a lack of love.

Love and hate are outgoing emotions which are directed primarily towards a single individual. A responding emotion showing that the original emotion has achieved its aim is expected. It is therefore very disconcerting and disturbing as well as inhibiting for a mother not to be sure which child is to get the emotion and whether the right child is getting the emotion destined for it. Until the twins are distinguished one from the other there can be no feeling of close contact. Several mothers have plainly said that it was impossible to love their twins until they had found a difference in them. The search for distinguishing marks, on the part of the mother, is therefore of significance. She feels that it is necessary for her to find a difference in order to express her emotions freely towards each of her twins, so that she can love them. Similarly, when a teacher takes over a class of children, she feels that she has no real contact with them until she knows the children by name, that is, until she can tell them apart, and they have become individual personalities for her. In the army, officers take great pains to know their men individually, realizing that the men will work better for them when they do.

The problem of distinguishing one personality from the other is a very important one for the animated sound pictures. It is necessary to keep the figures individual and distinct so that there is no confusion in the mind of the spectator. In an interesting book on the *Art of Walt Disney*¹ Robert D. Field describes, in the chapter on the "Right to Live", how animated sound pictures are created. He writes:

"Each person, each thing must live his own private life and behave according to his own nature. The moment the window of the screen is opened, there must be no room for any question. With the first intimation of vitality the character must establish his identity once and for all. However insignificant may be his rôle, he must be unique to the occasion."

He gives examples:

"How, for instance, was it possible to keep under control all the animals that shared the housecleaning in the dwarfs' cottage, and at the same time to

¹Collins, London, 1944.

endow each of them with such a unique personality that no confusion could arise as to which rabbit was which?"

And in "Snow White":

"Seven little men must be created. Seven little men, approximately the same size; they must all have the same ethnical characteristics, yet all must be personally different. There must be no possibility of confusing one with another when all were on the screen together."

The reason for this is that it would otherwise be impossible for the spectator to identify with the various characters on the screen. The mother of twins must be faced with very much the same problem as she watches her babies. She needs to be able to identify with each of them in order to love them. If the twins are alike she finds this impossible and as a result her emotions cannot have free play. She considers that she is not giving the children what is their due and at the same time fears that she will provoke their aggression because they are unloved.

Mothers with non-identical twin babies soon have no difficulty in telling the babies apart; they often not only look different, but have different temperaments or habits—in sleeping, for instance, which makes for different routines.

A mother writes:

"They have always slept in different rooms, and when they were tiny in different prams in the garden, as their sleeping habits were different."

And another mother:

"From the first Alice co-operated. From the first Mary fought and objected. She was the weakest, and had more time spent on her than the stronger Alice. Mary screamed when you picked her up to bathe her, then got used to it and screamed when you put her down. Alice had a regular motion, Mary never did."

The mother therefore treats these non-identical twins from the start as individuals with personalities needing individual opportunities.

It is interesting that mothers of non-identical twins often say they wished to treat their twins equally or alike as a matter of principle, but that for some reason they were unable to do so:

"I have often tried to treat them equally. We feel they should be treated alike in the early years, but allowed to develop on individual lines later, if they show special aptitude for certain things."

On the other hand mothers with identical twins, even though many in theory plan and wish to give the twins individual treatment and individual opportunities, find it difficult to do so.

A letter from a Nannie about twins of 3 years 10 months expresses this:

"Both their mother and I find it quite impossible to favour one more than the other. This is probably because they are so alike."

From a mother of twins, 4 years old:

"I certainly feel that twins should be allowed to develop on individual lines . . . I think it is a good plan to dress twins differently, but I am afraid I found it easier to dress mine alike, because if one of them has a certain dress or coat, or any other article of clothing, the other one wants one just like it. Sometimes, however, they will choose to wear different dresses or cardigans, and I always allowed them to do so."

From a mother of twins, 7 years:

"I remember reading advice somewhere to let twins go their separate ways as much as possible and to dress them individually. I think myself this might lead to jealousy, as my own seem to resent any different treatment from outsiders."

From a mother of twins, 21 years old:

"We gave a great deal of thought as to whether they should be educated together or sent to separate schools, and discussed with masters, etc., the advisability or otherwise of trying to give them a chance to develop on individual lines. It has ended, however, that they have been together, and I am sure now that it has been best. They are a complete unit and would never have been happy apart. They are taking up the same careers and are terribly keen about everything they do."

Mothers often say that twins hate to be separated, that they cannot do without each other, that they like to be treated alike and for this reason the mothers seldom separate them from each other.

"In my experience the twins themselves virtually dictate to you how to treat them; at the moment we have to dress them alike (20 months) and give them identical toys because they are so very apt to be envious of the other's possessions. And I don't think they are able yet to understand that their own thing, though different, may be as valuable as the thing the sister has."

A mother states that at an earlier stage it was not possible to treat them identically, e.g. in feeding.

Twins (1 year 9 months):

"I found that even from the beginning they would not be parted. At first I had only one cradle, but bought another and tried to part them, but no, I did not get any sleep at night. As soon as they were put back together they were contented."

"I find that they each like to have a toy of their own, so we always endeavour to get two toys exactly alike. In fact, I think the twins like to be treated alike, after all they are so near and dear to each other, and I know from experience that mine are miserable if they are separated."

Identical twins when they grow up often fail to develop into two separate

human entities. It remains a matter of conjecture whether this is due to the twinship itself or to the attitude of the mother who in their infancy could not tell them apart; who was driven by an inner urge to give them the same opportunities and experiences, thus treating them as one being and not as two.

Conclusions.

On the basis of the pleasure principle all babies respond to whatever gives them sensations of pleasure and look for opportunities to repeat these pleasures. As they gradually become aware of the mother's presence they respond with pleasure to her handling, and later when the mother reacts with interest to each of their newly acquired accomplishments they try to repeat them so as to increase this interest as well as to enjoy the pleasure they have created for her. In the earliest stage of development twins react to the mother just as single children do. In a later stage they become aware of the mother's pleasure in both of them, and in the comparisons she makes of one with the other. In this way they become conscious of each other and of the mother's pleasure in them as a unit. They meet this reaction not only from the parents but from practically every one. As twins they may create interest far greater than any interest they may get as single individuals. They will therefore wish to please in this way in order to attract attention. Their desire for individual attention and praise will not be less, perhaps it will even be greater because they receive it more rarely, but the second desire will be there as well, and of great importance for them: the desire to please *à deux*.

Twinship however brings not only opportunity for unique pleasure but entails also an especial frustration in object relationship. With non-identical twins, if they are not very alike, this "interest *à deux*" will gradually fade as they make contacts on their own and gain interest because of their individual personalities. But with identical twins the similarity in looks and the confusion this creates may eventually make them feel that nothing is personal or unique about them. They have therefore every reason to feel misunderstood, lonely and angry, for they never can be sure that even their own mother is not taking one of them for the other.

The same elements of pleasure and frustration invade the relation of twins with other children. On the one hand the great interest and envy shown by brothers, sisters and friends for their twin relationship heightens the value of the latter and to a certain extent makes up for other frustrations. But on the other hand, as I have indicated, it makes an unpleasant impression on twins when they watch the surprise that their appearance causes in other children. They may thus realize that other children value their singleness, and resent the lack of it in themselves.

CHAPTER III

OUTLINE OF CASE MATERIAL: THREE PAIRS OF IDENTICAL TWINS

THEIR background and history are briefly as follows:

BILL AND BERT were fatherless children, their mother a young office worker of 21. From the maternity hospital, where they were born, they were sent to an evacuated baby hostel where they stayed for their first four months with their mother. When the mother had to return to work they were admitted to the Hampstead Nurseries. At the age of 4 months they looked completely identical, small, fair-haired and cheerful. They were reported to have had feeding difficulties from their earliest days. For birth weight, identification markings and early history see chart 11.

BESSIE AND JESSIE were fatherless children, their mother a young woman of 23, who had worked in a factory till a month or so before the twins' birth. The twins were born in a hospital and then evacuated almost at once with their mother. They entered the Nursery when they were 4 months old. At that time they were unusually quiet and stodgy babies with very dark square-shaped heads, and somewhat Chinese looking. The only difference between them was that one had a red spot the size of a pin-prick on one ear. For further details see chart 1.

MARY AND MADGE were the youngest children of working class parents, with a sister seven years older and a brother six years older. When the twins were 10 months old, they were evacuated to a nursery in the provinces. Since the parents were only permitted to visit once monthly, the children became completely estranged from them and finally did not seem to recognize them. They spoke of their mother as "the lady". The parents were distressed by this state of affairs and decided to take the children home in spite of war conditions. But the children did not fit into their family life and were unable to become accustomed to the parents. They were disobedient and unmanageable, finally

ran away from home and were found standing hand-in-hand in the middle of the London traffic. In this difficult situation the parents were advised by the L.C.C. Education Officer to send the children to the Hampstead Nurseries. Their age at entry was 3 years 7 months. At that time they were charming looking little girls in spite of being usually dirty and messy in appearance. They had short bobbed hair, were tall for their age but undernourished. They had unusually high-pitched voices and were definitely retarded in their speech. They were somewhat awkward in their movements, walking with their legs wide apart. For further details see chart 25.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNING OF THE TWIN RELATIONSHIP

Environmental Conditions.

ON entering the nursery as babies, each pair of twins was put into adjacent cots. When changed, the twins were often on the dressing table at the same time. During this period they did not take any noticeable interest in each other. They were often put in the same cot for short periods.

First Notice taken of the Twin.

BILL AND BERT:

Bill and Bert first began to take notice of each other at 7 months, when Bert smiled at Bill—to which Bill did not respond. At the eighth month when they were put in the same cot, Bert would fall asleep immediately and Bill would then try to scratch him. Sometimes Bill would disturb Bert so much that they had to be separated.

Their response to the mother began slightly earlier than to the twin brother. When their mother visited them once or twice a week from 4 months onward, both children took notice of her visit. They were friendly towards her as they were towards the nurses who handled them. At 12 months they were always excited and disturbed when the mother left after visiting them.

General contact with their environment began a little later, at 8 months. From 8 months onward they responded when they were spoken to and played with by members of the staff whom they knew. They both watched closely and intensely everything that their mother or their special nurse did when she was within sight or hearing.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

Jessie and Bessie did not seem aware of each other until 8 months, when Jessie put her hand into Bessie's cot. Bessie did the same to Jessie a month

later, but it was not until the tenth month that Jessie began to watch Bessie, while Bessie still took no notice of Jessie.

With Jessie and Bessie response to their mother began several months before they had contact with each other. Their mother at first saw the twins daily, and later, when she worked in the Nursery, she saw them frequently during the day. At 4 months Jessie smiled at her and seemed to enjoy her visits; at 7 months both had contact with her. At 9 months Bessie wanted to be picked up. At 12 months Jessie smiled happily when her mother entered the room, while Bessie trembled with excitement.

While still oblivious of their twin, both pairs of twins showed a definite and growing attachment to the mother, or nurse, who cared for them.

First Competition for Attention.

At about 10 months, when mother or nurse paid attention to one of a pair of twins the other twin took notice and tried to get her attention for itself. When she picked up or fed one of them, the other sometimes stared or became unhappy. At this stage of development the twin who was not picked up first or fed first showed that it objected to being the one who was left behind. This may be the origin of the competition between the twins expressed later by the refrain, "me too," "me first," "only me."

In this respect however the behaviour of a pair of twins was by no means identical. Often one twin was indifferent when left behind, while the other would scream desperately in the same situation. Moreover one twin would object several months before the other did.

The greatest competition was in the feeding situation.

BILL AND BERT:

At 10 months Bert was upset when Bill was fed first, but Bill was indifferent.

At 14 months both showed that they minded when the other was favoured. Bert cried while Bill was fed and Bill rocked in his cot watching his brother being fed by his mother.

At 16 months, when a nurse fed them sitting at the table between them, Bill got furious when Bert was offered a spoonful of food although he was given more spoonfuls than Bert. Bert, on the contrary, would wait patiently and watch Bill while he was fed.

At 17 months Bill and Bert were able to feed themselves and were sat at little separate tables for their meals; when Bill noticed that his nurse was feeding his brother he would throw his plate on the floor in a fury. It was evident in this instance that it was not greed which produced this reaction in

Bill but anger that his brother was getting attention from the nurse and he was not.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 11 months Bessie simply refused to be fed second. The mother had made up her mind always to be fair with the twins and always to treat them alike. But when Jessie was picked up first, Bessie would start screaming and get into such a state that the mother was forced to pick her up. Jessie made no fuss when she was not taken up but waited patiently until Bessie was finished.

At 12 months Jessie cried quietly when Bessie was picked up first.

At 13 months the mother would sit them at a table opposite each other and she would then take her place between them. The mother had to feed Bessie twice as quickly because each time she picked up the spoon to feed Jessie, Bessie would start screaming. Jessie was forced to wait while the mother tried to satisfy Bessie by pushing two spoonfuls into her mouth for every one she gave Jessie.

Bessie and Bill were the lively ones of these two pairs of twins and they were more greedy as well, which may have caused the greater impatience at this age. The twin who loudly objects that its mate is getting something, or given attention that it is not getting itself at the moment, shows that it wishes to take the place of the other twin and receive what the other is getting.

First Signs of Activity and Passivity towards each other.

Dominant characteristics in one of a pair of twins tend to produce an active twin and a passive one. This can be very easily observed when the children begin to develop their motility, to be on the move, to take things and to push things about. When a toddler finds itself with another child of the same age it will pull its hair, push it, hit it, pinch it or bite it. What generally happens with a pair of twins in this period is that one of the twins is the more vigorous one and it will bite, push, pull or snatch things away from its weaker twin. The weaker one, as is usual with children of this age when attacked, will just cry over the hurt it has received, in no way try to defend itself but behave in a completely passive way.

BILL AND BERT:

Bill showed greater activity and was the first to crawl and stand. At 8 months he had already begun to take things from his brother; at 12 months he was not only taking things away from him but he would throw him over and sit on him, while Bert would simply cry helplessly. At 13 months Bert could sometimes keep a toy, at 15 months they would bite each other, but Bill attacked much oftener and more fiercely so that Bert often had to be protected from him.

BESSIE AND JESSIE:

Bessie had always weighed less and been the more temperamental, Jessie the more placid one. At 12 months Bessie was bullying Jessie; she would take her toys and pull her hair; Jessie would try to avoid Bessie by getting down to the other end of the cot. At 14 months Bessie found great pleasure in teasing Jessie and, the more she succeeded in making her unhappy, the more she would tease her. For example, they would both be given biscuits. Jessie would eat hers quickly. Bessie would nibble at hers very slowly, watching Jessie's longing eyes. She would break off and offer her little bits and, as Jessie would reach out to take them, she would pull her hand back quickly. She would smile with glee when Jessie cried. But at 15 months Jessie began to assert herself and even bite Bessie. At 18 months Jessie was hitting back, and even attacking Bessie. At about this time they had been separated for several weeks because of whooping-cough, and Bessie had many weeks of diarrhoea besides. Whether this had weakened Bessie and given Jessie the chance to stand up for her own rights is hard to say. But it was from this time that Jessie became the active twin and Bessie the passive one. At 19 months Jessie was taking everything from Bessie, pulling her hair and hitting her. Bessie just suffered these attacks and then some time later would attack Jessie. Bessie would cry bitterly when Jessie hit her and tried her best to avoid her. Jessie now began to tease Bessie in her turn very much as Bessie had done five months earlier. They might, for instance, be fighting for a toy. Jessie would get it, and put it on the table with a very innocent expression. When Bessie tried to take it, Jessie snatched it away and laughed at her.

The passive twins showed that they were not necessarily content with their subordinate rôle. It was forced upon them owing to various situations, the greater strength, the greater activity, or the more passionate nature of the other; but if, for some reason, the greater strength or activity of the active twin was reduced, the passive twin would immediately take advantage of the situation. This was most clearly seen in the case of Jessie and Bessie, when Jessie took the lead the moment she was able to do so. Bert, because of his more gentle nature, was never able to get the upper hand over the very aggressive Bill, although he tried from time to time to hold on to his possessions when Bill wanted them and even to attack him occasionally; but in the end he always got the worst of the struggle. He then became completely passive again.

First Competition in Achievements.

The twins were aware of the differences in their achievements at an early age. The less advanced noticed that the other one was able to crawl, kneel

and stand while it was only able to lie or sit, and was upset as it watched these activities of its twin.

BILL AND BERT:

At 11 months Bill could crawl and kneel but Bert could not. He would watch Bill and get very cross. This situation was even more marked when Bill could stand and he was unable to. Bert was unhappy and would cry desperately as he watched him.

Young children will try to imitate the achievements of older brothers and sisters if the difference in age is not too great or if, as at the toddler age, the difference in ability is not so great that it discourages imitation. With twins the development of both is on the same level; they both want to sit, crawl and walk, the slower twin sees the other doing just what it wants itself to do and is trying to do. This will force the less active twin to compete with the active one at a much earlier age than is usual in children. The competitive situation will be increased further through the relationship to the mother or nurse. The spontaneous admiration they receive from the mother for each new accomplishment causes pleasure. The more backward twin not only observes the achievement of its twin but the expression of pleasure that the mother shows as well.

First Attempts at Copying.

Imitating another child or person is a normal expression of a certain stage of development, beginning approximately at 9 months.

Our pairs of twins did not begin to imitate each other until 12 months. After that time, if one of the twins did something that interested the other twin, the latter copied him.

BILL AND BERT:

At 12 months Bert shook his head; Bill copied him.

At 13 months Bert noticed that Bill was singing, and he sang too.

When the twins were potted, Bert banged his feet on the floor. Bill copied him. This was something that most of the children used to do; one of the children would begin, and the others followed suit.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 15 months, when Jessie pushed her plate away and dropped her spoon, Bessie did the same.

Further Copying with Bill and Bert.

Copying with Bill and Bert was especially impressive since the likeness of the

twins was greatly increased by their similar behaviour. The twins were not only alike in appearance, took the same positions, and copied each other, but from the moment they arrived in the Nursery at 4 months, they were the mirror picture of each other. When they lay in their baskets, Bill on his right side, Bert on his left, Bill sucked his right hand and right thumb and Bert his left hand and left thumb; at 17 months they still sucked these same thumbs and when they masturbated they usually did so with the opposite hand from the one they used for sucking.

As they got older they were often found asleep in exactly the same position on their stomachs, Bert's head turned to the right, Bill's to the left, or lying on their backs, eyes covered with one arm. They would sit on the floor opposite each other with one leg tucked under their bodies; they would both stand in their cots in exactly the same position, one arm hanging over the edge of the cot. At 14 months, they would move absolutely alike when they crawled. At 15 months, they would rock in the same rhythm holding on to the bars of their cots at the same height, head bent in the same way, their mouths usually open. At 15 months, they pushed their cars at the same time, with absolutely the same movement and with the same expression. At 17 and 19 months they would start rocking at the same moment and in the same rhythm.

They also had the same physical marks, birthmarks over forehead and eyes, more distinct in Bill than in Bert; they disappeared in both at about 7 months. They often had the same infectious diseases at the same time, which was not surprising since they were always together, Bert generally more severely than Bill. But at 8 months, they also had a blister on their chins developing one day apart, and both developed hydrocele at 14 months, Bill's on the right side much more pronounced than Bert's which was on the left side and of a more bluish colour. These disappeared about the same time and reappeared again several times, always together; Bert's always less distinct than Bill's, disappearing completely a few weeks before Bill's when they were 20 months.

It appeared that it was Bert who started copying-games with Bill. At 14 months he clapped his hands and Bill did the same; he banged bricks on the table; Bill followed suit. These actions were always accompanied by laughter from both children. Soon it was impossible to tell who copied whom. At 13 months both twins were lying in their cots on their backs. One would start to shout and kick and the other would watch him and laugh; then the other would take his turn to shout and kick and the first one would watch and laugh.

At 15 months the twins provoked each other to join in these games. One would kneel suddenly and laugh; the other would then do the same and laugh too. Or from a sitting position, one would throw himself on to his back, looking at the other twin, and immediately the other would copy him. Laughter was

an essential element in these games. Both twins tried to find new ways of entertaining the other. It was Bill who started grimacing, making sudden jerky clownish movements, jumping from one foot to the other, standing up and throwing himself down, making funny noises and laughing uproariously. Bert would imitate him. Bill would get himself and Bert more and more excited until the game was like an orgy.

Bert, at 16 months, used these copying games not only to get momentary pleasure but to distract Bill.

Bert watched Bill screaming. He clapped his hands; Bill stopped crying, copied him and began to laugh. Bert with his quieter ways used the games with a purpose in mind. Bill was carried away by his inner excitement which was increased through the games. In spite of the fact that it was Bert who started these games in the first place, it appeared even here that through his greater vitality Bill was able to gain the leadership over Bert, just as he had done through his aggressive ways. Bert could not resist Bill's passionate, provoking behaviour.

These games, which started at 13 months, never stopped. They developed from one idea to the next and became more and more complicated.

At 21 months the twins would crawl on their knees each holding a doll in his arm; first they would copy each other crawling through the room and then go round in circles one following the other.

At 22 months Bill copied everything which Bert did during a walk.

At 2 years 5 months when they played on the slide they invented many ways of getting off the slide, copying each other.

At 21 months they sat together near the garden gate, playing with tins. Bert drank out of his tin; so did Bill. Bert offered a drink to Bill and Bill to Bert, then both banged their backs against the gate. They started drinking out of their tins again and the game was repeated as before while the twins shook with laughter. The game came to an abrupt end when Bill suddenly bit Bert, who then cried and went away.

The other children of the Nursery would often watch the twins, laugh at them, and with them, and sometimes they would try to join in the game; but the twins paid little attention to them; they preferred to amuse and excite each other. (There was one exception to this when the twins were separated. They then chose other partners and tried to start the same games with them.)

How much the constitutional identity of these twins influenced them to imitate each other in postures and movements and later in the games they thought out for each other is hard to say. Of the three pairs of identical twins in the Nursery, they were the most alike in looks and behaviour. They were backward in development, erratic and unable to make normal contacts with

adults and with children. They became more and more uncontrollable and stopped developing normally. When they were absorbed in one of their games of imitation, it was impossible for the mother or nurse to get their attention or influence them in any way. Wild movements about the room, aggressive actions against adults, children and each other were generally the result of these games. Bill was more aggressive, more uncontrollable, and less able to be influenced than Bert. Bert was not able to cope with Bill's aggressive actions; he became afraid of him and in the last months at the Nursery it was felt best to separate them.

This relationship between the twins, expressed in these copying-games, did not further their development. On the contrary it seemed to hinder them from making normal contacts, between themselves, or with others. It was felt that, if the twins had been brought up without each other, Bert would have been able to develop normally. The influence that Bill exerted on him made it impossible for him to allow his ego to develop as it would have done if he had not been carried away by Bill's dominant, domineering and erratic nature. Bill, if brought up without his twin, would not have had the added thrill of observing the reactions he created in Bert and would have lacked the enjoyment of watching Bert which obviously gave him sensations of excitement. The double pleasure created in this way absorbed them and prevented them from achieving the development normal for their age.

Copying owing to Dependence.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

Jessie and Bessie imitated each other and each had original ideas which the other found interesting and copied. The imitating of each other brought them into a closer relationship; but their behaviour, even while they imitated each other, followed different patterns and thereby their separate individualities became more marked, not less so.

Up to about 2 years both twins imitated each other in much the same manner. When one did something interesting the other wanted to do it too; when one demanded admiration the other asked for it as well.

At 19 months, when Jessie heard that Bessie asked for her dog, she asked for hers too.

When Bessie saw that Jessie was undressed she started to undress herself too.

At 23 months Bessie was ill in the night, and the next morning the nurse looked into her throat. Jessie, who was sitting next to Bessie, pointed to her throat and said "me, me".

At 2 years 5 months, when both twins were on their beds for their afternoon naps, Jessie jumped up and down on her bed and Bessie copied her. Then

Bessie lay down with her legs in the air and waving her arms sang "my mummy, no sleeping". Jessie watched her for a minute, then said "me too, Bessie", and then copied her.

At 2 years 3 months the twins were clean with occasional accidents. They had a curious habit for about a week: after their lunch they both sat on their pots next to each other; after a while they got up, looked at their achievements and exchanged pots. On two consecutive days Bessie had had a motion and Jessie not. On the third day both said "finished" and got up. They looked in their respective pots. Bessie had a motion. When Jessie saw it she said, "and me big job" and sat down again with immediate result.

Jessie was a good sleeper but Bessie had a sleeping disturbance from the age of 14 months and waked and cried in the night. The nurse would come to her and cover her up. On such occasions (23 months) Jessie, without opening her eyes, would say "me too" without giving any sign of being awake.

At about 2 years it became noticeable that Bessie was copying Jessie more and more and in an intense and compulsive manner. Whatever Jessie did, she had to do it too. If Jessie got on a chair to get something down from a shelf, Bessie would get up on a chair too although she had nothing to get down. When Jessie played she was a dog, Bessie would stop whatever she was doing and was a dog too.

The senselessness of these actions in Bessie became very marked. Whenever she copied Jessie, there was no other obvious purpose than to copy, no real interest in the activity that she imitated. She copied Jessie only because Jessie was the object of her attention, and she did it even when the result conflicted with her own desires.

At 19 months, when Jessie threw her bread away, Bessie copied her and cried for more.

At 20 months, when Jessie stopped eating, Bessie stopped. When Jessie asked for a second course, she asked for one too, although her plate was still full. When Jessie went on the pot she followed suit, although she might have been only a few minutes before.

At 2 years 7 months when Jessie was given a top shelter bed,¹ into which she had to climb by means of a ladder, Bessie, who had a lower bed, used the ladder too to get to her bed. None of the other children did this.

At 3 years, when Jessie wet herself because she could not undo her panties quickly enough, Bessie was discovered to be wet too. She explained "Jessie been wet."

At 3 years 6 months the twins had been washing. Jessie was carrying a bowl

¹To avoid disturbance to the children's sleep in air raids, the dormitory of the nursery was placed in a basement shelter reinforced by iron rafters and made blast proof by brickwork. The children slept in three-tier bunks placed in bays, with an isolation bay used as a sick-room shelter.

with the washing in it. She put it down to pull up her knickers, which were coming down. When Bessie saw this she did the same, although her knickers had not slipped down.

Jessie never imitated Bessie in this compulsive way but continued to copy her only whenever she thought Bessie was having an advantage over her. The intention of her imitation was always obvious.

Bessie had always shown a special interest in men. Whenever visiting fathers, or workmen, came to the nursery, she would get very excited, run to them, climb on their laps, and in this way provoked a lot of attention. Jessie, on the other hand, did not behave differently towards men from other visitors. But when she saw that Bessie was getting attention by her behaviour she would climb on the visitor's lap too.

At 3 years 5 months Bessie fell down and hurt herself on a walk; her nurse offered to hold her hand. Jessie was greatly annoyed, and as the nurse also held the hand of another child she had to walk alone. A few minutes later she fell down and would not get up until the nurse helped her, when she quickly got hold of her hand in place of Bessie.

In spite of Bessie's dependency on Jessie she was not without independent ideas. It was she who started dancing to the gramophone at 25 months, and Jessie who copied her. Bessie started climbing on the jungle gym first; Jessie following her there too. But at the same time she was more dependent on Jessie and needed her support and example. When Bessie was in strange surroundings at 22 months, she followed Jessie about, never leaving her side, and doing exactly what she did. In this way she got the security she needed. At 23 months they walked on the street for the first time with their mother. Jessie was interested in this new experience and poked her head into everything. Bessie did the same, but only because Jessie was the leader. Alone she would not have had the courage to be so enterprising.

When 2 years old, both children were delighted when they got new dresses. Jessie expressed her pleasure and said "look, look". Then Bessie said the same, but not spontaneously. She forced herself to ask for admiration because Jessie did.

At 25 months Jessie loved to play with Anne, an older child. They played mother and child. Bessie joined in the game but only because Jessie was playing. Bessie remained playing just as long as Jessie did, but she gave the impression that she would be quite ready to stop earlier.

The fear of being left out, left behind, appeared to be the incentive of Bessie's imitation on these occasions.

At 2 years 6 months the twins were always on their pots at the same time because Bessie interrupted whatever she was doing when Jessie went on her

pot. When Jessie was in bed in the Nursery because of a slight indisposition and asked for her pot, Bessie went to the lavatory while Jessie was on her pot in her bed. When Bessie was finished and came back she found Jessie still sitting on her pot. Bessie immediately turned around, fetched her pot and sat down on it again, next to Jessie's bed. Bessie could concentrate much longer on an occupation than Jessie. At the Montessori Kindergarten class, which they both attended, Jessie continually changed from one occupation to the other. Bessie always chose the same material as Jessie and, in spite of being engrossed in a newly chosen piece of work, she would leave whatever she was doing as soon as she saw that Jessie had given up one piece of work for another and she would again choose the same as Jessie.

Jessie acted in this manner because of her lack of concentration and resulting restlessness; Bessie dragged herself away from interests on which she could have concentrated because of her greater concentration on Jessie's every move.

Jessie added to her achievements, whenever she imitated Bessie, and was always stimulated when she competed with her. Bessie also increased her accomplishments in this way but, above all, she imitated Jessie to gain the security and confidence which she needed. Her dependency developed owing to her fear of being left behind or left out. (It was striking that neither twin showed annoyance when they copied each other. Jessie never seemed to mind Bessie's dependency though she often appeared quite indifferent to her.) Bessie's dependence prevented her from following up her own intentions or creative ideas. She had to concentrate on Jessie and in doing so gave up her own thoughts and actions and adopted Jessie's. Separated from Jessie she might have been able to develop her own characteristics which were those of an active, original and concentrated child. In imitating Jessie she tried to take over Jessie's qualities. Jessie was bright, lively, friendly, outgoing, restless and lacking in concentration. Bessie never succeeded in being like her; her efforts merely turned her into a frequently sad, shy, sulky, stubborn, slow, retreating and inhibited child. Bessie's imitation of Jessie thus did not make the twins more similar. On the contrary it made them more unlike. On the other hand Jessie's imitation of Bessie created a greater similarity whenever it happened.

Copying of Feeding Habits.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

When Jessie and Bessie behaved alike it was often very difficult to see whether one of them copied the other, or whether they reacted similarly to the same situation in the first instance. In their attitude towards food the latter often appeared to be the case.

At 14 months, when they were transferred from the baby room to the toddler department, they both refused to eat bread and butter although they were quite accustomed to it in the baby room.

It is likely that both felt strange in the new surroundings. One of the twins probably expressed its dislike by refusing the bread and butter, and the other in the same mood followed suit.

At 19 months both were given bread, which they broke up into little bits and threw on the floor.

At another time at the same age they threw sandwiches on the floor after taking a bite.

With both, the pleasure in throwing seems to have been greater than their appetite during this period.

At 2 years they were both fond of peas, and both especially liked gravy, asking repeatedly for more; both said that they liked their food wet.

Between 2 years 1 month and 2 years 3 months they went through a phase of being very greedy. They could not wait until their plates were placed before them; when given their food they ate a few spoonfuls voraciously and then ran to the trolley where the food was served and asked for more. If attempts were made to make them finish what was left on their plates, they flew into a temper.

Their greed was not so much a sign of hunger but rather an expression of another emotion which they showed in this way—a need for more of something else that they were missing, probably a longing for their mother. At this stage of development it is very usual for children to refuse food or to be greedy when they are emotionally upset. It may have been that they were both dissatisfied or that one twin was able to express her dissatisfaction in this way, and that the other took over this emotional reaction which most probably fitted into her own feeling of discontent as well.

At 2 years 2 months, although they ate everything, even new dishes, they both refused semolina pudding. They seemed disgusted with it.

At 2 years 3 months Bessie refused cheese; Jessie immediately pushed her plate away.

In the first example it seemed that the twins reacted towards the pudding in the same way. In the second Jessie took over the dislike which Bessie showed.

At 2 years 4 months they would hardly eat any vegetables, only carrots, although they had eaten them with pleasure up till then.

At 2 years 6 months they both had temper tantrums just when the food was brought into the room without any obvious reason. After these violent scenes both children were less keen on their food.

At another time Bessie refused to eat her dinner for unknown reasons. Jessie,

who had been enjoying hers, stopped at once, and from then on they both refused potatoes for a fortnight, then one day started eating them again.

At 3 years 8 months they again had a period when neither ate any potatoes.

There are several possible explanations for this behaviour. It is well known that children, if not interfered with, will have preferences for certain foods and dislike others. These fads may last one day or several weeks. It is possible that Jessie and Bessie were developing such food fads at this time. Bessie's dependency on Jessie might have resulted in their both liking or disliking certain foods at the same time. But it seems more likely that they used their food to express some common dissatisfaction and discontent which possibly had reference to their emotional relationships with the mother or mother substitutes. The violent outbreaks in behaviour when the food was brought in were strongest in Jessie. As both children had, probably, the same emotional desires and needs, and therefore the same disappointments, one of them expressing her discontent in her attitude towards food called forth an immediate response in the other through a contagion of feelings.

Contagion of Feelings.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

Contagion of feelings was observed in many situations. When either Jessie or Bessie showed a strong emotion, the other caught the same emotion from her and expressed it by identical behaviour.

Fear.—At about 2 years they were given their baths in the big bath tub. One day Bessie showed great fear and refused to sit down in the tub. She only quietened down when she was taken out of the bath and put in a little bath instead. Jessie, who was not at all frightened at first, showed fear as soon as Bessie had been taken out of the big bath and insisted on being bathed in the little bath as well.

At 2 years 1 month they both suddenly showed fear of animals, fear of ducks and sheep on the Heath.

It was difficult to see which twin was afraid first; the emotions seemed to be expressed simultaneously.

Anger.—At 20 months Jessie showed off her new dress; Bessie copied her. Jessie was furious when hers was taken off. Bessie would not have objected when hers was removed but when she saw that Jessie was furious she was furious too.

Sensitiveness.—At 2 years 3 months Bessie and Jessie were waked up from their afternoon nap by another child. All three began pushing their beds about and playing. When told to get back to bed, Jessie settled down and would have gone off to sleep, but Bessie began to cry. When she was taken out of

the bedroom Jessie started to cry too. She then joined Bessie; they were given toys to play with but both continued to cry for half-an-hour.

Jessie only joined in Bessie's crying when the latter was taken out of the room. Though she had not been sensitive to the original reproof, she took over the feelings of Bessie, who was more sensitive to disapproval. She then behaved like Bessie, crying and refusing to play.

Longing for their mother.—At 20 months, Bessie realized that her mother was leaving the room, rushed to the door shouting "Mummy" and flew into a temper. Jessie was not upset when her mother left, but when she saw Bessie's reactions she cried and flew into a temper too. (Jessie imitated Bessie so as not to be left behind in case Bessie's fuss proved successful.)

The similar reaction in both twins occurred owing to the fear of one twin getting an advantage over the other.

At 22 months Bessie had difficulty in going to sleep, but she did not call for her mother unless Jessie did. When she heard her calling, she joined in at once, got up and stood near the door calling "Mummy". (Bessie may have thought that if Jessie called her mother she might come and she herself would be the one to be left out.)

Dissatisfaction and revolt.—At 2 years 1 month, Bessie and Jessie were on a walk with their mother. During the walk Bessie asked to be carried. The mother refused. Bessie sat down on the street. Jessie followed her example. They both refused to walk and remained sitting on the pavement. The mother could not move them from the spot until someone came and helped her carry them home. In the Nursery both children continued to scream for half an hour.

Bessie here showed a dissatisfaction which she expressed in tiredness and a wish to be carried by her mother. Jessie, seeing Bessie's behaviour, immediately behaved in the same way. She felt the intensity of Bessie's emotion and became dissatisfied too, not with Bessie for spoiling the walk, but with her mother. She then took up Bessie's manner of showing dissatisfaction, and they both revolted together, refusing to get up and trying to force the mother to carry them. Individually they each wanted to be carried and Jessie feared that only Bessie might succeed.

At 2 years 1 month, both children behaved very similarly towards their mother; they showed pleasure when she appeared, took possession of her and made innumerable demands. They watched her jealously and did not accept the slightest refusal without getting cross and aggressive. During this period the twins reacted to their mother with violent emotions. Their own personal demands for attention and love increased their jealousy of each other. Their powers of observation were taxed to the utmost to watch for any sign of affection

from their mother. At the same time they were well aware that their twin was also demanding and hoping for the same sign of love. The need to resolve this jealous tension and find some sort of equilibrium between their loyalty to each other and to their parents may in fact be crucial to an understanding of twin development.

Provoking behaviour.—At 2 years 7 months Bessie and Jessie seemed especially possessive and angry with their mother. Together one morning they deliberately did everything to annoy her. They refused to wear the frocks she had prepared for them, they insisted on wearing rubber boots instead of their usual shoes, they kept on making demands and when refused they threw themselves on the floor. They insisted on having another child's new slippers on the breakfast table, their own shoes under the table, and to sit on special chairs. Each took turns to make demands, the other one always co-operating, insisting that the demands be fulfilled, and behaving in a similar manner.

In other words, they behaved as a well organized team, each in perfect agreement with the demands made by the other and in a manner which enforced the fulfilment of these demands. Since they were moved by a common feeling, i.e. dissatisfaction with their mother, they co-operated in order to accomplish the common purpose of provoking her.

CHAPTER V
TWINS AS A TEAM

THE behaviour of Bill and Bert in their copying games (see pages 24-26) as well as the behaviour of Bessie and Jessie in their common provocation of their mother (see page 32) shows the tendency of twins to form a working team, that is, a pact of mutual understanding and agreement. At such times each of the twins is occupied exclusively with the other and their common purpose. If disturbed by their environment, they combine forces against it. While they are working together in this manner, they are not amenable to outside influence.

MARY AND MADGE:

When Mary and Madge were taken home from their first Nursery¹ at the age of 3 years 5 months, the children set up a combined struggle against the parents, especially against the mother. They were full of hate and anger. The parents could not manage them, and one day the twins ran away from home and were found standing hand-in-hand in the middle of the London traffic. It was then that the parents were advised to send the children to the Hampstead Nursery.

In telling the history of the twins the parents referred to them as a unit. Their behaviour was identical; both revolted against the parents in the same way, they screamed, hit, spat and finally ran away together. They were a team.

At 3 years 7 months, when they came to the Nursery, they both talked in very high-pitched voices, most of the time they stood hand-in-hand, if one did something the other did it too, if one cried the other cried as well. They were in a state of revolt for some weeks. At meals they made a mess with their food and spat under the table. They were continually aggressive towards the other children and towards the adults. If anyone came near them they would

¹See page 17.

suddenly kick without provocation. They would throw things, spit and swear at whoever approached them, children or adults. They even preserved their unity when they withdrew into one of the practices by which children seek for pleasure on their own bodies, such as thumb sucking, rhythmical movement, rubbing or scratching their skin, playing with their sex parts. It is well known that all these activities are maintained longer and play a greater part in children who have failed to develop good relationships to their parents. Instead of receiving love and affection from the environment, they produce crude sexual pleasure in these so-called auto-erotic activities. Both twins were given to rhythmical movements, excessive scratching of themselves and masturbation.

At 3 years 7 months they were found both lying on the floor face downwards, their knees drawn up. They often also took this position in going to sleep.

At 3 years 8 months they were often found sleeping side by side on the floor from sheer exhaustion.

At 3 years 8 months they scratched themselves until they bled, often sitting or standing next to each other. This was probably induced by an eczema which they both had, besides being in its form and intensity also a masturbatory equivalent.

Other forms of self-satisfaction were the following:

At 3 years 8 months they were frequently found, sitting side by side or sitting opposite each other, their legs wide apart, rocking violently with a completely withdrawn expression. Sometimes they would find some quiet spot by themselves, at other times they would remain in the midst of the other children. They could continue this activity for hours.

At 3 years 8 months they had a way of sitting or lying next to each other and moving their bodies rhythmically.

At 3 years 9 months, sometimes after 5 minutes, they both stopped rocking at the same time.

At 3 years 9 months they masturbated in their beds before going to sleep.

Team Relationship Versus New Contacts.

As time went on it appeared as if this team relationship would hold up the twins' development and prevent them becoming normally taken up with contacts within their group. Even the additional contacts they made seemed to be on the model of siding with children temporarily outside the group or of combining for behaviour which was known to be disturbing to adults or other children. In short, it was combining against. (See Chapter IV.)

In many situations they continued to behave in the same way, as a team. They would both sit down, take off their shoes and socks, and throw them at a person with whom they were angry.

When unhappy they continued to rock and masturbate in each other's company.

At 3 years 11 months, four months after entering the Nursery, the twins did not join in games or general activities. They never could stay in a circle more than two minutes; they would then both break away and disturb the other children. But they both showed their fondness for younger children and would protect and play with them. It is significant that even in their turning to other children they made their choice among them as a team; that is, they both chose the same child to like and protect or to dislike and attack. Sometimes it was enough for them if they could choose a child with the same name. Once, for instance, they both attacked two different boys, each named Peter.

At 3 years 11 months they would join the circle in a game if they could each hold the hands of a particular boy, and they objected if anyone tried to take their place next to him.

At 4 years 1 month (6 months after entering the Nursery), when playing in the day nursery, they noticed that Peter was unhappy; both ran to him, comforted him and protected him. For a long time he sat between them sucking, both girls stroking him and protecting him from attacks from other children.

At 4 years 1 month, when their nurse was absent, they were found lying on their stomachs masturbating in the same room, one on a table, the other on the floor. They were still unable to take part in the nursery life but remained apart in each other's company, watching or disturbing the other children.

At this time Mary began to make friends with other children, two big boys and two little boys; she played with the two older boys in a sexually provoking manner and protected the two younger ones. Madge followed Mary in these friendships, and behaved in the same manner.

At 4 years 1 month, at the height of their penis envy, they both refused to wear nightgowns, insisted on wearing pyjamas and, on the same day, were both found urinating standing. When told that girls did not do it like that, Mary said "Well, Madge did it first."

Some insight into these team activities was gained when the twins had formed an attachment to their nurse and in consequence had gained a feeling of greater security in their parents. At this time they showed two distinct trends in their behaviour. On the one hand they were drawn together, forming a team relationship, and on the other they inclined to draw apart. Their differences showed in their relationship towards their nurse and their choice of interests and activities. When the twins were content and peaceful, they followed individual interests and were less concerned with each other. So soon as they were unhappy or angry, they turned towards each other and formed

the team relationship. Anger and unhappiness generally arose when the nurse was absent for a few hours or days or when the parents did not visit the children over a long period of time. In both instances the twins experienced the same disappointment, the loss of the shared love object. Then they clung together falling back on their relationship to each other.

At 4 years 4 months, when Mary and Madge had begun to renounce their team relationship and to enter into relationship with other children and adults, their progress was interrupted by a separation from each other which lasted seven months. At 4 years 11 months, when Madge returned from hospital after ringworm treatment, their reunion reawakened the old team relationship. This was all the more striking since the children had in the meantime developed on different lines. Madge had lived during the separation under hospital discipline, separated from everyone she knew, and this had arrested her in her development. On the other hand, Mary had made splendid progress in the meantime and given up her former aggressive behaviour and her masturbatory activities. When Madge, in reaction against the suppression she had endured in hospital, fell back into temper tantrums, Mary watched her with concern and dismay. But after a short time she would say "If she cries, I must cry too", or "Madge always makes me cry too." Forced to watch and experience Madge's behaviour, she soon took it over again and once more screamed, acted in an aggressive manner and ate as messily as Madge. They had again formed a team.

A month after Madge's return from hospital, the twins had their fifth birthday and were of school age. Soon afterwards they started school; they had both looked forward to this occasion and to the fact that they were now big girls. The first day they went to school, they went gladly and with pride, but in the evening they both said: "I am not going to school tomorrow." From then on they both had a temper tantrum every morning and cried "We don't want to go to school", or they refused to wash or brush their teeth before going to school. One day Mary didn't want to put on her shoes and sat on the floor screaming. Madge sat down and cried too. The nurse put on her shoes as soon as she stopped crying, and then Mary went to wash herself. Madge followed her, still screaming. As soon as Mary realized Madge was still screaming, she started screaming again too. Both followed the nurse about; they threw their shoes away and swore at everybody.

The fantasy of being big girls and going to school did not tally with reality. Their resulting behaviour expressed their mutual disappointment and repeated the revolt against their parents which had brought them to the Nursery.

On another occasion when they did not want to go to school, Madge hid and Mary sat on the road and screamed. They were finally put in a pram and taken to school, Madge still crying on the way. Mary tried to comfort Madge

and asked the nurse why she was crying and then answered herself: "She wants her mummy."

At 5 years 2 months Madge was irritable and found many things to cry about. Mary looked at her for some time and started to cry too. The nurse asked her why she cried. She replied: "Madge makes me cry all the time; if she cries I must cry as well." She went on crying and then added: "We want our mummy."

Mary expressed in these two sentences: "She wants her mummy" and "we want our mummy" her own underlying longing for her mother. On the basis of her own feelings she recognized this behaviour of Madge's as an expression of their common dissatisfaction. Madge's unhappiness and revolt after the return from hospital served as a reminder of their former behaviour, and deprivation.

When the twins were 5 years 3 months old, the parents came to live for several weeks in a caravan near the Nursery in order to get away from the flying bombs and to be near to the twins. After they had been there for some time, both Mary and Madge became attached to them again. After a visit to the caravan they were walking back to the Nursery, both crying and both saying that they wanted to stay at home and sleep in the caravan. Back in the Nursery they sat down on the floor and refused supper and cried: "I want to sleep with Mummy." When the nurse wanted to bath them Mary shouted: "You mustn't touch me." Madge said the same a few minutes later.

At 5 years 5 months, after the parents had gone back to London, the twins were one day seen walking down the road hand-in-hand. When asked where they were going, they replied: "We are going to London." They attempted to leave the Nursery as a team just as they had run away from the parents at 3 years 5 months.¹

¹It may be that one of the reasons why children are drawn together to form a gang and then perform acts of delinquency is because they are attracted by some common emotional factor, i.e. early disappointment and frustration in their relationship to their parents. They then combine forces and defy the rest of the world by committing acts of delinquency which are an expression of revenge. The pleasure found in these delinquent acts may be compared to the games of the first pair of twins, Bill and Bert, which have been described above. The gang is exclusively occupied with its own absorbing activities, interest is withdrawn from the rest of the world except where it is part of these doings. In some way the delinquent activities are symbolic expressions of the personal needs of each member of the group, as well as a revenge, which is displaced from the personal parents to the community as a whole. The dissocial acts express the dissatisfaction common to the gang.

The individual members of the gang are able to withstand all the efforts made to influence them because they are completely engrossed in each other and in these symbolic activities. The super-ego of each individual cannot be reached at the moment; it is overwhelmed by the power of the emotion which has found an outlet and which is reinforced in each member of the gang through the contagion of feeling.

Individual members of a gang may often experience conflicts of loyalties, such as were observable in Mary's case. They feel the tie to the parents as well as to the gang pulling them both ways. As with the twins, there exists a strong identification with the members of the gang which is based on old, often unconscious disappointments, conflicts, and frustrations in the relationship to the parents. The gang activities which express the reaction to and the symbolic revenge for these disappointments have an irresistible attraction for them. The loyalty to the gang, because of this underlying identification with its members, has a greater claim on them than the relationship to the parents and thereby to the social community.

It would be an interesting subject for investigation whether the adherence to the gang always presupposes the existence of a strong relationship to a child companion, with whom the child has shared the first disappointment in the parent relationship and who is then replaced by the later comrades of the gang.

CHAPTER VI

REACTION TO SEPARATION

As stated in Chapter IV the twins were first seen to take notice of each other's presence at 7 and 8 months. Separation from the twin was taken notice of several months later, although all the children reacted much earlier to separation from their mother or mother-substitute.

First Reactions to Separation.

In the Nursery the twins were only separated from each other when one of the pair was ill, except in the case of Bill and Bert, who were kept apart at the end of their stay.

BILL AND BERT:

At 14 months Bert was aware that Bill was missing. He looked for Bill when he was out of his sight and shouted with pleasure when he found him again.

At 14½ months Bill and Bert were separated when Bill had tonsillitis. When they were reunited two days later, Bert noticed Bill immediately and stretched out his arms towards him with a very happy expression. He remained in the corner of his cot next to Bill for many hours. Bill was not as quick in noticing Bert but he waved at him and he, too, remained in the corner of the cot next to Bert most of the day. The next day Bill still seemed aware of the separation and watched Bert, while Bert had resumed his usual behaviour.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 16 months, when Bessie was in the room while Jessie was in the garden, Bessie did not seem to miss her, but she greeted Jessie with pleasure when she returned. Jessie showed similar pleasure when she saw Bessie.

Indifference at Separation.

BILL AND BERT:

At 16 months Bill and Bert were separated for four days. When reunited,

they ignored each other. Bert was asked "where is Bill?" He turned his head away and cried. For a week they did not rock their cots near to each other, as they had previously done.

BESSIE AND JESSIE:

At 16 months Jessie and Bessie were separated because of whooping-cough. When shown to each other from a distance, they looked at each other as if surprised and acted as if they did not know each other. When shown to each other at another time, they smiled and waved.

At 18 months they were reunited after a separation of seven weeks. Bessie looked past Jessie for a minute, then pointed at her and smiled. Jessie ignored Bessie, appeared to be more interested in everyone else, then looked at her, wrinkled her nose in a way she had when she was pleased, and smiled.

This apparent indifference to each other after separation is a common reaction of children after a separation from their mothers. The greater the unhappiness at the separation the more marked is the indifference towards mothers when they reappear. Separation from the twin seems to have the same emotional value and produce the same reactions as separation from the mother. In the instances quoted above the feelings of hurt and anger at being separated from the love-object are expressed by rejection of the loved person at the moment of reunion.

Reaction in Speech.

BILL AND BERT:

At 17 months, on the day when Bill and Bert were separated on account of Bert's illness, Bert for the first time used the word "gone" when something was dropped in the sickroom; his vocabulary at this time comprised about five words. The next day he said "all gone" when he spat out semolina. The following days he said "all gone" on several occasions; when he swallowed food, when he sneezed and when a screen fell over. After eight days the twins were reunited for a short time, since the illness did not seem to develop. Bert showed no pleasure at being with his twin again, but did not say "all gone" during the next five days. After five days he really came down with measles and was again separated from Bill. As he was carried out of the room he said "all gone" when going up the stairs, on entering the sickroom and when moved to another house.

Bill in the meantime had used the word "gone" during one of the days when the twins had been reunited. The same day he said "all gone" when a ball was dropped. On the day when the twins were separated for the second time, he stopped eating his meal, looked at the empty place where

Bert's cot used to stand and said "all gone". The following days he used "all gone" repeatedly: when another child disappeared behind a door; when he stood at a gate and looked out into the garden; when another cot was placed in the position where Bert's used to stand; when he saw another child return from the sickroom and placed in a cot which had been empty; and one night he said "all gone" continuously from 10 p.m. to 3.30 a.m.

There was no doubt that Bert understood the meaning of "all gone" which he used to express his feelings at the loss of various cherished objects. Also in the case of Bill the word was charged with very high emotional intensity. The increasing violence of the use of the word, its continuous repetition in the night gives evidence to the strength of his feeling at the separation from his twin.

Reaction in the Form of a Game.

The "all-gone" reaction described in Bert was further elaborated in the form of a ball game in which both twins participated. Both children loved balls and they each had a big one that they carried about with them.

At 16 months Bill acquired the word "bally" as the second word of his vocabulary.

At 17 months Bert preferred balls to all other toys. He threw them away and then fetched them again.

At 18 months, when the children were together again, Bill said "ball gone" and the next day "ball all gone".

The attachment the twins had to balls, the game of dropping and fetching, and finally Bill's putting into words the disappearance of the ball, "ball all gone", brings into the open the emotion the twins were trying to master by means of their play. Freud's description in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* comes to our minds. The child described by Freud masters the painful situations of separation from the mother in the form of a game by first throwing away a cotton reel and then making it reappear. The twins when separated from each other evidently felt a painful emotion of similar strength and used a similar mechanism to overcome their pain. Separation from the mother and separation from the twin seem to be emotional experiences of equal value.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

With Jessie and Bessie a toy dog was used as substitute for the twin and playing with the dog as a means of overcoming the emotions which were due to separation from the twin.

At 2 years 3 months Jessie was in the sickroom separated from Bessie and she continually stood on a black and white toy dog and rocked gently on it.

Then she would suddenly get up, bang the dog against her cot and finally throw it on the floor as if she were furious with it.

By standing on the dog she made it disappear from her own view; by rocking on it she produced rhythmic satisfaction for herself. The maltreatment of the dog expressed her passionate anger concerning the loss of her usual playmate.

At 2 years 5 months Bessie was in the sickroom; she continually stood on a black and white dog repeating at the same time "doggie all gone now". She was especially fond of this dog and she always asked for it when taking her afternoon rest. When Jessie was mentioned, Bessie said "Jessie all gone".

Her action of standing on the dog served the purpose of making it disappear as Jessie had disappeared, thus repeating on the dog actively the event of disappearance from which she had suffered passively in Jessie's case.

Awareness of the Twin during Separation.

The twins were often aware of each other even when separated.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 16 months Jessie awoke when Bessie cried in the next room although the door was closed between the rooms.

At 2 years 3 months Bessie was in the sickroom shelter separated from Jessie, who was at the other end of the shelter. According to the report of the night nurse, Jessie woke early in the morning and repeated several times "my Bessie crying". The nurse thought Jessie was dreaming as she herself heard nothing. But when she went to the sickroom shelter, Bessie was really crying.

At another time Bessie was sleeping in the sickroom shelter again. Jessie, who was in the ordinary shelter, woke during the night, cried for half an hour and could not be comforted. There was no sound from Bessie all night; but as soon as her mother came in the morning, she said very seriously: "Jessie cry, Mummy, Jessie cry".

At 2 years 3 months Bessie was in the sickroom with German measles and cried a great deal. Jessie, who was in the nursery several rooms distant, repeatedly stopped what she was doing and ran to the door saying: "My Bessie crying, see my Bessie". Bessie in the sickroom would hear Jessie crying long before anyone else noticed her and drew the attention of the nurse to it: "Jessie crying", or "Jessie naughty".

This behaviour of the twins is similar to the behaviour of mothers who are aware that something is wrong with their children long before anyone else is. Many mothers hear their children when no one else can. They will appear on the scene when something is wrong impelled by some unknown reason. It is as if these mothers were aware of their children even when out of sight and hearing.

The Mirror Image as a Source of Comfort.

In the Junior Department of the Hampstead Nurseries there was ample opportunity to watch the behaviour of all the children towards their mirror image. When children under 2 were shown their reflection in the mirror, at first they usually said "baby" as if they did not recognize themselves. Some children showed great pleasure and affection towards the mirror image and tried to kiss it. Children from 2-3 years were often noticed talking to the mirror image. When some children were shown photographs of their playmates they recognized them at once, but they did not recognize themselves. Some characteristic examples of such behaviour are the following:

Larry, 20 months, was shown a photograph of himself with his sister; he pointed to his sister and named her, but when he was told to look at himself he did not appear to know his photograph.

Lilian, 2 years 7 months, was shown photographs of nursery children; she recognized them at once, showed pleasure and named each one. She never recognized herself; she either did not react to her own picture at all, as if the photograph were of a perfect stranger, or she named a certain boy in her own place. Soon afterwards Lilian and other children were all looking in the mirror. Lilian pointed at the reflection of her playmates and called them by name, to her own image she named the same boy she had mistaken for herself on the photograph.

It is natural that a child is more familiar with the image of other children and grown-ups than with its own, for it is only through reflection that it catches sight of itself and usually only of the front view. In the material at our disposal there is no evidence to show why some children fall in love with their own image, pat and kiss their own reflection and show tremendous pleasure at the sight of themselves. It remains doubtful whether these children recognize the image as their own or take it to be that of another person.

The twins followed the pattern of the other children in the Nursery in not recognizing the mirror image as that of themselves, but they took the image to be that of their twin. The twins must have been far more familiar with each other than with themselves, and the mirror situation appeared to them as the most ordinary and familiar day-to-day experience. This was made clear by many of their actions before they could speak, and received confirmation once they were able to express their thoughts in words. For instance, Bill at 2 years 5 months called Bert, "other one Bill" and used the same expression for Jessie: "other one Bessie". And he made use of the same words when seeing his own reflection in the lavatory mirror when urinating: "other one Bill do wee-wee".

Here are further examples of how the twins, when separated, used the mirror image as a substitute for their missing twin:

BILL AND BERT:

At 17 months Bert was in the sickroom with a cold; he had no appetite, had eaten little breakfast and refused his dinner; to distract him the nurse held him up in front of the looking-glass and slowly moved a spoonful of food towards his mouth. Bert was delighted with the image in the mirror; he opened his mouth wide and ate spoonful after spoonful enjoying watching his reflection eat.

We may suppose that he found pleasure in eating because the familiar image in the mirror was eating too.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 17 months Jessie and Bessie were separated owing to whooping-cough. Bessie was observed looking in the mirror; she held out a stone in the direction of the mirror, as if showing the stone to her mirror image.

During this same month of separation Jessie discovered a long panel mirror, where she could easily see her entire self. She took all her toys and put them on the floor near the mirror, settled down next to the mirror and played there.

A child often shows interest in a mirror and it will hold out an object towards the mirror as if showing it to its mirror image, but Jessie, by bringing all her toys to the mirror and settling down next to it, gave the impression that she had really tried to find her twin and in this way attempted to gain the companionship she was missing.

At 22 months, when Jessie saw herself in the mirror, she was very pleased; she pointed at it and said "Bessie".

At 2 years 1 month Bessie was shown her reflection in the mirror; she first said "Baby", then after a while "Jessie".

At 2 years 4 months Bessie was asked by her mother "Where is Jessie?" She went to the mirror, pointed at it and said "there my Jessie".

BILL AND BERT:

At 2 years 3½ months, Bert was separated from Bill. When he saw his own reflection in the mirror he said "Billy".

Identification with the Missing Twin.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 2 years 5 months the twins were separated owing to illness. Bessie slept in the sickroom shelter with a number of other sick children. The children were noisy and sat up in their beds; when told to lie down all the children obeyed except Bessie. Bessie refused to lie down and made as if she did not

hear or was not concerned. When told repeatedly to lie down she finally said angrily: "Me not Bessie, me Jessie." She immediately lay down when she was called Jessie.

In this instance Bessie became her missing twin. The identification with the twin is only one step further from putting the mirror image in place of the twin. In mourning the identification with the lost love-object is a common mechanism.

MARY AND MADGE:

At 4 years 5 months, when Madge was in hospital, Mary asked every morning for Madge's frocks and aprons. She preferred to wear Madge's clothes instead of her own.

Emotional Reaction to Missing the Twin.

BILL AND BERT:

At 17 months the twins were separated when Bert was suspected of measles. Bill continued to play the games which he usually played with Bert, choosing as his playmate one of the nurses and another child who was remarkably like his twin brother in appearance. On this occasion he tried to crawl out of the room for the first time.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

It was difficult for Jessie and Bessie to stand being separated even for a few minutes.

At 2 years, when Jessie was taken into the garden and Bessie left upstairs, Jessie cried and called Bessie.

At 2 years Jessie came into the nursery looking around for Bessie; she asked "Bessie?" then went out again and looked for her in the bathroom. She returned to the nursery holding Bessie's hand, pointing at her and shouting with a happy face, "Bessie, my Bessie."

At 2 years Jessie had impetigo and spent most of the day in a pram in the garden. Bessie remaining upstairs in a cot because she had a cold. Bessie was very sad, did not play and sat quietly in the cot most of the time. When Jessie was brought upstairs, Bessie brightened up at once, laughed and played.

At 2 years the twins were separated because Bessie was ill. Bessie cried for Jessie in the shelter. She seemed so unhappy that she was taken to Jessie's bed. Bessie looked at Jessie, smiled at her and put her hand inside her shelter net and stroked Jessie's face, saying softly, "Jessie, Jessie", then she went back to her bed and was soon asleep.

At 2 years 4 months, Bessie was in the sickroom. Jessie suddenly would break off her play, run to the door insisting, "see my Bessie now". Sometimes

she was taken to the sickroom door and shown Bessie. She said, "my Bessie", frequently and then was quite willing to leave again after a short time.

Both twins seemed reassured the moment they had seen each other, and knew that the other was all right. A mother who is separated from her child will also feel reassured when she is allowed at least to see it.

Several weeks later, when the twins were still separated, Jessie no longer was so insistent to see Bessie, but she would often be heard saying without any connection, "my Bessie". Jessie was still missing her twin although she no longer needed the same reassurance as before.

Mourning for the Missing Twin.

As the twins grew older their emotional reaction at separation became intensified and might well be called a state of mourning.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At nearly 4 years Jessie went down with scarlet fever and had to be sent to hospital. Bessie was terribly distressed; she kept crying, "I want my Jessie, I want my sister." She continually looked for signs of scarlet fever on herself, and when she found a minute red spot she would show it and say: "I got it now, I must go to hospital."

For the first few days of separation Bessie never laughed, hardly smiled and would scarcely eat; she retreated to her room and lay on her rest-bed. She withdrew from the other children and preferred to play by herself. Once at that time she was sick, but had no temperature; she asked to go to bed. She lay down with a happy dreamy expression. The next morning she asked to go to the sickroom but when told that she was not ill she said: "I want to sleep until my big sister comes from hospital".

She spent most of the time sitting at a small table drawing letters for Jessie; she kept sweets, pictures, etc., and put them in envelopes, which she called "embalance", a word she coined from envelope and ambulance.

At bath time she insisted that her mother should act as if Jessie was really there, prepare a flannel, fill a tooth mug and she cried if her mother said she thought it was not necessary.

She talked very little, and when she did, it sounded like baby talk. She did not answer questions, and sometimes, after a long silence, she would suddenly say "my Jessie".

After two weeks, when it seemed that Bessie had accepted the fact that Jessie was in hospital, she would suddenly pull one of the nurses to the bathroom, point to Jessie's empty towel hook and ask why Jessie had not been given a bath towel.

Bessie in her unhappiness behaved far more like an adult than like a child. Only in her baby talk did she regress and act in a manner similar to that of a toddler, when separated from its mother. Expressing loneliness, retreating from company, wishing to be alone, writing letters and collecting presents for the missing one are all actions common to adults, when separated from a love-object. It is a well known mark of mourning for the bereaved to try to keep the house, the possessions, the routine of everyday life just as it was when the dead person was alive, setting the place at the table, for instance, for the missing one as if the person were still alive. Or in a moment of forgetfulness and denial a customary act is continued, when such an action is now senseless. Bessie's manner of behaviour over her sudden separation from her twin combines the reactions usual in states of separation and of mourning in adults.

MARY AND MADGE:

At 4 years 3 months Mary was in the sickroom with German measles. Madge appeared every hour at the sickroom door. "Is Mary better, can I see her?"

A few weeks later Madge, in her turn, was in the sickroom with German measles. Mary kept running up to the sickroom, did not stay long, but often would bring plums from the garden to Madge.

A State of Mourning for the Missing Twin during a Separation of Seven Months.

MARY AND MADGE:

At 4 years 4 months Madge had to go to hospital with ringworm. Mary was desperately unhappy. She sat on the floor, rocked and cried, saying over and over again: "My Madge, my Madge." Later she asked: "When will she come back?" "I want her now." She continually came and asked whether the nurse would go now and fetch Madge in the car.

Mary collected all sorts of things for Madge and saved them for her. On a walk all the children were each given a hazelnut. Mary said: "You must not eat them, they belong to Madge; she must have them all because she is in hospital."

Some days Mary cried off and on all day long. She was asked why she was so unhappy and she replied that she had been crying for her mummy and for Madge.

When Mary hurt herself or was cross she would cry in a continuous monotonous way and call "my Madge, my Madge".

Mary woke up screaming in the night; the night nurse could not comfort her. Finally she sent for her own nurse. When her own nurse came she told her she wanted "my Madge".

In all these examples Mary is showing her longing for Madge, and her

unhappiness at being without her twin. When she calls for her mother and Madge, she shows that the longing for Madge is similar to the longing she has experienced for her mother.

One evening Mary was found crying in her bed. She was asked why she was crying. "Does Madge want to come to me, does she cry?" Here she was trying to identify herself with Madge and imagining whether Madge, too, was wanting her and crying for her.

Over-estimation of the missing twin.—One day Mary said: "Do you know Madge; she is much bigger than me." "She is nicer even than Inge." (One of the workers in the Nursery of whom she was especially fond.)¹

On one occasion, when setting the table, Mary put out an adult's knife and fork at the place next to hers. When asked for whom she had set this place, she answered at once: "That is for my Madge, she is coming now."

Mary asked the sick-nurse: "Will you say hello to my Madge when she comes back?" "You know my Madge can sweep your sickroom and I will show her everything." This was said on a day Mary had helped in the sick-room.

In all these instances Mary is giving qualities to Madge that are far superior to her own, even superior to her favourite grown-ups. She makes her bigger than herself and nicer than her favourite nurse; she sets the table for her as for an adult, and imagines the sick-nurse greeting her and Madge helping her do an adult piece of work. Mary here has the pleasure of showing her how. But the stress is put on Madge's superiority and on her ability to do something well.

The over-evaluation of the lost love-object is a common characteristic shown in mourning.

Effort at sublimation.—In an effort to overcome her separation from Madge, Mary invented games.

Mary on her bicycle rode back and forth on the drive. When asked what she was doing, she answered: "I am driving myself to London Town, I'm going to see Madge." And at another time, when again riding her bicycle, she said "I am going to fetch Madge."

Soon after Madge had left Mary was given two identical dolls—one for herself and one to keep for Madge until her return. She was delighted with the dolls, but almost at once she fell and broke Madge's doll. Several weeks later it was suggested to her that this doll should be taken to London to be repaired. She agreed to the suggestion and promised to bring the doll that afternoon when a car would be going to London. When it was afternoon and

¹See also example of Bessie: "My big sister", page 46

time to leave, Mary did not turn up with the doll. When asked whether she did not want the doll to go, she burst into tears and cried in despair, "My Madge, my Madge."

Mary could invent games to comfort herself, by actively imagining doing the things she wished to do; see Madge, fetch Madge. She also used the dolls as substitutes for herself and Madge, but when the doll too was going to be taken away from her, the reality of the emotional situation was too much for her, and she re-lived the separation from Madge once more.

When Madge left, Mary tried especially hard to be good; she was over-polite and exaggeratedly obedient, but only so long as she was with her own particular nurse. She never left her side, followed her about all day long, and wanted to hold her hand. When her nurse had her hours off or day off, Mary screamed and had temper tantrums. When her nurse came back she would not come near her or make friends; she tried to kick her and to hurt her and yet she followed her about and would not let her out of sight.

Madge's departure and long separation from Mary had been enough to shake her feeling of security. She tried to become the perfect child in order to please her nurse so that she would not forsake her, but when the nurse left her even for a few hours it frightened her and she got into a state of panic, fearing she had left her too. When the nurse returned she was angry with her and yet needed to keep her in sight every minute in order to reassure herself that she was really there. The loss of Madge had been a great shock, a repetition of the early separation from the parents, and she was now expecting to be left by everyone whom she loved.

These reactions are the ones common to children when suddenly separated from their mothers.

Impatience.—Every night when Mary went to bed she asked: "Where is Madge, when is she coming back?" although she knew quite well she would not be returning for a very long time.

Then she would add: "On Saturday." When told no, she laughed and said: "Oh, yes, she is coming on Saturday." Or at other times she would ask, knowing perfectly well the answers: "Is Madge coming to-day?" And although she would be told no, she would insist, as if she had not heard, "is she?" and after repeated negative answers she would continue: "She is, isn't she?" Mary refused to accept negative answers, because she wanted reassurance that Madge would eventually return and time for a child is hard to understand.

Mary tried to grasp the meaning of time.—Mary in a moment of forgetfulness (denial) asked one of the nurses to go and find Madge, and added: "She will be in the workshop"; before she could be reminded that Madge was not there

at all, Mary added herself: "She is in hospital and she has all her hair off."

At another time she confided to one of the nurses: "Madge isn't coming back yet, not on Wednesday and not on Saturday" (the days the car came out from London). "My Madge isn't coming soon, she will be a long time, she isn't coming Saturday, and not on Wednesday. When will she come?"

But when Mary was told that she still had a long time to wait, she asked, "After dinner?"

Since it is impossible for a child to understand the conception of time except for very short periods, it was impossible for Mary to accept the prolongation of the separation. The longer it became, the less she could accept the fact that Madge did not reappear.¹

Longing for news.—The twins' nurse had to visit another hospital to see another child. Although Mary knew which child the nurse had visited, she asked her when she returned: "Have you seen Madge in hospital?" When reminded that the nurse had been in another hospital, Mary said: "You shouldn't go to another hospital, you should have gone to Madge and you should have taken Madge out of bed and brought her back to me."

When the nurse really visited Madge at another time she told Mary all about the visit. Mary listened intently, then said: "Now say the whole story again." And it had to be repeated seven times before she was satisfied.

The effort to remember Madge.—As the weeks and months passed, Mary must have felt that she was forgetting Madge. She was skipping around the room, stopped and asked: "Does Madge like to dance like that?" On another day she interrupted her play several times, and asked whether Madge liked to play with a doll, whether she liked to go for a walk. Mary evidently did not want to lose the memory of Madge and tried to bring her back to mind in this way.

Fear of death.—The continual longing for Madge finally developed in Mary's mind into a fear that Madge had disappeared for ever. Mary became pre-occupied with thoughts about death.

Mary, on going to bed one evening, asked her nurse: "When is Madge coming?" She was told "soon". She replied to that "never", after a little pause: "I mean she will not be very long. I mean she will come back." Then she continued with the following questions:

"Is Valerie's mummy in hospital; is she dead?" She was answered according to the facts, that Valerie's mother was dead. "Where is your mummy, is she dead?" ("No.") "Where is David's mother?" ("She is dead.") "How did she

¹Madge's conception of time may have developed better than Mary's during her stay in hospital. At 5 years 2 months she said: "Will today be yesterday tomorrow?"

die?" She was told about death in general. Mary listened and said: "Isn't that funny, shall we laugh?"

On another evening Mary asked another nurse to put her to bed. When the nurse took her up to bed, she said: "Now will you sit down a little bit with me and let us talk about my parents, about Mummy and Daddy and my sister and brother?" Then she asked the nurse: "Where is your mummy?" "Why is she dead?" "Who made her dead?" "She went to sleep and didn't wake up any more." "Like that?" Mary shut her eyes. She continued: "So one day I wake up, and another I don't?"

Mary was told about death, that people generally die when old or ill. She was also told a story containing her own experience. She did not seem interested, but later, when put to bed, she said: "I loved that story, will you tell it again?" When the nurse came to the part where the little girl thinks she will never see her mother again, Mary interrupted: "Say that again", and she wanted a similar story repeated for many evenings.

Children of Mary's age seldom show longing of this intensity except when separated from their mothers. Brothers and sisters are usually not mourned unless a prolonged unhappiness about their absence or death is caused by feelings of guilt owing to earlier hostile and death wishes against them.

Separation from the Twin and the Mother Relationship.

Illness and hospitalization provided the rare occasions when the twins were able to be alone with their mothers. These periods were not as enjoyable for the twin who was left behind with the mother as would have been expected. It appeared that the children felt the wish for sole possession of the mother too much and were too aware of the absent rival. They feared the time when the mother would leave them to visit their twin and became upset as the time for reunion drew near, as the following examples show.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 2 years 3 months Jessie and Bessie were separated for over a month because Bessie was in the sickroom. The mother divided her free time between the children. Bessie enjoyed her mother when she was with her; at first she was upset when the mother left; later she appeared quite content to know that the mother was going to Jessie. Once when the mother had carried Jessie upstairs from the basement shelter, Bessie said: "No Mummy, Jessie up, Jessie's mummy." A nurse comforted her by saying "Bessie's mummy too." Bessie smiled and seemed quite content, but obviously needed the reassurance given by the nurse.

During the same period Jessie was very anxious to keep her mother with her. She insisted that her mother should sit down next to her and she was

not happy until she did. She showed off to her in order to keep her entertained and when she started to leave, Jessie would shout "My Mummy not go." When the mother said that she must now go to Bessie, who was in the sickroom, Jessie got furious, shouting, "No Bessie." On another day, when the mother came to bath Jessie, she refused to be bathed by her: "My Mummy not bath Bessie, only Jessie."

At 2 years 10 months the twins were separated again because of illness. They both seemed to enjoy the mother, when they had her to themselves, but when she had to leave Jessie, Jessie clung to her, threw herself on the floor and screamed: "Mummy not go Bessie." Bessie was desperate too when her mother left her; she would cry in a monotonous way, or repeat, just as monotonously, "My mummy", or "My mummy gone."

When the mother told Bessie that Jessie was leaving the sickroom and returning to the other children, Bessie said: "Not come back, not like Jessie." When she did come back, Bessie appeared very pleased, but twice during the day she hit her on the head.

CHAPTER VII

THE OVERCOMING OF JEALOUSY FOR THE SAKE OF THE TWIN RELATIONSHIP

THE twin relationship which began in our children as shown in Chapter IV differed from the ordinary sibling relationship in its further course in several important respects. As indicated before, the children had equal status, and neither could claim either the prerogatives of the elder nor the indulgence usually afforded to the younger. Therefore their envies and jealousies could not be settled by falling for good into the rôles of stronger and weaker as siblings usually do. They changed rôles repeatedly, a process which is shown in its beginnings in the chapter on Activity and Passivity (pages 21-22). Equally important is the fact that their growing need for each other (see Chapter VI on separation) acted as a powerful check to the negative feelings which arose from envy, jealousy and competition. Further, in contrast with the normal course of events, our twin children could be observed to develop two early emotional ties at a time when other children establish one tie only; that to the mother. Twinship and mother-relationship, later parent-relationship, developed simultaneously and side by side. They influenced each other, and at times acted against each other. The twins had a double task, on the one hand to solve the conflicts between love and hate separately in each relationship, and on the other hand, simultaneously to find a balance between the two relationships, i.e. between their love for the parents and that for the twin. The former problem is illustrated best in the development of Jessie and Bessie, the latter by the emotional problems of Mary and Madge.

The Overcoming of Jealousy and Envy in the Twin Relationship.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

Jessie and Bessie showed the first signs of contact with the mother at the same time (see page 20). This does not mean that their response to the mother was identical. They reacted to her in different ways, to which difference the

mother in her turn reacted in spite of her initial intention to treat the twins alike.

Development of the mother relationship. Envy and jealousy in regard to the mother.— At 11 months Bessie, by her persistent shrill way of crying, forced the mother's attention on to herself. At first Jessie looked on passively and took second place. At 18 months Jessie found a way of gaining attention by a certain roguish and coquettish behaviour which her mother thoroughly enjoyed and which became more pronounced and varied as she realized that she could attract her mother in this way. She used her cleverness to make friends with her mother and to thwart Bessie in every way she could. In the meantime Bessie had lost her previous ascendancy over Jessie (11–16 months); she became clinging, shy and stubborn with her mother, and copied everything that Jessie did. This period reached a climax around 2 years. (See page 27.)

At 21 months the mother made it a habit to put the twins to bed herself regularly, although she frequently saw them during daytime as well. From tea-time onwards, the twins got very restless, and stood by the door waiting. Jessie would call "Mummy" while Bessie made unhappy noises. When the mother appeared, both would brighten up and settle down to play.

At 22 months, when the mother came into the room, Jessie ran to her, Bessie turned her face angrily towards the window and would not look at her. When the mother had to leave them again, Jessie would have a temper tantrum and Bessie would cry bitterly.

There were times when the twins played quietly and happily with their mother, but these times were rare. As a rule the quiet periods were spoiled by attacks of jealousy by one of the twins.

At 22 months the mother was looking at a scratch in Jessie's face. Bessie came from behind and hit Jessie on the head with a heavy toy.

At 2 years, the mother was taking the twins up from their beds. She dressed them together on the bed, but when she lifted Bessie down first, Jessie got furious and tried to get attention for herself by kicking off her slippers.

Jessie's form of aggression was quite open and direct. Bessie showed her aggression less often but when she did, her attacks were unexpected and violent.

From 20 months giving the children their baths became a very complicated affair. At first they were each bathed separately in a little bath, but there was a great deal of trouble as each wanted to be the one attended to until they began to watch each other being bathed. At 2 years, when the mother came in the evening and said, "Jessie bath", Bessie would take a chair and carry it to the bathroom, climb on it and watch Jessie's bath. But when the mother wanted to bath Bessie first, Jessie would fly into a temper; in the end, however, she would agree to watch the bath.

Watching the other being bathed was a first effort to overcome the jealousy in an active way. Bessie was able to do this better than Jessie.

Since Jessie was unable to cope with this bathing situation, the mother decided to try giving the children a bath together.

At 2 years 2 months, the mother was giving the twins a bath together in one bath tub. Both screamed after the bath when the mother could not dry them at the same time. Bessie had a flannel in her hand; the mother took it from her. Bessie got aggressive and hit the mother. Jessie hit her mother too.

Envy and jealousy in the twin relationship.—From the time Jessie had gained the ascendancy over Bessie (18 months) she used every means to get what she wanted from her. She hit, bit and snatched things away from Bessie.

At 21 months, Jessie pulled Bessie's hair when she had a toy she wanted.

She was aggressive at times without apparent reason. It seemed that Bessie annoyed her simply by her presence.

At 21 months Bessie began to protect her rights and fight back.

At 2 years, 2 months, a typical example of this time:

Bessie was digging in the sand. Jessie came and snatched her spade away. Bessie cried but took the spade back. Jessie sat down, cried, but got up very quickly, took the spade again and ran away. Bessie ran after her, took the spade, hit Jessie and went back to the sand pit. Jessie screamed for five minutes, then sat up and took no notice of anyone. Bessie came and sat beside her, gave her the spade and stroked her hair. Jessie pushed her away, saying "No, no, Bessie." She refused the spade and Bessie left it at her side. Jessie got up, went to Bessie, took her hand and they walked round the garden together, the spade forgotten.

In this example both fought for what they wanted, but neither twin could stand her own aggression against the other for any length of time. Bessie could not stand the unhappiness she caused by taking back what was originally her's and Jessie wanted to be friendly with Bessie again. The conflict between negative and positive feelings towards the twin had come into action.

Up to about 3 years Jessie was able to keep her dominant position over Bessie. Bessie was passive, copied Jessie in every way, and showed her dependence on Jessie. Jessie was very clever and used her cleverness to get the best of Bessie.

At 2 years 2 months Jessie asked for a sweet for Bessie, ate it herself and then let Bessie lick her fingers.

At 2 years 10 months Jessie asked for a sweet for Bessie. She took the paper off it as if she were going to eat it and said: "I must take the paper off for Bessie; she can't do it", she then took the sweet to Bessie.

At 3 years 2 months both children were given sweets. Jessie ate her's quickly.

Then she said to Bessie "Let's play mummy and baby; you are the baby", and she tried to take away the sweet from Bessie. When her mother asked what she was doing, she said, "Mummy must keep sweetie for baby."

At this time the lessening of her unfairness towards Bessie was due as much to the mother's disapproval as to her own rising sensitiveness to Bessie's unhappiness.

At 2 years 3 months Jessie was heard saying to herself before going to sleep, "Me got a big mummy, a big nursey and a little Bessie." This was another way Jessie had of enforcing her dominance over Bessie, a belittlement in the form of affection.

At 3 years 10 months Bessie, in her turn, referred to Jessie in a moment of stress as "my big sister".

At 2 years 6 months Bessie was being bathed in the little bath. Jessie asked for an apron and said "Me wash my Bessie." She very competently washed, dried and dressed her. Her own bathing completed, Bessie then put on an apron in her turn and attempted to bath Jessie, but Jessie absolutely refused; she screamed and hit her and Bessie was terribly disappointed.

Jessie was not willing to be the smaller and dependent one. She would not give up her superior position over Bessie. Both tried to overcome their jealousy through activity. But Jessie would not allow Bessie this outlet because she could not stand a dependent position towards Bessie.

Between 2½ and 3 years, the mother became very upset over Jessie's various forms of aggression towards Bessie. She especially minded her deceitful ways, and worried over Bessie's passivity and dependence on Jessie. She therefore encouraged Bessie to fight back when Jessie attacked her. It may have been due to this encouragement that Bessie became more aggressive around the third year.

At 2 years 11 months, Bessie pinched, hit and bit Jessie for no apparent reason; she showed great pleasure when she did this. Jessie would run away without trying to defend herself.

Bessie wanted a toy that Jessie had, she bit her violently. Jessie was desperate about it.

At 3 years, Bessie always wanted what Jessie had and when Jessie gave it to her and took something else instead, Bessie immediately wanted the other toy.

At 3 years, Jessie in the mother's presence tried to take a toy from Bessie and hit her when she did not succeed. The mother told Bessie to hit back. Bessie would not. The mother insisted and told her three times to do so. Finally Bessie went for Jessie and scratched her very badly in the face. All three were very upset.

At 3 years, at another occasion, Bessie hit Jessie and Jessie was being comforted. Bessie shouted: "My mummy said so."

Obviously Bessie's aggression towards Jessie was as strong as Jessie's towards Bessie. She could only express it when she had the mother's backing and approval, but then the violence of her attacks was even greater than Jessie's.

At 2 years 10 months, Jessie put her rivalry quite clearly into words in the following ways: The twins came in for their tea, there was only one place ready. They were told that the plate on the table was for Bessie and another one would be fetched for Jessie. Jessie shouted: "Never Bessie first, only me first, Bessie second."

Just before the twins' third birthday the mother said in front of the twins: "The children will have their birthday soon." Jessie said: "Only me birthday, no Bessie birthday."

At 2 years 11 months, Jessie had been very unpleasant towards Bessie and when told it wasn't nice, Jessie replied: "But I don't like her." Bessie on a similar occasion had said: "I don't like Jessie."

In spite of this very clear outspoken hate for each other, and rivalry for their mother's love, the animosity would vanish suddenly and they would be especially nice to each other, even in the midst of a fight.

Positive emotions in the twin relationship, parallel with rivalry.—From the beginning positive emotions towards each other were evident in the twins; in the course of time this affection for each other became an important factor in modifying their envious and jealous behaviour.

At 21 and 22 months they had very quiet and contented times playing together. They could spend a great part of the morning making up the dolls' cots and undoing them again, without disagreement. They played almost all the morning filling large tins with cubes.

They showed their interest in each other from the time they awoke in the morning. The minute one awoke she would call the other. Jessie tried to reach down to Bessie from her shelter bed, while Bessie tried to reach up to Jessie.

They always chose chairs next to each other at meal times.

At 22 months the twins had settled down at different tables. Suddenly Jessie looked around to where Bessie was sitting, got up, took her chair and sat down next to her.

At 23 months the twins were taken out of their pram and allowed to walk. Jessie was quicker and left Bessie behind. She looked back, stopped and ran back to Bessie, and from then on Jessie adjusted her pace to Bessie's.

Praising and blaming each other. Exhibiting each other.—All children enjoy praise from an early age and will go far in modifying their behaviour to win approval

or admiration. This desire to be approved of or to be admired either for physical or mental qualities and achievements is normally directed towards the parents or the adult world in general and only in rare instances towards other children, when it takes the form of impressing younger ones or gaining favour with other siblings or playmates. With Bessie and Jessie the tendency to give praise to the other or to be praised by her was at least as noticeable as the same tendency directed towards the mother or the nurses.

The inclination to put blame on another child and thereby to escape criticism is a common one with all young children. It is often the first sign that a child has learned to disapprove of certain wishes in himself and therefore ascribes this particular tendency to somebody else. Usually the child who is blamed in such a manner defends himself violently and indignantly. In the case of the twins their identification with each other led often to such blame being accepted without refutation.

At 20 months, Bessie's hair was arranged in a new style and she was told how nice she looked. She turned round and went to Jessie standing quite a while in front of her. When Jessie smiled with approval, Bessie came back and smiled at the nurse who had arranged her hair.

At 23 months, Bessie had a new dressing gown. Jessie laughed and pointed at her, saying "look" to several people in the room.

They enjoyed being praised by the other and asked for praise. It is possible that in this instance and in exhibiting each other they were copying the mother and the adult world, and turning to each other for admiration and praise instead of to the mother.

At 22 months, during the habit training both Bessie and Jessie praised the other when successful on the pot.

At another time Jessie got up from her pot, proudly pointing at the good result; she then went into the next room, took Bessie's hand and pulled her to the pot saying "look" and pointing at it. Bessie looked at it with interest.

At 23 months, both twins were successful on their pots. Both got up at the same time, Bessie extremely pleased with herself and Jessie with Bessie.

At 2 years 1 month, Jessie had a period of wetting and dirtying after having been clean. She sometimes said, "Bessie done it."

At 2 years 2 months, someone had made a puddle in the nursery. Bessie took her nurse's hand leading her to it, saying, "Jessie puddle." Jessie had a guilty expression, all the children reproached her, but it was Bessie who had made the puddle. At another time Jessie said: "Bessie done it," when she herself was wet and dirty.

It is very likely that Jessie felt guilty because her cleanliness was none too secure; she might have been guilty and was not sure that she was not.

The twins educating each other.—Putting the blame on another child and criticizing another child, which usually begins during the period of toilet training, leads over to correcting each other for mishaps and instances of misbehaviour. In the case of the twins these instances were even more frequent and they blamed and criticized each other, usually to the exclusion of all other playmates.

At 22-24 months, the twins would find fault with each other when dirty. This fault finding went over to anything that they were usually corrected for—throwing down their plates, aggressive actions towards another child or grown-up. When one of the twins saw that her twin had misbehaved, it was always followed by the other twin saying, “no, no.”

At 23 months when another child tried to take a toy from Jessie, Jessie bit her. Bessie at the same time hit the child from behind. Jessie suddenly stopped biting and shouted, “no, no, Bessie, not hit.”

At 3 years 1 month, the twins had been given a biscuit by their mother. Jessie took off a small piece and gave it to another child. Bessie copied her but only broke off a few crumbs. Jessie criticized her very much, took Bessie’s biscuit, broke it and gave the child half. Bessie did not object.

Taking advantage of the talents of the other.—The twins, much more than is usual with ordinary children, were ready to acknowledge superiority in the other and to make use of the ability of the other instead of competing with it. Thus each twin found it possible to profit for herself by the abilities of the other, and to find them tolerable, which acted as a further means of modifying jealousy.

At 2 years 6 months, Bessie could make recognizable ducks with plasticine, and was very proud of them. Jessie did not even attempt to make any herself, but said to Bessie, “me ducky too,” giving her some plasticine, and Bessie made them for her.

At the same age, Bessie could make rings and bracelets for herself. Jessie never had the patience even to try and she would ask Bessie to make them for her.

Protecting each other.—The team relationship between the twins became especially apparent when one twin was attacked by another child or criticized by an adult. In such instances they acted as a unit in warding off danger. Again, such instances served to modify and lessen the jealousy between them. The protecting twin forgot his jealousy in the pleasure of assuming superiority and turning his aggression outward against the attacker; the protected twin was only too glad at such moments to submit to the assumed superiority of the other and profit by it.

At 2 years 1 month, a child hit Bessie. Jessie saw it and said "no, no, don', don'," stamping her foot quite furiously.

At 2 years 3 months, a child had hurt Jessie. When Bessie saw it, she rushed over to the child and pulled her hair, calling "no, no, naughty."

At 2 years 3 months, a boy hit Jessie. Bessie shouted "no, no," went towards him and made a hitting movement. When Jessie started crying, she stroked her saying, "my Jessie."

A few minutes later the same boy hit Bessie. Jessie rushed at him and then held the crying Bessie in her arms.

At 2 years 9 months, when Jessie hit herself on a chair, Bessie went and hit the chair.

At 2 years 4 months, Jessie stood in front of the babies' nurse in the garden and persistently said "my Bessie." The nurse some time before had told Bessie not to touch the babies. Bessie was now standing near the babies. Jessie saw this and was worried that Bessie would touch them. She was afraid that the nurse would be cross with Bessie and she was trying to protect her.

At 2 years 11 months, Bessie was in a temper because she could not have another piece of toast after having only licked the jam off the toast and then left it uneaten. The nurse picked Bessie up and carried her into the nursery. Jessie was furious with the nurse. "You naughty Sara, you hurt my Bessie."

Helping the other.—They not only ran to protect each other, they also acted as a team in overcoming difficulties. Their attitude of helping each other was a mutual one, even in times when Bessie had accepted Jessie as the big sister. Even in those times, there would be many instances where Jessie needed and received Bessie's help. With ordinary siblings "helping and protecting" are usually one-sided, given by the older siblings to the younger ones.

At 21 months, Jessie was cross because her pudding was not given to her, and she then refused to eat it. Bessie observed her, then gave her her own spoon and Jessie began to eat with it at once.

At 22 months, Bessie was in the breakfast room before Jessie was sitting at her table. Bessie suddenly got off her chair, went to the buffet, took a plate, brought it to the nurse to be filled, then took Jessie by the hand and led her to the table where she had sat and placed the plate next to her own.

At 2 years 1 month, Jessie was pushing a pram and stumbled over every stone. She always stopped in a fury and Bessie came to help her and she showed her how to overcome the difficulty. Jessie stumbled again and the pram fell over. Jessie screamed but made no attempt to right it. Bessie helped her again. After a while Bessie was pushing her pram, fell too, and wanted to be helped as well.

At 2 years 3 months, Bessie wanted to go down the stairs and felt insecure; she would only allow herself to be helped by Jessie. Jessie, who was half-way down, turned back to help Bessie down. The next day Bessie repeated the same situation, but this time Jessie did not come back to help her. It was difficult to say whether Bessie was really in need of help or merely staged the situation because she enjoyed it.

The twins sharing their possessions.—At 23 months, Jessie had a biscuit, she took another and said “for Bessie.”

At 2 years 4 months, Jessie found a piece of chocolate in her pocket, she came with it and said “break it,” and then gave half of it to Bessie.

At 2 years 8 months, at breakfast, whenever the twins got food from the buffet, they always brought the same for the other as well, two cocoas, two pieces of bread, etc.

The wish to have something just for themselves and the wish to share with the twin could be observed at the same age and period of development. The efforts to overcome jealousy went on at the same time as the outbreaks of envy and jealousy. In time the sharing got the upper hand and the envy and jealousy only appeared in times of unusual stress.

Comforting each other.—At 21 months, when Jessie was on diet and therefore did not like her food, she threw her plate on the floor, looked down and remained motionless. Bessie came to comfort her.

At 22 months, Jessie was hit by another child. Bessie comforted her.

At 2 years 1 month, Jessie had her nails cut. Bessie stood next to her and tried to soothe her.

At 2 years 4 months, a child hit Jessie; she cried a while, then turned around to Bessie, “Bessie kiss,” and held her hand out to be kissed. Jessie stopped crying and went off followed by Bessie.

At 2 years 6 months, Jessie fell down and her nose bled. Bessie started crying and kept on stroking Jessie, then she followed the nurse into the bathroom and watched as she was washed. When Jessie’s nose stopped bleeding she said in a soft voice, “Jessie better,” and led her into the nursery.

At 2 years 10 months, Bessie screamed for more than 10 minutes because she could not sit on the chair she wanted. Jessie got up saying: “Me go and see my Bessie.” When she came back she was asked if she would give her her chair. She agreed and gave Bessie her chair, and was delighted when Bessie stopped screaming.

Affection.—At 2 years, when Jessie was going to have her rest she first went to Bessie’s bed and kissed her and said, “my Bessie,” Bessie kissed her too.

At 2 years 2 months, Jessie and Bessie lay in the same bed. Jessie was saying "my Bessie, my Bessie" in an affectionate voice putting her face quite near hers. Bessie was putting tiny bits of rusk into Jessie's mouth. Jessie repeated "my Bessie" several times until the rusk was eaten up. Then she crawled to her side of the bed and went to sleep.

At 3 years 5 months, Jessie was asleep when Bessie came to bed. Bessie walked straight to Jessie, kissed her several times very gently and then climbed into her own bed.

On these occasions, the affection the twins showed towards each other seems very similar to the expressions of love a mother gives her child.

Both Should Have the Same.

It became more and more important for the twins that they should each have the same thing at the same time and that they should do the same thing at the same time. They wished to dress alike and could not stand the situation when one was dressed differently from the other. They wished to eat the same things and even to be on the toilet at the same time.

On their second birthday the twins stood in front of the table which held their presents. Jessie enumerated each object: book—doggie—frock, then she took them off the table and gave them to Bessie. Bessie doggie, Jessie doggie; Bessie book, Jessie book; Bessie frock, Jessie frock.

At 2 years, Bessie was wearing a bead chain that a child had made for her; she showed it off, enjoying the admiration that she got. Suddenly she turned to Jessie and said, "Jessie bead," got very cross, then pointed at the tin of beads, and stamped her feet, until Jessie too was given a chain.

Even when separated they were worried until reassured that the other had the same.

At 2 years, Jessie found it difficult to decide whether to stay in the garden for her tea or go upstairs with Bessie, and finally stayed in the garden. When tea came she took each thing and turned to the nurse and asked, "Bessie egg"—"Bessie bread"—"Bessie cocoa?" and only when reassured that Bessie was having it too did she begin to eat.

Conclusions.—The wish of the twins always to have the same thing, to share what they possess, and to copy the other, originates from the wish to have more than the other, to do better than the other, in other words to supersede the other. By sharing, the twins have overcome this former competition and have reached the first stage of an altruistic development.

At the same time sharing is the continuation of their former competition. The struggle is now centred around the desire to have, not more, not less, but

the same. To have the same prevents the other from having more and in this way they are able to strike a balance.

The two mechanisms employed to overcome the jealousy of each other are: identification which produces a form of altruism, and fairness as a reaction-formation against competition. Together they produce harmony in the twin-relationship.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE RELATIONSHIP TO THE PARENTS AND TO THE TWIN

Dividing Parents.

MARY AND MADGE:

In the case of Mary and Madge the positive relationship to the parents was disturbed through many years of separation. In their manifest behaviour at home both children felt estranged from father and mother and treated them with hostility. When living in the Nursery with us the children reinstated the parents as loved objects in their fantasy and re-lived and readjusted their relationship to the parents in their imagination. The following examples show how they overcame their jealousy of each other with regard to the parents by various devices, such as each appropriating one of the parents, each appropriating another sex, etc.

Mary and Madge arrived at the Nursery at the age of 3 years 7 months.

On their first evening in the Nursery, Mary cried a lot for her daddy, Madge shouted: "My mummy must come back, she will come back." And she talked about her mother in a sad voice.

When they spoke of their parents they referred to them as "Mary's daddy" and "Madge's mummy".

On going to bed at night Mary repeated each night: "Good night, I want my daddy." (As they knew only a few words their conversation was very restricted.)

At 3 years 11 months, Madge talked about her parents on a walk: "It is my mummy and Mary's mummy." Mary interrupted shouting: "No, it is *your* mummy, it is my daddy. I have my daddy and you have your mummy." Madge answered: "All right."

She obviously gave in to Mary's insistence on dividing the parents. Madge could have the mother, but she must have her daddy.

During this period both children had been much interested in observing the boys having their baths. Mary made friends with two older boys and two little ones, trying to provoke the big ones to sexual games and mothering the little ones. Madge followed Mary in these games but she did not instigate them. Later both children insisted on wearing only dungarees and pyjamas and urinated standing.

At 3 years 11 months, Mary said: "I am a boy." One day while undressing: "I am not a girl." When asked what she was, she repeated: "A boy."

A day later the two children were standing next to each other. Mary said: "I am a boy," and Madge added, "I am a girl." The division had gone further, they tried now to divide the sexes, that is they were identifying one with the father and the other with the mother.

At 3 years 8 months, three weeks after their arrival in the Nursery, the parents visited the children. Mary ran to her father. Madge went slowly to her mother. However they both wanted to sit on their father's lap and both paid little attention to their mother.

The following day Mary pretended she was her father. She said: "I am my daddy with a big bag of chocolates," and repeated this game several times.

At 3 years 11 months, Mary one day was very dissatisfied; first she wanted a big chair; when she had it, she did not want to sit next to a particular child. Finally she sat down, but soon got up and said: "I don't want to sit down. I want my daddy."

Four days later Mary cried because another child was going home. "I want to go home. I want to meet my daddy and mummy, and go home." It took a long time to cheer her, she got cross with another child, started to scream: "I don't want my mummy, I don't like her." This was the first time that Mary had wanted her mother as well as her father although she did bring out her hate against her mother a few minutes later.

A month later, the mother visited the children. When Mary noticed her standing behind her, she looked at her mother in amazement, did not say anything, but went with her to have tea and took her hand. She said: "Is my mummy, I want to sit next to Mummy." She had tea and bread and butter with her. Madge, when she saw her mother, blushed and with a very angry expression said: "Go away, I don't like you." She lifted her spoon and threw it at her. Her mother, startled, said "naughty girl," then Madge spat at her. Madge did not want to go and have tea with her mother but finally went with her but did not want to take her hand. She refused to eat, took up a knife and threw it at her saying: "I don't like you."

The next day both children were nice to their mother. Madge said that her daddy would be coming soon and that she wanted to fetch him. In this instance

when the mother was actually there, Mary, who only cried for her father, was nice to her mother, while Madge, who kept demanding her mother in her absence, could only show her violent aggression when she appeared.

When the parents let long periods of time go by without visiting the children, the twins would get very upset, aggressive, and were very difficult to manage.

Once when the father came alone after a long interval, Mary and Madge both wanted to sit on his lap, but neither spoke to him. When he wanted to kiss them good-bye, Madge kissed him, but Mary refused. After this visit Madge continued to ask for her mother every night, while Mary kept saying, "I don't like my mummy." Here again the twin (Mary) who had cried for her father, could not be nice to him when he was there, while the other twin who had appeared indifferent could show her affection. It would seem that the strength of the emotion made it impossible for the twins to be nice to the parents. Mary hid her love for her mother, even in her fantasy, by stressing her interest in her father. When the parents were there in reality, the twins could then only show affection towards the parent they had not stressed in their fantasy—Mary towards the father, Madge towards the mother.

At 4 years when the father visited, Madge ran to meet him and kissed him. When Mary was told that her father was there, she started off to meet him, but when she saw him she hesitated and did not go further, and it was not until the nurse took her hand that she went to meet him. In contrast to her fantasy about her father she was unable to show affection towards him in reality. Madge who had no such relationship with her father in her imagination showed normal affection towards him in her manifest behaviour.

At 4 years when Mary's nurse accidentally pulled her hair, Mary cried and could not stand being comforted and only got annoyed. She said: "I only like Daddy, don't like Mummy." This action of the nurse probably reminded her of her mother and made her turn against the nurse as she had turned against the mother; affection for the father was shown here as revenge against the mother.

At 4 years Madge wet her dungarees, which she loved to wear and preferred to dresses. When she could not have another pair of dungarees or pyjamas she was very upset. When a dress was produced that her father had given her, she said: "Did my daddy give me that?" When she was told that he had, she was quite willing to put the dress on.

At 4 years, Mary was offered an apron. "I don't want an apron"; when asked why she replied: "My daddy does not wear an apron." When told her mother did when working she agreed, but replied: "I don't want an apron." Later she put one on to keep her dress clean and thought Madge should have one too, to save her dress.

At 4 years, on two successive nights Mary said the following to her nurse:

"Have you got a daddy and a mummy?"

"Where is your daddy?"

"Where is your mummy?"

"My daddy has got sweets and chocolates."

"My daddy has got new socks."

"My daddy has bought me a new coat."

"My daddy is coming to-morrow."

"Your mummy and daddy are coming soon."

These remarks show that Mary is interested in both father and mother. Her idealization of the father and longing for him is probably over-emphasized through the effort to leave the mother completely to Madge.

A few weeks later, the parents visited the children. Mary went to them and held her father's hand, later she sat on his knees, but she did not go to her mother. Very slowly she became more friendly with her mother and just before the parents left, Mary would not let her mother's hand go, and said: "I want to go with you, don't go Mummy." The mother nearly cried at this mark of affection from Mary and said: "What a pity I have to go just when Mary starts to be more friendly." Mary did not cry when they left, only turned her aggression on to the nurse saying: "I won't talk to you." When Madge was told her parents were there, she looked at them and took her father's hand. During the visit she preferred to stay with her father, but she was nice to her mother as well. When the parents left, she did not cry either, but she turned against the nurse, called her names and said "I don't like you."

On this occasion Mary showed that she was beginning to turn towards her mother, accepting both parents. On the other hand, Madge's remark, "I have no daddy," sounded as if she very much regretted having given him to Mary. She wanted a father too. The aggression they both turned on the nurse when the parents left was evidence of how they expressed disappointment by anger and turning away from the person they loved, as they must have done when the parents left them in their first Nursery.

At 3 years 11 months, Mary was concerned with the problem of one and two as the following conversation shows:

"I am a twin."

"There are two twins."

"Madge is a twin."

She went up to Madge and said: "Madge, you're a twin." Madge answered: "No, I'm not, I'm Madge."

At 4 years 1 month, the twins were especially excited and communicative at bedtime. Mary said to her nurse: "I want to tell you something. Have you

only one daddy or mummy? And only one mummy?" "I have got one daddy and Madge has only one." "My mummy and daddy are coming back soon and then I go home and you can't see me." When the nurse said she would miss her, Mary said: "Would you?" "Do you want to come with me—no, not with me, Madge will take you."

Here Mary considered the problem of having only one daddy and one mother for herself and for Madge. Then she thought of going home and of the separation from her nurse, whom she loved: a difficult problem which had often been repeated in her life. She was undecided between inviting the nurse to her home and wanting the parents for herself, and compromised by handing her over to Madge, as she had handed over her mother to the twin.

At 4 years 2 months, the parents could not come on Parents' Sunday and the twins were unable to accept the fact. Shortly before the bus arrived with all the other parents, Madge said: "My daddy will come soon in the bus." When reminded that he wasn't coming, she cried and said: "But I want him." Mary on the same occasion said that she could see her daddy through the window. She cried a lot saying she wanted her mummy and her daddy.

At 4 years 3 months, rusks were found under the children's pillows, they said that they wanted to keep them for their daddy.

At 5 years 1 month, Mary started the game of "mummy, daddy and baby". Mary was the daddy and Madge the mother and the nurse the baby. The parents went away to London to bring sweets for the baby. Then they came back with many presents and kissed the baby. Mary in the rôle of daddy said: "Baby, you can come back home when the wall (war) is over, then we will fetch you."

During the same period: for several days Mary said to her nurse: "I am still your daddy, only pretending," and then she played with her nurse, daddy and baby.

At 4 years 4 months, on Parents' Sunday, Madge rushed to meet her parents but when she saw them she turned her back on them. When her mother lifted her up, she laughed and kissed her. Mary was one of the first children to wait for her parents. When they came, Mary stood still, looked on the ground and smiled. When her father lifted her up, she put her arms around his neck, she then went to kiss her mother.

At 4 years 5 months, Madge was suspected of ringworm and came to the London Nursery on the way to hospital. Her hair had been cut off and she wore a cap which made her look like a boy. As a result she felt like a boy and identified with one, and showed a greatly heightened interest in men, though she remained friendly with the sick-nurse whom she had known before.

At 4 years 5 months, Madge met two boys on a walk and tore off her cap

when she passed them. The boys were surprised and exclaimed: "Why, she is a girl and looks like a boy." Madge was delighted.

Madge was resting on a bench with her nurse, where a lady and a baby sat. Madge ignored the lady and the baby and only watched the men. A little later a lady in a bright dress and two men passed in front of her. Madge remarked: "There are two men." When the lady with the bright dress was mentioned, she said: "I don't like ladies," and, most emphatically, "I like men only." When she was reminded that her nurse was a lady too, she smiled but said: "Yes, but I like men."

From 4 years 5 months to 4 years 11 months, while Madge was in hospital with ringworm, Mary's relation to her mother and to her father became stabilized. She was very happy with both.

At 4 years 11 months, after Madge returned from hospital where the parents did not visit, the children said: "My daddy won't come," and then Madge had the following fantasy that the parents were there. She pointed to the bed next to hers and said: "My daddy sleeps in there, he is a good boy, my mummy is like a girl and she sleeps here, next to me, my daddy will come soon."

At 5 years, after the mother's visit, Madge said: "I had a lovely time with my mummy," and Mary at once: "And I had a lovely time with *my* mummy."

Here both children claim the mother, although Mary still likes to identify with her father.

Dividing Other Objects of Interest with Each Other.

During the period when Mary and Madge were especially insistent on dividing their parents, allocating the father to Mary and the mother to Madge, they behaved similarly with other objects of interest.

At 4 years, Mary and Madge were looking at a picture book. On one page there was a rabbit, on the other a dog. Madge said: "My bunny," and speaking to Mary: "Your doggie," and from then on whenever these two animals recurred on the pages, they referred to them as "mine" and "yours" respectively.

At 4 years 1 month, Mary looked at a sheet of polyphotos of the boy twins Bill and Bert. She immediately named one of the pictures "Mary" and the other boy twin "Madge". She went right through the series of pictures and named them correctly without mistake, according to the way she named them first.

At 4 years 1 month, when Madge became friendlier with her nurse and her parents, she made friends with the cook of the Nursery. She loved to go into the kitchen and help her.

At 4 years 1 month, Madge was in the kitchen helping, and she said: "Sophie, I am your friend." Later in the bedroom she said to Mary: "Sophie is my

friend, is she your friend, Mary?" "Yes, Sophie is my friend," Mary answered. Madge enjoyed her friend for herself, but had to offer her to Mary as well.

Two days later, when in bed, Madge said to Mary: "Sophie is my friend, she is *not your friend*, Mary."

A few days later Mary wished to say good night to Sophie. She came back to the nursery with a biscuit. "My Sophie gave me a biscuit, I want Sophie to put me to bed." Then she got into bed. Mary said: "I want Sophie to put me to bed." "No," said Madge crossly. Here she was anxious to keep her friend for herself and claimed her as her own. For several days she picked flowers for her.

At 4 years 1 month, Madge still considered Sophie one of her best friends. She did not talk about her, but liked to go to her, to help her and to hold her hand. At this time Mary made friends with a visiting nurse whose name was Sophie as well. This friendship seemed to be based on two separate facts: firstly on the identity of name with Madge's friend, secondly on the fact that this Sister Sophie had a birthmark on her hand identical with a birthmark that Mary had on her head. Choosing a friend according to name happened before in the life of the twins at the age of 3 years 11 months when each of them were interested in a different little boy named Peter.

Disturbance of the Twin Relationship During Separation. Re-establishment of Balance after Reunion.

The effect of prolonged separation on twin development was observed in detail on Mary and Madge since Madge had to spend 6½ months in hospital for the treatment of ringworm. They were separated from 4 years 4 months to 4 years 11 months. When Madge returned it was possible to observe most clearly the conflict that went on in each of the twins between their loyalty to each other and to their nurse (as substitute for the mother), or directly between themselves and their parents.

Mary had gone through a state of mourning for Madge as already described (see "Separation", p. 47.). While Madge was away, she had stabilized her relationship to her nurse and enjoyed having her to herself; she had made a natural and happy relationship to her parents which had made possible two successful visits of several weeks to them. Madge in the hospital had not had the same opportunities as Mary; she was not only separated from Mary but from her nurse as well. This separation must have been one more shock added to her other experiences of separation from her parents, one that Mary had not shared with her. As a consequence, Madge had not achieved the same stability as Mary and she had not undergone the same gradual improvement.

In spite of these differences both Mary and Madge were delighted at the

prospect of seeing each other again. Madge was fetched from hospital by her nurse and, the moment the hospital gates were closed behind her, she talked incessantly, asking innumerable questions mainly about the journey back to the Nursery. She was extremely happy. She said: "I love to go to the drive (the drive of the Nursery). I love Mary and my mummy and I love you too. I love all the grown-ups on the drive and I like this lovely train and the soldiers and the aeroplane."

Mary on her side had made all sorts of plans to welcome Madge, but on this day she was unfortunately in the sickroom with a cold. Madge came to the door. The twins looked at each other and smiled. Madge asked: "Why is she in the sickroom?" and then added: "I love Mary." Mary looked down and said: "What colour is this blanket?"

A week later Mary dictated a letter to her mother. "Mai, Mai (the pet name she used to call Madge) is coming very soon and Daddy and Uncle Tom and Madge is coming soon. I have been a good girl and Madge has been a good girl and she has been playing with me. And Madge says she loves me and I like her. Madge is coming back, once she's been in hospital and then Lizzy (her nurse) fetched her."

Mary is still emotionally involved in Madge's return. Time, as we have seen before (p. 49), is difficult for Mary to comprehend, Madge is back but Mary is still re-living her arrival and the joy of having her back.

Madge showed immediately the effects of her hospitalization; she had lost the independence acquired in the Nursery before she left; she had even forgotten how to feed and serve herself; she had lost her security and as a result repeatedly asked Mary, her nurse and the other workers in the Nursery: "Do you love me?" At the same time she behaved very much as she had done when she first came to the Nursery. She called people names, and when crossed had temper tantrums and took off her shoes and stockings as an act of aggression.

Mary helps Madge.—At first Mary tried to help Madge to get used to the Nursery. She looked after her, saw that she had a coat on when it was cold, or at dinner time that she had enough pudding. She also tried to protect her from dangers. On a walk the twins saw a lorry standing by the roadside. Mary said: "I hope it won't run Madge over." When the lorry began to move towards them, Mary grabbed Madge's hand and pulled her on to the grass edge of the road. When the lorry had passed, she sighed and said to Madge: "See, it couldn't get you there."

Madge had been in the sickroom for a few days and was allowed to play for an hour in the garden. After a short time the twins came to Sister Mary. Mary was holding Madge's hand and said: "Look, Sister Mary, she has wet feet and wet socks, she shouldn't, because she will get ill again."

Mary is proud of Madge.—About a month after Madge's return from hospital, while the other children were being bathed, Madge had prepared the room for their supper. She had brought the chairs, and fetched the trolley with the food. Mary came running and shouting into the room. "Lizzy, do you know what? Shall I tell you? Madge was a very good girl, she is ever so clean, she tidied up the whole room."

But when Madge behaved in an unmannerly and aggressive way and had temper tantrums, Mary watched her with great concern. Madge's return did not prove the happy time she had expected; it was on the contrary full of difficulties and problems that she had to cope with. Madge was not behaving in the same way as she had learnt to do and become accustomed to, nor did she meet the various daily experiences as she herself now did.

Mary stands up for Madge.—On a walk Madge was aggressive towards the other children and her nurse did not allow her to push a pram because she had hit a child. She got very cross, and called her nurse names. She then calmed down and wanted to hold her nurse's hand, but the nurse did not forgive her at once and refused to make up. Mary then took Madge's part and was cross with the nurse and said: "You black pig, you hurt Madge, because I saw you do it." Madge ran off and was soon out of sight. Mary said: "I hope no lorry will come and run her over."

At another time Madge was again furious with her nurse. Madge had hurt another child and her nurse had taken her to her room. She was sitting on the window with her back to the nurse. Mary entered the room and when she saw Madge, she went to her and put her hand on her shoulders. Madge asked Mary quietly and affectionately whether her nurse was "big job?" Mary smiled and said: "Yes, she is."

Madge threw a big brick at one of the workers, she was scolded and then refused to come to her tea or to be bathed. At last Mary went and fetched her.

Mary tried thus to keep her good relationship to Madge, helping her over her difficulties and even siding with her against their nurse, but this started a conflict in her, between her feeling for the twin and for the nurse. She had to turn against the nurse as Madge did.

The twins' quarrels.—Although Mary sided with Madge, she was greatly disturbed by her behaviour at the same time and often quarrelled with her. The quarrelling and the understanding and help that Mary gave Madge might follow each other in quick succession.

A few days after Madge's return from hospital Madge had hit Mary on the head and Mary was standing in the drive crying. While Mary was being comforted, Madge came up and asked: "Mary, do you love me?" Mary

didn't answer but smiled. Madge took her hand and asked again whether she loved her. Mary answered: "But you shouldn't hit me."

Very often at meal times Madge would take something off Mary's plate; then Mary kicked her and Madge replied in kind, and they both kicked and cried.

About seven weeks after Madge's return, Madge made fun of Mary. Mary shouted: "Be quiet, don't talk, shut up." Madge scratched Mary's face. Mary bit Madge's finger. Madge cried and said: "See Mary, you bit me." Mary replied: "I didn't." Madge: "You did," etc.

Increasing tension.—The tension between the twins increased. They continually quarrelled with each other. Madge kept up her aggressive and uncontrolled behaviour but at the same time she showed that she was dissatisfied with herself. Mary in the meantime had rapidly lost what she had gained during Madge's absence; she now behaved very much like Madge; she was unmannerly, aggressive and masturbated excessively once more, was disturbed and most unhappy. She lost the good relationship to her nurse which she had slowly developed and stabilized after overcoming the strong transference period which had reached its climax when she exclaimed, "I don't like Lizzy, I don't like Mummy." Mary now once more turned against her nurse. The seven months that she had enjoyed her all to herself made the present situation very difficult for her. She had to share the nurse with Madge and her jealousy of Madge broke out in great violence. The twins now tried to push each other aside, to destroy each other in their competition for their nurse's attention and love, and at the same time they turned against her or withdrew each time they were disappointed by the nurse.

On a walk Madge threatened to lock up the nurse in the telephone booth on the road; she added that her mother had a key to it. Mary pulled her nurse's sleeve and whispered: "My mummy hasn't really got a key and I won't let Madge lock you up."

Mary was often found crying. When asked why she was crying, she usually complained that another child had hurt her. This was hardly ever true and when told so, she went on crying and said: "Well, I don't like John or any other child in the Nursery." Her nurse suggested that she might be cross with Madge. She shouted in reply: "Yes, because she takes my slippers away from me."

Madge was found on the floor rocking and screaming, and showed a blue mark on her forehead where Mary had hit and pinched her. While the nurse was comforting Madge, Mary followed, threatening Madge in a low voice: "I shall go on hurting you. You are a big job, wee wee." Madge shouted back: "No, you are." Mary took up some stones and threw them at Madge. She

could not be stopped and kept on throwing things at Madge, until the nurse finally took Madge into the house to protect her. Mary shouted after them: "Well why did Madge come back here? She should stay in hospital."

The twins also quarrelled more harmlessly with words.

Madge: "Look, I found this Golliwog."

Mary: "It has nice, soft hair, what a nice Golliwog."

Madge: "It's a nasty Golliwog, I will kick it and tear a hole in it."

Mary: "Then I will mend it with a needle, then he won't have a hole any more."

Madge: "You won't mend it."

Mary: "I will."

Madge: "You won't," etc., etc.

Mary: "You are a shitty bum, I will tell everybody they shouldn't like you."

Madge: "And they won't like you."

Another time Mary openly brought their competition back from the present love-object, the nurse, to the original object of their rivalry, the mother. While they were dressing they quarrelled and Mary shouted, throwing her shoes at Madge: "It's my mummy, not your mummy."

Repetition of withdrawal as a means of solving inner conflicts.—During the first period of transferring her affections to the nurse, Mary had been in the habit of withdrawing from her in times of conflict or telling her to "go away, I don't like you." And at another time after the parents had visited them, Mary had said: "I don't want Lizzy, go away." In the present situation she would repeat this when in conflict. She would masturbate excessively, leaving the nurse abruptly for this purpose, once hiding in the bushes to masturbate. On the other hand while withdrawing from the nurse she turned in fantasy back to the original love-object, to the mother.

Once when she ate messily at supper time, the nurse told her that she couldn't eat with the other children unless she made less mess. When she continued the plate was taken from her; she promised not to do it again, but persisted and when she was again stopped, she screamed, left the room and went about the house crying.

At bath times Mary was especially difficult, she refused to come and then refused to let her nurse undress her. She did not allow her to bath her, to touch her, so she was allowed to bath herself, but she cried angrily while she did it. Once she said: "You mustn't bath me, only Mummy can."

At another time Mary said to her nurse: "If you make me cross again, I shall go home. I can walk home even if it is very far."

Interplay between love and jealousy.—During this period it was sometimes noticeable that Mary could only love her twin when she felt herself to be loved by the nurse and could love the nurse in return. Her jealousy of Madge was appeased then, she would acknowledge that Madge had been good. "We were both good girls." She would then share with her once more as the following example shows:

The nurse had been away for a short holiday. When she returned unexpectedly, Madge jumped out of bed and ran to her shouting: "My nice big Lizzy has come back." Mary sat back in her bed, rocked and took no apparent notice of the nurse. Later, when sitting on her lap, she said: "I don't like anybody in this house, I am cross with everybody." The nurse told her that she thought she was only cross with Madge. Mary answered: "Yes, she always comes in my bed and she hurts me too. I don't like her, I don't want to stay here, because I don't like anybody." The nurse then asked whether Mary didn't like her. Mary replied: "Yes." The nurse invited her to stay with her all the morning. Mary was very cheerful and then in the evening told the nurse that Madge had been a good girl while she was away.

The twins change rôles. Madge now helps, comforts and protects Mary.—The twins had reached a crisis in aggressive behaviour towards their surroundings and each other, and this led to a complete change of rôles between them. Obviously, the strain of Madge's return from hospital was too much for Mary. Mary was faced with several difficult problems all at once: she had to share the affection of their nurse with Madge again after possessing it exclusively for the seven months of Madge's absence; and she had to cope with Madge's aggressive and regressive behaviour which was at a different standard from her own. Under this double demand she broke down and regressed in behaviour herself. This change for the worse in Mary gave Madge the opportunity of gaining the upper hand, an opportunity which she seized about six weeks after her return from hospital. To everybody's surprise Madge attempted to behave. She said: "To-morrow I will be good." And after a few such promises she really succeeded in her efforts.

In the past it had always been Mary who helped Madge. At the age of 3 years 7 months Mary at the medical examination had led Madge to the doctor after having been examined herself. As a mother or elder sister does with a frightened child, she had shown Madge how to open her mouth, by opening her own. She had called the nurse at night when Madge needed her pot. When other children had taken Madge's toys, Mary had hit the children,

retrieved the toys for Madge, and without saying a word, returned to what she had been doing. All this changed now, Madge became the good helpful twin and did everything to overcome her jealousy and to be nice to Mary. At the same time she became better behaved towards the nurse. The following examples, all ranging from 5 years until 5 years 3 months, give evidence of this new phase in their twin relationship.

When Mary had finished her pudding she then helped herself from Madge's plate. Madge smiled and let her do it.

At another time Mary thought Madge had more than her share. Mary screamed and Madge at once gave her the bigger piece of cake.

Mary insisted that Madge had taken her blazer and was wearing it, although this was not true. She would not listen to reason and screamed. Madge took off the blazer and gave it to Mary. Mary stopped crying but did not put it on. She said: "Madge made it dirty," pointing at a spot which had been there long before.

Up to this period they had always quarrelled over who would be first. If Mary played with a toy, Madge would complain: "I wanted to play with it first; Mary always has the first turn." If she couldn't have it then at once she cried and said: "I want it first, I want it first." On a walk she had been heard to murmur to herself: "I want to be first," and even in half sleep she complained about Mary: "I wanted to play with this toy first. Mary always has the first turn," and at another time in half sleep stated: "I will be first, I will be first." Now, when Mary had a ride on a bicycle, Madge called after her: "I must have a turn after you, because I am your sister," and later when they were both watching the other children ride, Madge said to Mary: "I always let you do things first, don't I?"

Both twins were afraid of dogs. They met a puppy on a walk. Mary made a great fuss and screamed. Madge who was rather afraid too, put her arm through Mary's and walked very close to her in a protective manner and took her to the other side of the road. Then they walked on arm in arm for quite a long way.

A few days later the following conversation was overheard.

Madge said to Mary: "If you are afraid of that puppy dog, Mary, I will hold your hand again." Mary replied: "Yes, then it won't hurt me, you know I like that doggie." Madge: "My daddy is not afraid of dogs."

On a walk Mary took her coat off and did not want to carry it. Madge carried it for her all the way home.

In nursery school Mary was angry and threw her chair down. The teacher asked Mary to pick up the chair. Mary screamed. Madge picked the chair up for her and came smiling to the teacher, she said: "Mary has picked up

the chair." Mary laughed and got up from the floor where she had been lying.

Sometimes Madge failed to keep her jealousy in control in spite of her efforts. Once on the way to school Mary was very jealous and always wanted what Madge had at the moment. Madge was charming with Mary, gave in each time, asking: "Do you like it, Mary?" and at other times she called her by her pet name. It was quite evident that she was doing everything she could to please her. Both then picked flowers for their nurse and gave the flowers to a little boy to carry to please him; the three children were having a very nice time together. But the moment they were home, Madge threw herself on the floor and screamed for her flowers, she then snatched them from the little boy saying they were for her mummy. The effort Madge had made to control her jealousy had broken down. A memory of past jealousies in connection with her mother may have welled up in her which she expressed by saying the flowers were for her mother.

The twins change rôles in still other ways.—The change of rôles between the twins went beyond incidents of helpfulness to an exchange of the masculine and feminine position which they had held before. Mary through her identification with their father had formerly assumed the masculine rôle towards Madge. This masculine rôle was now taken over by Madge and acted out towards Mary. Mary on the other hand assumed a passive feminine attitude towards her twin and began to develop pronounced masochistic tendencies.

The twins were often found sleeping in the same bed. Madge on such an occasion was heard to say to Mary: "Are you freezing cold, my little darling?" Mary answered: "I am all right. Thank you."

Mary once asked her nurse: "Are you glad that you are a girl, or would you be a boy?" She continued: "I want to be a woman."

At another time when they were in bed together she said to Madge: "You be the boy and lie on top of me."

The twins were in the sickroom together. Madge went over to Mary's bed. Mary declared that she was the woman and Madge said that she was the man. Later in the evening the twins were found sleeping in the same bed. The nurse urged them to get each in her own bed and pushed back the bed clothes to get them out of bed. Mary was lying under Madge.

Madge cried about something or other and Mary looked at her with sympathy. Madge threatened: "I shall kick Mary." Mary heard her and went close to her, waiting to be kicked. Madge kicked her several times, to be exact six times. Mary stood there and let Madge go on kicking her and did not say anything. Later the twins were seen walking off hand in hand.

Whenever Madge had a temper tantrum, she would kick and hit out and

often unintentionally hurt Mary. Then Mary did not move away but would stand quite close to her, looking at her, apparently very disturbed and distressed; then she would finally begin to cry.

Re-establishment of balance in the Mother Relationship.

Before the separation of the twins, when they had overcome their first jealousies and established a more balanced relationship to each other, they had also been able to stabilize their relationship to their nurse. It was an affectionate, trusting relationship and Mary expressed it best one night when her nurse was putting her to bed. She threw her arms around her neck and said: "Lizzy, you are my dear Lizzy—Mummy." Their better relationship to the nurse had automatically and gradually improved their relationship to the parents.

During the separation Mary had visited her parents and these visits had been very successful. When Madge returned from the hospital she heard Mary talk so much about her parents and her visits that Madge wanted to visit there too. A ten-days' visit was arranged for both children and both behaved in a natural and affectionate manner towards the parents.

But when the first excitement of Madge's return had passed and she had relapsed into her aggressive ways, she found it difficult to be as friendly towards her parents as Mary was. Her setback owing to her hospital experience showed in her relations with the parents, as well as in all her other relationships.

At 5 years 1 month, Mary became disturbed when the parents let many weeks go by without visiting the children, and sadly she said: "I don't mind the bombs, I want my mummy."

Mary worried about her mother as she had about Madge while they were separated. She would ask her nurse whether her mummy was dead: "Where is my mummy?" When told that she was at home and well, she replied: "She isn't." This fear of Mary's was increased when the father visited her alone and she heard her father give a vivid description of how their mother had fainted. When her father had left, Mary was pale and depressed, she said she wasn't going to cry, but when questioned why not, since she felt sad, she cried for a long time. Then she became very cheerful and excited. She told her nurse funny stories. When her nurse said she didn't understand why she laughed when she worried, she answered: "Because I mustn't be sad." And when again reassured that she could be sad she said: "Well, I love to laugh." In the evening, on going to bed, she called her nurse to her and said: "I know why my mother died—I mean, got ill, because she was out without slippers." When told her mother was quite all right, she said shyly: "Yes, I know, she is only a little ill."

Two days later when Mary said good night to her nurse, she took her hand and smiled and didn't talk for a long time, then she fantasied: "My mummy will come in two days, she will come into my bedroom and draw the curtains and dress me. I will say: 'Hello, my mummy you have been a long time.'"

At the twins' age of 5 years 3 months, the parents moved into a caravan near the Nursery because of the flying bombs. The children could visit them daily. Mary enjoyed these visits and was happy with the parents as well as when she came back to the Nursery; there she was very cheerful and would call her nurse "my darling".

Madge, on the contrary, found it difficult to visit her parents in the caravan, she held back and often did not want to go. When the mother once fetched them at school Madge refused to hold her hand and said: "I don't want you"; the mother then took Mary's hand but was near to tears. Next day the twins' elder sister did not want to take Madge to the caravan because she had been so nasty to her mother. From this day Madge was nice to her mother, but still had difficulty in going there. On returning from the caravan Madge was cross, refused to take her bath, to undress, etc., and had temper tantrums.

In these last months at the Nursery the twins were finally able to gain an equilibrium between their various ties, to each other, to their nurse and to their parents.

Mary often said: "When my mummy comes this time I am going to ask her to take me home for good. There is a bed for me and for Madge in my mummy's house and that's where we are going to sleep."

Towards their nurse they had a very loving and natural relationship. When Lizzy called Mary for her bath, a situation formerly full of conflict, she now came at once and usually said: "You see I always come quickly when you call me. I often help you to tidy up, don't I, Lizzy?" Mary was aware of the change in her behaviour.

Towards the end of their stay in the Nursery their nurse had much less time for them. They realized this as a necessity and only came to her when they were upset. But on weekends when she had more time they stayed with her and tried to help her. They would watch her bath the other children and asked whether they could come on a walk with her. They called her "my darling" and wanted to hold her hand. After such a day Madge said: "But to-day I have been a nice girl, haven't I?"

When the twins realized that their nurse was leaving the Nursery a few days before they were, they were especially good and eager to please her.

During these last weeks the workers in the Nursery reported how charming and manageable the twins were and that they hardly had any temper tantrums.

Madge seemed even able to appreciate when Mary was better adjusted than she was. She asked one of the workers to call her Mary; when asked whether she would rather be Mary, she answered: "Yes." Mary, astonished, turned to her and said: "But I wouldn't like to be you. I want to be me."

At another time Mary said to Madge: "I like to be a good girl, I love helping everybody." But Madge said: "I like to be naughty sometimes, but sometimes I am very good."

CHAPTER IX

THE FANTASY "OF HAVING A TWIN" COMPARED WITH THE REALITY OF TWINSHIP

THE twin relationship, as it emerges from the foregoing observations, fulfils many of the conditions of the fantasy relationship which was outlined in Chapter I. It was shown there that the wishes underlying the fantasy of having a twin originate in the solitude and loneliness which the child feels at the end of the Oedipus phase when his desires to possess the parents have failed and resulted in disappointment. The fantasied twin as the inseparable companion is created as a compensatory relationship. The bond of complete understanding which is missing with the parents unites the twins in the wish fantasy.

The three pairs of twins to whom our observations relate are indeed the closest of companions, nearly as inseparable as the twins of the fantasy. Whenever they are disappointed in their parents, they turn to each other for consolation and understanding. They substitute each other for the mother or other loved person when they find them lacking, mothering, comforting, helping, protecting and loving each other.

As has been shown in the material, they understand each other when they are not understood by others. They appear to perceive and answer to subtle and slight signs in each other which are imperceptible to others and which give the impression that their understanding goes beyond the realm of consciousness. Their actions are often simultaneous (see for instance Jessie and Bessie, pp. 30, 31), or one twin reacts appropriately to the actions of the other without the need of speech (see Bill and Bert, pp. 24, 25, or Mary and Madge, pp. 34-36).

Twins are a complement one of the other, making use of the talents and characteristics of the other that they find missing in themselves (see Jessie and Bessie, p. 59). All these are qualities of the fantasied as well as of the real relationship.

As in the fantasy, the real twins suffer acutely when separated from each other (see Chapter VI). One twin identifies with the other who is missing, taking over his name, his clothes, his characteristics, and tries in fact to be the missing twin. (See Jessie and Bessie, p. 46, and Mary and Madge, p. 45).

Twins, as a group of two, use each other to accomplish what one cannot do alone, that is, they have the strength of two and are invincible. They fight each other's battles and ally themselves against the rest of the world when they feel themselves threatened or find that they are in danger. They can withdraw from the rest of the world when it is too disagreeable and still have a world of their own. (See footnote, p. 38.)

On the other hand, whereas the fantasy of having a twin belongs to the beginning of the latency period, the real twin relationship originates from birth and grows continually with the gradual growth of shared experience and common emotional reaction. When a child has a very close relationship to its mother it appears to read the mother's thoughts, especially when these thoughts are emotionally charged. When two individuals, twins, read the mother's thoughts simultaneously, this may well be a further factor in drawing twins together, stimulating them to read each other's thoughts and feel each other's emotions.

There are other differences between the fantasy and reality of twinship. In the fantasy, the relationship to the twin is imagined as an untroubled and unchanging one. Observation of reality shows the twin relationship threatened by negative and aggressive feelings, which manifest themselves in competition, rivalry for the parents' love, jealousy, and the wish to dominate the other. Our material shows how the twin relationship goes through stormy periods but finally survives these conflicts, and how the need for the twin makes each partner adapt and adjust to the personality of the other. In this manner the twin relationship becomes the closest known tie between two individuals.

The later phases of such an adjustment at the beginning of the latency period could be observed in detail in Jessie and Bessie after their departure from the Hampstead Nursery.

JESSIE AND BESSIE:

At 4 years 5 months Jessie and Bessie left the Nursery in the evening to sleep at home but came back early in the morning when the mother went to work. During this period Jessie used her clever tricks to obtain things that really belonged to Bessie, like the larger piece of cake or a toy from an American parcel. Bessie had the tendency to give in, although she also appealed to her mother for help and when the mother sided with her, Jessie would turn against the mother.

As they became more secure at home their attitude towards each other changed. Jessie still tried to get the best for herself but she asked Bessie's agreement in an unaggressive way: "I can have the red one, Bessie, can I?" Or when Bessie was about to take something she really wanted for herself: "You can have it." Jessie still looked for admiration for her generosity. Real acts of aggression were very rare even with Bessie, and when such acts did occur both children were extremely upset. However the twins continued to insist that the mother should do the same for both of them.

At 5 years, they were sent to boarding school when their quarrels were reported to cease altogether. Jessie's attempt to get the better of Bessie even in a subtle way seemed to have stopped. Jessie consciously fought against her wishes to get the best of Bessie and tried to be fair to her. For instance: Jessie had mislaid a pencil and she was looking for it everywhere. There was a pencil on the table and it was suggested to her that it might be hers and Bessie had perhaps mislaid hers. Jessie was delighted over this suggestion. She kept repeating "perhaps Bessie did." Bessie did not protest but Jessie could not decide to use the pencil and finally said: "Really I know it is not mine, because mine was a little bit sucked and Bessie does not suck her pencils."

They did everything to be as much alike as possible and were never so happy as when they could point out their likeness. Once, when they were playing dressmaking, they chose two dolls which looked alike and called them twinnies. When making new dresses for them, they chose different colours. When asked whether the twinnies didn't like to be dressed alike, they said: "No, they don't like it because they get mixed up, but we like the same frocks." They had new dresses themselves and pointed them out, stressing their likeness. Thus, when identifying with the mother, the children wanted ways of knowing their "twins" apart but as twins themselves they enjoyed their likeness.

At this period Jessie and Bessie were conscious of the difference in their characteristics and talents which gave one superiority over the other in a particular line. Bessie concentrated better than Jessie and was therefore a better pupil. Her writing was better than Jessie's who often turned to her for help in this respect. Jessie was very upset because she found her name harder to write than Bessie's and called it very unfair. In spite of this they never quarrelled, they seemed to have a sort of silent understanding with regard to choice of occupation, toys and decisions generally. They were once observed while playing with "little world" material. They never told each other their plans while playing, there seemed to exist an understanding which made it possible for them to work together without criticizing what the other was building but joining in, each using each move of the other as if she had made it herself.

At 5 years 9 months, when changing to another boarding school, they spent

six weeks sleeping at home, being boarded out for the day-time with one of their former teachers. She reported that the twins never quarrelled while with her. Now and then they would hurt each other "by accident". Only when their mother came to fetch them in the evening they would run to the door, greet her joyously, and immediately start to fight and hit each other, even keeping up this behaviour on getting home.

In their games and occupations they would each choose a toy or some material and exchange them at very short intervals.

They helped with the cooking. It was only in the cooking that Jessie chose what to do and Bessie would give in to her decision. Jessie would tire easily, Bessie with her greater power of concentration would keep busy for a long time and Jessie would then watch her.

They helped with the teacher's baby, getting the bath ready, the pram, or tidying the room. They would take turns during these various jobs, even remembering whose turn it was over the weekend from Friday to Monday.

They loved to tell their teacher various daily happenings. One would start, the other would break in and finish what the first had started to say, or they would finish talking in chorus.

The day before they were going to their new boarding school, they realized that they would be separated from their mother. They spent their time making pairs of all the toy animals. Bessie found a single man with a gun and a broken arm. Jessie suggested that he should go to hospital and began arranging the toys to form a hospital ward. This made her remember her stay in hospital when she had scarlet fever and she told about it. Bessie listened to her and then said: "And I was in hospital with scarlet fever. I did go with Jessie and we came back together." Jessie was annoyed, she said: "No, you weren't. Only me and Tony (a baby who went with her) and I looked after him, and I didn't cry at the hospital . . ." Bessie insisted once more that she had been too. She was reminded then how she had waved good-bye, how sad she had been and how she had gone for walks alone with her mother. She had apparently no memory of this time. She looked blank and could not remember ever having been separated from Jessie or that she had been alone with her mother. However she remembered her own stay in hospital, three months later, when her tonsils were removed. She said: "But I did not mind a bit and I didn't cry for my mummy." They then enacted Jessie's going to hospital, but on Bessie's insistence the good-bye between the twins was left out.

Later in the day Bessie said: "We are never ill now, we are always together." When they were discussing their approaching separation from their mother, Bessie comforted herself with the words: "We are never alone. I always have Jessie to talk to." Jessie laughed and said: "I always have Bessie, so we aren't lonely."

CHAPTER X
CONCLUSIONS

THE material brought forward from the detailed observations of three pairs of identical twins may prove useful in two different fields; in twin research, as well as in application to the educational problem presented by twins.

Twin Research.

Identical twins provide the research worker with an unparalleled opportunity for distinguishing constitutional from acquired characteristics. The innate make-up of identical twins is alike; whatever differences appear in them have to be traced back to exterior influences and the children's reactions to them.

So far as our three pairs of twins are concerned, there were minute differences in their appearance from birth.

Jessie had one tiny red spot on one ear which Bessie did not have. Bill's birthmarks over his eyes were more marked than Bert's. Bill's hydrocele at 14 months was also stronger than Bert's. Mary had a birthmark on her head that Madge did not have. There were temperamental differences between them which appeared first in the feeding situation and seemed not to be due to environmental influences but to a difference in bodily strength and health. The more robust and healthier twin demanded its food more impatiently and with greater energy than the less hungry twin. The examples show for instance that Bill, the hungrier twin, became the more aggressive of the two. Bessie, who screamed for her food hungrily, became the more passionate twin from then onwards. In her case the difference in behaviour, which was initiated in the feeding situation, continued to express itself in her mother-relationship, her relationship to Jessie, her stubbornness, and her later unusual ability to concentrate on her sublimations.

Many of the differences that appeared in the first two or three years seemed to follow the division between the pairs of twins into one active and one passive

partner. To adopt these different rôles meant that the twins developed opposite characteristics which they brought into play in their relationship to each other. The active twin would develop dominant, aggressive, selfish characteristics whereas the passive one would increase the gentle, submissive, altruistic traits which fitted his rôle. These individual characteristics would change in periods when the twins exchanged rôles. As shown on pp. 21-22, the earliest division of rôles seemed determined by the bodily strength of the children and to change according to changes in their relative health and development.

In the case of Jessie and Bessie it was possible to observe the development of their mother-relationship in minute detail and to feel satisfied that the behaviour of the mother towards the children was equal except where the greater demandingness of Bessie enforced differences. It is difficult to form an opinion whether these differences are sufficient to call forth the difference in behaviour which the children displayed towards their mother.

At 14 months, when the mother came to them, Bessie often was angry that she had not been with her all the time. She remained withdrawn and discontented over long periods of time. Jessie on the other hand generally met her mother joyfully, tried to please and attract her, and when annoyed and cross she was soon over it.

At 18 months, Jessie used subtle and underhand methods to gain her ends. She also found that to be playful and roguish attracted; and because of her greater charm of manner she was accepted when Bessie was not.

Added to these differences in temperament were the differences in behaviour which developed on the basis of different mechanisms of defence in situations of anxiety and external or internal danger. For instance Bessie at about 2 years coped with failure and disappointment by excessive dependent copying of Jessie (see p. 27), whereas Jessie became violently aggressive in similar situations.

At 2 years 10 months, when they annoyed their mother by spilling milk, Bessie merely screamed, whereas Jessie tried to make good the damage: she fetched a cloth, wiped up the mess, then turned to her mother and said: "All clean now, Mummy."

Similar differences in mechanisms of behaviour were shown by all our twin children in all stages of their development.

As the twins grew older their basic similarity of appearance and behaviour would thus have been gradually overlaid by acquired differences, if in the meantime another process had not come into play which acted in the opposite direction, namely the identification of the twins with each other. As shown in Chapter IV and V this identification began very early and became a powerful force in the children's lives. When one twin was playing with the mother, the other would laugh and enjoy what was going on as if partaking of the same

pleasure. When one twin was reprimanded, the other twin would act as if guilty as well. This identification is a very natural result of two beings of the same age and in the same stage of development living in such close proximity. Their feelings in the same situation are identical. They are always seeing their own emotions played out before them. When the mother comes into the room, they both want to go to her; if she goes away, they both want to follow her. If they see a new object, they both want it; if something interesting happens, they both want to watch, or do whatever is required in the given situation. If something frightening happens, they both react with fear. The sight of food produces hunger, an unpleasant smell disgust in both, etc. If therefore one twin experiences a pleasure or a pain, the other lives through the same experience in identification. It is this constant process of identification with each other on the basis of similarity of emotional experience, which keeps identical twins "identical" in spite of acquired differences. In later years it is difficult to decide how much of their similarity of appearance and behaviour has to be ascribed to their basic identity, and how much is a function of their identification with each other.

Application to the Upbringing of Twins.

A clearer insight into the psychological problems of twin development may make it easier to answer the questions of mothers of twins, who find themselves faced with specific difficulties and problems. As our material shows, twinship may produce an overstrong bond of the two children to each other, with an accompanying weakness of the relationship to the parents. On the other hand the bewilderment of the parents when confronted with two identical children, whom they can only tell apart with difficulty, often makes the mothers' or fathers' attitude towards their twins less warm and spontaneous. As shown in the footnote on p. 38 a combination of these two factors may lead to dissocial development or other problems of adaptation in the children.

Although twins are supposed always to enjoy each other's company, our material shows on the other hand that they have a more acute rivalry to cope with than is the case with ordinary siblings. The rivalry starts at an earlier age than it does with siblings. An attempt has been made in Chapter VII to show the various methods which the twins adopt to deal with their intense jealousy of each other, e.g. they each take possession of one parent so as to avoid rivalry; they decide always to want the same thing so that neither can have an advantage over the other, etc. We may assume that the intense jealousy between them culminates in early death wishes of one twin for the other. This directs a great deal of the twins' energy towards overcoming and over-compensating these desires, and may reactively reinforce the wish never to part

from these ambivalently loved objects, and to gain reassurance from remaining as close to the twin as possible.

Some parents attempt to simplify the problems which arise from the twin situation by breaking up the close partnership between the children, through sending one twin away to be brought up elsewhere, or by separating them as much or as early as possible. This seems an inadequate method of solving the situation. Twins cannot avoid the difficulties which are inherent in their twinship, just as ordinary children cannot help being influenced by the fact of their being an eldest, youngest or a middle child. From the analysis of adults, cases are reported of an individual having been born a twin, the other twin dying at birth. This dead twin may have a lasting influence on the live twin, direct his fantasy life and the pattern of his future relationships. Some parents on the other hand do everything to over-emphasize the twinship of the children by treating them as if they had no individuality, by dressing them alike, by giving them the same presents and toys and by never giving them the opportunity to be alone with either father or mother. The resulting loss of a personal parent-child relationship may be a serious handicap for the twin children. By throwing the twins on to each other exclusively, the tendency of one twin to copy the other, or for one to become dependent on the other increases. This overstates the twins' normal identification with each other and thus produces the team relationship which may estrange the twins from their surroundings. As shown in the footnote to p. 38, the exaggerated bond between twins may be based on their identical dissatisfied longings for the parents.

At times all twins desire to be independent of each other. Jessie, for instance, showed such impulses at the age of 2. Once Bessie invited her in the usual way to sit next to her at table by pointing to a chair next to her, and saying invitingly, "Jessie". On this occasion Jessie looked around, saw a big toy dog on a chair and sat down next to it: "No, Bessie, doggie now."

The wish for independence was expressed especially at times when the twins were content and happy. This was markedly so with Mary and Madge. When their stormy relationship with each other and their nurse had calmed down, they then often played with other children, followed different interests and stayed happily away from each other for long periods of time. The minute somebody upset them and they were disturbed they found each other again, just as a child seeks its mother when insecure.

Obviously twins cannot be spared the double task of simultaneously adjusting their relationships to the parents and to each other. They will be helped in this adjustment neither by the forcible breaking up of the twin relationship through outside influence, nor by the withdrawal of the parents, which leaves them exclusively dependent on each other for the fulfilment of their emotional

needs. On the other hand insight into the difficulty of twinship may help the parents to treat their twin children as individual beings, to take note of the differences in their needs and character traits and permit them independently of each other to enjoy the pleasures and suffer the pains which occur in every individual's relationship to his parents. A normal development of the tie to the parents will keep the dependence on the twin and the identification with the twin from becoming excessive, that is, keep it within limits which are compatible with normal character development.

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This appendix consists of 30 charts, *i.e.* 2 sleep charts (A, B) and 28 development charts, numbered 1-28.

SLEEP CHARTS A and B

Sample records of sleeping times for twins Bill and Bert, Bessie and Jessie.
Chart showing amount and distribution of sleeping time.

The aim of these charts is:

- (1) Comparison of sleeping time of identical twins.
- (2) Relation of certain environmental conditions to sleep, *e.g.* mother's visits.

SLEEP CHART A**KEY**

❖ and ■ indicates time spent asleep.

□ = 20 minutes

❖ = Bert

■ = Bill

..... time spent out of doors.

— Mother's visit.

[] Mother takes child out.

|| Child had to be wakened (taken to shelter, meal times).

P.M.

A.M.

7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[The page contains 20 rows of a highly repetitive, dense pattern of black dots and vertical bars, resembling a barcode or a data matrix. The pattern is organized into columns corresponding to the time slots 7 through 12 P.M. and 4 through 7 A.M. Each row shows a sequence of these patterns, with some variations in the density and arrangement of the dots and bars across the different time slots. The overall appearance is that of a structured data visualization or a specific type of barcode used for time-based tracking.]

SLEEP CHART B

KEY

- = 20 minutes
- ❖ = Bessie.
- = Jessie.
- Cr. = crying.

1942	A.M.				P.M.						
MAY	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6
BESSIE			◆◆			◆◆◆◆					
JESSIE						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆				
14 Months						◆◆					
14				◆		◆◆◆◆					
15				◆◆							◆◆◆◆
16						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
17						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆		
18				◆◆							◆
19						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
20						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆				
21			◆◆◆◆			◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
22						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
23				◆◆◆◆				◆◆◆◆			
24						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
25						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	Cr.		
26						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
27						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
28						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆			
29						◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	Cr.		
30								◆◆◆◆			
31								◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆	Cr.	

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..... Cr.

..... Cr.

..... Cr.

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..... Cr.

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BIRTH TO DECEMBER 1941

BESSIE AND JESSIE

BIRTH—9 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both Children

→ follow arrows for
← combinationFirst letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1941	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Age
	Born 7th March 1941, during air raid, at once transferred to another hospital. Look exactly alike, pin point on left ear. Birth weight : Bessie first born. 3/12 lbs. second born. 4/10 lbs. born.	Mother reports that twins cried often at night.	Mother reports that twins took feeds well. No vomiting. Breastfed for 2 months, weaned during third month. Bessie supposed to be greedy.				Mother reports that twins had hands tied down, had dummies.	
	Admitted to Hampstead Nurseries.							
July 4 m.	Lie quietly, eyes often only half open. 12/4 lbs. 12/5 lbs.	Go to sleep easily. 21st, 22nd, oversleep evening feed.	Take bottles well. Strong resistance against spoon-fed vegetables, take them by bottle. Refuse orange juice.		Start to play with their hands, which had been tied down for months.	"Talks."	Cannot be without dummies. Furious crying when dummy is lost.	
August 5 m.	13/5 lbs. 14 lbs.	Sleep a lot also in daytime. Cry often between 2 and 5 a.m.	Small quantities of carrots taken by spoon. Average amount of food 30 oz. 29 oz.				Dummy used less frequently.	
September 6 m.	<u>Kick.</u> 15/10 lbs. 15/9 lbs.		Average amount of food. 32 oz. 32½ oz.		<u>L</u> ooks around. <u>S</u> tarts looking around later.		<u>S</u> ometimes <u>s</u> uck thumb.	
October 7 m.	<u>Kicks</u> a lot. 16/13 lbs. 16/14 lbs.		<u>T</u> ake orange juice. Average amount of food 33 oz. 32 oz.		<u>G</u> et interested in surroundings; look at newcomers.		<u>S</u> uck thumb; dummy no more used.	
November 8 m.	<u>U</u> ses greater space of cot. <u>T</u> urns on tummy, <u>l</u> ies quietly. 17/5 lbs. 18/4 lbs.		Average amount of food 30 oz. 29½ oz.		<u>S</u> tretches hand into Bessie's cot, looks expectantly.			
December 9 m.	<u>P</u> ulls herself up by bars of cot. Likes to be put into sitting position. 12th : 14th : 1st tooth. Moves very slowly. 17/10 lbs. 18/6 lbs.	<u>S</u> leep all night, also many hours during day.	<u>W</u> hole carrot meal taken by spoon. Lowest amount of food taken in one day (bronchitis), 21st : 12 oz. 15 oz. Highest amount of food taken in one day (before getting ill) : 29 oz. 31 oz. Average amount of food 21½ oz. 26 oz.		<u>L</u> ook at Christmas tree. When in steam tent watch steaming kettles. Gets hold of toys, plays with them, tries to get hold of toys. Put hands into each other's cot.	<u>U</u> tters a few sounds, "talks" a lot.		

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bessie to Jessie</i>	<i>Jessie to Bessie</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
Mother reports that twins cried a lot; Jessie supposed to cry less than Bessie, to be more cheerful altogether.					Mother had been working in factory for 8 months of pregnancy. Had bad bomb experiences. Father in Army. Mother stays with twins in hostel. Nurse looks after twins.	
Admitted to Hampstead Nurseries.			Admitted to Hampstead Nurseries.			
Indifferent, rather negative attitude. Cry a lot. Cry furiously when dummy is lost, and also without obvious reason. Very little, no interest in surroundings. Smiles rarely.	Play a little with their hands, which had been tied down.		Put into sister's cot; no reaction.		Mother comes daily, picks up twins alternately → Mother says that Bessie has got a "bad character."	looks at mother, no reaction, sometimes smiles at her.
Has a shrill cry.			Stay in the same cot in garden; no reaction.		Mother plays with them patiently. Brings many friends to admire twins.	
Cry less. Negative attitude changes into a friendlier one. Smiles occasionally, sometimes shows a sweet smile.	Plays with rattle.	26th, slight cold, slight intestinal disturbance.			Mother knows twins in reality, but does not know "who is who" on photos.	Enjoys mother's visits.
Cry whenever put out on terrace.		22nd, vomits.				Smiles at mother. Smiles charmingly at mother.
Turns on tummy, cries until turned on her back. Get friendlier, seem to be happier.	Plays with rattle.	Slight bronchitis, no temperature, not disturbed.	Twins' cots stand side by side, no reaction. Stretches hand into Bessie's cot, looks expectantly.			
Enjoy toys. Get gymnastic exercises, are afraid but apparently of new person, not of exercises. Have to stay in steam tent (bronchitis), not afraid of tent, but cries when room is dark. Get showerbath for 3 days; expect shower with anxiety when put into bath the following day. Expect shower already when undressed one day later.	Plays with different toys.	5th, slight cold. 18th, 19th, cold turns into bronchitis, 20th, 100 ¹ vomits 4 times once. Showerbath; shock when shower is poured over. Hard cough. Stay in steam tent day and night. Lose 10 oz. in 4 days. 31st, very miserable, 102; gets twice Coramine, $\frac{1}{2}$ Veganin.	Put hands into each other's cot. Cots separated. (Illness.)		Mother does exercises with them, → Twins ill (bronchitis). Mother does not show that she is worried; does not pity the children nor complain to the staff. Sits quietly between their cots, knits.	enjoy it. Happy with mother, play with her. Wants to be picked up.

JANUARY TO APRIL 1942

BESSIE AND JESSIE

10 MONTHS—13 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both Children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
January 10 m.	2nd tooth. Sits, crawls, grasps, claps hands, lies quietly in cot. Turns on tummy and back. 19/8 lbs. 20/2 lbs.	Sleeps more than Bessie.	Good appetite. Average amount of food 27 oz. 28 oz.		Tries to get hold of objects on table.	"No no."		
February 11 m.	Stands up, crawls quickly. Claps hands. Sits. Kneels, struggles hard, crosses into Jessie's cot. Gets pretty, Is pretty. Hates exercises with her legs. 19/8 lbs. 21 lbs.	Sleep in same shelter bunk.	Like custard. Toddlers' food tried, vomit after first lump; get gradually used to new food. Eat toast. Prefer pudding. Drink out of mug.		Pulls her chart from wall. Empties clothes bag. Watches door. Waves hands, says "ta ta." Watch passers-by from shelter bunk.	"Mum mum." Tells long "stories." "Ta ta."		
Mar. 12 m.	Walks round cot and play pen; walks long stretches when held. Stands, crawls. Crosses into Bessie's cot. Very pretty. 20/9 lbs. 21/9 lbs.		Eat Toddlers' food well. Holds mug herself, wants somebody to hold it for her.	Put on pot; no success. Play with own and with sister's motion, eat it. Successful first time with own nurse, mother.	Birthday, look at candles, enjoy toys. Waves hands, says "ta ta".	"Ta ta." "mum mum."		Treats Jessie very roughly sits on top of her, bullies her.
April 13 m.	3rd, 4th tooth. Walks round cot and play pen. 21/1 lbs. 22/4 lbs.	Would go to sleep in day time but is disturbed by visitors and by Bessie's screaming. Increasing difficulties in going to sleep in day-time, cries a lot. Overtired, sees Bessie sitting at table, cries until put at table too, too tired to enjoy it, cries again.	Puts hand in food, not interested in food. Dislike lumps of carrots or potatoes. Eat puddings quickly. Turns plates, plays with them. Holds mug herself, has tongue on top of mug.	Afraid of pot, interested in pot.	Tries to pull American cloth off table, gets cross when we stop her, goes on pulling. Likes seesaw.			Pulls Jessie's hair, tortures her. Takes toys away from other children.

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bessie to Jessie</i>	<i>Jessie to Bessie</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
Showerbath stopped; look around with bewildered eyes still waiting for cool shower. Still anxious when wrapped in bath towel, then show relief and smile. Enjoy bath 3 days later. Very friendly, smiles at each person approaching her. Exercises of gymnastics started again; hate them.		6th, 12th, temperature normal; showerbath stopped.	Cots joined, railings does not take notice of Jessie. Kneels, takes toy from Jessie, not interested in her, falls back, screams,	lowered. ←Watches Bessie, cries, looks bewildered, cries.	Feeds Bessie first. Puts twins to bed, handles them roughly. Smacks them when they are "naughty", especially when Bessie tries to take objects from dressing table.	Happy when mother comes. Do not cry when she leaves.
Often impatient and cross. Looks often furious, looks often unhappy. Watches door, stretches arms as soon as somebody enters. Claps hands with pleasure.	Plays with clothes out of her and sister's bag.	Inoculated against diphtheria, hardly cry.	Leans over lowered railings, takes Jessie's shoes and napkins off, looks at crying Jessie, kneels, crosses over railings into Jessie's cot, uses Jessie's cot as her own, empties Jessie's bag, returns into own cot to sleep. Refuses biscuit, takes Jessie's, eats Jessie's.	cries, ←surprised, stops crying, laughs. (sees biscuit disappear, looks disappointed, gets another one, laughs, eats it.	Feeds Jessie first once, → Bessie fed first.	screams so much that she is fed first again, waits patiently, does not get cross.
Like visitors. Delighted when own nurse enters room, cries to be picked up, stretches arms to be picked up. Welcomes everybody by waving and stretching her arms. 14th, 21st, like to go from one person to the next, do not go away from own nurse. Cry furiously when not picked up by own nurse, shut eyes. Cries if Bessie is picked up.	Play with birthday presents, especially with rabbits.		Treats Jessie very roughly, sits on top of her, bullies her, →	Cries if Bessie is picked up. does not defend herself, looks sad. Learns to cross into Bessie's cot, only does it to get out of the way when Bessie visits her.	Mother's working hours changed; cannot put children to bed any more but feeds them at 5 p.m.	When mother enters, trembles with excitement, smiles happily. First time successful on pot when potted by mother.
Gets more and more impatient, gets more and more lively. Fond of Sister S.	Plays nicely at table.		Pulls Jessie's hair, → tortures her,	does not defend herself although she is much stronger.	Feeds twins at same time both sitting at a small table, →	has to be fed quickly, has to wait after each spoon as Bessie is so impatient.
Visit Junior Toddlers : Enjoys it, afraid, does not leave nurse, who took her into the room, clings to her. A few days later : sits on little chair; nurse has to kneel beside her. A week later : does not object being put in play pen but looks very unhappy. Does not touch a toy given to her by other children. Smiles when she leaves room. Happy when carried through Junior Toddlers' room on way in the garden; smile at other children. Starts to enjoy visiting Junior Toddlers, plays with other children and their toys. Cry when out on the terrace, and still more when taken in again; put outside in play pen, cry. When own nurse enters : trembles with excitement, radiant smile.	Play in Junior Toddlers' play pen, make enormous, slight noise with bricks. Enjoys playing with bigger children. Likes seesaw.		Cots separated after 3 months, because she bullies Jessie constantly, → Takes all the toys from Jessie, looks at her triumphantly, →	looks surprised, then cries for help. patiently waits for help. Overtired, sees Bessie sitting at table, cries until put at table too, too tired to enjoy it, cries again.	Bessie fed first.	



MAY—JUNE 1942
BESSIE AND JESSIE
14 MONTHS—15 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both Children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, e.g. crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
	Transferred to Junior Toddlers.							
May 14 m.	<p>5th tooth.</p> <p>6th tooth.</p> <p>7th tooth.</p> <p>Stands without support. Crawls on hands and feet.</p>	<p>Sleeps sometimes before lunch, sleeps always after lunch.</p> <p>Wakes up late in the evening or at night, cries $\frac{1}{2}$-$1\frac{1}{2}$ hour.</p> <p>Wakes up once at night, cries.</p>	<p>Refuse bread and butter although they had eaten it in Babies' Room.</p> <p>Refuse to hold mug although they had done so in Babies' Room.</p> <p>Have tongue on top of mug.</p> <p>Hold out spoon to be fed.</p>	<p>Frightened of pot; not potted.</p> <p>Dislike pot but don't fight it, often successful.</p> <p>Get off pot by themselves.</p>	<p>Knows Bessie by name; waves at her across whole room.</p> <p>"Ta ta" as farewell.</p>	<p>"No no" with right meaning.</p>	<p>Sucks thumb.</p>	<p>Shows a sweet face while being horrid.</p> <p>Finishes meal before Bessie, takes Bessie's plate away, pushes mug from Bessie's mouth.</p> <p>Enjoys teasing Jessie.</p>
	<p>21/9 lbs.</p> <p>22/9 lbs.</p>							
June 15 m.	<p>11th, 23rd, crawl upstairs.</p> <p>Goes up and down slide.</p> <p>11th, 19th, first step without support.</p> <p>11th, stands without support.</p> <p>30th, stops crawling, walks.</p>	<p>Cry more than usual with tiredness.</p> <p>Wake up very early.</p> <p>Wakes up crying bitterly as with fright; keeps eyes closed; often cries for 1 hour and more.</p> <p>Cries for about 1 minute when waking up, sits up, sucks, or lies quietly sucking with open eyes, contented.</p> <p>Sleeps about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour, wakes up screaming with apparent fear for 19th: 40 minutes 20th: 30 minutes 21st, cries for 90 minutes before falling asleep.</p> <p>22nd-30th, asleep in a few minutes, wakes up again, cries for about 1 hour.</p> <p>Goes to sleep within a few minutes, sleeps all night long.</p>	<p>Still looks out for help, does not attempt to feed herself, eats sweet alone, needs little help with vegetables.</p> <p>Stop eating vegetables when they see sweet.</p> <p>Takes biscuit, does not eat it but teases Jessie, eats biscuit quickly, wants Bessie's.</p> <p>Eat without help, using both spoon and hands, sometimes holds out spoon to be fed,</p> <p>holds out spoon as soon as she sees Bessie doing so.</p> <p>Throw plates, spoons on floor as a game.</p> <p>Wants to be fed by own nurse.</p>	<p>Successful on pot with everybody.</p> <p>Sometimes refuses being potted.</p> <p>Successful, excited about success.</p> <p>Sits quietly on pot, gets off pot.</p> <p>Good on pot when potted by own nurse.</p> <p>Excited about Jessie's success.</p> <p>"Good girl" when Bessie successful, wets own bed, points to it, says again "good girl".</p> <p>Potted by mother, successful, comes off pot to bed, wets it at once.</p>	<p>Play with key, give it up when asked to, finds it hard to part with key, takes longer to give it up.</p> <p>Seems to copy Jessie, pushing a plate about, dropping a spoon.</p> <p>Joins in singing.</p>	<p>"Down."</p> <p>"Bow wow."</p> <p>"Good girl" when Bessie successful on pot, "good girl" to own puddle.</p>	<p>Bites, chews her thumb, sucks thumb, tickles eye-lashes and nose with fore-finger.</p>	<p>Another child wants her toy, she keeps it tightly, remains perfectly quiet, enjoys seeing other child getting furious.</p> <p>Smacks mother and own nurse.</p> <p>Teases Jessie constantly, delighted to see her unhappy.</p> <p>Bites Bessie.</p>
	<p>21/6 lbs.</p> <p>22/5 lbs.</p>							

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bessie to Jessie</i>	<i>Jessie to Bessie</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
Transferred to Junior Toddlers.			Transferred to Junior Toddlers.			
Do not seem to be disturbed by change. Have their weight taken in Babies' Room, looks around as if it were a strange room, slowly starts to smile, very surprised, smiles, waves. Excited, smiles and waves when one of the babies' nurses passes room. 1 week later: don't pay attention to babies' nurses. Again 1 week later: look at them as at strangers. Weight taken in Babies' Room 1 week later, looks absent-mindedly, smiles faintly. Squeal and cry a lot just as they used to do. Enjoys other children's company, prefers to be on her own. Cries when own nurse enters room until she picks her up; cries when she leaves, greets own nurse with a smile and outstretched arms, happy with her. Friendly to everybody.		18th, sore throat. 22nd, right eye inflamed.	Teases Jessie continuously, delighted to see her unhappy, teases her more. Eats biscuit slowly, → offers her tiny bits again and again, takes them back as soon as Jessie touches them, → very pleased to see Jessie's unhappiness.	Finishes meal before Bessie, takes Bessie's plate away, pushes mug from her mouth. Knows Bessie by name, waves at her across room. → eats it quickly, looks at Bessie's with longing ← eyes, tries to grasp them, is un- ← happy, Jealous when Bessie with mother or with own nurse.	Comes with new hair-style, new coat, → Mother thinks that Bessie looks like her, minds to be nursed, gets teeth before Jessie, that Bessie is more independent, more intelligent, less patient than Jessie. She thinks that Jessie is more helpless, is kinder, that she does not distinguish between people as much as Bessie does.	cries, still cross when coat taken off, hair loosened, bewildered, then smiles. Sometimes happy, sometimes indifferent with mother, sometimes cross with her, does not want to be touched by her, always happy with her. Say " ta ta " when mother leaves, don't cry. Cry when bathed by mother, although they don't cry when bathed by own nurse. Teases mother.
Sometimes very unhappy, very impatient. 18th, gets impatient, too, wants a lot of attention. Gets more contented and less possessive by end of month. Enjoys being sung to, joins in singing. Smiles slowly at people whom she knows, very happy to see somebody whom she knows. Toy wanted by another child; gives it away and takes another one or holds it tightly, remains perfectly quiet, enjoys seeing other child getting furious, cries, gets so upset that she loses toy. Too furious to accept toy when it is restored to her. Want own nurse near when going to sleep, always, sometimes wants own nurse's hand on shoulder. Wants to be fed by own nurse, eats alone. Smacks own nurse; smacks mother. Own nurse visits children daily; greets her with pleasure, cries if not given all her attention, pleased to see her but asks nothing of her. Own nurse away; cries a lot, clings to Sister G.; friendly to everybody. Own nurse returns: does not know whether to prefer her or Sister G.; chooses her, very pleased to see her.	Play with other children, banging feet on floor. Throw plates and spoons on floor as a game. Realises that it is a game when boy runs after her, likes it.	24th, falls off a chair; cries for a short while, looks very pale, cries more from then on.	Once woken up by Jessie's crying. Teasing with biscuits goes on, enjoys Jessie's fury. pushes plate around, too, drops spoon, seems to copy Jessie. Excited about Jessie's success on pot. Teasing gets worse and worse → Together in one smiles charmingly, pats Jessie's head.	Woken up when Bessie cries even when cots stand apart. Pushes plate around, drops ← spoon, gets more and more unhappy about it. Often jealous. bed, both happy, cuddles up to Bessie, ← Bites Bessie. " Good girl " when Bessie successful, wets own bed, says again " good girl ".	Mother enters room, → Washes twins' hands, holds them tightly against basin, very rough, → With twins at table when they get supper, goes behind Bessie, feeds her from there, → Pots twins, → Mother comes every evening, →	smile with pleasure, runs to other end of cot evidently wishing mother to chase her, waits for mother to come to her. → scream, resist. ← screams, → stops screaming, eats as long as she can lean against mother's knees, starts screaming when mother walks away, cries a little, stops as soon as mother feeds her. Eats greedily, keeps eyes on mother. successful, comes off pot at once, wets bed. strains away from mother towards own nurse. Teases mother, smacks her, charming to mother while own nurse away, runs away from mother, cries, clings to Sister G., kind to mother when Sister G. leaves room, angel face expression: " I am god ! "

JULY 1942
BESSIE AND JESSIE
16 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both children

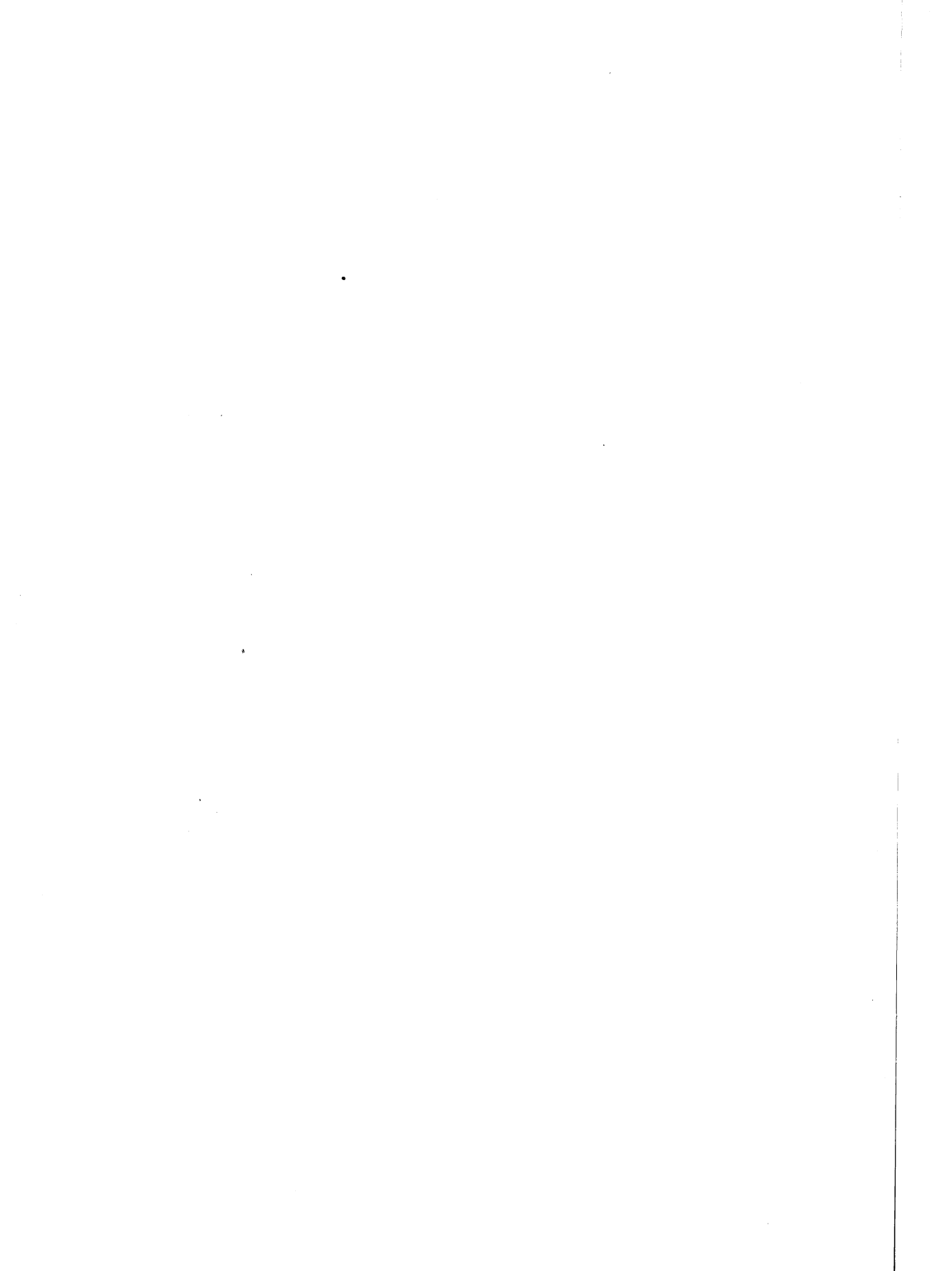
-> follow arrows for
← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	<i>Physical Development</i>	<i>Sleep</i>	<i>Eating</i>	<i>Training for Cleanliness</i>	<i>Sense Development</i>	<i>Speech</i>	<i>Habits</i>	<i>Aggression</i>
July 16 m.	<p>Crawls on hands and feet. 8th and 9th tooth. 10th tooth.</p> <p>27th, walks well, walks 4-5 steps.</p> <p>31st, did not walk since 27th, walks a lot.</p>	<p>Whooping Cough in Nursery; children sleep upstairs, not in shelter, goes to sleep without difficulties, does not cry during night.</p> <p>13th, own nurse back after 2 weeks' absence,</p> <p>13th, cries for half-hour.</p> <p>14th, cries 7-9.15 p.m., 1-2 a.m.</p> <p>15th, cries 6.45-9.15 p.m., 1-2 a.m.</p> <p>16th-27th, cries every night when put to bed, again when waking up in the morning; does not cry during night. Cries less desperately.</p> <p>Goes to sleep easily, talks to herself, sucks, often asks for a cuddly toy, especially her "bow wow".</p> <p>28th, taken to shelter at 2 a.m. Air raid, awakes for a minute when tucked into her bunk, does not wake up.</p> <p>29th, taken to shelter at 2 a.m. Air raid, awakes when taken out of bed, screams with short intervals until 3.45 a.m., clings to Sister G., squeezes her fingers, wakes up when taken downstairs, cries for about 20 minutes; goes to sleep but is woken up again by Bessie's screaming, cries as soon as Sister G. moves away, asleep 3.45 a.m.</p> <p>Sleep in separate rooms in daytime, but wakes up when Bessie cries.</p>	<p>Eats more independently, hardly asks for help, eats a few spoonfuls by herself, then asks for help.</p> <p>19th, enormous appetite, eats with hands and spoon, without help; wants 2-3 helpings, takes food from other children.</p> <p>Not well, eats hardly anything for 3 days, sits at the table, watches other children eat; drinks a lot.</p> <p>A week later, eats more than ever, eats better. Eats without any help, eats with little help.</p> <p>Cries when meal is finished.</p>	<p>Walks away when put on pot.</p> <p>Good when potted by own nurse.</p> <p>Refuses often to go on pot, but is successful when she uses it.</p> <p>Refuses more often to use pot. Wants a flower when potted.</p> <p>Says "good girl" when she wants to get up.</p> <p>Refuses to be potted by mother.</p>	<p>Screams if she does not get what she wants, points persistently at whatever she wants; screams like a train whistle if nobody reacts. Likes to hold and to smell flowers.</p> <p>Smells flowers, probably copying Jessie.</p> <p>Plays with 3 bricks.</p>	<p>12th, "fy" (flower).</p> <p>16th, "gone".</p> <p>19th, "flower" when mother enters.</p> <p>25th, "more".</p> <p>Tries hard to say many things.</p>		<p>Pulls Jessie's hair, pinches her.</p>
	22 lbs. 23 lbs.							

Affective Reactions	Play	Illness	Bessie to Jessie	Jessie to Bessie	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
<p>Shows too much remorse when reprimanded; just a "no no" makes her unhappy.</p> <p>Stay with smaller group in big nursery; enjoy the quietness, want less attention, cry less.</p> <p>Thrilled with flowers; happy to hold one and to smell it.</p> <p>Little resistance when washed, changed, hair done; resists everything, washing, changing, having hair done.</p> <p>Wants much affection, but does not give it; very affectionate towards people and toys.</p> <p>Many new helpers; twins suffer silently to be handled by them. Cries a lot, cries more than usual.</p> <p>Reaction to people entering room whom they know well; stretches arms, screams until lifted up, clings to "old friend", waves, smiles, then cries until picked up by "old friend".</p> <p>Wants to be with own nurse; cries if own nurse handles another child or leaves room (just as Bessie in May).</p> <p>Dislike doctor after having had injections; screams when seeing doctor, gets stiff when examined, cries only for some days, then friendly to doctor, but does not want to be examined.</p> <p>Good friends with Sister S. after she had assisted with injections although they had not paid any attention to her for two months.</p>	<p>Prefers cuddly toys, calls them "Bow wow"</p> <p>Plays with bricks; allows Jessie to join her; pushes other children away.</p> <p>Likes to play with 3 bricks.</p> <p>Prefers cuddly toys, puts them round her neck.</p>	<p>2nd, coughs, 100°.</p> <p>3rd, coughs, 100°.</p> <p>6th, coughs more.</p> <p>Injection of Whooping Cough Vaccine; cry for a minute.</p> <p>8th, Injection of Wh. C. V. given in own room; cry only after prick for about ½ minute.</p> <p>10th, Injection of Wh. C. V. given in surgery. Cry when entering surgery until after injection.</p> <p>14th, Injection of Whooping Cough Vaccine and Measles Convalescent Serum given in surgery; cry when entering surgery until she leaves room; refuses chocolate; when seeing syringe, stops after injection, takes chocolate.</p> <p>Coughs.</p> <p>15th, temperature taken; shriek with fear when seeing thermometer; probably afraid of another injection.</p> <p>Coughs much more.</p> <p>17th, Injection of Wh. C. V. given in own room, cry after prick, stop quickly.</p> <p>19th, diarrhoea, dry, for 19 hours; looks very pale; does not play nor move.</p> <p>21st, better. Drinks a lot, does not eat.</p> <p>22nd, eats.</p> <p>Cough worse, especially at night.</p>	<p>pleased to see Jessie return.</p> <p>Stay with smaller group in big nursery. Play together much more than before.</p> <p>Plays with bricks; allows Jessie to join her, pushes other children away.</p> <p>Pinches Jessie's arm, pulls her hair with real anger, →</p> <p>Twins separated as Bessie coughs badly.</p> <p>Surprised when she sees Jessie from the distance, no smile, →</p> <p>A few days later: Look at each other from the distance as if they did not know each other.</p> <p>A few days later: waves back, smiles too. →</p>	<p>In garden while Bessie stays upstairs; does not seem to miss her but pleased to ← see her when she comes back.</p> <p>Awakes when Bessie cries in the next room, although door is closed.</p> <p>→ looks bewildered.</p> <p>smiles and waves when she sees Bessie.</p> <p>waves at Bessie, ←smiles,</p>	<p>Mother visits at meal time, →</p> <p>offers one dish after the other, →</p> <p>mother very kind, picks her up, →</p> <p>Mother repeatedly puts her on pot, →</p> <p>mother puts her to bed, →</p> <p>reprimands her, →</p> <p>Pots Bessie, →</p> <p>Puts Bessie to bed, →</p> <p>Mother seems to pay less attention to Bessie than to Jessie; does not cuddle her, greets her in a matter of fact manner but is very kind to her.</p>	<p>does not want to ← eat,</p> <p>→ refuses everything,</p> <p>→ cuddles to mother.</p> <p>→ screams, struggles against being ← potted,</p> <p>→ wets her bed, looks unhappy, cries, sits placidly meanwhile; eats supper alone; looks at mother and Jessie, laughs when Jessie laughs with mother.</p> <p>→ successful. Enjoys having hands washed by mother.</p> <p>→ allows everything to be done to her without struggling, only cries for a minute when undressed.</p> <p>→ Pleased to see mother, stays with her even when own nurse is near.</p> <p>→ Hates to see her mother doing anything for Jessie.</p> <p>→ Says "flower" when mother enters room.</p> <p>→ Refuses to be potted by mother but good on pot with own nurse.</p>



AUGUST 1942
BESSIE AND JESSIE
17 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both Children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
	Bessie in Sickroom, Whooping Cough.							
August 17 m.	Climbs on chair. 5th : 10th tooth 11th : 11th tooth.	Hardly cries when put to bed in isolation shelter bunk. Only one evening cries when put to bed by mother.	Does not try to touch food; is fed again.	Refuses to sit on pot; cries even when she sees it.	Tries to copy brushing her hair, cleaning her nose.	"wn wn" for animal. "Fower" (flower).		
	Bessie in Country house.							
	Crawls a lot on big lawn. Crawls down a step, hands first.	Put to rest after arrival, screams $\frac{3}{4}$ hour. Screams 20 minutes in evening; goes to sleep sucking. Jerks in her sleep. Fights sleep after lunch.	At first 2 meals sits without eating; eats when encouraged, needs help. Wants to be fed for the next 2 days. Then eats by herself after much encouragement.	No resistance, often successful. Not wet for 10 hours. Refuses to get up from pot until having been successful, calls "goo goo", is very proud.	Fascinated by new shoes. Looks at door when told that mother will come next Sunday.	"Mo mo" when food appears, also when wanting something. "No" when she stops eating or gets the wrong thing. "Goo goo" (good girl).	Sucks when going to sleep on first evening. Holds left thumb in mouth but does not suck on following evenings.	Fights with girl to get toy, pulls her off pot, gets toy, very triumphant, no interest in toy.
	Jessie in Senior Toddlers' Group.							
	Walks all day, but falls over many times.	1st, sleeps again in shelter bunk, cries when put to bed. 10th, evening screaming continues $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 hour. Falls asleep quickly after lunch. 20th, cries if left alone in evening, quiet as long as somebody is with her. Takes up to $\frac{1}{2}$ hour to go to sleep.	Understands self help breakfast on 2nd day, chooses plate, returns for 2nd helping. Eats a lot. Eats without any help. Sometimes uses only hand, no spoon. Drinks rest of milk or custard from plate.	Refuses pot while mother is with her; otherwise very good; often asks for it. Not wet for 48 hours.	Understands self help breakfast. Listens to song, beats rhythm with her head.		Picks her nose.	
	22 lbs. 23/2 lbs.							

	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bessie to Jessie</i>	<i>Jessie to Bessie</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
Bessie in Sickroom, Whooping Cough.			Bessie in Sickroom, Whooping Cough.			
Looks frightened, has stony expression. Changes temperament due to new environment. Is quiet, does not scream, does not mind being handled by anybody in sickroom. Does not appear pleased when visited by nurses whom she knows, when dressed or bathed by them. After 4 days cries when own nurse leaves after visiting her. Friendly with doctor but minds being examined. Stretches her arms when she sees Sister S. but does not smile (4 days in succession).	Likes to play with bricks, wooden toys, fitting-in rings. Plays a game with own nurse of giving toys and wanting them back.	Whooping cough; bad attacks in day-time and at night. Loose motions.			Visits Bessie, → Sees Bessie off when she leaves for Country house, puts her in car, →	friendly smile; does not cry when mother leaves but is unhappy and cross with everybody else. Cries when put to bed by mother. cries a minute at departure, holds mother's chocolate.
Bessie in Country house.			Bessie in Country house.			
Does not go to anybody else when Sister G. is near. Cheerful on the whole. Sees Sister S. says "fower". Says "no", turns away, shuts eyes when she ought to leave Sister G. Likes to play with bigger children.	Looks in mirror, holds stone in direction of mirror.	10-12 attacks daily, holds hands in front of eyes when she coughs. 22nd-24th, 100-100'. 22nd, Injection, only cries after prick.				Looks at door when told that mother will come next Sunday.
Jessie in Senior Toddlers' Group.			Jessie in Senior Toddlers' Group.			
Pleased when she sees well-known visitor; radiant when own nurse appears. On the whole very unsettled and unhappy among many new children, new nurses. Clings to own nurse, cries when changed by anybody else. Cries much more than usual. When angry, stamps her feet, waves her arms, shakes her head. Cries and is very unhappy when she thinks somebody is cross with her. In pram in garden; says "flower", gets quite excited, tears flower to pieces, asks for the next. Cuddles up to 2 boys as she used to cuddle up to Bessie. Screams for help or cries with misery when children take her toys. Screams for each toy that another child plays with; plays only a short time when she gets it. Screams when doctor examines her one day after injection.	Sees a mirror, takes all her toys to the mirror, plays with her reflection. Enjoys sitting at table with boxes of small bricks and pegs to empty and fill in. 10 minutes at same occupation. Tries to fit pegs in holes, builds up bricks. Likes songs, beats rhythm with head, smiles. Plays with older children.	24th, Injection, cries when seeing syringe until after injection, stops when she gets chocolate. Coughs a lot, especially at night.			Visits Jessie, → Worried to see Jessie handled by new helpers. Returns after parting, watches her through door; relieved to see her play happily. Carries her down into shelter, →	struggles when bathed by mother. Refuses to be potted by mother. Clings to mother much more when separated from Bessie. Greets her as usual: slow smile, out-stretched arms; cries bitterly when mother says "Bye bye". 2 weeks later: cries only twice during whole week when mother leaves. At other days distracted by toys. → says "no no" to own nurse and Sister S.; clings to mother.

SEPTEMBER 1942
BESSIE AND JESSIE
18 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bessie to Jessie</i>	<i>Jessie to Bessie</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
Holds nurse by one finger, very determined about where to go; furious when forced into another direction. Makes friends with big girl, even allows her to bath her, but usually clings to Sister G. Screams when she leaves room.	Handles bricks to build or to tidy up. Crawls after boy, chasing him under cots.	2nd-9th, loose motions, bad coughing attacks. 10th, coughing attacks get shorter, less violent.	Looks at door, stretches out arms when told "Jessie comes soon."		Visits Bessie in→ Country house, very affectionate but rough. Full of self-restraint when she leaves, strokes Bessie's→ hair again and again.	recognises mother at once, holds arms out, goes to her, serious face, then smiles. looks at bus without realising that mother is in, waves, smiles vaguely.
Jessie in Sickroom, Whooping Cough.			Jessie in Sickroom, Whooping Cough.			
Screams worse than ever when taken to sickroom. Neighbours complain; say that her crying was not like a baby's usual crying. Strange for some days, then becomes cheerful, gets attached to sick-nurse, cries for her, friendly to everybody; reserved when she meets own nurse in hall.	Plays only for a few minutes with one toy.	Cough gets worse, starts whooping.			Visits Jessie, →	greet's mother with obvious joy.
United in Country house in Junior Toddlers' Group			12th, Twins united in Country house in Junior Toddlers' Group.			
Scream a lot. Hate to be washed, screams especially when bottom is washed, kicks and screams until washing is finished. Afraid of scales, shouts "no no" when seeing them; strong resistance when put on scales. Does not scream any longer when Sister G. leaves room, screams, runs to door, holds out arms. Likes attention of older children. Smiles at each person entering room, runs to meet well-known people. Very excited at big girl's birthday party; wants all the cake, can hardly be restrained. Fight having hair washed, pulls towel off wet hair.	Mother points from outside at window of train, Jessie does it from inside, points at several places, mother follows. Gives bricks to mother to have a tower built.	11th-15th, better motions. 16th, motions worse. Coughing attacks longer, more frequent, big tears rolling down. Same way of coughing: hold both fists next to nose, cover eyes with both hands when tears roll down. 22nd, bad motions. Coughing attacks less violent.	looks past → Jessie for 1 minute, then points at her, smiles, Looks anxiously at crying Jessie, shakes her head. Fight in pram, smacks Jessie, → smiles, strokes → her, Does not mind Sister G. leaving room as long as Jessie is near.	← Enters room, ignores Bessie, seems to be more interested in everybody else; then looks at her, wrinkles nose, smiles. Embraces Bessie. Takes Bessie's hand, goes for walk with her. smacks back, ← smiles in return. Looks anxiously at crying Bessie. Calls Bessie back when Bessie leaves room, holds hand out for her, smiles. Hits Bessie, pushes her away during mother's visit.	13th, mother → visits: glances at Jessie, embraces Bessie, very affectionate to Bessie, rather rough with Jessie, 28th, visits → again, walks smilingly between both children. 29th, kisses → Bessie, strokes Jessie. Same rough hearty handling of twins as usual. "Naughty girl" when Bessie resists against being potted by her, pretends being cross but looks at her full of admiration. 30th, last day of visit, →	clings to mother all day long, runs to mother, clings to her; smacks her several times. Screams, wave when mother leaves. radiant face when seeing mother, keeps on eating without interruption, but eyes fixed on mother, looks at mother in surprise, stops eating, smiles, wants to be fed by mother. Cuddle closely to mother, smacks her often. sits quietly in cot when mother enters, pulls up her shoulder in affected way. looks at closed door with sad eyes, goes on playing, screams loudly, runs to closed door.
					Mother leaves, →	



OCTOBER 1942
BESSIE AND JESSIE
19 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
October 19 m.	<p>Carries chairs. Stands up on chair. 9th, 13th tooth. Carries pot over step. 11th, climbs on bench, 14th, climbs down from bench. 29th: 13th tooth. 14th tooth. 15th tooth.</p>	<p>Asks for "wow wow" before going to sleep. Copies Bessie, asks for "wow wow", too. Cries between 7.30-9.15 p.m. quiet if somebody is near. Goes to her cot, pulls out corner of blanket when tired. Cries for 20 minutes up to 2 hours at night. Fights against nap for 3 days; not put to bed after lunch for 2 days; then sleeps ½-1 hr. after lunch, cries only a short while for 3 days; goes to sleep without crying.</p>	<p>Asks constantly for bread, breaks it into tiny pieces, eats crumbs when watched, otherwise throws them away. Throws last bits of bread away, cries for more. 4th-14th: breaks sandwiches into tiny crumbs. 13th-19th 24th throw sandwich away after having eaten a bit, ask for more, furious when old sandwich is given back to them. 20th, finishes sandwich; pleased to get new one. 25th-31st, finishes sandwich. Eat a lot, always ask for more. Snatches food from boy's plate, although own plate is full.</p>	<p>Asks for pot after having been put to bed, only pretends. 7th, only goes on pot when she needs it, otherwise says "no no" Screams in despair because nappies are dirty. Potted by big girl, successful, empties pot with her. 6th, asks for pot after having been put to bed, potted, runs away, laughs. 9th, asks for pot when she needs it. Asks for pot very often, manages to urinate a bit 4 times in 1 hour. Asks for pot to avoid being reprimanded, is successful. Furious when not allowed to empty pot after having been successful. Moves on pot all over room.</p>	<p>Knows how to kiss. Pushes chair to cupboard to get toys down. Collects coats, hands them out to the right children. Runs with own coat to door, screams when told that she cannot go out. Goes to her cot, pulls out corner of blanket when tired. Sees Jessie getting undressed, takes off dress, shoes, puts socks into shoes. Starts singing on walk, goes on singing longer than Jessie. Girl falls from chair; nurses comfort her; Bessie watches scene, pushes a chair over, sits on floor, tries to cry. Bites boy, stops reproaches by asking for pot, being successful. Imitates pigs, "pfr fr". Pulls plug out of bath when asked to do so. Points at fire, says "loo-ch". Holds out foot in bath when asked to do so. Ask for pot to get out of bed.</p>	<p>"No no" when she does not want to be potted. "Bodd" "Budd" (button). 6th, "di" (stick) "boo" "mboo" (book) "alla" (halloh) "soo" (shoe) "pfr fr" imitates pigs. 15th, "loo" (look) 20th, "loo-ch" (look). 25th, "dick" (stick) "faa" (fire). "Aye aye" when being affectionate to Bessie. "mummy" "mum" when told that mother will come.</p>	<p>Sucks thumb when tired. Sucks thumb frequently.</p>	<p>Fight over jug, gets it after long fight, hits Bessie once more before taking jug away. Smack Sister G. Takes flowers, toys from Bessie, pulls her hair, smacks her. Takes toys, food from children, pushes them over. Smacks them. Bites them. Fight each other in pram so that they have to be separated. Goes on kicking and smacking other girl like last month. Smacks Jessie only after having been attacked by her.</p>
	26/ lbs. 22, 3 lbs.							

Affective Reactions	Play	Illness	Bessie to Jessie	Jessie to Bessie	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
<p>3rd, throws herself on floor, screams when Jessie is bathed first.</p> <p>12th, cries so much when Bessie is bathed first that Bessie has to wait.</p> <p>Very fond of big girl; allows her to pot her.</p> <p>Throws herself on floor, screams each time she is cross or unhappy.</p> <p>Peaceful with nurse until Sister G. enters, start screaming, do not allow nurse nor Sister G. to touch them.</p> <p>Throw themselves on floor, smack Sister G.</p> <p>After a while cuddles closely to Sister G., remains cross for ½ hour.</p> <p>Gets attached to social worker. Does not go from his side when he spends his day off in nursery; holds his finger; shrugs her shoulders in her special way; empties pot only with him; does not allow anybody else to handle her.</p> <p>Very aggressive towards all the other children, very aggressive against one special child.</p> <p>14th, very quiet as long as sick-nurse is in nursery. Goes to her but does not smile, empty expression; does not shout "mo mo" at dinner like usual; sits quietly on sick-nurse's lap like a "good girl".</p> <p>11th-13th, scream in bath when washed.</p> <p>14th-17th 25th, only washed but scream.</p> <p>18th, bathed, no crying, but looks miserable.</p> <p>19th-24th, unhappy in bath, screams when taken out.</p> <p>26th-27th, cries less than before when washed; 28th, bathed, hardly cries, but does not sit down in bath.</p> <p>29th, sits in bath without crying. 30th, 31st, happy when bath is mentioned, enjoys bath.</p> <p>25th-31st, all right in bath and afterwards.</p> <p>27th, walks to Sister G., turns her hand, cuddles head into her hand, very affectionate for a few minutes. 29th, repeats it.</p> <p>Screams, flings herself on floor when attacked by girl; does not defend herself although she constantly attacks this girl.</p> <p>30th, very shy when in big nursery for first time.</p>	<p>Put paper in tin, take it out again, play peacefully for ¼-hour.</p> <p>Build together, using 9 bricks.</p> <p>Stands in front of cot, sits underneath cot, pretends to crawl near Jessie, pretends to run away, play for about 4 mins, laugh aloud.</p> <p>Tries to put puzzle together.</p> <p>Puts 5 large bricks on top of each other, adds small bricks, very pleased.</p> <p>Plays with Montessori cylinders and hammer pegs.</p> <p>Chase each other round cot, very happy.</p> <p>Play "wow" with mother for about 10 mins., crawl on floor, mother chases one child, other child waits for her turn, laugh heartily. Take all soft toys out, put them on table, take them back to cupboard; repeat it often, cuddles them closely, carries them.</p> <p>Puts 7 small bricks in a row, tries to balance big bricks on them.</p> <p>Puts wooden beads on stick.</p>	<p>1st-3rd, bad motions.</p> <p>3rd-14th, soft motions.</p> <p>15th-31st, bad motions.</p> <p>No more coughing attacks.</p> <p>24th, still 1 or 2 coughing attacks daily.</p> <p>31st, no more coughing attacks.</p> <p>31st, slight cold.</p>	<p>Takes Jessie's flower, kicks her</p> <p>Fight over jug, →</p> <p>screams.</p> <p>3rd, 12th, cannot stand that sister is bathed first.</p> <p>Copies sister, takes frock, shoes, socks off when Jessie gets undressed.</p> <p>15th-25th, seems to avoid Jessie, suffers ill treatment, screams, sometimes hits back, →</p> <p>25th-31st, does not hit back any more, tries to escape.</p> <p>Ignores Jessie often.</p> <p>cries bitterly.</p> <p>Fight each other in pram so that they have to be separated.</p> <p>Play nicely with each other: building or chasing each other.</p> <p>Not interested in each other on walks, cry a lot.</p> <p>Fight for a toy →</p> <p>comes to take toy →</p> <p>screams.</p> <p>Exchange toys without uttering a sound.</p>	<p>← smacks Bessie, screams.</p> <p>gets it after long fight, hits Bessie once more before taking jug away.</p> <p>← away.</p> <p>asks for "bow wow" before going to sleep.</p> <p>Attacks Bessie continuously, ← toys, clothes from her, pulls her hair, smacks her, screams horribly when Bessie hits back.</p> <p>← Tries to bite Bessie,</p> <p>gets it, puts it on table, innocent face; waits ← patiently until</p> <p>snatches toy back whenever Bessie is at the point of getting ← it, laughs.</p> <p>Obstinate expression when told to be kind to Bessie.</p> <p>"Aye aye" when being affectionate to Bessie.</p>	<p>11th, mother visits twins, → very pleased that Jessie knows how to kiss, asks again and again for a kiss, disappointed that Bessie does not seem to be pleased when she enters.</p> <p>Less rough than usual.</p> <p>Very calm when leaving →</p> <p>22nd, mother comes and stays in Country house, cuddles Bessie closely for a long time, then cuddles Jessie.</p> <p>Imitates shrugging of shoulders (Jessie).</p> <p>Always same kind rough handling.</p> <p>Tells Bessie: "You have to defend yourself. Hit back, smack Jessie, you silly girl."</p> <p>Mother almost loses temper when Bessie keeps on screaming for apparently no reason.</p> <p>Plays nicely with twins.</p>	<p>smiles when seeing mother, shrugs shoulders in her special way,</p> <p>← kisses mother cuddles less than last time, bewildered for a minute, especially as many strangers enter with mother, then clings to mother but less than last time, radiant all day.</p> <p>indifferent at farewell.</p> <p>Say "mummy" "mum" when told that mother will come.</p> <p>Fetches all her toys, gives them to mother, friendly smile, shrugs shoulders.</p> <p>Happy with mother, plays nicely with her.</p> <p>Screams without tears when mother leaves.</p> <p>Refuses to be bathed by mother.</p> <p>Sits always close to mother, likes to cuddle her head to mother's shoulders.</p> <p>Refuses to stay at home with mother, insists upon going for a walk with social worker.</p>

NOVEMBER 1942
BESSIE AND JESSIE
20 MONTHS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for
← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
November	4th : 16th tooth.	Goes to sleep in the evening without crying.	Use hands and spoon.			"Dooa" (door) "more."	Suck thumb.	Pulls big girl's apron, pulls harder, bites her.
20 m.								
	6th, Return to London.							
	<p>Walks downstairs, holds on to adult with one hand, walks downstairs a week later.</p> <p>17th : 16th tooth.</p>	<p>Cries 3-10 minutes before going to sleep in afternoon and in evening. Put down for nap in Senior Toddlers' rest room, screams, refuses to lie down, very unhappy, holds nurse's finger, cries when finger is withdrawn, taken back to Junior Toddlers' room; fall asleep at once. Next day rest beds in Senior Toddlers' room put beside each other, own nurse with them, quiet, cries for a short while, go to sleep. Next day same situation, are soon asleep.</p>	<p>Eats slowly but asks for second helping as soon as Jessie, who eats quickly, gets hers.</p> <p>15th 25th : Throw plate, mug, spoon on floor when meal is finished or disliked, (imitate boy). Lunch with 10 Senior Toddlers, sits down, takes chair next to Jessie, eat well, ask for more when plate is empty. Reminded to use spoon, uses spoon nicely, uses it several times, then holds spoon wrong way, feeds herself with handle; shows off. Next day sit at different tables, eat a lot, use hands and spoon.</p>	<p>Without napkins. Without napkins, dry all afternoon. Next day, wet twice, wears napkins again. Cries bitterly when napkins are dirty. Very proud when successful on pot; insists on emptying and rinsing it even if it is empty. Often refuses pot, often asks for it without needing it. Wears napkins. Without napkins, almost always clean. Insists on rinsing her pot. Energetic "no" when asked whether she wants to be potted and does not need it. Uses big brick as pot; repeats it in spite of reproaches. Diarrhoea; very ashamed of dirty knickers. Points at girl's soiled sheet, puts finger in it, tries to lick it.</p>	<p>Knickers coming down, goes to nurse, says "look look". Watches crawling child, says "wow wow", "wow wow" to fur on coat. Ashamed of dirty knickers; tries to distract attention by showing toys, apron. Puzzled to see hole in plate, points at it, says "dooa", then starts eating. Wipes nose carefully herself. Puts glove on her hand. Knows how to kiss but kisses only air.</p>	<p>"Wow wow" to crawling child, to fur on coat. "ni" (nice) "ba" (ball) "ni ni" (good night) "mummy" "bum" when somebody or something falls. Says Bessie's name. "gone" "pa" (paper) Talks much more than Bessie.</p>		<p>Smacks Bessie and all other children. Bites everybody who annoys her; many children show tooth-marks on cheeks, arms, legs. Bites and pulls hair constantly, not only when annoyed. Smacks Jessie (first time after 4 weeks). 1 day later smacks her, pulls her hair. Fights back when attacked; often attacks herself.</p>
	30th : Transferred to Senior Toddlers.							
	23½ lbs. 25/7 lbs.							

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bessie to Jessie</i>	<i>Jessie to Bessie</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
Scream with fear when put in ambulance to go back.	Like to play "Ring-roses", "old horses"; shricks with pleasure.		Although she has not finished first course, asks for second as soon as Jessie gets second course.	Smacks Bessie, is proud.		
6th, Return to London.			6th, Return to London.			
Pleased to see sick-nurse, follows her about.	Play mainly with nest of cubes, hammer pegs. Prefer building. Likes to "bathe" other children. Loves to splash. Stir tooth-brushes in mugs, suck brushes, exchange them, repeat it for about 10 minutes. Pushes Bessie around room in empty brick box, no effort; pushes Jessie around, great effort, takes deep breath afterwards. Tries to spread napkin tidily on chair, puts bricks on top (like laying a table). Puts gloves on teddy bear's arms (while Jessie puts them on her hands).	27th, vomits twice, no temperature. 30th, motions normal. Diarrhoea for one day.	smacks her. smacks her, pulls her hair, screams. imitates her. imitates her. Push each other in empty brick box, great effort, Mostly avoids Jessie, sometimes cuddles head on her, smiles. Drapes belt round head, cries, smacks her. Wants her new hair style admired by Jessie before she approves of it herself, Feeds Jessie by spoon, very serious expression. Does not go out of Jessie's way any longer, tries to stand up against her. Have mother's gloves, boy takes one from Bessie, boy throws Bessie on floor, falls himself, cries in despair, is quite helpless,	Snatches Bessie's ball, Wants to visit Bessie in brick box, bites, screams. Shows off with new apron, Furious when new frock is taken off, Pushes Bessie in empty brick box, no effort. Bullies, pushes, smacks Bessie but is often very affectionate to her. snatches it from her, laughs, returns it to Bessie, gets a temper. Kisses Bessie "good night", at first does not pay attention to Bessie's new hair style, then smiles. Attacks her less frequently.	Wants to put Jessie into Bessie's shelter bunk, Very worried because of scarlet fever in Nursery. Praises Bessie because she defends herself. Mother's birthday, Leaves hurriedly without saying Goodbye, Takes twins to a shop, takes off one glove, Bad arm, cannot bath twins, Joins staff of Nursery.	refuses, points at own bunk. Sit near mother, sing with her. Throws herself on floor, kicks, cries for a few minutes, as soon as mother leaves, runs to door, calls for mother. Very pleased when mother enters, hardly cries when she leaves. Refuses to go for walk with mother. refuse to give flowers to her. realizes it, runs to door, cries bitterly, gets a temper, takes a long time to get quiet, sees Bessie crying, shouts for mother, gets a temper, comforted quickly. take off their gloves, even takes off bonnet. kicks, screams, holds arms out, clings to mother, does not mind being bathed by Sister G. but shouts for mother when Sister G. dresses her.
7th, Visit Senior Toddlers' Room, does not mind new surroundings, very interested. Awfully pleased with new apron, pushes chair about, stops to show apron to everybody, drapes it round her shoulders, imitates Jessie's showing off, immensely proud of new apron. Rushes to social worker, shows apron, knickers, gives him toys, shrugs shoulders, gets up during supper, sits on floor next to him, imitates his position, smiles at him like a flapper. Likes to ride on toy elephant when it is pushed by nurse, afraid of it when it is pushed by child. Sits in brick box for safety, happy there. 27th, isolated for 5 hours in strange room (scarlet fever in Nursery, Bessie had vomited), screams when left alone, happy when back in Junior Toddlers' room. Throws herself on floor, kicks, screams whenever she is angry; short duration of tempers. Awfully pleased, thrilled with new frock, shows off with it constantly, real temper when frock is taken off, tries to get it on, imitates Jessie's fury. "Helps" mother in kitchen until Sister G. enters, leaves kitchen with her. Desperate when attacked; does not defend herself; fights back. More affectionate and cuddly than ever. Holds ball close to her face, cries when she loses it, does not fetch it, smiles if somebody returns it to her. Still dislikes doctor (last injection in August).			30th, Transferred to Senior Toddlers.			
Investigates everything, plays for short spells, always returns to mother or Sister G.					Accompanies twins to new room,	returns to mother again and again.

DECEMBER 1942 TO AUGUST 1943

BESSIE AND JESSIE

21 MONTHS—2/5 YEARS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Intelligence	Speech	Habits	Aggression	Play	Illness	Relation to Adults	Relation to other Children	Interest in own Person	Attitude towards Animals	Reaction to Special Events	Fear	Defence Mechanism	Conscience Formation	Bessie to Jessie	Jessie to Bessie	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
December 21 m.	23/13 lbs. 25 lbs.	Sleep on walks. Disturbed nights; cries often. Fights sleep in afternoon and often in evening. Sleep well at night.	Use hands and spoon. Very impatient at meal times. Throws plate and herself on floor when she is not allowed custard (diet).	Often dirty in early morning, disregards reproaches. Often refuses pot, afraid of pot. Proud when successful.	Recognises mother on photo.	Says Jessie's name. "doggie."	Plays with lips, bites lips, bites blanket. Sticks out tongue; tickles it with thumb. Moves thumb inside cheek.	Hits children on head, bites, pulls hair. Hits bigger boy. Hits Jessie.	Plays at being a dog with boy who sits on her. Play with dolls, fitting-in toys; different way of handling them.	Diarrhoea Slight cold.	Attracts attention of nurse who soon becomes her own nurse, positive attitude towards her. Runs to well-known visitor.	Dislikes one bigger boy; attacks him.	Interested in her mirror reflection. Frock has to be admired by everybody. Pats her tummy.		Pleased with Christmas presents.	Afraid of dark room; cries. Afraid when left alone in bed. Afraid of pot.	Pretends to over-hear reproach. Shows off with frock when reprimanded.		Feed each other. Comforts Jessie. hits back, takes toy back, hits Jessie; → pulls Bessie's hair. Make up doll's cot, play peacefully. The one who awakes first calls sister.	Admires Bessie's frock. Snatches Bessie's toy, ← Bessie's hair. Shows success on pot to Bessie.	Takes twins to her own room,	very pleased. Await mother at bathing time. Interrupts play, asks for mother.
1943 January 22 m.		Disturbed by urticaria. Cries when alone in bed; shares shelter bunk with Jessie. Often awake at night. Sleeps well. Cries up to 4 hours.	Eat 4 helpings. Like dates.	Good on pot, proud when successful, unhappy when dirty. "Goo gi" when Jessie successful. "Dirty" to doll. Asks for pot, refuses it.	Interested on walks. Enjoy picture-books.	"Dirty" "for Bessie." "wiwi" (for gravy). "tea tea?" when called.	Rocks on teddy bear.	Hits toys, children. Bites boy in tummy, bites mother, throws chair at her. Spits at own nurse. Rarely hits children. Hits Jessie with toy.	Prefers rag doll. Plays "train." Plays with boys.	Urticaria Diarrhoea Injection of Measles C.S. Falls.	Runs to social worker. Kissing movement when nurse says "Good night."	Distributes biscuits. Copies boy, wants to be comforted by him. Helps new child. Plays with boys.	Wants to be admired. Wants to be examined.	Like ducks. Afraid of dogs.	Do not mind short stay in other house; follows Jessie about.	Afraid of dogs. Cries up to 4 hours at night.		Spill coal, picks coal up, takes no notice.	"Goo gi" when Jessie is successful. Strokes Jessie who was hit. Serves Jessie who is late. Cries when Jessie falls. Admires Jessie's success. Play with each other.	Pleased with Bessie's success. Hits her, defends her. Hits boy who had attacked Bessie. Takes biscuit, says "for Bessie." Sees her reflection, says "Bessie."	Mother enters,	→ overlooks her, runs to mother. Copy mother reading. Throws chair at mother, says "no no." Bites mother.
February Mar. 23 m. 2 yrs.		Sleep in different shelter bunks (Impetigo). Awake up to 3 hours in many nights; sits up, cries, eyes closed, stops crying when woken up, put down to sleep. Share shelter bunk. Oversleep heavy air raids.	Use spoon mainly. Like gravy, peas. Dislikes boiled egg.	Wets floor often. "Dirty" to negro in book. Asks for pot, uses it. Use lavatory. Says "look" makes a puddle. Pots doll. Runs with doll to door, lifts its frock, asks "wee wee". Dirty; says "Bessie dirty."	Beat rhythm to piano music. "Two letters" when she wants 2 scraps of paper. "Bessie dirty" when she herself is dirty. "Dirty" to negro in book.	"Dirty" "two letters", "no no Bessie, not hit." "No Mummy, ta ta, Mummy," "Dolly wee wee" "Bessie dirty."	Joins hands when going to sleep. 8th Mar., covers eyes, strokes hair. Sucks when put to bed. Eat sand.	Spits. Pulls hair, hits children.	Feeds, pots dolls, "dolly wee wee." Put dolls into "shelter" bunks constructed of chairs, bricks. Prefers wooden rabbit. Play part given in big children's play.	Impetigo, Vomits 99" Impetigo heals.	Likes visiting fathers of 2 boys; kisses them. Welcomes own nurse.	Hits back when attacked by big girl.	New frocks, "look look, copies Jessie.		Oversleep heavy air raids. Not disturbed when sirens sound in day time. Have tea in shop, behave well. Enjoy birthday.	Crying at night goes on up to 3 hours.	Forbidden to eat sand, stops, goes on, says: "more Jessie." Bites girl, stops biting; shouts "no no Bessie."	Hits girl, girl cries, watches → scene, strokes girl too. Separated, United, kiss each other. Wants Jessie near her. Copies Jessie's showing off. Forbidden to eat sand, goes on, says: "More Jessie!" Help each other pushing pram.	comforts girl, strokes her, "Bessie dirty" when she herself is dirty. impetigo, miss each other; calls Bessie when waking up; looks for her, "Bessie my Bessie." At meal times, "Bessie egg? Bessie bread?" Gives presents to Bessie. Waits for her on walk. Kisses Bessie often.	Twins eat sweet, asks "sweet for Mummy?" → Mother thinks that Bessie is happier than she used to be. Baths twins.	takes Bessie's, gives it to mother. Leaves mother to join children in garden: "No Mummy, ta ta, Mummy!" Excited when seeing mother, unhappy when she leaves.	
April May 2/1 2/2		Sleeps much better, sits up, cries for short spells. Cries after lunch; says "tired bed." Delay going to bed. Sleeps very well.	Licks off jam, asks for more. Get up during meals, want full plates refilled. Eat everything except "wobbly" puddings. Refuses cheese; copies Bessie.	Good on pot, puddles in between. Passes motion in bath. Makes puddle behind curtain. Steps in puddle. Puddle, says "chair done it." Wet, says "Jessie puddle". Wet, dirty, says "Bessie done it."	Puddle, "chair done it." Wet, says "Jessie puddle." Wet, dirty, says "Bessie done it." "Bye bye walk" when coming home. "Baby book" when she wants newspaper for teddy. "Top it" to noisy child.	"Bessie done it." "Chair done it." "Jessie puddle." "Tired bed." "Bye bye walk." "Top it" to noisy child. "Baby book." "Yes." "My nursy wash."	Picks nose. Sucks thumb and blanket.	Reacts to any criticism with aggression. Most aggressive, spits, hits, shouts. Bites Jessie. Hit mother.	Play with toy dogs, play at being dogs. Builds compact buildings typical of a child of 3 years. Builds in one line, typical for her age.	Slight temperature.	Fond of bigger children, especially of big girl. Rubs finger on sweet; puts it in boy's mouth.	Most excited when seeing a fly. Afraid of ducks.	Out on windy day, holds hand in front of eyes, looks worried, keeps on blowing. Oversleep air raids, even heavy raids. Not disturbed when rushed into shelter in day time.	Afraid of ducks. Afraid of bath, does not even want to be undressed; overcomes fear by playing with boat.		Bites Jessie. Wets, says "Jessie puddle." Sees her reflection, says "Jessie." When asked whether she was "Bessie": "No"; asked whether she was "Jessie": "yes." Wants Jessie to help her upstairs. disgusted, screams. brings her doll to Jessie. strokes Jessie, "aye aye Jessie!" hits her, gets it back.	Wet dirty: "Bessie done it." Fight for chair, gives in. "No no" to boy who hits Bessie. "Bessie bed?" when Bessie ill. Insist on getting same toys. Together in bath, ← passes motion, Copies Bessie's dancing. Cries for ← Bessie in shelter. Gets ← nails cut, cries, Takes B's spade, Jealous of each other. ←	Scolds Jessie who had hit Bessie, → Offers cheese, Asleep while twins with her, → Offers chocolate before leaving, Takes them for walk in street; returns exhausted.	→ turns away from mother, asks own nurse to bath her. → accepts it, refuses it, pushes it away, too. cover mother, turn room upside down. → accepts it, refuses it angrily. Want to be bathed, dried at same time, hit mother. Motion in bath, "look, Mummy."			
June July August 2/3 2/4 2/5	27/9 lbs. 30 lbs.	Sleeps well at night, without interruption, but screams terribly when put to bed. Cries when put down for nap, goes to sleep. Call out "more blanket" when not covered properly. "No sleep" when waking up. Sleeps well but takes 40 minutes to go to sleep when own nurse with her. Talks before going to sleep. Sleep in different shelters.	"More" while plate is still full. Eats less. Prefers puddings. Refuses red jam on baked apple. Dislike vegetables.	Dry at night. Motion in bed: "Me tell my nursy, me dirty, my nursy not cross." Wet, "my dolly done it." Exchange pots after having used them.	Holds cherries in front of mirror; calls "more cherries." "You tired" when nurse yawns. Gets hair washed: "Why bubble all gone?" "Why tidy up, tea coming?" "Why me small?" "Who done it?" "Me not Bessie, me Jessie." "My Bessie cry." "You tired?"	"I do it." "now" "only" "Why bubble all gone?" "Why tidy up, tea coming?" "Why not do it?" "Why me small?" "Who done it?" "Me not Bessie, me Jessie." "My Bessie cry." "You tired?"	Smacks her face. Sucks as before. Picks fluff off blanket. Rocks on toy dog.	Gets aggressive when something is refused. Bites, hits nurses.	Games in bed when waking up, play doggies, hide objects, feed toy animals with paper. Plays with tea-set. Scribbles "doggies." Plays at being boy's baby; at being nurse; at being "mogie-man."	German measles. Suspect of ringworm.	"Me 'mack" when reprimanded. Refuses to go for walk "with that" (nurse whom she dislikes). Walks with soldiers in street. When own nurse enters "Me finished, more." Attracts attention of Jessie's nurse. "You tired" when nurse yawns. Dirty at night: "Me tell my nursy, my nursy not cross."	Defends toys against big boy. Friendship with bigger boy; copies him. Distributes sweets. Friendship with big girl.	Thrilled with new clothes.		Enjoy birthday party Sees bombed house, "who done it?" Dislikes examination in skin hospital. Oversleep heavy air raids.	Afraid of fur coat. Afraid of floor brush "naughty pussy."	Stops crying, turns to something quite different. "Me 'mack" when reprimanded.	Comforts Jessie. Less dependent on Jessie. Stand on toy dog, rock. Copy each other at afternoon rest. Exchange pots after having used them. Separated, ask for each other. Cries for Jessie. Hears Jessie although stay in different rooms, sleep in different shelters. "Jessie all gone." Cries at night, "me not Bessie, me Jessie," gets quiet when called Jessie. When asked for Jessie, points at her own reflection, "there my Jessie."	Bitten by big child, cries: "Bessie kiss," gets kiss, stops crying. Sees that Bessie has a motion, passes motion too. Insists on being bathed in small bath tub like Bessie. Shares chocolate with Bessie. Returns to kiss Bessie.	Mother says that Bessie gets what she wants by being self-willed; Jessie gets it by smiling. Mother ill with German measles, →	Shouts "naughty Mummy" when reprimanded by mother. Cries for mother at bathing time. Wears mother's necklace. Horrid to mother. "Mummy spots, fall down." Cries for mother while separated from Bessie. Constant demands from mother. Distressed when mother leaves. "Mummy come to-night."	

SEPTEMBER 1943 TO OCTOBER 1944

BESSIE AND JESSIE

2/6—3/7 YEARS

Key

Red = Bessie

Blue = Jessie

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bessie and Jessie

1943	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Intelligence	Speech	Habits	Aggression	Play	Illness	Relation to Adults	Relation to other Children	Interest in own Person	Attitude towards Animals	Reaction to Special Events	Fear	Defence Mechanism	Conscience Formation	Bessie to Jessie	Jessie to Bessie	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
September to 1944 January		Afternoon rest stopped. Sleep in same shelter in different bunks. Sleep well.	Eat less. Refuse potatoes. Eat well. Violent tempers at lunch time. Stops eating even favourite dish when Jessie has finished. Help themselves, eat very well.	Wet, does not mind, worried. Wet, "me not do it again." Uses pot, "good girl wee wee." Asks for paper to be wiped. Dirty; does not mind. Urinate standing up.	Distinguishes 3, applies it often. Look at picture books, carefully, hurriedly.	Dressed with tight pullover: "No, not this one, too tight, too little." "Yesterday" right meaning. "Look, soldier ladies" to A.T.S. girls.	Masturbates, dreams. Day dreaming. Masturbates on pot and before going to sleep.	Throws chairs at own nurse. Hits Jessie badly with tin, with chairs. Wants a gun to shoot Bessie.	Pretend to be doggies. Hide brick, find it. Play with plasticine, has to finish Jessie's work for her. Plays many pretend games. Play pretend games.	Suspect of ringworm. Cold. Burnt by boy, heals slowly. Cold. Worms.	Prefer their former own nurse to everybody else, very fond of her. "Naughty nurse don't hurt my Bessie."	Likes to play with older boys. Copies big children when they do mischief.	Proud to wear trousers. "Look, there my bum bum." Studies her navel. Realises that boy shows off: "Look, my doodle."	Approaches ducks in spite of warning.	Again examined in skin hospital; free from ring-worm. Go to Montessori class; enjoys it. Delighted with Christmas presents.		Asked to stop shouting for mother: "Me not stopping my mother." Pushes horse against own nurse: "Naughty nursery gee gee bite you." Disregards warning to keep away from duck; gets bitten: "Silly mummy it was not this one." Knocks against lamp post: "me hurt it." "A little bit only" when refused something.	Wet: "Me not do it again." Told that she need not return to sickroom: "me not naughty any more." Drops glove: "There you are cross now."	Sees Jessie potted after having used pot successfully; uses pot second time, again with success. Stops eating even favourite dish when Jessie has finished. Hits Jessie badly with tin, with chairs. Copies Jessie in every way. Uses step ladder to go into her bottom bunk because Jessie uses it to climb into her top bunk. Hits chair that hurt Jessie. Jealous of each other. While Jessie in sick-room: "Not come back, not like Jessie."	Meet after separation; happy. Does not go to sleep as long as Bessie plays. Play pretend games. Fetch food for each other. Washes, dresses Bessie, gets furious when Bessie wants to wash her. Gives her own chair to Bessie. Wants a gun to shoot Bessie. Asks for a sweet for Bessie; eats it herself; next time unwraps it for her. "Never Bessie first, only me first, Bessie second." Gives orders to Bessie.	Asks Jessie to divide cake, → Scolds twins who made a mess, → Takes them to her home for the night, →	gives one-third to Bessie, eats two-thirds, says "Mummy got tummy-ache." cries, wipes mess, says "all clean now, Mummy." Asks for apple for mother, eats it herself. Great tyrants with mother. Tempers on walks. Says: "not like that silly woman." cry a long time.
	30 lbs. 31/9 lbs.																					
February to October		Restless in evening, sleep well at night. Does not want to go to bed before 8 p.m. Want to go to bed at 6 p.m. because of new pyjamas.		Upset about wet knickers: "my wee wee coming too soon." Disgusted when wet. Hardly any accidents. Remembers accident after 3 weeks. Allowed to urinate on grass when evacuated; enjoy it. Urinate simultaneously in front of house.	Suggests that Bessie is her baby so as to get Bessie's sweet. Remembers that sick-nurse had shown her ducks 9 months ago. Wonders how her clothes came to Country house. Reproached for disturbing Bessie: "You have not seen it, you can't be cross." Gets ointment: "Why do you serve them creams to-day?" Dress themselves.	Playing Bogy man: "Come and find me. Jessie-man." "Which honey do you mean? Big Hanni (nurse) or jam-honey?" "New jamas" (pyjamas). "We got two birthdays to-morrow." "Warming" (warning). Holds out dripping wet hands: "I am leaking down."	Masturbates. Sucks when going to sleep. Sucks in day time.	Hit, pinch each other. Very aggressive towards adults. Bites girl. Scratches Jessie. Aggressive when criticised. Attacks adults when reproached for hurting a child, then turns back to victim; goes on hitting. Bites Jessie.		Urticaria. Impetigo. Stung by wasp.	Scream when mother and own nurse are away at bathing time. Delighted when own nurse comes to Country house: "She is not losted." Aggressive towards adults, especially when criticised. Passive resistance.	Fond of bigger boy. Allow big girl to wash them. Almost inseparable from girl of their age. Allow her to help bath them. Fond of smaller girl. Exchanges coat and name with bigger girl.			Talks about coming birthday: "only me birthday, no Bessie." Enjoy birthday; visit Zoo. Thrilled with new pyjamas. Beginning of VI raids; do not mind to stay in shelter for many hours during the day. After a few days get very cross when they are not allowed to leave shelter. Evacuated to Country house; interested in new surroundings; eat well, cheerful; cries a lot from second day on for a week.	Air raid warning when twins in mother's room. Refuse to visit mother next day. "No there is a warming in mummy's room." When entering room next time points at gas fire: "Warming in there," insists that fire is turned off.	Walks away silently when reproached. Falls after having been refused nurse's hand. Cries monotonously when cross. Imitates her own howling. When told not to approach horse: "Why are you frightened?" When mother leaves suddenly: "Hurry, we have not such big knickers when yours are wet."	When seen picking apples, shout: "I never picked it, I found it." Bites Jessie: "I did not do it on purpose."	Gives her cocoa to Jessie when Jessie asks for it. "I don't like Jessie," → Finds a rose for Jessie. Pinches, hits, bites Jessie, Bites Jessie to get a toy, says: "I did not do it on purpose." Pinch each other without provocation. Do not comfort each other but join each other in crying. Kisses sleeping Jessie. Evacuated to Country house, keep to each other first few days; then get independent again. Scratches Jessie's face badly after having been asked 3 times to hit back. Copies Jessie in many ways; also when Jessie is wet. Ambivalent towards each other. Wet knickers after Jessie had an accident: "Jessie been wet." Sees Jessie pulling up her knickers; pulls up her own which had not slipped.	"Only me birthday, no Bessie." "I'll find somebody else who likes me." runs away, cries. Joins Bessie in crying if she cannot comfort her. "I don't like Bessie, she is naughty." Gives Bessie's biscuit to bigger girl. Gives Bessie's juice to bigger girl; says girl took it. Wants Bessie's blue mug. Does not patronise Bessie any longer. Suggests that Bessie is her baby so as to get Bessie's sweet. Sees nurse holding Bessie's hand after Bessie had a fall; insists on holding hand with nurse, too; falls, only gets up when getting nurse's hand.	Mother stays in Country house, → Mother leaves, → Mother visits twins, → Mother leaves after a fortnight's stay, → Back in London, mother leaves suddenly, →	Hits mother, comforts Bessie: "Never mind baby, don't cry." much more cheerful, no change in behaviour. not upset. very affectionate, no sign of pleasure. Asks mother to send bigger parcels. Seems to have dreamt about mother. don't mind, play before car has left. "hurry, we have not such big knickers when yours are wet."

BIRTH TO MAY 1942
BERT AND BILL
BIRTH—7 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

	<i>Physical Development</i>	<i>Sleep</i>	<i>Eating</i>	<i>Training for Cleanliness</i>	<i>Sense Development.</i>	<i>Speech</i>	<i>Habits</i>
	<p>Slight red birthmark on forehead. Red birthmark on forehead and back of head. Born 5th October 1941. Birth weight :</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">Bert first born. Bill second born.</p> <p>4/13 lbs. 5/13 lbs.</p>	<p>Mother reports that the twins slept a lot.</p>	<p>Mother reports that the twins were starved for 24 hours to make them take the breast which they always had refused. Slept almost all the time and hardly took any food although they were already 3 months old. Vomited very often.</p>				
1942	Admitted to Hampstead Nurseries.						
Feb-ruary 4 m.	<p>Try to move hands, which had been tied down for 4 months.</p> <p>9/9 lbs. 10/5 lbs.</p>	<p>Sleep a lot, but cannot go to sleep unless put in their favourite position.</p>	<p>Like their bottles. Dislike carrots.</p> <p>Average amount of food daily 28½ oz. 29 oz.</p>				Start <u>sucking.</u>
Mar. 5 m.	<p>Look much better. Get brownish complexion, red cheeks. Kick.</p> <p>12/7 lbs. 13/2 lbs.</p>	<p>Only goes to sleep when put on his left side. Only goes to sleep when put on his right side.</p>	<p>Get carrots by bottle ; resistance grows. Carrots refused or brought back. Vomits often. Vomits occasionally. Average amount of food 31 oz.</p>				Suck both hands, sometimes 8 fingers at the same time.
April 6 m.	<p>Kick a lot. Kicks more quickly, more violently. Look still better, get roundish cheeks. Hair grows and gets very light.</p> <p>13/7 lbs. 14/7 lbs.</p>	<p>If we were in doubt about " who is who " we would realize it when seeing them asleep.</p>	<p>Carrots fed by spoon again. Discontinued after a week because of strong resistance. Restarted a week later with little success. Spinach taken nicely. Vomit occasionally. Average amount of food 31 oz.</p>				Suck usually both hands. Sucks sometimes first finger of his left hand, back of his left hand.
May 7 m.	<p>Lifts his tummy a bit high up. Tries to turn around on changing table. Eyes get slightly brownish, very blue. Birthmark disappeared, hardly visible. Look very well and sunburnt. Move about, kicks absent-mindedly, violently.</p> <p>14 lbs. 15/7 lbs.</p>	<p>Sleep at different times in day time. The full amount of sleep in 24 hours varies from 10-15 hours. 14th, Wakes in the early evening, cries for 1 hour. Cannot be put back in his basket. 17th, Out with mother, cannot go to sleep afterwards for 2 hours, 1 hour. 19th, Goes to sleep after 3 p.m., sleeps for about 55 minutes, awakes, screams, gets quite red, then bluish. Stops after a few minutes, is very pale. Average amount of sleep 13 hours daily.</p>	<p>Cough to get rid of carrots, does not succeed, succeeds. Spinach eaten very nicely. Not interested, very interested in his bottle. Takes food more and more absentmindedly, normally, sometimes greedily. If we were in doubt about " who is who " we would realize it when feeding them. Average amount of food 28 oz. daily.</p>		<p>Pay attention to distant and nearby noise. Laughs aloud when filmed.</p>	<p>"Talks"</p>	<p>Suck their fingers when tired or hungry. Suck clothes or napkins playfully. Suck right thumb.</p>

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bert to Bill</i>	<i>Bill to Bert</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
<p>Mother tells that the matron of the hospital where the twins stayed was specially fond of Bert because he was so gentle.</p> <p>Reports that Bert hardly ever smiles ; Bill is very cheerful.</p>		<p>Mother reports that twins suffered from colds and coughs since birth. Lungs all right.</p>				
Admitted to Hampstead Nurseries.						
<p>Very cheerful ; smile a lot. Hardly ever cry in daytime but often when put in their carry-cots in the shelter. Smile in a friendly way at everybody looking at them.</p>		<p>1st-10th, Cold. 10th, 11th, Cold turns into bronchitis. 22nd, 102¹. 27th, 102³. Shower baths, steam 21st-26th Sick room. 26th-</p>				
<p>Still more cheerful. Cry much less when put to bed as we have found out their favourite position.</p>		<p>7th, Sick room. 8th-11th, Steam 8th-10th, and shower bath. Cough badly, especially at night. Vomits often, occasionally.</p>	<p>Pleased to have Bill in his basket. Looks at him, smiles →</p>	<p>not interested in "visiting" Bert. Does not pay any attention to him.</p>	<p>Mother thinks that Bert has got the bigger head. Wants to put back sleeping Bill to feed hungry Bert. Bill awakes, cries too, is fed first. Bert is left in his basket, waits patiently. Mother holds Bill on her lap much more often and much longer than Bert. Mother saw them naked ; did not know "who is who."</p>	<p>Very cheerful with mother. "Talks" to her. Laughs at her. Out with mother ; happy.</p>
<p>Extremely cheerful. Laugh aloud.</p>		<p>Cough less frequently. Coughs sometimes badly at night. Vomit occasionally.</p>				
<p>Loud laughter sounds like crying. Likes to have his head stroked. Smile when we play with them ; don't mind when we leave them.</p>	<p>Plays for a long time with his rings, loses them, plays with the ribbon and finally with his fingers. Plays for a long time with his rings ; very interested in them. Play often with their rings.</p>	<p>Coughing much better. Smile after vomiting.</p>				

JUNE—JULY 1942
BERT AND BILL
8 MONTHS—9 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1942	<i>Physical Development</i>	<i>Sleep</i>	<i>Eating</i>	<i>Training for Cleanliness</i>	<i>Sense Development</i>	<i>Speech</i>	<i>Habits</i>
June 8 m.	<p>Likes to observe his hands. Likes to play with his fingers. Behave alike whilst bathed. (Does not kick nor move a lot. Very lively.</p> <p>14/10 lbs. 15 lbs.</p>	<p>Sleep more than before. Sleeps as much as before. 4th, Sleep through until 2 a.m. 5th, Sleep through until 5 a.m. 8th, Put in a shelter carry-cot instead of basket; surprised, falls asleep after one hour; no reaction, asleep within 5 minutes. 24th, Cannot go to sleep as Bill kicks him. Still asleep on left side. Still asleep on right side. Average amount of sleep 13½ 13 hours.</p>	<p>Not interested in food; takes it very absent-mindedly. Enjoys his food. 4th, Sleep until 2 a.m. without being fed. Cry; fed at 2.20. Next feed 9 a.m. 5th, Sleep without evening feed. Average amount of food 31 oz. daily.</p>		<p>3rd, Tested, 2-3 months retarded; slightly more advanced. Did not mind being tested; enjoyed it. Took little notice of test room; took less notice. Surprised when put in a big cot.</p>	<p>"Talks" a lot; sometimes long "stories".</p>	<p>When tired or hungry sucks back of left hand and left thumb; right thumb. Suck vests and clothes playfully.</p>
July 9 m.	<p>Hair grows. Eyes get a brownish tint. Play a lot with their hands; like to move them; prefers left hand, prefers right hand. Shake their heads. Kick more. (Does not try to turn around. Turns on his tummy and cries, because he cannot turn back.</p> <p>15/12 lbs. 17/7 lbs.</p>	<p>1st, Sleeps quietly in spite of Bill's kicking. 6th, Sleep upstairs in same cot. 7th, Put in different cots and prams because Bill disturbed Bert. No longer disturbed by kicking Bill; sleeps more. 25th, Awake at 11 p.m.; laugh and "talk" aloud. 28th, Air raid warnings: taken down to the shelter when fast asleep. Do not awake on the way. Wake up only when put in carry-cots. Do not cry. 30th, Again taken down to the shelter 4 a.m. Wakes up on the way, only when put in carry-cot. Do not cry. Average amount of sleep 13 12 hours.</p>	<p>Mashed potatoes given; like it. Carrots discontinued as he vomited whenever he got them. Eats carrots nicely. Eats without resistance but vomits frequently. Eats very nicely. Average amount of food 28 oz. 30 oz. daily.</p>		<p>24th: Tested; hardly any progress since 3rd June, reaction to objects quicker; response more decided; muscular co-ordination better.</p>	<p>Says "da da da" sometimes; "abahba" for a long time. "Talks" a lot but no definite sounds. Says "da da da" very often.</p>	<p>Sucks left right thumb. Suck vests or napkins almost all day long.</p>

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bert to Bill</i>	<i>Bill to Bert</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
<p>Sometimes has a very happy expression, sometimes looks very amused.</p> <p>Cheerful and friendly towards everybody.</p> <p>Cries very rarely and only with a feeble voice, cries aloud, but rarely. Cries sometimes in his sleep.</p> <p>Seems :</p> <p>more withdrawn, passive, more outgoing, active.</p>	<p>Not interested in toys, takes them more by chance.</p> <p>Plays with little interest.</p> <p>Plays nicely, grasps rather quickly, shakes rattle or doll.</p>	<p>8th 9th Blister on chin.</p> <p>10th, Chin all right.</p> <p>22nd, 1 spot on tonsils.</p> <p>23rd, 2 1 spot on tonsils.</p> <p>26th, Still sore throat.</p> <p>28th, 2nd spot on tonsils.</p> <p>Slight temperature. Loss of weight. Vomits. Cough more than before.</p>	<p>Put in a cot together :</p> <p>Goes to sleep at once, →</p> <p>Out with mother in same pram, → goes to sleep when he is back.</p> <p>Together in → same pram</p> <p>Photos taken, lie → side by side,</p> <p>Cannot sleep because Bill kicks → him, cries, constantly disturbed by Bill.</p> <p>is very surprised.</p> <p>no reaction.</p> <p>does not mind it.</p>	<p>plays with Bert, tries to scratch him.</p> <p>sleeps all the time,</p> <p>don't pay attention to each other.</p> <p>play with each other.</p> <p>enjoys it.</p> <p>←Kicks Bert violently,</p> <p>Takes toy away from Bert ;</p> <p>←laughs.</p> <p>←Plays with Bert's hands,</p> <p>Has his own toy, but takes Bert's</p> <p>←toy away,</p>	<p>Saw them naked; did not know "who was who" (dressed always one in blue, one in pink). Speaks very nicely about her babies ; likes the one as much as the other.</p> <p>Feeds them; puts them back into their cots, →</p>	<p>Very cheerful when mother visits them or takes them out.</p> <p>does not mind being put back ; cries, when put back.</p>
<p>Are still more cheerful and friendly.</p> <p>Likes the small passage, looks high up to the roof ; laughs.</p> <p>Likes to lie quietly in his cot, watches the ceiling and laughs.</p> <p>More interested in moving about.</p> <p>Transferred to a new room. No reaction at all. Is more responsive.</p> <p>Seems :</p> <p>less passive, as active as before, very happy, very cheerful.</p>	<p>Plays with his doll.</p> <p>Plays with interest with his felt sailor.</p> <p>(Not very keen on his toys ; likes his toys very much.</p> <p>Play with each other's hands through the bars of their cots.</p>	<p>1st, Red throat ; slight temperature.</p> <p>1st, 2 spots on tonsils.</p> <p>3rd, Throat all right.</p> <p>1 spot on tonsils.</p> <p>6th, Throat all right.</p> <p>6th, 1st injection against Whooping Cough.</p> <p>Cry a minute, then very cheerful.</p> <p>7th, Cough.</p> <p>8th, 2nd injection against Wh. C.</p> <p>Cries a minute, does not cry, face gets red but looks amused.</p> <p>10th, 3rd injection against Wh.C.</p> <p>Do not cry ; are not cross.</p> <p>14th, 4th injection of Whooping Cough Vaccine and 6 c.c. Measles Convalescent Serum. Cries after $\frac{1}{2}$ of the serum is injected. Cheerful the next minute.</p> <p>17th, 5th injection of Wh.C. V. ; start to cry after prick ; stop before injection is finished.</p> <p>Bronchitis ; not disturbed.</p> <p>31st, Bronchitis worse.</p>	<p>Sleeps in spite of Bill's kicking.</p> <p>Bert gets cot and pram of his own. Hold each other's hands between → bars of cots.</p> <p>Watches Bill when he is tested.</p> <p>Shake hands between bars of → their cots. Enjoy it.</p> <p>Play with each other's hands between bars of their cots.</p> <p>Laugh. →</p>	<p>←Kicks Bert violently.</p> <p>Kicks him so</p> <p>←much that</p> <p>Does not pay attention when Bert is tested.</p>	<p>Mother reports that Bert watches passers-by in park. Feeds Bill first and rather slowly, cuddles him a long time, then feeds Bert quickly, →</p> <p>Mother visits : has to hold Bert almost all the time because he cries, feeds him →</p> <p>mother thinks he is jealous and therefore goes on eating to be handled by her and to be cuddled by her for a longer time.</p> <p>Mo : comes regularly once or twice a week.</p> <p>Plays nicely with her twins. As a rule she takes Bill first and holds him longer.</p>	<p>Happy when with mother. Don't cry when she leaves.</p> <p>←chews his vest meanwhile,</p> <p>vomits.</p> <p>Friendly towards mother as to everybody else ; No difference. eats more semolina than ever ;</p>

AUGUST 1942
BERT AND BILL
10 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both Children

→ follow arrows for

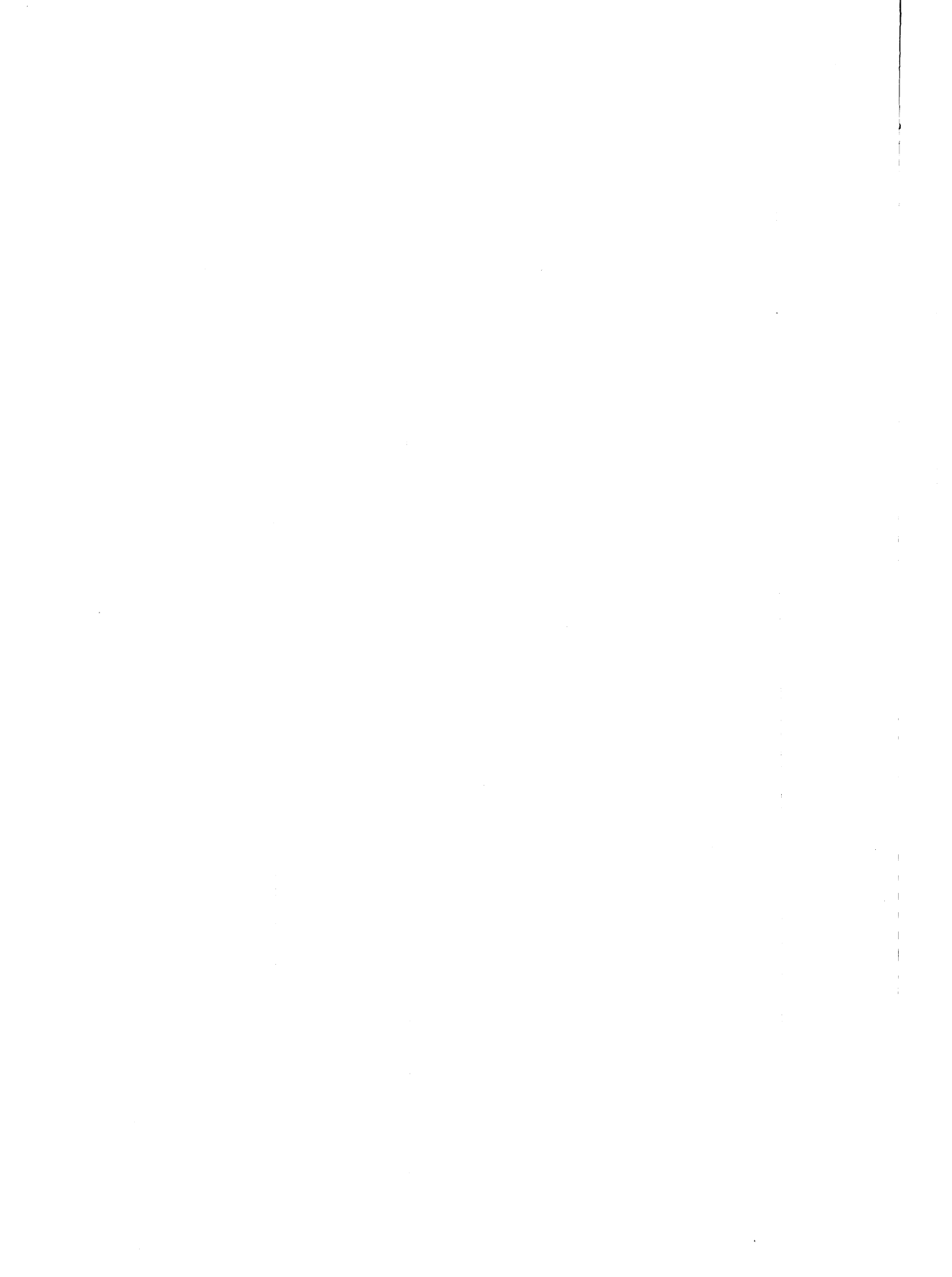
← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	g
August 10 m.	<p>Turns on his tummy; lies on it for a long time.</p> <p>Tries to turn around by holding on to the strap of his pram. Eyes get a greenish tint.</p> <p>Turns on his tummy once; cries.</p> <p>Turns on tummy and back.</p> <p>Moves all over his cot by standing on head and heels; pushes head ahead; follows with heels and goes on like that.</p> <p>Rolls all over his cot.</p> <p>Turns on his tummy in his carry-cot; lifts himself high up.</p> <p>Turns on tummy and back.</p> <p>Kicks violently; Kicks more than before.</p>	<p>Wake up after having been asleep in the shelter; cry a long time.</p> <p>Covers his eyes with his left arm and hand; sleeps a long time like that.</p> <p>Cries at night so much that he wakes up Bill.</p> <p>Cries only once when woken up by Bert.</p> <p>Usually sleeps without interruption.</p> <p>Usually sleep about 1 hour between 10 and 1 p.m., 1 hour between 2 and 5 p.m., 10 hours at night.</p> <p>Once slept only 9 hours in 24 hours.</p> <p>Once slept only 11 hours in 24 hours.</p> <p>Once slept 15 hours in 24 hours.</p> <p>Average amount of sleep 13 hours 12½ hours.</p>	<p>Takes bottle with both hands.</p> <p>Takes it back once more when it is empty.</p> <p>Throws bottle away as soon as it is empty.</p> <p>Eats a whole spinach meal nicely.</p> <p>Gets custard; likes it.</p> <p>Average amount of food 33 oz. 34 oz. daily.</p>		<p>A toy is taken away; they follow it with their eyes, but do not cry.</p> <p>Favourite position: Holds back of left right hand in front of eyes. Observes hand carefully, watches hand when it comes in view of his eyes.</p> <p>Heads covered by sleeping bags. No attempt to get rid of them; looks quietly at sleeping bag, peeps out underneath, watches room.</p> <p>Favourite toy, hair-brush shown to them: tries to catch it with hands and feet, forgets brush (still in front of him), plays with his feet; lies on tummy, left side next to brush.</p> <p>Turns right side all over to reach brush with right hand, laughs when he succeeds.</p> <p>Not cross when brush disappears.</p> <p>Wants to pull off his nurse's glasses. Laughs each time his hand is taken away and he hears a "no no". As soon as his nurse is near enough he tries to take off her glasses.</p> <p>Undoes his ribbons.</p>	<p>"Tells" long stories by "Da da da" or "Ba ba ba."</p> <p>Says "Ga ga, ga."</p>	<p>Sucks his vest even when falling asleep.</p> <p>Sucks all his clothes and toys.</p> <p>Sucks 3 fingers of his left hand, sometimes 3 fingers of his right hand.</p> <p>Sucks his right thumb when he is tired, hungry or disappointed.</p>	
	<p>16/8 lbs.</p> <p>18/3 lbs.</p>							

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bert to Bill</i>	<i>Bill to Bert</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
<p>Friendlier than Bill. Always the same amused expression. Gets bath with shower for 9 days, cries. Then first bath without shower; looks bewildered, then unhappy, cries.</p> <p>12th-17th, Still unhappy during bath. 18th, Not as happy in his bath as he used to be.</p> <p>19th, Just as happy in his bath as before showerbaths were started.</p> <p>(Dislikes to see us play with Bill; cries until we play with him. Does not mind seeing us play with Bert.</p>	<p>Plays with his buttons; holds them tight; prefers toys to buttons. Toys held between their cots: watches Bill, does not move; watches Sister S. toys and kicks. Toys given: play with interest. Toys taken away; do not try to get them back, although toys still within reach.</p> <p>So interested in his rattle that he does not pay attention when Sister S. talks to him.</p> <p>Pulls at the buttons of nurses' overalls; prefers to play with his hands and feet.</p>	<p>1st, Strong Bronchitis. 2nd-10th, Showerbath; coughs a lot.</p> <p>16th, Coughs worse, Coughs rarely.</p> <p>18th, 2 spots on his tonsils after having been less cheerful than usual for the last 2 days.</p> <p>21st, Sleeps upstairs at night not in shelter because of his bad cough.</p> <p>29th, 100². Inflamed throat after having been very miserable the previous day. Tried several times to vomit but did not succeed. Only vomited twice in August. Never vomited in August.</p>	<p>Watches his brother when we play with Bill; dislikes it.</p> <p>does not cry.</p> <p>looks surprised. Play together through the bars of their cots. →</p> <p>Cries at night so much that he wakes Bill, →</p> <p>likes it. Share one cot and like it very much. Are especially pleased to see each other in the morning when they come up from the shelter.</p>	<p>Does not pay attention to his brother when we play with Bert.</p> <p>Takes toys away ← from Bert.</p> <p>Takes toys out of Bert's hands through the bars ← of both cots,</p> <p>cries too, because he cannot sleep. Turns on his tummy in his carry-cot, lifts himself up and puts his hand into Bert's carry-cot. ← Plays with him,</p>	<p>Takes them out; get caught in rain, but pram well covered by mackintosh. Twins return only slightly wet but mother very upset as "both are soaking wet." Bill should be changed at once as he did not stay underneath mackintosh. (Bill was not at all wet, just his hair as damp as Bert's.) Mother comes with a friend; holds Bill most of the time, Bert a short while before she leaves. Mother visits. Says that Bert was very naughty, scratched her. Dresses him. He undoes the ribbons several times. She smacks him several times. Plays a lot with Bill.</p>	
Cots separated because of Bert's bad cough. Whooping cough in Nursery.						
			<p>Upset when he sees Bill fed first.</p>	<p>Looks up when he hears Bert cry or laugh. Watches Bert patiently when Bert is fed first; awaits his turn quietly.</p>	<p>Sits at Bert's cot; has Bill on her lap all the time. Mother tells that she did not know that she was to have twins until 10 days before their birth. Thought she was to have a boy whom she wanted to call Bert. She thinks that Bert has a very sweet face and smile, that Bill is just as cheeky as she was.</p> <p>Feeds Bill first although he was quiet while Bert was screaming.</p>	



SEPTEMBER 1942

BERT AND BILL

11 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both Children

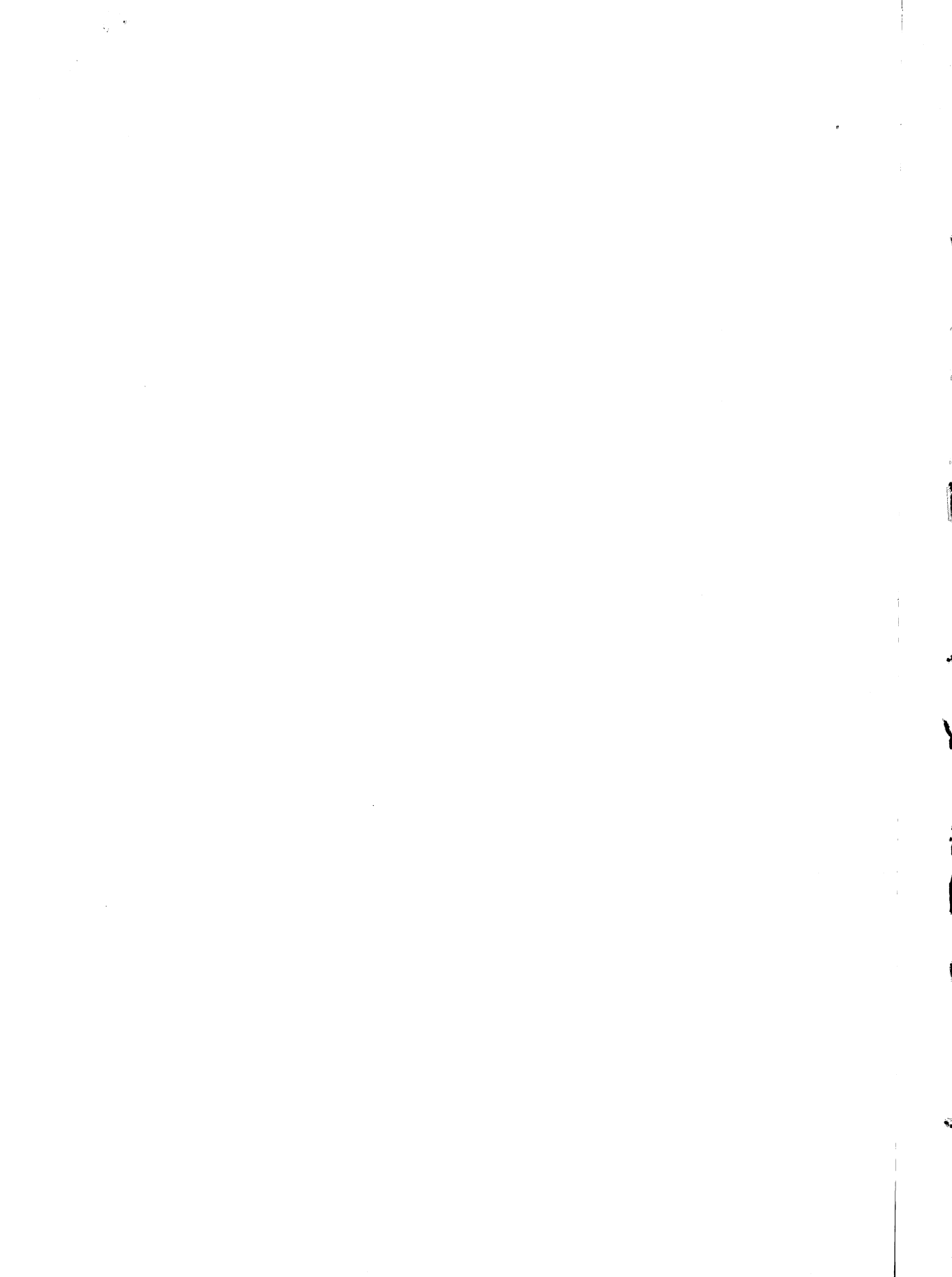
→ follow arrows for
← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
September 11 m.	<p>1st, 1st tooth. 7th, Moves all over table or his cot by pushing head and heels (see Bert, August). 10th, Crawls slowly in his cot. Slides slowly out of pram on top of hedge. 14th, 2nd tooth. Sits in pram; enjoys it. 19th, 2nd tooth 19th, 3rd, 4th tooth. Sits for long spells. Tears his name label down from top bar of cot. Crawls, kneels, goes back into crawling position, wriggles. When stood up stands straight for 5-7 minutes by holding on to bar of cot. Crawls, kneels, wriggles for hours. Turns on tummy; lies on it for a long time. Moves whole cot by wriggling.</p>	<p>Gets hold of broomstick, holds it tight; falls asleep, his right hand round the stick. Goes to sleep easily, sleeps well. Often cries before falling asleep in the evening; cries for $\frac{1}{2}$-1$\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Sometimes wakes up at night or very early in the morning; cries for more than 1 hour although he gets fed. Longest sleep time in 24 hours: 15 hours. Shortest sleep time in 24 hours: 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ hours. Sleeps in his pram on left side. Sleeps his eyes covered with his right arm.</p> <p>Average amount of sleep daily: 13 hours 12 hours</p>	<p>8th, Carrots tried with success. 10th, Eats whole carrot meal. Gets custard; likes it. Eats nicely all his meals except for the 9 a.m. feed, which he does not touch 7th, 15th, 22nd, 23rd, waits quietly until lunch time. Eats very well. Does not enjoy his food. When bottle empty, keeps on sucking teat, takes bottle out of his mouth energetically. Likes to play with his spoon while being fed. With one cough throws up half a meal as he used to do in February and March.</p> <p>Average amount of food daily: 33 oz. 34 oz.</p>		<p>Listens to the water running into the bath tub. watches it. Crawls to the end of his cot to watch a boy sitting on pot; looks down to him for a long time. Cot stands next to door; watches door and passers-by. New shoes, looks at them, thrilled with them. Empties his clothes bag while kneeling and bending over bag. Taken out for a walk; gets lively, "talks," lies quietly. Watches waving leaves, plays with flowers while being fed on terrace. Photos taken, cots joined together, watches photographer and Bill, only looks out for Bert's toys; gets them. Tears his name label down from top bar of cot.</p>	<p>Says "jji" "jju" "jju"</p> <p>Says "wou wou."</p>	<p>Sucks 1st finger or 2nd, 3rd, 4th finger of left hand. Sucks sometimes his right thumb. Chews his vest for hours, has it deep in his mouth when asleep. Often sucks his right thumb even when neither hungry nor tired. Right hand plays with genitals; left hand moves about as usual during whole kicking hour. Wriggles during kicking hour but tries to play with his genitals while being fed. Tries it constantly with his left hand.</p> <p>Chews his vest while asleep; sucks right thumb while asleep.</p> <p>Chews and sucks his vest so much that vest looks like a lump.</p>	
	<p>17/15 lbs. 19/4 lbs.</p>							

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Observations</i>	<i>Bert to Bill</i>	<i>Bill to Bert</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
<p>Dislikes having his face cleaned ; protects it by his hands ; does not cry ; furious when face is cleaned. Pulls nose up, opens mouth as widely as possible, screams without tears.</p> <p>Laugh a lot all day long, laughs happily, laughs so loudly that it sounds like an adult's laughter.</p> <p>Less cheerful when he notices Bill's activity. Gets crosser and crosser when he sees him kneel and stand. Cries often.</p>	<p>Exclusively interested in moving about ; less interested in toys, hands and feet.</p> <p>19th, Again plays with his hands.</p> <p>21st, Again plays with hands and feet.</p> <p>Takes ball with both hands, once with right hand only.</p>	<p>Cough much better, coughs as much as Bert. Hardly cough any more.</p>	<p>Sister S. bathes both ; is astonished that Bert is so lively, finds out afterwards that she has mistaken Bill for Bert.</p>	<p>Watches Bill, who can now crawl and kneel ; gets very cross.</p> <p>Cheerful until Bill starts kneeling and wriggling ; gets furious.</p> <p>Cots pushed together.</p> <p>watches Bill and the disappearing toys.</p> <p>Cots joined, inner railings lowered down.</p> <p>Watches Bill, gets cross.</p> <p>For once together in one cot.</p> <p>chews brush, kicks Bill's hands, → turns away from Bert ; kneels and plays with curtain, ← gets very cross.</p> <p>Gets more and more furious when he sees Bill moving about, especially when Bill stands.</p>	<p>← Tries at once to get hold of Bert's toys, succeeds,</p> <p>← Kneels at lowered railing ; watches Bert's cot and toys.</p> <p>← turns away from Bert ; kneels and plays with curtain, ←</p> <p>Sometimes disturbed in his night sleep by crying Bert.</p>	<p>Mother is more gentle with Bert ; more gay and loud with Bill. Mother tells that her father was torpedoed in last war, 8 hours in the water, died from chest disease. Her younger sister and brother are very cheery. Worried about Bert's cough. Mother wears charming silk frock. When asked whether she did not mind having it spoilt by the twins, answers : " I like to wear my best frock when I am with my boys." Sees twins' photo. It takes her quite a time to find out " who is who." Says Bert is like his father, Bill is like her. Mother wants to give Bill a blue and Bert a green cardigan. When asked whether she likes green : " No, I can't stand it." Mother tries new shoes first on Bill. Mother changes twins, who are very lively, says : " They made a plot to play me up " ! Mother very proud that Bill has got 4 teeth. Next visit still prouder that Bill stands. Nurses twins to sleep in her arms.</p>	<p>Happy all the time mother is with them. Continual happy murmur for 1½ hours after mother has left.</p>



OCTOBER 1942
BERT AND BILL
12 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for
← combination.

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
October 12 m.	<p>Grasps with right hand. Stands up. 6th : 3rd 5th tooth. Cots joined, inner railings down ; crosses head first into Bert's cot.</p> <p>9th : 4th 5th 6th tooth. Moves forward on his back. Jumps up and down on his knees. Sits up. Walks with mother's help, feet far in front, head leaning against mother. Sits for long spells. Crawls. Walks round his cot.</p> <p>27th : 6th tooth.</p>	<p>Cries often at night. Asleep in cot on left side. Goes to sleep while being fed, kneeling in pram. Sleep disturbed by crying Bert. Goes to sleep without crying but often cries when he awakes. Crying at night stopped.</p> <p>Average amount of sleep daily : 13 hours. Longest sleep time in 24 hours : 15 hours. Shortest sleep time in 24 hours : 11½ 11 hours.</p>	<p>Fed at table sitting on small chairs ; enjoys it for a while, enjoys it, eats a lot. Take meals well without wriggling when fed by visitor or by Sister S. Fed in front of Bill's cot ; stops eating again and again to watch Bill. Occasionally put hands into food, licks his fingers, smears food from fingers on table. Bites plate and spoon. Get milk from mug : Bites mug, spills milk, gets second half out of bottle, enjoys drinking from mug, although he tries to bite it, too ; spills a lot. Some days later : gets only some drops from mug, gets bottle, gets whole amount from mug, holds it without help, takes it to his mouth and away with out spilling milk. Biscuits introduced ; vomit at once. Changes spoon from left to right hand, puts it into carrots, then into his mouth.</p> <p>Average amount of food : 35 oz. 34 oz.</p>	Potted 4 times daily, like to sit ; have no idea why they are potted.	<p>Tested : retarded about 5 3 months. Birthday : Looks at table and at nurses, wants everything from table. Watches door and passing people, then crosses into Bert's cot, crawls over him as though he were an obstacle, approaches boy's cot who had been standing there and had talked to him, gets up next to boy, talks to him, laughs. Taken out to visit a friend : discovers Sister S's brooch, takes a biscuit by chance, watch surroundings, covers eyes with left hand when taken out in sunny garden. Tries to get hold of red box ; takes penholder which is nearer to him than box ; gives away penholder for a scrap of paper ; forgets box. So fascinated by Sister S's brooch that they don't masturbate nor wriggle when Sister S. bathes them. Ball thrown high up : follows it all the way with his eyes ; only sees ball as long as it is in front of his eyes. Discovers shadow of his hands on wall ; follows it for some time ; laughs. Shakes his head, copies Bert. Imitates clapping of hands.</p>	<p>Talks as loudly as a grown up : " ara dada." Talks aloud, especially after mother has been : " gara gara " " a bah bah," " ga ga ga." Shouts : " ha ha ha" " ja ja ja " " ga ga ga,"</p> <p>Says : " a dada "</p> <p>Says : " ff ff."</p>	<p>Masturbates with left hand. Masturbates in bath. Sucks again, left thumb. Sucks paper. Sucks right thumb, masturbates with left hand at the same time. Sucks left thumb ; masturbates with right hand at the same time. Sucks right thumb while standing in his cot and holding on to the bar with left hand. Holds napkin in his mouth with left hand. Sucks, chews napkin. Masturbates sitting in his cot for about 1 hour. Hardly ever masturbates when without napkins. Masturbates mainly when without napkins.</p>	<p>Throws himself on sitting Bert ; smacks, scratches him with a peaceful friendly expression.</p>
	18/15 lbs. 19/9 lbs.							

Affective Reactions	Play	Illness	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
<p>Cries bitterly when he sees Bill moving about; gets quiet as soon as he cannot see him. Like to explore each other's face; don't hurt each other. Stands in cot; laughs all by himself for a long time.</p> <p>16th, More cheerful again. Watches other boy instead of watching Bill; listens to boy's talk; answers by laughing happily. Laughs when other boy takes toy from him; does not allow other boy to take his toy, holds it tight, laughs. Greatly enjoy playing with each other; roll about, touch each other, laugh.</p>	<p>Play with 2 toys at the same time. Play with each other like young puppies; enjoy it.</p>	<p>Coughs slightly. Running noses. Bumps head badly but hardly cries; laughs very soon afterwards.</p>	<p>Cries so loudly at night, → Furious to see Bill's activity. cries bitterly, Like to explore each other's face. cries. Watches Bill moving about; does not get cross. Fed in front of Bill's cot; stops eating again and again to watch Bill. falls back, cries cries bitterly, cries more and more helplessly. Gets hold of Bill's leg, holds it tight, pulls it so that → enjoys it. Shakes his head, smiles at Bill, → laugh aloud. Play with each other. Roll on top of each other, touch each other's face, hold each other's arms and legs; enjoy it.</p>	<p>that he awakes, cries. Crosses over lowered railings into Bert's cot; ← crawls over Bert, not paying any attention to him. Wriggles on top ← of Bert, Jumps head first into Bert's cot, ← throws himself on sitting Bert, ← smacks, scratches him with a peaceful expression; is taken away from Bert, but returns, sits straight on him (although he did not sit in his cot for 6 weeks), looks triumph- ← antly down at him, stays on him until he is taken off. he has to go on his knees; says "ga ga" in a cross ← away, shakes his head, ← too.</p>	<p>Mother feeding wriggling Bill: "If I had to feed him daily I would smack him." Next visit: Smacks Bill several times because he wriggles a lot. Says she liked Bert better than Bill when they were small, because Bert looked like his father. Now likes Bill as much as Bert. Happy to have twins as she would spoil a single child too much. Next visit: "I would not mind having another baby, but not twins again." Tells that her friend thinks Bill is the same devil as she was. When told that Bert sits, answers: "but Bill can bend his head deep down." Feeds Bill with hot semolina; puts crying child back in cot. Puts him back again when he wants to get hold of spoon. Shakes Bert because he sucks his new suit. Says about Bill: "He will be just like me, always up to something mischievous." "I suppose I could nurse them all night and they would try to keep awake so that I should not go away from them." Father's congratulation cable lost; mother very worried until father's letter arrives.</p>	<p>Always happy with mother; very excited when she leaves. "Talk" a lot and laugh aloud for more than 1 hour after mother has gone. Although they are very cheerful as long as mother is with them they seem to be more excited and still more cheerful after she has left.</p>

NOVEMBER 1942

BERT AND BILL

13 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both Children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression
November 13 m.	<p>Kneels. Walks from one cot to the next by holding on to a chair. Crawl on floor slowly, quickly. Crawls, wriggles at same time. Climbs on bottom shelf of trolley, lets legs and arms hang down, wriggles.</p> <p>Stands up. Crawls on floor for hours, never quiet. Takes both hands off his cot, stands for a few seconds alone, laughs loudly; repeats it. Holds on to trolley, makes 3 steps forward, 3 steps backward; repeats it often.</p> <p>Eyes get more brownish, greenish.</p>	<p>Fights against sleep in day-time. Goes to sleep sitting up, cries every time he loses control and nods his head or falls back. Goes to sleep; awakes without crying. Falls asleep after 5 p.m. feed; does not awake when changed for the night, nor when examined by doctor. Put to bed in shelter bunks; goes to sleep within 10 minutes; Stands up, falls over, goes to sleep within 15 minutes on top of his blankets.</p> <p>Favourite sleeping position: Sucks left thumb or material held with left hand, covers eyes with right hand or forearm, sucks right thumb, covers eyes with left hand and arm.</p> <p>Average amount of sleep in 24 hours: 12 hours.</p> <p>Longest sleeping time: 15 hours. Shortest sleeping time: 11 hours.</p>	<p>Get a sandwich, throws it back, and all his breakfast too; eats it nicely. Toddlers' food introduced; takes 2 spoonfuls, throws up lunch and breakfast; eats 10 spoonfuls, throws up lunch. Porridge introduced; like it. Refuse Toddlers' food; tried again next day, throw it up immediately. Tried again next day, vomits, eats it without vomiting. Refuse to open mouth when Toddlers' food offered. Eats hardly any baby food, eats baby food nicely. Get gradually used to Toddlers' food; eats it as long as there are no lumps; eats it well. Takes full spoon in his hand, puts it into his mouth, waits until spoon is refilled.</p> <p>Average amount of food 34 oz. 36 oz.</p> <p>Highest amount in 24 hours: 42 oz. 46 oz.</p> <p>Lowest amount in 24 hours: 29 oz. 32 oz.</p>	<p>Fall frequently from pot or crawl away.</p> <p>Like to sit on pot, bang their feet.</p> <p>28th, only success; passes urine and motion in pot; not at all impressed when praised.</p>	<p>Looks out of window on foggy day, appears astonished. Listen to noise when screws of cots are removed; stand up, copy unscrewing quickly after a long time.</p> <p>Sings, looks at Bill, sings too.</p> <p>Imitates Bert, who bangs his feet when potted.</p> <p>Holds rattle out of reach when Bill wants it.</p>	<p>Masturbates frequently and for long spells while sitting and wriggling in cot. Masturbates less frequently. Bites Bill very gently; repeats it often. Rock backward and forward while being fed in exactly the same rhythm. Rubs himself up against Bert; bites him everywhere; full of affection. Rubs himself up against Bill very affectionately; laughs heartily. Bites gently. Sucks left thumb or his clothes or blanket held with his left hand when he goes to sleep. Sucks his right thumb when he is tired or cross, even when crawling on floor. Sucks much more than he used to. Bites everybody's arms or hands.</p>	<p>Bites Bert.</p> <p>Tries to take toy away from girl; fights hard but steadfastly; sticks to it and silently he wins; looks at her triumphantly.</p> <p>Attacks Bert constantly; pulls his hair, takes his toys away.</p> <p>Smacks mother.</p> <p>Bites everybody's arms or hands.</p>	
	20 lbs. 20/6 lbs.							

<i>Affective Reactions</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Illness</i>	<i>Bert to Bill</i>	<i>Bill to Bert</i>	<i>Mother to Children</i>	<i>Children to Mother</i>
<p>Completely happy with mother; just as happy when taken over by Sister S.</p> <p>Bumps head against leg of table repeatedly; at first only interested; bumps harder, starts to cry, but repeats it, bangs head often, hardly cries.</p> <p>Takes toy from another child (not from Bert), enjoys it.</p> <p>Gets very unhappy on floor; frequently put back in his cot, because he cannot stand advances of other children.</p> <p>Very pleased to see own nurse after a few days' absence.</p> <p>Very friendly to visitors; make little difference between newcomers and "old friends."</p> <p>Sees Bill fall and cry; cries too.</p> <p>Often cries when he sees Bill crying.</p>	<p>Play with each other's head.</p> <p>Sees girl playing with bin, laughs, crawls to her, joins them; tries to get hold of bin; girl holds it tight; crawls away; finds another bin to play with.</p> <p>Plays with big napkin-bin by shaking it and upsetting it.</p> <p>Lie on their backs; one shouts, kicks; the other one laughs, then the second shouts, kicks; the first one laughs.</p> <p>Sometimes they lie on their tummies or kneel or stand; always copy each other and laugh.</p> <p>Potted at the same time; play a game of banging their feet; laugh aloud.</p>	<p>Inoculated against Diphtheria; cries half a minute after prick, stops after another half minute; plays with bottles on dressing table while getting injection; does not cry.</p> <p>Bangs his head so that he gets a big bruise, starts crying half a minute later, stops soon.</p> <p>Bad motions. Motions smell sour, due to new diet. Vomited 10 4 times.</p>	<p>Kneels in cot, holds firmly on to toy, but →</p> <p>cries, defends next toy, does not give in.</p> <p>On the floor, →</p> <p>unable to defend himself on floor, cries helplessly.</p> <p>Play with each other's head.</p> <p>cries. ←</p> <p>Bites Bill very gently, →</p> <p>Put back to bed from floor because he is tired, cries, →</p> <p>is delighted.</p> <p>Rubs himself up against Bill, laughs, is very affectionate,</p> <p>Laugh at each other when they meet.</p> <p>looks at Bill; sings too.</p> <p>Shouts an angry "ah" when Bill turns away; →</p> <p>repeat it often.</p> <p>Bangs his feet when potted, →</p> <p>laugh aloud; repeat it often.</p> <p>watches crying Bill, cries too.</p> <p>Often cries when he sees Bill crying.</p> <p>Plays with rattle, →</p> <p>holds rattle out of reach →</p> <p>waves rattle, laughs, bangs it against sides of cot, →</p> <p>keeps on playing with rattle.</p> <p>Copy each other's position and movements; laugh heartily.</p>	<p>takes Bert's toy, holds it for a minute, then tries to get hold of the next of Bert's toys, ←</p> <p>attacks Bert constantly, pulls his hair, takes his toys ← away,</p> <p>Bites Bert.</p> <p>← Bites Bert often, laughs.</p> <p>crawls the whole length of the room, plays with Bert as though to comfort ← him,</p> <p>Rubs himself up against Bert, bites him in head, ears, arms, legs, absolutely everywhere.</p> <p>← Sings,</p> <p>turns round, laughs,</p> <p>imitates him after ← a while,</p> <p>← Falls, cries,</p> <p>wants to get it, ←</p> <p>cries, sucks his thumb, tries to get it ← again,</p> <p>sees that it is hopeless, throws himself down, cries, kicks, sucks, eventually falls asleep sucking.</p>	<p>Mother sees one twin outside; does not know who it is.</p> <p>Sees photo; does not know who is who.</p> <p>Mother's visits stopped because Nursery is in quarantine for scarlet fever.</p>	<p>Cuddles to mother, both arms round her neck; keeps quiet for a long time; looks at her with the happiest expression we ever noticed.</p> <p>Turns from mother to Sister S. with the same expression of perfect happiness.</p> <p>Smacks mother, gets hold of her spectacles; hurts mother, bends spectacles. Taken over by Sister S., charming and gentle to her; laughs at mother full of mischief.</p>



DECEMBER 1942

BERT AND BILL

14 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1942	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech
December 14 m.	<p>1st: 7th tooth.</p> <p>Rocks his cot until it collapses.</p> <p>Rocks his cot to the door so that entrance to room is blocked.</p> <p>Rocks another cot to pieces; crawls away to other end of room.</p> <p>27th, Watches Sister S's brooch with longing eyes; stands up by himself to reach it, walks two steps to reach it again.</p> <p>28th, Stands up, sits down.</p> <p>Eyes get brown dark brown.</p> <p>Often move exactly alike; the one looks like the mirror reflection of the other when they crawl or sit on the floor playing or when they stand in their cots and rock.</p>	<p>Fights hard against sleep in daytime, sometimes for half-hour and longer; very unhappy.</p> <p>7th, For once is the first of the five children on the floor to get tired; put to bed, sleeps for hours (tonsillitis). Does not awake when he is changed, nor when temperature is taken.</p> <p>13th, Cough; cry from 1-4 a.m.; are fed; go to sleep.</p> <p>Asleep at 11 a.m., lies on tummy; sucks, seems to be cross; utters sounds like "mm", "chm" (which he does not utter when awake), shakes his head; does not wake up.</p> <p>Sometimes awake at night, laugh, talk.</p> <p>Goes to sleep on his right side; sleeps half-hour.</p>	<p>Get chocolate; don't eat it, but smear it happily around.</p> <p>Eats paper 2 hours after breakfast; chokes, throws his breakfast up.</p> <p>Get biscuit; tries to get biscuit out of Bert's mouth.</p> <p>Refuses to be fed by own nurse; does not open his mouth; eats well when somebody else feeds him (repeated several times). (Own nurse will be leaving Babies' Room within the next days.)</p> <p>Likes to push down his plate.</p> <p>Get meat; eats first bit, spits out the next, eats 3 tiny bits.</p> <p>Stops eating when he hears Bill shouting.</p> <p>Eat much better than last month.</p>	<p>6th, Successful; when praised laughs just as he does when we pretend to be disappointed because pot is empty.</p> <p>Potted in Bill's absence; does not stay on pot, crawls off instantly.</p> <p>Impossible on pot after Bill's return.</p> <p>19th, Successful once three times.</p> <p>Successful when potted by mother.</p> <p>Refuses to be potted by own nurse; does not mind being potted by other nurses; (repeated several times). (Own nurse will be leaving Babies' Room within the next days.)</p> <p>Plays with his motion; smears it all over; furious when he is cleaned.</p>	<p>Wants smaller boy's rattle in spite of all the toys around him, crawls five times to boy's cot and takes rattle. Each time he is taken to another corner of the room and gets another toy instead of rattle.</p> <p>Gets more and more furious.</p> <p>Works hard to get hold of screen; upsets it several times.</p> <p>One part of room is divided off by a net so that the children can crawl about without being disturbed or disturbing.</p> <p>Five children try for two weeks to cross the net. Bill was the first to succeed. He squeezed himself through a small gap at the end of the net, struggled hard for about four minutes and arrived at the other side of the net.</p> <p>Explores people's faces full of excitement.</p> <p>Copies Sister S. when she opens her mouth.</p> <p>Crawls away after having rocked second cot to pieces.</p> <p>Stands up, walks two steps to get hold of Sister S's brooch.</p>	<p>"ada"</p> <p>"gaga"</p> <p>"ragaga"</p> <p>"jjjj ga"</p> <p>"mum mum"</p> <p>"aida"</p> <p>"ra aiida"</p> <p>"arah araa"</p>

20/2 lbs.
21/3 lbs.

Habits	Aggression	Affective Reactions	Play
<p>Bites Sister S.; sucks her arm at the same time with quiet pleasure.</p> <p>Right thumb in his mouth, but does not really suck; moves finger about. (Teething.)</p> <p>Bites Bert gently, happy expression.</p> <p>Masturbates in bath; stops when Sister S. pats his tummy.</p> <p>Bites Sister S. without actually closing his mouth; licks her at same time and sucks her hand.</p> <p>Sucks frequently.</p> <p>Chews real brick.</p>	<p>Pinches, smacks nurse who changes him.</p> <p>Bites his own hand (hard enough to leave a mark).</p> <p>Tries hard to bite Bill, but does not succeed.</p> <p>Knocks brick on Bert's head repeatedly.</p> <p>Fights with Bert for a brick; bites him.</p> <p>Bite each other.</p> <p>Watches girl standing up by herself; pulls her down again and again.</p> <p>Bites her, pulls her down.</p> <p>Bites Bert in the shoulder.</p>	<p>Likes to crawl to smaller boy's cot, to play and laugh with him.</p> <p>Cheerful first day in sickroom; very unhappy second day; completely happy when taken back to Babies' Room.</p> <p>Watches girl screaming and struggling against being potted; seems frightened, cries; goes on crying when girl is already quiet in her cot.</p> <p>Cries when temperature taken by nurse; does not cry when Sister S. takes it.</p> <p>Knocks brick on Bert's head repeatedly.</p> <p>Fights with Bert for a brick; bites him.</p> <p>Bite each other.</p> <p>Watches girl standing up by herself; pulls her down again and again.</p> <p>Bites her, pulls her down.</p> <p>Bites Bert in the shoulder.</p>	<p>Plays a game of clapping his hands, copies him.</p> <p>Bangs brick on trolley, copies him.</p> <p>On the floor with three more children; nobody cries for two hours. (Situation repeated frequently.)</p> <p>Prefers wooden hammer to all other toys.</p> <p>Ball game; watches ball the whole way; does not try to get it; follows ball as long as it is in front of his eyes and again when it is on the floor; fetches it quickly.</p> <p>A pair of knickers hangs between twins' cots; try to pull it down, make a great deal of noise, pull hard; it looks like a fight but it is sheer fun.</p> <p>Favourite game: to copy each other in rocking, laughing, clapping hands, laughing more and more heartily.</p>
Visit Junior Toddlers:			
<p>28th, Put on floor, cries for a short while, stands on floor, sits down; play with several toys; are peaceful but not cheerful; starts crying, cries too, cries bitterly with real tears (great exception), clings to Sister S.; happy as soon as they are back in Babies' Room.</p> <p>29th, Walk into Junior Toddlers' Room, hesitates, then sits down, sits down, too; cries a little; play with bricks for about 10 minutes, starts crying, crawls away; cries helplessly until Sister S. takes him up; after a short while starts crying on Sister S's lap; rocks, sitting underneath cot; crawls away after 10 minutes' rocking, plays, completely happy when taken back into Babies' Room; does not mind being with Junior Toddlers without Sister S.; plays with them for about an hour. Does not react when Sister S. passes room; taken back to Babies' Room at lunch time. Visit repeated in the afternoon; enjoy it.</p> <p>30th, Lunch with Junior Toddlers; eats nicely while he watches screaming girl; eats well; laughs at Bert and Sister S.; seems to overlook screaming girl. Play with each other while eating their pudding. Play hour with Junior Toddlers; play nicely, finds a blue brick, gives it to Bill, starts crying after half-hour; gets quiet when visitor picks him up.</p> <p>31st, Visits Junior Toddlers without Bill; does not cry when Sister S. leaves room.</p>			

Illness	Miscellaneous Observations	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
<p>1st, Sore throat.</p> <p>7th, Tonsillitis; left eye inflamed. 101°.</p> <p>8th, Transferred to sick-room; not impressed by new surroundings; cheerful the first day, 101°; very unhappy the second day, 98°.</p> <p>9th, Temperature normal, cheerful and lively all day long. Big hydrocele right. Very slight hydrocele left.</p> <p>10th, Hydrocele slightly bigger.</p> <p>12th, Hydrocele slightly smaller.</p> <p>13th, Cough frequently, especially at night.</p> <p>14th, Hydrocele much bigger; Hydrocele smaller. Slight bronchitis.</p> <p>16th, Bronchitis better.</p> <p>31st, Inflamed throat, 100°.</p> <p>Every 2nd 3rd day without motion.</p>	<p>Sister S. bathes Bill thinking she was bathing Bert and is surprised that "Bert's" eyes looked like Bill's, and that he tried to stand in his bath.</p> <p>Sister S. then bathes Bert, thinking she was bathing Bill, and is surprised that "Bill" bites her so gently, that he cries when his face is cleaned, that he masturbates in his bath.</p>	<p>Claps hands, → copies him.</p> <p>Bangs brick on trolley, → copies him.</p> <p>Stops eating when he hears Bill's voice; tries to see him; looks at last into right direction, shouts a "reply", goes on eating.</p> <p>10th, See each other after a separation of 2 nights and 1 day; cots separated,</p> <p>notices Bill immediately, stretches out his arms, completely happy expression, shouts aloud, stays in corner of cot next to Bill's cot for many hours.</p> <p>11th, Does not watch Bill any longer,</p> <p>13th, Cots still separated; rocks his cot to Bill's, → join hands, laugh heartily.</p> <p>16th, Cots close together, coughs, → copies coughing until he is almost sick; sees that we laugh, joins in laughing and pretends to cough again.</p> <p>Plays with screw of cot, pushes Bill's hand away, → interferes constantly, pushes Bert's hand away,</p> <p>cries, bites himself. → crawls after Bert to get brick; fights for it, bites him,</p> <p>On the floor with a brick, resists strongly, but eventually loses brick, → keeps it for 3/4 hour, always playing with it. Knocks brick on Bert's head, → Bert's head, cries furiously, throws himself on tummy.</p> <p>cries until Bill is put to bed, watches him → listens to Bert, crawls near him, laugh aloud. ← Bullies Bert a lot.</p> <p>turns away, saves biscuit. ← Tries to get biscuit out of Bert's mouth,</p> <p>Cots separated; rock until they meet; laugh heartily.</p>	<p>copies him.</p> <p>copies him.</p> <p>Bullies Bert all the time they are together on mother's lap.</p> <p>10th, See each other after a separation of 2 nights and 1 day; cots separated,</p> <p>notices Bert a little later, waves, laughs and talks aloud;</p> <p>stays in corner of cot next to Bert's cot most time of the day.</p> <p>still watches Bert.</p> <p>join hands, laugh heartily.</p> <p>copies coughing until he is almost sick; sees that we laugh, joins in laughing and pretends to cough again.</p> <p>interferes constantly, pushes Bert's hand away,</p> <p>← crawls after Bert to get brick; fights for it, bites him,</p> <p>keeps it for 3/4 hour, always playing with it. Knocks brick on Bert's head, → Bert's head, cries furiously, throws himself on tummy.</p> <p>listens to Bert, crawls near him, laugh aloud. ← Bullies Bert a lot.</p> <p>← Tries to get biscuit out of Bert's mouth,</p>	<p>20th, Nursery out of quarantine. Mother's first visit after five weeks; approaches → Bill's cot, carries Bill to Bert who sits on floor, →</p> <p>picks up Bert, cuddles him. Mother says that these five weeks when she could not visit twins were the longest in her life. Says: "It does not take long to make them laugh." Tells that she liked to play with the toddlers in the convalescent home; matron called her "a real toddler". Pots twins, → Feeds Bill first, holds him until he is almost asleep (40 minutes), then feeds Bert, →</p> <p>25th, Brings many toys; takes twins out, comes back with more toys, presents from her colleagues. Says to crying twins: "You'd both get lots of smacks if I had to look after you."</p> <p>Says that she knows them well apart; that she can't have both on her lap, because they are too jealous.</p>	<p>laughs happily, cuddles to her, smiles at mother, smiles back at box ← with bricks, then laughs at mother,</p> <p>both successful.</p> <p>refuses semolina, drinks only 3 oz. of milk.</p> <p>Talk aloud, are very excited after mother has left, talks for more than 1 hour</p>

JANUARY 1943

BERT AND BILL

15 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

FEBRUARY 1943

BERT AND BILL

16 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for the first time, *e.g.* crawls

MARCH 1943

BERT AND BILL

17 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1943	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Sense Development	Training for Cleanliness	Speech
March	Crawls under-neath very low furniture and sink without hurting himself.	3rd, Oversleep air raids at 8 p.m. 4 a.m.	Hands in food, does not lick them, licks them.	Very interested in other child's parents.	Potting goes on without success.	"Teddie" "look" "ia" "baa" "all gone" when something is dropped, when he swallows food, when he coughs, when he sneezes, when he upsets screen which falls down with a loud bang, when taken to sickroom.
17 m.	2nd: 9th 10th tooth.	Still fed at night; takes bottle while asleep.	Eats when fed by little girl.	Rocks his cot near window; watches street for long spells. Holds his bottle by himself.	After 6 7 weeks 1 2 successes.	"no" "all gone" when ball is dropped. "goo goo."
	Crawls after ball so quickly that he gets it although bigger girl runs after it.	7th, Oversleep air raid.	Refuses milk when offered for the first time, but takes it nicely when offered a second or third time.	Pushes ball under-neath gate; gets it back skilfully by lying quite flat.	18th, Ill; not potted;	31st, "all gone" when he throws a toy, when he looks at the place where Bert's cot used to stand.
	8th: 11th tooth.	Kept in bed as no grown-up is in the room; sleeps 10.30 a.m.-1 p.m.; eats, sleeps on terrace 1.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. Sleeps 7 p.m. 6 a.m.	Eats sometimes with hands and spoon without help.	Tries to fit his shoe on knob of bed, does not succeed; hangs shoe on knob, very pleased.	Potting goes on without success; sits patiently on pot.	31st, "no ball" when offered a dog.
	9th: 10th tooth.	Cries for ten minutes in one night; talks for 15-30 minutes in five other nights.	No appetite for first three days of illness; eats well afterwards; hardly ever feeds himself.	Eats his meal while sitting on a comparatively high chair; no attempt to get on floor; looks at distance between legs and floor.	Put on pot; cries, gets a dog, goes on crying; says "no ball," gets ball, is quiet, sits on pot, no success.	31st, "no ball" when offered a dog.
	Crawls under-neath sink without hurting himself.	31st, Awake three times for 5-10 minutes when he gets measles rash.	Dislike cabbage.	Hates blackcurrant juice given before early morning feed.	Motion runs out of napkin; does not touch it.	31st, "no ball" when offered a dog.
	19th: 12th tooth.	Cries for 10-30 minutes in seven nights; talks, rocks for 15-90 minutes in three other nights; knocks head at the same time in two nights.	Refuses food after he had to wait for it.	Drinks out of rubber tube at sink.		
	Crawls in upright position without using hands.	24th: 11th, 12th, 13th 14th tooth.	Hates blackcurrant juice given before early morning feed.	Succeed in moving other child's cot by working together; manages to move cot without Bert's help by kneeling and later on by standing in front of it.		
	Crawls as quickly as Bill.	Go to sleep easily.	Night feed goes on as he does not gain satisfactory.	Throws balls when asked to do so.		
			Seems to be very hungry, but when taken out of bed for his meal crawls away to get a ball.	Smacks smaller boy; smacking goes over into stroking when Sister S. says: "No Bert," no reaction to "no no."		
			Dislike lumps; spit them out quickly.			
			Has to be changed when meal is served; cries while being changed; then crawls away from table, fetches a ball, goes on crying, starts meal only at fifth attempt.			
			Feeds himself.			
	21/7 lbs.					
	22/4 lbs.					

Habits	Aggression	Affective Reactions	Play
Sucks left thumb when ill.	Takes cake from little girl; hits her when she cries.	When in prams in garden laugh for hours; only stop when somebody talks to them or plays with them.	Rolls ball away, catches it quickly.
Sucks right thumb when tired or cross.	Smacks smaller boy.	Dislike being cleaned and dressed after bath; fight against it, almost impossible to clean his ears.	
Rubs, pinches nose when cross; uses right hand.	Smacks crying Bert.		18th, Ill; kept in bed in Sickroom.
Sucks vest when cross.	Attacks Bill often.		
Knocks head very rarely, only when cross;	Pinches nurse under her chin so that it bleeds.	Twins separated, 18th:	
Knocks head when cross; also sometimes without obvious reason and at night.	Two girls have a fight, kick, cry, crawls near, smacks bigger girl many times; pinches and pulls smaller girl.	Tears Sister S's apron violently when she wants to leave the room without paying attention to him; then laughs and says "goo."	Rocks cot near baby-girl's basket; plays with her like with a toy; shakes her arm, drops it, grabs it again.
Rock when kept in bed, same rhythm, rocks more intensely.	Takes little girl's engine away; pushes her plate off table as soon as he has finished his meal.	Rubs head affectionately against little girl's. Crawls constantly from workman to Sister S. and back to workman; after ten minutes decides to stay with Sister S.; plays with her, but looks and laughs at the workman in between.	Rocks cot to little girl's cot; both laugh heartily.
Bangs head on floor when cross.	Pulls her hair.	Makes extremely silly faces and funny noises when she stays longer.	Likes to play near sink; throws all his toys in sink, licks them. Rolls five balls about in sink; licks them in between.
Often bangs head on floor, right in between his legs; gets up again without crying.	Rubs head gently against little girl's suddenly pulls her hair and arm.	Cries sometimes like a baby: opens mouth widely, utters very high-pitched sounds "bba aaa a aaa," then presses lips together; seems to have stopped crying, when all of a sudden he starts again, "bba . . ."	Plays for hours with his car and soft toys; prefers soft balls to other toys.
Furious when nose is wiped in bath; bangs head in bath-water but only once.		Cuddles closely to Sister S. each time he can get hold of her. Wants to cuddle after bath when quite wet; cries all the time he is dried; content the minute he is allowed to cuddle.	Plays for hours with curtains and curtain strings; fastens them everywhere.
		Nose wiped in bath; gets furious; cries in bath and when dried until vest is put on; sucks vest and cuddles to Sister S. for a long time.	
			Twins together, 26th up: Twins together.
			Throws balls, fetches them again.
			Play game of copying each other's movements and noises; laugh heartily.
			Prefer balls to all other toys; used to carry balls back, now throw them back.
			Twins separated, 31st:
			Separated, 31st.
			Laughs all the time he is wheeled over to other house (measles, 102); cries only when Sister S. leaves pram to ring bell; laughs happily when she picks him up.

Illness	Miscellaneous Observations	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
Hydrocele disappears gradually.	Mother sees twins' poly-photo; does not know "who is who."	Together in one cot; pleased, rock in exactly same rhythm; shake with laughter, Pulls Bill's hair while Bill plays with mother.	Kneels behind Bert; looks exactly like a second Bert.	Mother has got eight brothers and sisters, no twins in family. Plays almost all the time with Bill, →	Jealous when mother plays with other children; hit them, hit her. plays with Sister S., watches .mother.
15th, Bronchitis, coughs, 100.	Three nurses who know twins well think they are dressed in wrong suits; have to ask their own nurse to hear that Bert is dressed in Bert's suit.	Ill; separated 18th-26th. Sickroom	Plays game of funny faces and movements he used to play with Bert with smaller boy and nurse.	Mother plays with Bill until bedtime, gets twins ready for bed, takes Bill to his shelter-bunk, wants to leave, but when asked to take Bert, hurries him down to his bunk.	Laugh as we had never heard them before. By and by it sounds like crying; we find mother playing with them in garden, very happy.
16th, Slight bronchitis, miserable.	Ill, no appetite, but eats when nurse holds him in front of mirror and puts full spoon to his mouth and he watches his reflection.	18th, Says for first time "gone" when something is dropped in sickroom.	Makes a fool for Sister S. just as he had done for Bert.	Mother hurries twins into shelter, →	they go on laughing as before.
17th, Bronchitis better, 102.	no signs of pleasure. Kneels next to other child's cot, tries to move it by rocking, succeed, laugh aloud when cot moves.	19th, "all gone" when spitting out food.	Tries to crawl out of room.	Father on leave; had not seen twins since they were three weeks old. Plays nicely with them, →	goes at once to father.
18th, Bronchitis better 19th, Very cheerful, 100.	Attacks Bill often, takes his balls away, bites him,	23rd, "all gone" when swallowing food.		Mother visits Bert in sickroom; gets nervous when he does not let her go, then →	very tired while mother with him, but does not go to sleep; cries when she wants to leave.
19th, All right.	furious to see Bill succeed without his help, bangs head on floor.	24th, "all gone" when sneezing.		hurries to Bill; plays a long time with him.	
25th, All right. Penis inflamed.	Fed by own nurse, →	25th, "all gone" when screen falls.		Mother says that Bert is like his father. When we tell her that we think that Bill is exactly like his father she says hesitatingly that the father thought Bert was like his family.	
Back in Baby room, 26th.	Smacks crying Bert, pushes him over, crawls away. →	Twins together, 26th-31st.		Mother holds ball between her teeth, shakes it in front of Bill's face, →	copies her.
28th, Very loose motions, kept in bed.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	no signs of pleasure. Kneels next to other child's cot, tries to move it by rocking, succeed, laugh aloud when cot moves.		Mother brings her sister and her →	plays happily with aunt and grandmother; no signs of disappointment when mother leaves room.
29th, Motions all right. Penis all right.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	Attacks Bill often, takes his balls away, bites him,		Mother holds ball between her teeth, shakes it in front of Bill's face, →	
30th, Very pale but very cheerful; all right at doctor's examination.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	furious to see Bill succeed without his help, bangs head on floor.		Mother brings her sister and her →	
31st, Awake three times at night for short spells.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	Fed by own nurse, →		Mother holds ball between her teeth, shakes it in front of Bill's face, →	
Eats well, is very cheerful; measles rash appears. 102. Taken to:	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	Twins separated, 31st.		Mother brings her sister and her →	
Sickroom, 31st.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	31st, "all gone" when carried to sickroom, when he enters it and when put to bed in other house, although nothing is dropped.		Mother brings her sister and her →	
Starts at once playing with his balls; eats nicely.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,	Interrupts meal to look at place where Bert's cot used to stand.		Mother brings her sister and her →	
Taken to other house, laughs all the time while in pram, covers one eye with his hand but looks at Sister S. with other eye, smiles.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,			Mother brings her sister and her →	
Cries when she leaves pram to ring bell; laughs happily when she picks him up.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,			Mother brings her sister and her →	
Says "rrga" in pram and when carried upstairs, says "all gone" when put to bed; stands up immediately, looks at other child and bird. 99.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,			Mother brings her sister and her →	
Every third day without motion. Vomited 7 3 times.	Manages alone to move ←other child's cot,			Mother brings her sister and her →	

APRIL 1943
BERT AND BILL
18 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1943	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech
	Twins separated. 1st-7th Bert in other house.					
April 18 m.	13th tooth. 15th tooth. Walks three steps without support. 14th tooth.	Awake 10 p.m.-3.30 a.m.; says constantly "all gone" in between cries or says "ball." All attempts to quiet him (toys, picking him up, bottle) fail. Sleeps 10.30 a.m.-4 p.m.	Night feed discontinued. Does not feed himself when own nurse is near. Very impatient at mealtimes. Insists on getting a sandwich before each feed.	Not potted. Gets off pot; laughs when we say "no." Sits sometimes cheerfully before crawling off. Rare successes.		"All gone" after girl has left; when another cot is put on Bert's place; when bigger girl returns after illness; when he enters room.
	Twins together 7th-12th. Bert returns, 7th.					
	Walks six steps without support. 15th tooth. First time on floor after 9 days; crawls and walks carefully.	Taken to shelter at 6.25 p.m.; fast asleep when carried upstairs 6.40 p.m.; does not wake up when put in his cot.	Night feed started again.	Potted, little success. No success.	Manages to get a box out between bars of cot although box is wider than intervals between bars.	7th, "ball gone." 8th, "ball all gone." "bow wow" "all gone" entering room.
	Twins separated 12th-30th, Bill in other house.					
	First time on grass, crawls about carefully. Walks one step without support. Crawls with a blue brick in one hand, a mug in the other hand, a ball pressed between his arms and chin; moves forward steadily. Crawls in upright position, without using hand. Walks one step by himself without stimulation. Walks two steps without stimulation. 16th tooth. Still crawls in upright position.	Oversleeps sirens at 12.30 a.m. but talks mainly "brr bsch" 3.0-4.30 a.m. Talks for two hours one night. Sleep through in spite of heavy air raid. Talks 1.30 a.m.-5 a.m. Cries or talks sometimes at night up to 1½ hours. Screams often at night shortly and loudly without waking up. While own nurse on night duty, plays with her each morning, climbs up on her, puts finger in her mouth, plays with her bracelet, talks. Sleeps without interruption last four nights.	Eats mainly without help, uses left hand. Eats good quantities. Is fed as long as he is kept in bed. Does not feed himself when up again. Seems to be disgusted when hands touch food; does not use hands nor spoon.	Stands in cot, without napkins, urinates on floor; does not seem to feel or hear it. Not potted. Motion runs out of knickers; does not touch it. Plays with motion; smears it all over.	Copies girl who produces sounds by moving underlip with fingers. Watches smaller boy who tries in vain to push big box; crawls near, helps pushing, they succeed. Combs, brushes his own hair. Combs sometimes own nurse's hair. Crawls with a brick in one hand, a mug in the other hand, a ball pressed between his arms and chin; moves forward steadily. Stands on head and feet, looks out through window in between his legs; great fun. Nurses in other house think that he is specially intelligent; knows how to get what he wants. Girl loses his own nurse's bracelet; returns it to girl although he is very fond of bracelet.	"Come" when Sister S. passes without paying attention to him. "Oh dear." "Down" when carried to shelter and at other occasions; "All gone" mainly when something is dropped. "Bow wow."
	22/2 lbs. 23/9 lbs.					

Habits	Aggression	Affective Reactions	Play
Twins separated 1st-7th. Bert in other house.			
Sucks right thumb while jumping from one leg to other leg, when kneeling in cot.		1st, Sister S. visits him the day after she had taken him to other house; looks away from her, throws ball away she had brought, plays with a metal disc; puts it into his mouth, chokes; Sister S. gets disc out; he says "all gone," starts talking to her, gets very friendly. 6th, Sister S. visits again; gives toys to her; does not mind her playing with other children; cries when she leaves. Own nurse visits, very pleased with her; greets her with "all gone"; cries when she leaves.	
Twins together, 7th-12th. Bert back.			
	When bigger girl pulls his hair he pulls smaller boy's hair.	Returns from other house; immediately picked up by own nurse; cheerful; says "all gone" when he enters room. Wants to be picked up by own nurse as soon as she enters room. Cry when own nurse looks after the other twin.	Plays with bricks or push-toys as often as with balls.
Twins separated 12th-30th. Bill in other house.			
Chews real bricks. Likes to eat earth, to chew sticks. Prefers sticks to cake. Hair, face, hands very dirty. Pinches his nose; Picks his nose often with right thumb and forefinger. Knocks head so violently that he gets big bruises and that it frightens other child; banging accompanied by shrill screams, gets quite exhausted. Screaming and head banging get less when he is allowed on floor and when adults do not pay attention to it. No head banging.	Attacks girl often and with great pleasure; takes her toys away. Takes her ball away and pulls her hair at the same time. Sister S. comforts bigger girl; he pulls her hair. Pulls girl's hair when she wants his ball; does not give in.	12.0-5.30 p.m., in pram in garden; watches writing Sister S. When Sister S. looks after a child he laughs aloud; when she turns to him loud laughter changes into quiet happiness. Seems to be more interested in Sister S. since Bill has gone to other house. Girl hits him; he stops crying when Sister S. says "no" to girl, although she hits him once more. When attacked by same girl next day, only looks at Sister S., does not cry. When Sister S. calls him, he laughs, claps hands together, rubs arms, turns head to side in a curious embarrassed way; goes on as a game for about half-hour. Girl takes his ball away; he does not cry; crawls to Sister S. and cuddles. On the floor for two hours; stands almost all the time near Sister S.; seems to be very happy. Plays nicely on floor until Sister S. enters, then stays near her for 1½ hours; very happy expression. The same happens the following day, but joins other children in pushing a cot, then returns to Sister S.; cuddles closely. Sister S. visits him four days after he had been taken to other house: says immediately "all gone"; later on "bow-wow"; very pleased to see Sister S.; waves, laughs at her, does not make his usual funny faces. 23rd, Seems to be as happy as before first separation from Bill, 18th March. Very pleased when own nurse visits him after 11 days; says often "all gone"; laughs, plays with her bracelet; does not cry when she leaves. Happy each time Sister S. comes to see him.	Plays game of funny movements and noises with other boy just as he used to play it with Bill. Likes to play with handles of sash cords. No longer interested in balls. Favourite toy: a tiny blue brick which he finds everywhere, carries about, chews. Puts two balls in his car; pushes car about. Builds with a wooden dog and two bricks on top of it. Tucks peg on pram; plays like that for about 40 minutes.

Illness	Miscellaneous Observations	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
Twins separated 1st-7th. Bert in other house.					
Measles; no temperature. Hurts finger on tin; cries bitterly but gets quiet quickly when Sister S. comforts him. 5th, 100; very cheerful. 6th, All right.		"All gone" when Sister S. visits him; "all gone" when own nurse visits him.	"All gone" after girl left through garden door; "all gone" constantly while standing at gate; "all gone" while cot is put on Bert's place; "all gone" looking at bigger girl returning after illness; "all gone" constantly, 10.0 p.m.-3.30 a.m.	Mother very worried because of Bert's illness, as her eyes are bad since she had had measles. Visits Bill; no time to go and see Bert.	
Twins together, 7th-12th. Bert back.					
		Returns, picked up by own nurse, overlooks Bill, Put to bed, cries, gets hold of Bill's hand, bites him, 12th, together on floor, smacks Bill often,	cries, wants to be picked up too; crawls after nurse. ←crawls to Bert's cot, talks, laughs, shakes cot, cries, crawls away. tries to meet or follow Bert; cry.	Mother holds Bert → Mother here; all three very happy.	struggles to get on floor; wants to be on mother's lap, too, stays quietly on Sister S's lap.
Twins separated 12th-30th. Bill in other house.					
12th, 101°; inflamed throat taken to sickroom; eats a lot; jumps about, talks a lot, very cheerful, does not cry when left alone; taken to other house. 103°. 13th, Sleeps almost the whole day; no temperature. Hydrocele completely disappeared. Isolated, but during heavy air raid in contact with child ill with measles; does not get infected.	Mother sees only one twin; does not know which.		"All gone" when Sister S. visits him; "all gone" when own nurse visits him.	Mother sees only one twin; does not know which. Wants to visit Bill, but does not want to leave Bert, → Visits Bill but comes back after one hour; says he did not want her. Plays a game of banging hands on sheet and shaking head at same time, → No time to visit Bill. Plays nicely with Bert, →	cries when mother leaves until own nurse takes him over. shakes with laughter. wants to stay with Sister S. even when mother shows him his favourite ball; laughs at mother in a friendly way but cuddles to Sister S. Charming to mother after Sister S. has left.

MAY 1943
BERT AND BILL
19 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert
Red = Bill
Black = both children
→ follow arrows for
← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1943	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech
	Twins separated: Bill in other house.					
May 19 m.	<p>Walks one step without support carrying a toy in each hand.</p> <p>Walks many steps. Walks carrying soap in each hand. Enjoys walking up and down stairs, led by nurse, one hand at banister.</p>	<p>Cannot sleep when first time outside in his cot; no longer in his pram.</p> <p>Sleeps without interruption for four nights. Awake up to half hour for seven nights; awake up to 1½ hours for three nights. Shouts while awake; no crying.</p> <p>Sleeps without interruption for 12 nights; talks for 15 minutes in one night; cries for one hour in one night.</p>	<p>Eats by himself, usually with left hand; uses spoon very rarely, only with right hand. Likes everything except cocoa, chocolate cream.</p> <p>Fed while in other house.</p>	<p>Makes puddle on floor, says "all gone," crawls away. Once successful, enjoys emptying pot. Points at pot but refuses to sit on it, gets stiff.</p>	<p>Windy day, watches waving leaves; talks to them for a long time. Asks Sister S.: "What is that?"; she replies "letter"; asks again and again. When Sister S. asks: "What is that?" he replies "etter"; goes on for minutes.</p>	<p>"All gone" when not allowed to crawl out of room; "all gone" when urinating on floor. "Look" when Sister S. passes without paying attention to him. "Good girl" "butt" (button), "up" "down." "Oh dear" when Sister S. passes. "What is that?" "etter" (letter) "ing" (bracelet)</p>
	Twins united 14th; join Junior Toddlers.					
	<p>Hair lighter than Bill's. Crawls but moves one leg as if he was walking. Rocks cot to pieces. Climbs up slide; does not know how to get down; not interested in slide. Falls down slide, does not cry; cuddles to Sister G. Walks two steps without support.</p> <p>29th, Walks many steps. Looks more sunburnt than Bert.</p>	<p>14th-15th, awake twice ½-1 hour; cries, rocks; does not go to sleep for one hour; cries one hour during night; seems to mind new shelter bunk. Rock often until they fall asleep.</p> <p>Sleeps through for four nights; awake up to 1 hour in eight nights; awake three times in two nights.</p> <p>Sleeps through for eight nights; awake 10-40 minutes in four nights, talks.</p> <p>Sixteen warnings, fourteen at night; several heavy raids; twins never disturbed.</p>	<p>14th, Not able to get spoon with food into mouth; squeezes mash in hand, licks it hesitatingly without pleasure.</p> <p>15th, Distributes puffed rice over table, picks it up, eats it.</p> <p>16th, Feeds himself until bowl almost empty, then wants help.</p> <p>Enjoy messing about with food. Throw plates constantly. Eats a lot when fed by own nurse. Self-help breakfast, tries one bite of everything, eats very little; tries to get hold of all the mugs, all the sandwiches; eats enormous quantities. Feeds himself when own nurse near. Throwing of plates gets slightly less, worse and worse. Night feed discontinued.</p>	<p>Resists being potted by own nurse; allows other nurses to pot him; hardly ever successful.</p> <p>Resists being potted by own nurse; does not mind being potted by Sister G.; gets up immediately; no success.</p> <p>Sometimes successful on pot but spills it immediately.</p> <p>Urinate when without napkins; looks at puddle.</p>	<p>Out in garden; sees own nurse in second floor room; calls, laughs aloud; Sees Bert looking up and laugh; tries to find out why, but does not look high enough.</p> <p>Has seven bricks piled on top of each other.</p>	<p>"Look" when visitor leaves. Has almost stopped talking since Bill's return; says only "ta ta" "dgi" (shoe), "bow-wow" (for whatever he wants except at mealtimes when he says "mo." "Wh wh" when own nurse says flower. "Mo" "No no," copying nurse.</p>

21/13 lbs.
23/11 lbs.

Habits	Aggression	Affective Reactions	Play
Twins separated: Bill in other house.			
<p>Eats soap. Rocks, bangs head, screams frequently but less violently than in April.</p>	<p>Attacks smaller boys. Does not defend himself when attacked by bigger girl. Fights with bigger girl for chair. Pinches doctor and nurses.</p>	<p>Sees Sister S. outside; shouts through closed window, laughs, jumps about; disappointed when she leaves. No longer put outside in pram but in his cot; does not sleep all day long but cries and sobs helplessly for 20 minutes at 5 p.m. Stays in garden; can see his own nurse working upstairs in room; calls, laughs, but cries when she handles a baby. Cries bitterly until we draw the curtains. Sees little boy outside, laughs at him; play like that for a long time. Own nurse cleans room; he follows her; stays at each cot while she does the beds; laughs whenever she looks at him. When attacked while own nurse near, cries for help. When attacked while Sister S. is near, looks at her without crying. Very happy to see Sister S. after 14 days; stretches arms to touch her; does not take eyes away from her; says "ta ta," "all gone." Very excited to see own nurse after 19 days, clings to her. Fond of nurse who looks after him in other house.</p>	<p>Uses a broken doll's head filled with bricks as rattle. Throws, pushes toys, crawls after them as if they were balls. Plays with boy who has to stay in bed; brings him many toys. Pretends to pick up something, puts it into nurse's hand; goes on as a game for a longer time.</p>
Twins united 14th; join Junior Toddlers.			
<p>Sucks thumb or blanket. Eats mixture of coal and bricks. Sucks thumb before falling asleep. Enjoy playing with dirt; quite black after ten minutes in garden. Start rocking at same time, exactly same rhythm. Bangs head in bath-water; repeats it, laughs. Bangs head when attacked. Bangs head often; hardly any head banging.</p>	<p>Pinches Sister G. Bites Bill. Pulls Bert's hair; gets a bunch out. Throws girl's tower over, bites her. Pulls boys' hair in spite of "no no"; repeats "no no"; goes on pulling. Pulls girl's hair often. Fights with boy on slide. Push girl over; pull her hair. Attacks Bill. Pulls girl's hair. Bites boy. Pulls bunch out of boy's hair. Hits girl.</p>	<p>See Sister S. outside; no reaction, but very pleased when she visits them. Cuddles closely to Sister S. for about 40 minutes; does not want toys nor cake; very quiet but seems to be very happy. Cots next to each other; play with different toys; very contented; does not try to attract Sister S's attention any more although she is near. Very unhappy at bathing time; cries from start until he is in his shelter bunk; had not slept in afternoon. Do not mind being bathed by Sister G. when own nurse has finger bandaged. Yells, throws arms high up as soon as own nurse moves away from him. Hates to be washed, bathed, potted by own nurse. Violent temper tantrums when own nurse puts him back to bed. Likes to be cuddled by nurse who looked after him in other house; cries when she passes without paying attention to him and when she leaves. Cry bitterly when own nurse leaves room, bangs his head violently. Cuddle to Sister G. as soon as she sits down. Wants to be picked up by own nurse as soon as she enters room. Goes on playing peacefully when own nurse enters. Looks at own nurse when attacked by Bert.</p>	<p>Plays with other boy game of funny movements and noises as he had done while separated from Bill. Sits for hours in pram shed; plays with dirt. Throws brick; waits for Sister S. to throw it back as he used to do with balls. Put sticks into tin; take them out; go on with concentration and laughter for seven minutes. Pile three bricks on top of each other.</p> <p>23rd, Seems to be frightened of black toy dog.</p> <p>24th, plays constantly with this dog; cries when another child gets it. Favourite toys: dolls, black toy dogs. Plays with big bricks for 25 minutes; piles seven on top of each other. Fits pegs together, pulls them apart.</p>

Illness	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
Twins separated: Bill in other house.				
<p>100, but seems to be well; kept in bed for 3 days; 100⁹; jumps about, talks a lot.</p>	<p>Tries to crawl out of room, says "all gone" with sad expression when not allowed to leave room.</p>		<p>Comes often, stays for hours with Bert, then visits Bill. Says again that Bert is like his father. Nurses Bert for two hours as he is not allowed on floor.</p>	<p>Very happy with mother as long as Sister S. is not near. Overlooks mother, interested in nurse.</p>
Twins united 14th; join Junior Toddlers.				
<p>14th, 100.</p> <p>15th, 99⁹.</p> <p>16th, temperature normal.</p> <p>25th-29th, Loose motions.</p> <p>31st, Slight rash, slight cough, no temperature.</p>	<p>14th: Crawls towards gate, away from Bill, sucks, look at each other in secret, pushes chair towards Bill, starts laughing after 10 minutes, plays with ball.</p> <p>Sit near each other, back on heels in exactly same position, grin at each other, cries, crawls away, squeezes himself between cot and wall; seems to be afraid of Bill, laugh a lot, want each other's toys. Make fun for each other, disturb each other at rest. After three hours as happy as before separation. 15th, Bites Bill, Cry when together in one cot, not when together in play pen.</p> <p>pretends to ignore him, then joins in laughter. Bites Bill, follows him, bites again. pushes his toast over to Bill, repeated as a game for about three minutes. accepts them with pleasure. Exchange food, laugh heartily. Bites Bill, pulls his hair</p>	<p>Put on floor, stays there, rather bewildered, sucks. looks at Bert, stops sucking, joins in playing, starts laughing five minutes later than Bert. takes Bert's ball away, gives ball back, follows him, get more and more interested in each other, rubs bitten cheek without crying. Tries to attract Bert's attention by funny movements, toys and laughter, crawls away, Throws toast on floor, pushes it back; Gives bricks to Bert, says "ta"; cries, hardly ever hits back.</p>	<p>Very happy all three, Cuddles Bill most of the time, smiles at Bert; calls him "sonny boy"; cuddles Bill tighter. Says that twins are very jealous when she plays with other children (not observed by us). Cuddles Bill, strokes Bert, says at same time to Bill "you are my boy." Says Bert is more of a boy now; does not always want to be cuddled.</p>	<p>until own nurse comes. attacks any child who approaches mother.</p>

JUNE 1943
BERT AND BILL
20 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = both children

→ follow arrows for

combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls



Bert and Bill

1943	Physical Development	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Sense Development	Speech	Habits	Aggression	Affective Reactions	Play	Illness	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
June 20 m.	<p>Likes to go down slide.</p> <p>Crawl upstairs.</p> <p>Likes see-saw ; is on it for one hour.</p> <p>Likes to go up and down slide.</p>	<p>Does not sleep in daytime, overtired in evening.</p> <p>Put to bed at 12.15 12.30 p.m. ; fall asleep at same minute ; lie in same position on right side ; suck right thumb ; wake up at same minute.</p> <p>Sleep well without interruption all night long, except for three nights, when he cries 1/2-1 1/2 hours and one night when he talks to his "wow wow" for half-hour, for one night, cries on and off ; two nights cries and talks "wow wow" ; One night bangs head frequently ; two nights talks for short periods, one night when he is restless.</p> <p>Twelve air raid warnings ; never disturbed although some nights were very noisy.</p>	<p>Throw plates and spoons constantly ; great mess.</p> <p>Slight improvement. Throws fewer plates and spoons than Bill. Uses spoon often.</p> <p>Refuse or throw away sandwiches offered by own nurse ; eat them when offered by somebody else.</p> <p>Takes charcoal when offered by Sister G. ; spits it out when offered by own nurse.</p> <p>Tries to drink vegetables, potatoes out of plate ; uses spoon rarely.</p> <p>Put spoons into plates, hold plates out when they want more.</p> <p>Exchange toast, biscuits, then enjoy eating them.</p> <p>Sometimes tries to drink solid food out of plate.</p> <p>Eats quietly while own nurse is busy with other child ; throws food away the minute she looks at him, although cake was almost in his mouth.</p> <p>Throws plate with cornflakes away ; imitates Bert without having tried cornflakes.</p>	<p>Not potted.</p> <p>Resist being potted by own nurse ; allow other nurses to pot them.</p> <p>Several times motion on floor when without napkins ; does not seem to realize it.</p> <p>Successful ; gets great praise ; not excited but a little interested in it.</p> <p>Stretches leg soiled with motion ; points at it to have it cleaned.</p> <p>Once motion in pot.</p> <p>Resists being potted but tries to sit down without help ; succeeds.</p> <p>Holds pot in one hand ; scratches buttock intensely with other hand.</p>	<p>Taken to park ; delighted to see ducks, frightened by lambs ; not interested.</p> <p>"No no" when shelter bed is made in another way, wants to lie down the way he is used to.</p> <p>Blows into empty tin, enjoys sound ; repeats it often.</p>	<p>"Bow wow" to ducks.</p> <p>"Bow wow" to everything ; also to people, cars.</p> <p>"look" "ook" "Mummy" to mother.</p>	<p>Bangs head when own nurse leaves ; when attacked by other child ; sucks thumb after banging.</p> <p>Masturbates whenever possible, whole body in tension.</p> <p>Sucks right thumb when going to sleep.</p> <p>Masturbates less frequently and with less excitement.</p> <p>Plays with his comb at his penis ; deeply absorbed but not excited.</p> <p>Start rocking at same time ; rock in same rhythm ; look at each other.</p> <p>Rocks more than before, rocks rarely.</p> <p>28th, Kept in bed (tonsilitis) ; rocks so wildly that cot has to be supported by chairs. Even then manages to move cot by rocking.</p> <p>30th, When left alone in room rocks and screams.</p> <p>Hardly any head banging while own nurse is away. When she returns after one week, bang head very fairly often.</p> <p>Bitten by Bill ; bites himself ; bangs head.</p>	<p>Pulls children's hair frequently.</p> <p>Bites children, nurses, his own arm. Bites boy in shoulder ; while boy is comforted bites him in his knee.</p> <p>Attack all other children except two stronger girls.</p> <p>Not impressed by "no no".</p> <p>Pinching, biting get worse.</p> <p>Pulls girl's hair when attacked by her.</p> <p>Bites girl in shoulder.</p> <p>Bites Bert often.</p> <p>Bites Bert's knee.</p>	<p>Scream when bathed, dried, dressed by own nurse ; do not struggle when bathed by other nurses ; only furious when dried between toes. Cry, bang head when own nurse leaves room, sucks thumb.</p> <p>Kisses own nurse.</p> <p>Less unhappy than Bill when own nurse leaves room.</p> <p>Resist being potted by own nurse ; get quite stiff.</p> <p>Refuse, throw away sandwiches offered by own nurse ; eat them when offered by somebody else.</p> <p>Own nurse returns after day off ; very cross with her, happy with her.</p> <p>Holds out finger to be kissed by own nurse, copies Bill, is very pleased to have his finger kissed.</p> <p>Cry for own nurse even when mother is with them.</p> <p>Less excited while own nurse is away for a week. Very pleased when she returns.</p> <p>Bites nurse vigorously in arm when she washes him ; laughs heartily in spite of "no, no."</p> <p>Cries bitterly when Sister G. cuts his nails, but does not fight against it ; does not mind having his nails cut by her although he is so difficult when own nurse cuts his nails.</p> <p>19th, When in bed shouts at girl in bed ; both shriek and scream. They do not seem to enjoy it, nor to be frightened by all the noise but go on without interruption until Bill is allowed on floor.</p> <p>20th, Both on floor, yelling stops completely.</p> <p>28th, In bed with tonsilitis ; nurse who looked after him in other house offers him plate and spoon. He looks at her in surprise, takes spoon and gives it to her to be fed.</p> <p>Nurse encourages him three times with the same result ; he gets cross, throws spoon away.</p> <p>Cheerful when bathed by this nurse ; strokes her shoulder, bends down, bites her in shoulder ; very affectionate and happy.</p> <p>Very pleased to see Sister S. after 15 days' absence ; comes immediately to meet her, laughs loudly, comes a little later, laughs too ; hold her hands ; very happy expression.</p> <p>Furious when told by Sister S. not to pick flowers.</p> <p>Several guest workers with Junior Toddlers, not interested in them, approaches them immediately, very friendly with them.</p> <p>Attacks girl ; starts crying when nurse says "no no."</p>	<p>Like black toy dog.</p> <p>Play with four fitting-in toys ; understand them well.</p> <p>Watches girl building a tower ; builds a tower, too ; overthrows it.</p> <p>Enjoys building and throwing over of his buildings ; does not build, only enjoys throwing over other children's buildings.</p> <p>17th, Starts building ; overthrows it at once.</p> <p>Play with leaves, tear them.</p> <p>Favourite toys ; coloured tins.</p> <p>Likes to be in see-saw for a long time ; gets bored quickly, wants to come out.</p> <p>Clicks tongue in turns with Sister G. ; laughs aloud.</p> <p>Enters completely empty room ; enjoys running along the walls where the cots usually stand ; watches Bill, does not join him.</p> <p>Like to play hide and seek with each other.</p>	<p>1st, Rash gone ; temperature normal.</p> <p>4th, Hydrocele visible for a few hours.</p> <p>27th, Sits quietly on floor ; sucks thumb. Temperature 101. Tonsilitis, 102°. Gets Veganin ; throws it up the minute he gets it.</p> <p>28th, 101°.</p> <p>29th, Temperature normal.</p> <p>30th, Hydrocele visible again.</p> <p>15th-30th, Loose motions on and off ; gets calcium.</p>	<p>Allowed to run about naked ; run after each other all the time.</p> <p>Start rocking at same time, rock in same rhythm, look at each other.</p> <p>bites Bill.</p> <p>Wants Bill's tin, pulls tin away, pulls Bill's hair,</p> <p>Bites Bill, bites own arm, bangs head.</p> <p>Bite, hit each other when</p> <p>Gives toys to Bill who has to stay in bed, returns them to Bill again and again.</p> <p>watches scene, attacks boy. Laughs heartily when nurse plays with him,</p> <p>Like to play hide and seek with each other.</p> <p>Chooses sandwich, not pleased with it, exchange ; both very pleased.</p> <p>Insists on getting Sister S's. cake. Sister G. says : "Don't eat all Sister S's. cake." He laughs,</p> <p>Bites boy, who cries and crawls away ; crawls after him ; bites him again,</p>	<p>Pulls Bert's hair,</p> <p>does not give in,</p> <p>cries, bites Bert's knee.</p> <p>bites Bert, runs away,</p> <p>cross with other people.</p> <p>throws them out,</p> <p>Attacks girl ; starts crying when nurse says "no no,"</p> <p>tries to attract her attention ; pulls her overall ; gets furious.</p> <p>Chooses toast ; not pleased with it,</p> <p>watches scene, throws toy at Sister S. in anger.</p> <p>comes quickly and hits boy on head.</p>	<p>Holds Bill all the time, plays in between with Bert.</p> <p>Mother disgusted that twins eat with their fingers, wipes them.</p> <p>Takes twins for a walk ; says that Bert was very aggressive against Bill.</p> <p>Smacks twins when they throw food or plates.</p> <p>Takes them out in a taxi,</p> <p>Bathes Bill first, takes him into shelter ; comes back for Bert,</p> <p>Cuddles Bill who is ill,</p> <p>Mother comes ; asks urgently how Bill was ; very relieved to hear that he was well. She had had a bad dream : "She was with the twins alone in the room, left the room to fetch something from the garden. Came back, found many people round Bill, who was seriously injured. It was a bad fall. Everybody turned away from her or looked reproachfully. She awoke in tears".</p>	<p>Bathed by mother, wriggle a lot ; do not cry.</p> <p>Happy with mother until own nurse comes.</p> <p>frightened, enjoys it.</p> <p>runs to her with outstretched arms and a radiant face ; calls : "Mummy, Mummy!"</p> <p>cuddles closely to mother ; very jealous ; brings many toys to mother ; cries a lot ; cheers up when she bathes him.</p>

22/6 lbs.
25/ lbs.

JULY 1943 TO OCTOBER 1944

BERT AND BILL

21 MONTHS—3 YEARS

Key

Blue = Bert

Red = Bill

Black = both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination

First letter underlined = behaviour noted for first time, *e.g.* crawls

Bert and Bill

1943	Physical Development.	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Intelligence	Speech	Habits	Aggression	Play	Illness	Relation to Adults	Relation to Children	Reaction to Daily Events	Reaction to Special Events	Fear	Defence Mechanism	Conscience Formation	Bert to Bill	Bill to Bert	Mother to Children	Children to Mother
July 21 m.	Carries chair. Walks up slide.	Often laugh, talk, bang their heads.	Eat a lot, rarely throw plates or spoons. Visitors in room at meal time; makes fun for them.	Urinate on floor, not impressed. Only stay on pot when seated near toy box or when Sister G. is with them; hardly any success.	Sees nurse by peeping through tunnel built of bricks.	"Mummy" to own nurse. "Daddy" to window cleaner; "bo" (peep-bo) "dow" (down) "bow wow" to fly, "dirty" to spot, to puddle.	Bang head when own nurse enters, when not picked up by her. Bangs head after quiet play. Bangs right arm. Violent head banging when own nurse in room.	Bites, pinches Bert. Bites other children. Bites Bill into his buttock. Wants to bite Bill, Sister G. interferes; bites her gently.	Puts rings on stick. Put sticks in between bricks. Crawl behind each other carrying dolls. Takes lids off bottles, replaces them. Offer each other drinks out of tins. Play peek-a-boo.	Coughs.	Stretches hand to have it kissed by own nurse. Wants hand kissed by Sister G. Takes Bill's thumb out of nurse's mouth; puts Bert's thumb into her mouth.	Comforts crying boy. Strokes crying girl. Feeds smaller boy. Bullies girl.	Hate bath, fight against being bathed. Dislikes being washed. Helps when dressed.	Visit Senior Toddlers; play happily. Next visit: play with big toy dog, laugh a lot.		Cuddles to Sister G. after having been scolded.		Takes Bill's thumb out of nurse's mouth → puts Bert's thumb into her mouth. Bites Bill into his buttock. Feeds Bill patiently. Play peek-a-boo. Offer each other "drinks" out of tins.	→ puts Bert's thumb into her mouth. Play happily together until he bites Bert. Pinches Bert. Throws bricks into Bert's bath. Gives toys to Bert.	Has difficulties to get them away from toy cupboard: "I should be grey if I had to look after you."	
10th, Transferred to Senior Toddlers.																					
	Go to sleep easily in afternoon. At night often restless, talks, screams, kick against partition.	Cannot manage self-help breakfast. Dislikes apples, boiled egg. Eats better while Bill in sickroom. Throws plates.	Refuse to sit on pot. Sits down, gets up at once.		"Bow wow" to everything.	Bangs head, bites his hand. Bangs head. Violent head banging in sick-room. Head banging at night.	Very aggressive when own nurse is near. Scratches, bites pinches children and adults.	Plays quietly for half-hour.	Diarrhoea Bronchitis.	Upset when own nurse near. Later: completely changed; like a baby when own nurse near. Attacks other nurses.	Play with other children; take their toys away often sometimes.		Delighted to see kitten.				Brings toys to Bill, who has to stay in bed, → hits, bites Bert. Very unhappy when Bill transferred to sickroom.		Worried to hear that twins have been transferred to Senior Toddlers: "I wish you would not have turned them out."		
22/8 lbs. 22/10 lbs.																					
August		Sleep up to 1½ hours after lunch. Often restless at night.	Prefer semolina, refuse tomato, egg, fried potatoes. Help themselves. Eat quickly. Eat better when at different tables. Table manners improve. Allowed at big table.	Sit on pot without success. 20th August: first success since 10th July. "Dirty no no" when Bill is dirty. "Wee wee" when changed.	Sees cotton wool taken out for ear cleaning; covers ears, says "no no"; cleans ears himself when given cotton-wool. "No no sh" when girl talks in shelter.	"Oh dear" when he falls. "chicken" "gee gee" "car" "sit down" "boy" "Dirty no no" "More."	Head banging only when cross. Suck, rock when tired. Sucks when cross.	Attack, mainly bite for sheer pleasure. Bites Bert so that he bleeds. Attacks, bites everybody. Attack each other in pram.	Attend play hour. Prefers ball; likes toy dog, offers toy cup. Pretends to drink out of toy cup. Plays with Montessori toys.	Loose motions. Slight cold.	Minds new nurses. Pleased to see Sister S. Plays with well-known visitor; gives her cake. Get attached to new-own-nurse; affectionate to her at bathing time; prefers her.	Comforts crying children. Hurts and comforts them. Snatches toy from girl; gives her substitute toy.	Puts cream on nurse's face when his face had cream put on it.				Hurt children, comfort them. Returns toys, bread. Comforts child, attacked by Bill. Throws cake at nurse, brushes off crumbs from sleeve. Snatches toy from girl, gives her a substitute toy.	"Dirty no no" to Bill. Feeds Bill with bread. Fight in pram. Exchange toys. Copy each other at meals, on walks. "No no" when Bill throws plates, when he is naughty.	"No no" when boy takes Bert's pot, gives boy another pot. Picks up bricks, tins for Bert. Bites Bert so that he bleeds. Sucks thumb when Bert's hair is cut. Jealous of each other.	Takes twins out for a walk; reports that "Bill was awful, he hit my poor Bert."	Excited when mother present at mealtimes. Want to leave mother and stay with own nurse.
September 22 m. 23 m.																					
24/9 lbs.																					
October to 1944 February 2 yrs. to 2/4 years	Asleep with their toy dogs. Exactly same sleeping position at nap. Sleep in different bunks.	Eat best when in different rooms. Throws plate, picks it up. Refuse peaches, beetroot, eggs. Better table manners.	Ask for pot but hardly any success. Motion next to pot. "Look my wee wee" when successful. Asks for paper to be wiped.	Climb on chair to get toys down. Takes chair to window to "see babies" in garden. Tested; three months retarded.	"Upi upi" to flying birds. Difficult easier to understand. Calls children and nurses by name. "It's gone up" (temperature chart). "Nursy open bed."	Sucks sheet. Rocks on pillow. Masturbate when without napkins. Rocks, sucks thumb. Bangs head, says "again." Eat chalk.	Throw toys at people. Pinches Sister S., pinches himself. Biting decreases. Throw mugs over railing. Bites nurse; kisses bitten spot. Hurt each other (sunray).	No longer prefer balls; like slide; keen on puzzles; concentrates for 20 minutes, does them well. Enjoys picture books. Prefers toy dog. Plays pretend games. Enjoys building.	Bronchitis. Falls, cuts eyelid, has to be stitched. Slight pneumonia. Sunray treatment.	Cross pleased when own nurse returns. Feed own nurse. Attached to Sister S. "My Sister." Embraces sick-nurse: "my sickroom." Kisses own nurse; "and more more."	Fond of big girl. Help smaller girl on slide, at mealtimes. Gives his toy dog to girl.	Sunray treatment; get terribly excited, out of control, kick, shout, laugh, jump about, hurt each other, cry.	Excited at Christmas party. Cuts eyelid; stitched in hospital. Kicks Sister S. away when dressing renewed. Feeds ducks.				Hits teddy when asked not to hit child. Puddle: "teddy done it." Dirty: "No, nursy dirty." Allows nose to be wiped if doggie's nose is wiped.	Bites nurse; kisses bitten spot. Pinches Sister S.; pinches himself.	Talk to each other through partition of shelter bunks (one bunk next to the other one). Hugs Bill. "Bill" to his own reflection. Copies Bill's games. "My Bill all gone" when Bill in sick-room.	Gets chair ready for Bert. Likes to visit Bert in sickroom. Sleep in different bunks, shout through partitions (bunks far apart). Hurt each other when getting sunray treatment.	Kicks Sister S. away when mother is with him. Over-excited when mother with them, impossible at meal times. "No Mummy" does not want her at Christmas party.
26/10 lbs. 27/6 lbs.																					
Mar. to October 2/5 years to 3 years.	Climbs up whole frame. Sleep much better, hardly ever awake at night, often sleeps well, often talks, sings, shouts up to three hours. Afternoon rest stopped. One night says, "chicken" for hours.	Meals peaceful in small group; difficult in large group. Use spoon, much better table manners. Plays with food. Greedy; grabs nurse's food when own meal is finished.	"Wee wee" to all puddles on walk. Use pot often, pleased with good results. Without napkins, dry half days. Cheerfully remarks "me wet, me dirty." Thrilled to go to lavatory. Often successful, still needs napkins. Eats rolls in cow's dung.	"Other one Bessie" to Jessie. "Other one Bill" to Bert. "Other one Bill do wee wee," seeing his reflection in lavatory mirror urinating. Applies two. Recognises car: "Jane's car?" "Jane's car?" "I." "Look hot" when rubble and dust is thrown out of bombed house.	"Not car, lorry!" "Not bow wow, rabbits." Names children, nurses, all familiar objects. "My own" at same time. "My dear good Jane's dear good car." "I." "Not bow wow, dog!" "Why?" "Two."	Little head banging. Shrieks while banging his head. Jumps about, vacant expression. Sucks thumb, corner of sheet. Sucks a lot, stops when copied.	Biting gets worse than ever, less aggressive when separated. Kills frog. Enjoys hurting. Does not mind hurting himself. Throws himself into everything. Attack everybody.	Carry special toys about. Prefers hammer-toys. Builds well.	Loose motions. Slight cold. Seems insensitive against pain, whether he hurts himself or is hurt by other children.	Kisses own nurse on mouth. Want own nurse's attention. Clings to own nurse but is fond of many nurses. Cry "my nursy." Silly with own nurse. Laughs when own nurse cross. Find out that own nurse works in feed-kitchen, try often to visit her there. Pokes finger into own nurse's mouth.	Likes big girl; no other child. Helps boy. Bites smaller girl gently: "Again?" Interrupts game to help girl. Evacuated to Country house; amuses crowd of children, plays with all; very popular.		Not disturbed by air raids. Evacuated to Country house.		Evacuated to Country house; afraid of dogs. Afraid of cows, horses.	Knocks against chair, smacks it.	Scratches Sister S., very impressed when he sees "wound," strokes it, asks her again and again "all better?" Pinches, hits own nurse, only to comfort her the very next minute: "All right, all better?" Whenever he is reprimanded by own nurse, strokes her: "all right?" with a gentle voice.	Insists on seeing Bill before going to sleep, when evacuated to Country house and staying in different groups. Greet each other by banging heads against each other. "Other one Bill" to Bert. "Other one Bill do wee wee" seeing his reflection in lavatory mirror urinating.			

Madge and Mary

1942	Weight	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Intelligence	Speech	Sex	Aggression	Play	Illness
November to 1943 January 3/7 to 3/9 yrs.	Madge first born.	Cry in the evening, shouts. Don't cry but refuse to go to bed ; sleep on floor. Sleep in beds. Cannot settle down after parents' visit. Wants own nurse to stay with her.	Very noisy and messy at meals, spit under table.	Sometimes wet in daytime, often at night. Once dirty.	Story told : listens, does not pay attention.	Talk very little, gradually talk more, call people by name. Sentences like : "is dark" "is my daddy."	Rock constantly. Cannot be distracted from rocking. Scratches herself. Pinches her thigh. Rock less frequently ; rock when cross, and in the morning. Masturbate in bed. Scratch themselves, violently. Lie on floor, scratch.	Attack everybody, spit, scratch, kick. Hits, spits at own nurse. More aggressive when own nurse ill. Take shoes off, throw them at people.	Build.	1st injection, cries more than Mary. Second injection, cries more than Mary.
	29/8 lbs. 29/6 lbs.									
February 3/10 years		Rock for long spells before going to sleep ; less when waking up. Sleep with ball, doll. Wants own nurse, story told before going to sleep.		Often dry in morning.	Knows names of colours. Fits puzzles.	"It is my daddy." To boy : "Are you my sister ?" "I am a daddy." "You have got a nasty mummy and daddy."	Rock, especially in the evening, shorter spells in the morning. Scratches herself. Masturbates. Watches, touches naked boys. "I am my daddy."	Kills ladybird. Spits at own nurse. Throws bricks, shoes. Pushes children from window-sill. Howls, same wild howling a few days later.	Build a house. Join in singing. Likes puzzles. Builds house, protects it against bombs. "Writes, draws." Play with dolls.	V ccin- at d. cries, does not cry.
	31/12 lbs. 31/2 lbs.									
Mar. 3/11 years.		Disturbed nights (vaccination.) Rocks herself to sleep. Sleep well.	Eat well.	Reports cheerfully "I am wet." Dry for three days.	Interested in colours.	Name many objects. "You are a twin." "No, I am Madge." "Ring the belt."	Rocks herself to sleep. "I am a boy." Interested in naked boys, try to touch them. Watch urinating of other children. Insists on wearing dungarees, pyjamas.	Insults, hits, threatens own nurse. Threatens everybody. Annoys own nurse. Pulls hair. Tries to break ball.	Dislike games, disturb them. Little interest in picture books. Hides toys, enjoys to watch searching for them.	
	32 lbs. 31/7 lbs.									
April 4 years.		Quiet nights, usually sleep through ; sometimes wants a drink. Talks for a long time in the evening.	Better table-manners.	Clean. Wet after mother's visit.	Somebody counts up to 2 says 3 4 5, 7 says 8. Sort out colours.	Name flowers. "(r)ice-pudding." "threshing gown" "pink-yamas."	Rude games with boys. Rude games in lavatory. "I am daddy."	Bites nurse, throws shoe at her. Less aggressive. Throws spoon at mother, spits at her.	Enjoy the swing. Likes picture book, shows "my bunny, your doggie."	Boils.
	32/8 lbs. 32/11 lbs.									

NOVEMBER 1942 TO APRIL 1943

MADGE AND MARY

3 YEARS 7 MONTHS—4 YEARS

Key

Blue = Madge

Red = Mary

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination.

<i>Relation to Adults</i>	<i>Relation to Children</i>	<i>Reaction to Daily Events</i>	<i>Reaction to Special Events</i>	<i>Conscience Formation</i>	<i>Mary to Madge</i>	<i>Madge to Mary</i>	<i>Parents to Children</i>	<i>Children to Parents</i>
Get attached to their own nurse. Cry when she leaves. "My nurse." Hits spits at her. Likes sick-nurse.	Very aggressive towards other children, spit, scratch. Plays with other children.	Enjoy bath. Dress themselves. Helps own nurse.	Christmas : enjoy presents after Father Christmas has left.		Watch each other, play with each other. Fetches Madge for doctor's examination ; cries while fetching her, shows her how to open mouth. Protects Madge, restores toys to her, explains things to her, comforts her, admires her toothbrush. Cries when Madge gets injection.	Copies Mary in many ways ; also when Mary cries. Get independent of each other. Not impressed when Mary is unhappy.	Mother rather rough to twins. Parents' visit,	Prefer father. Cries for father, quiet, when parents leave. Calls for father, cries for mother in the evening. Talk a lot about father mother. surprised, runs to father, goes to mother. "My daddy, Madge's mummy."
Fond of several nurses. Friendly to everybody. Scream for own nurse. 'No' turns away, runs to own nurse when she returns.	Plays with several boys. Asks boy : "Are you my sister ?"	Cross in bath. Runs away on walks. Interested in kitchen. Cleans tables. Help washing.	Parents' Sunday : twins without visitors, very aggressive.		Ask for each other while separated. Asks for "my Madge," United, do not pay much attention to each other. Walk hand in hand. Not impressed when Madge cries.	asks for "May May."		
Aggressive to own nurse, hits, comforts her, avoids her, waits for her. Ask her questions they know. Compares her with her mother.	Very fond of big boy. Interested in boy.		Get hairclips, very proud. Strokes visitor's pony.	Hits own nurse, comforts her.	Wants own bed changed when Madge's is changed. Remarks on Madge's wet knickers : "I am dry." Asks for a cloth for Madge.	Quarrel with each other. Jealous of each other. Complains that Mary wears her own shoes.	Father's visit,	→ sit on his lap, talks little, is silent, refuses to kiss father, kisses him after having been urged. Play, rocks after father has left. Ask for mother. "Your mummy, my daddy." "You have got a nasty mummy and daddy."
Runs away from own nurse, kisses other nurse. Wants own nurse to return home to father with her. Promises sweets, gives cake to other nurses. Fond of another nurse ; talks to her gently.	Kind to smaller children, comforts them. Admires big boy. Walk hand in hand with other children.	Ask to have hair brushed. Difficult on walks. Finds lady-birds ; plays with them without hurting them.			shouts : "I am not your sister." Gives soap to Madge : "Say thank you."	Cries : "I want my ←sister," "I don't want to be your sister."	Mother's visit, Father comes, too→ Parents leave, Parents' visit,	→ "I don't like my mummy," "I want my mummy." Wants to go home to father with own nurse. → "only daddies are here, no mummies," "I don't like Mummy, nurse bath me"; has tea with mother, wants her to bath her. runs to meet him, kisses him, friendly with mother, hesitates to meet father. → cross with own nurse, talk a lot about parents. → wants hair done like mother. Refuses to wear apron "My daddy does not wear an apron."



MAY TO SEPTEMBER 1943

MADGE AND MARY

4 YEARS 1 MONTH—4 YEARS 5 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Madge

Red = Mary

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination.

Madge and Mary

1943	Weight	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Intelligence	Speech	Sex
May 4/1 years	35 lbs. 32/7 lbs.	Sleep well all night, wake up very early, often disturb other children. Sometimes sleeps in Mary's bed.	Eat almost everything with pleasure except vegetables at times.	Remarks on boy who is wet: "He ought to go on pot." Urinate standing.	Counts fingers correctly. Calls photos of twin boys "Mary, Madge." Tries to replace button by pin. Know colours. When told to be quiet: "Who is asleep?"	"Do you see?" Masturbates with her hand. Masturbates often, for some time masturbates almost all day. Insist on wearing pyjamas, get them, "I look like a boy."	
June 4/2 years		Undisturbed nights. One night worried about pony. Calls out "all gone" apparently dreaming. Wants own nurse to sit on her bed.	Prefers puddings. Sometimes refuse vegetables.	After parents' visit urinates on floor, is wet at night. Plays with coal dust. Full of tar, "I like to be dirty."	Bathes herself. Pretends tummy-ache to get own nurse's attention. Pretends tummy-ache to get on swing. Counts: "1, 2, through, 4, 5, 6".	"We did be good quiet girls." Hears: "Good-bye." "You must not say good boy, I am a girl." Repeat new words with high-pitched voice. "I don't like nothing." "I don't want nobody to bath me."	Rocks. Masturbates in bed, on walks, almost constantly. Watches Mary masturbating, starts rocking. Scratches herself. "I am a man."
July 4/3 years		German measles; disturbed nights. Sleep through until 6 a.m. when well.	Refuse vegetables. Eats neatly, slowly. Eats messily, rapidly.	Wets bed; is ashamed. Wet when own nurse is off. Hides wet pyjamas.	Sees picture of tiger putting up his paws: "Look, it is Heil Hitler." Sees Gauguin portrait; asks many questions.	"I have been right to the sky." "You are a lady" to nurse wearing a new frock.	Lies on floor, masturbates.
August 4/4 years		Cries at 2 a.m. until own nurse stays with her.				"It stopped raining, it stopped colding." "I played fit-ball." "Shall we be gooder?"	Masturbates violently. Hug each other closely, rock.
Twins separated, Madge ringworm.							
September 4/5 years		Sleeps well but one night screams for her sister; some nights asks own nurse to stay with her.	Unmanageable at meals, spits, throws food on floor. Takes two helpings of disliked food because own nurse takes two helpings. Dislikes vegetables but eats them when sick-nurse tells her that she herself likes vegetables; refuses them the day she hears that she has to go to hospital.	Wet one night when isolated in Nursery in London.	"Why do the flowers drink water? Why don't they eat dinner?" Sees the moon: "How does it keep in the sky?"	"Who made this gate?" "Did the carpenter know me?" "Where is your London?" "Is that she's coat?" "Let me have a see" (look).	Masturbates, rocks violently. Puts apple underneath jersey one side, ball underneath other side. Takes cap off when she meets boys, radiates when they say: "She looks like a boy." "I don't like ladies, I like men only."

Aggression	Play	Illness	Relation to Adults	Relation to Children	Interest in own Person	Reaction to Daily Events	Reaction to Special Events
Throw sand. Puts sand in children's mouths. Pulls hair. "I kick you in the face."	Play with inset-toys, beads, paint, draw. Does puzzle without help, does puzzle of 6-8 pieces. Draws circles.		Asks own nurse: "Am I your darling? And Madge?" Very difficult when own nurse away, masturbate, aggressive. On very good terms with cook; spends much time with her. "Are you ill?" when nurse is tired. Often stays with visiting Sister S., interested in Sister S's birthmark, shows Sister S. her own birthmark. "Are you tired?" to own nurse.	Fond of baby. Says "All the children are my friends." Look after smaller boy. Admire big boy. Provokes boys to rude games, joins in games. Asks boys to join in drinking soapy water.		Help in kitchen, almost daily. Help weeding. Helps doing beds. Takes dress off on walks.	Oversleep air raid of two hours. Falls out of pony cart, hardly cries, very proud of bandage. Parents' Sunday. Twins without visitors, very aggressive.
Throws full pot at boy. "I throw all the children in the pond."	Builds with much concentration.		Kiss own nurse, very affectionate to her. Does not mind big planes overhead when own nurse near. Concerned about nurse's bad finger. Try to please own nurse: "We did be good quiet girls." "We were good." Gives in after having been very difficult: "I like my nurse." Attached to visiting Sister S. (same Christian name as cook).	Prefer small children to bigger ones. Look after little girl. Laughs with other children. Throws full pot at boy. "I throw all the children in the pond."		Bathes herself.	Parents' Sunday, twins without visitors; very irritable; cries a lot, "why didn't you let my daddy come?" Cries a lot.
Hurts nurse. Shouts at nurse, stamps her foot.	Plays with concentration. Plays with dolls. Plays with a big variety of toys.	German measles.	Give little presents to own nurse, biscuits, berries, plums. Quiet talks with own nurse every day. Very attached to cook. Wants to get up when well-known visitor is expected.	Play with boys in a nice way; no rude games.		Help with house work. Help in kitchen.	Dislikes party.
		Slight cold.		Kisses little girl. Comforts little girl.		Remembers to fetch her bath towel.	Water on floor: "People must not make a mess in our new bathroom."
Twins separated, Madge ringworm.							
Attacks own nurse when she returns after time off or day off. Picks heads off flowers.	Carries her doll about; often asks: "Is it still there?"	Ringworm	Follows own nurse all day long. Takes second helping of food she dislikes because own nurse takes second helping. Gives own sweet to own nurse. Tries to provoke own nurse. "Will Mr. (instead of Mrs.) X (name of well-known visitor) take me to see Madge?" "I like men only." Dislikes vegetables but eats them when sick-nurse tells her that she herself likes vegetables.	Looks after little girl.	"Did the carpenter know I had a spot on my head?"		Afraid of having hair examined in hospital. Delighted when hair is cut; asks when she will be seen by another doctor. Takes cap off when she meets boys. Parents' Sunday, Mary without visitors; unhappy.

Defence Mechanism	Conscience Formation	Mary to Madge	Madge to Mary	Parents to Children	Children to Parents
Attacks children, covers face with hands when own nurse sees her.	Spills food, wants to replace mat. Throws sand, stops when own nurse comes. Attacks children, stops when own nurse sees her.	Gives whistle to Madge because Madge was good. Wears Madge's frock.	Offers her slippers to Mary. Asks Mary to be good. Sometimes sleeps in Mary's bed.		Ask often for their parents. Talk about brother and sister. "Writes": "come my mummy."
When reprimanded by visitor: "Will you take me to London?"	After a scene: "I will be good." Reports: "We did be good quiet girls." Ask if own nurse will be cross. "We were good."	Tells own nurse that Madge got tummy-ache. When own nurse stays with Madge: "Now I have got tummy-ache." Allows Madge to go on swing when Madge complains of "tummy-ache."	Stays with Mary, who has hurt herself. Take turns when drinking cocoa.	Parents' visit, →	"My daddy won't come. Is your mummy coming?" "Why didn't you let my daddy come?" very happy.
When own nurse finds her picking plums, hides her face in her hands: "You must not look at me like that."	When own nurse finds her picking plums, hides her face in her hands: "You must not look at me like that." Hides wet pyjamas.	Asks often for Madge, while in sickroom. Visits Madge in sickroom, brings her plums.	When scolded for picking plums: "but it is for Mary." "I want it first" (toys). "I want to be first" (on walks). "I will be first" (half asleep).	Parents' visit, stay for 7 hours, eat with twins, → Parents visit with brother and sister, → Parents leave, →	Keep rusks for father. "My daddy likes noise." does not eat properly. very happy, prefer being with brother and sister. runs after father, "I am going home."
	Often asks: "Will you be cross?" Does not cry when hair washed "because mummy likes clean hair." "I don't want to be naughty." "Shall we be gooder?"	Keen on being first. Allows Madge to kick her hard. Has supper with Madge, who has to stay in bed.	Hug each other closely, rock. When Mary spills cocoa: "You must not do it again." Throws new shoes down from sickroom window for Mary to see them.	Parents visit with brother and sister and uncle, →	smiles at arriving parents, turns back from them, spend more time with brother and sister than with parents.
Twins separated, Madge in hospital, ringworm.					
	Anxious to be good. Says: "I won't do it any more" without being reprimanded. Refuses to say "Good morning" to cook; says it a few days later after lunch, then reports that she has been nice to cook. Takes second helpings of disliked food because own nurse takes second helpings.	Often cries "my Madge." "Will Mr. (name of well-known lady visitor) take me to see Madge?" Cries for Madge at night. Asks when Madge comes back. Sends her her love daily. Wants all the hazel-nuts for Madge. Prefers wearing Madge's frocks. Does not believe that Madge is in hospital. "Madge is bigger than me." Asks what Madge may be playing. "Madge has got the birthmark now, not me." Gets two dolls, one for herself, one to take care of for Madge, breaks Madge's doll soon. "Madge must come back now."			Talks less frequently about parents. Picks blackberries for parents and Madge. Cries for mummy and Madge.

OCTOBER 1943 TO MAY 1944

MADGE AND MARY

4 YEARS 6 MONTHS—5 YEARS 1 MONTH

Key

Blue = Madge

Red = Mary

Black = Both children

→ follow arrows for

← combination.

Madge and Mary

1943	Sleep	Eating	Training for Cleanliness	Intelligence	Speech	Sex	Aggression	Play
October 4/6	Sometimes cries for Madge.					Told not to masturbate in front of others but free to do it when alone. Asks: "Can I go to bed?" Returns soon after having masturbated.		Likes to play with clay; unable to make a ball or man. Likes her doll; cries when broken doll is taken to be repaired: "My Madge."
November 4/7				"Reads." Wants to have a disagreeable situation finished quickly.		Does not masturbate in front of others but often when alone. Reports that she did not cross her legs when at home.		
December 4/8						Asks whether she could go to bed because of a headache; returns after masturbating: "I have finished."		
1944 January 4/9		Throws food on floor.	Urinates in bath. Hides wet knickers. Sits on radiator to get knickers dry.		"Chokolick" (chocolate). "My daddy is not a workman, he is a work daddy."	Rocks when cross with own nurse. Rocks on boy.	Shouts rude names at own nurse. Throws own nurse's present in mud. "Shit bum," "big job" to own nurse when she is found playing rude games.	Builds with concentration, bridges, castles, aeroplanes. Pretends driving a car; the whole family is in it; drives to visit Madge.
February 4/10		Folds wet knickers: "You must not look at them."			"Madge's leg is not better," laughs, "I said her leg isn't that funny?"	Hurts little boy.		
Madge back from Hospital.								
March 4/11	Cold, restless at night.	Needs help at meals. Very messy at meals.		"Why does it get lighter in the morning, dark at night?" "Why is soon always so long?" "Why can a knife cut, a spoon can't?"			To own nurse: "I can easily cut your head off." Hits Mary. Shouts rude names.	Sings, holds paper in front of eyes; like music.
April 5 yrs.	Rocks in bed. Fall asleep quickly.					Masturbates again, at first only when alone, later on on walks, at meals or sitting on floor. Rocks, sings, masturbates. Masturbates on damp grass: "I am resting."	Screams, dances with rage. "Big job" to adults. Very aggressive; pinch, kick. Bites, scratches. Smashes dolls' house.	
May 5/1				"The war is over when they stop fighting."	"Baby, you can come back home when the wall (war) is over."	Rocks when upset. Masturbates everywhere, also in bushes. Hides face when seen masturbating. Uses hands for masturbation. Rocks.	Take off shoes, throw them at adults. Spit at adults. Frequent tantrums. Throws bricks, sand, furniture.	Play Mummy, Daddy, Baby; is Daddy: "I am still your Daddy, only pretending." Understands new puzzle; unable to do it.

Illness	Relation to Adults	Relation to Children	Reaction to Daily Events	Reaction to Special Events	Fear
	To own nurse: "You have got blue eyes and my Madge has got blue eyes." Own nurse visits her in hospital. Wants nurse to go to hospital because she got a bandage.	Puts little girl on pot.	Cuts bread for pony.		
Cold.	Asks the adults to be quiet because own nurse is ill. Very aggressive during own nurse's illness. "I like" (well-known visitor), "she must see me in dungarees."	Watches boy throwing chairs; says: "I did it," picks up chairs.			
	Paints, builds for own nurse. Kisses own nurse, when other child spits at her. Invites own nurse to stay in her home when she hears about Hitler.	Bathes little boy.		No visitors on Parents' Sunday; cries a lot, hurts herself.	
Cold. Enjoys having her temperature taken.	Interested in nurse's birthday. Happy with present from own nurse; throws it in mud when cross with her. Embraces own nurse when wishing her a good night. Shouts rude names at own nurse. When told off by own nurse shouts: "I am cross with you, I shall not go for a walk, not even if you cry."	Rude games with boy. Attacks girl.	Cleans twenty pairs of wellingtons. Floods bathroom.		
	Delighted with well-known visitor's letter, keeps it under her pillow. Asks own nurse: "Can I do something for you?" Says to own nurse: "You are my dear L... mummy."	Hurts little boy. Looks after little girl.		Complains that her legs hurt during air raid, agrees that she was afraid of bombs, her legs were all right. Oversleeps air raids.	Complains that legs hurt during air raid. Bedtime fear. "I know why my mummy died." Sings about dying mother.
Madge back from Hospital.					
Cold.	Aggressive to own nurse: "I can easily cut your head off." Looks after own nurse. Tells stories to her, "because I know all the stories now." Does not obey, shouts rude names. Asks everybody: "Do you love me?"	Reports that little girl was good. Does not allow girl in room during mother's visit.		"I don't like London" on way back from hospital. "Do I look funny without any hair? —Yes, I look lovely."	Bedtime fear when own nurse off. Interpretation of fears.
Sore throat.	Nasty names to adults, laughs. To nurse: "You are not my friend, only my mummy is my friend." "I don't like anybody in this house." "You black pig, you hurt Madge," when own nurse is cross with Madge, then comforts nurse. "I don't want my nurse to go."	Complains that other children hurt her although it is not true. Look after little boy on walk.	Good and helpful on walks. Help scrubbing.	"What number have I been in hospital?"	After parents' report of air raid damage at home, cries "Bomb will come..."
	"I don't like anybody in this house." Very difficult when own nurse is away, and when she returns; do not want her to bathe them. "Is X. big job?" when nurse reprimands Madge. Kisses nurse. "I am your sister" to nurse.			Very difficult at bath time: "Madge first"; volunteers to be bathed first.	"I don't mind the bombs, I want my mummy."

Defence Mechanism	Conscience Formation	Mary to Madge	Madge to Mary	Parents to Children	Children to Parents
	Obeys. "Don't tell mummy, I won't do it any more."	Lays table for Madge. Asks own nurse again and again to report on her visit to Madge. Cries for Madge at night and in daytime. Asks sick-nurse whether she will greet Madge. Sleeps with Madge's doll.			Tells everybody that she will go home. Goes home for two weeks.
		Remembers to write to Madge.			Unhappy to leave parents and home. Tells that she slept in her sister's and in her father's bed. "I like my home."
		Many questions about Madge, hospitals, death.			Talks a lot about her mother.
"I shan't go with you, not even if you cry."	Hides wet knickers. "I am clever, I am dry." "I shan't cry when you are away."	Pretends to drive a car to visit Madge and to fetch her. Interrupts games to ask what Madge is doing. When own nurse returns from London: "You should have gone to Madge and you should have brought her back to me."			At home for ten days, cries "my mummy" for a long time when returning to Nursery. To own nurse: "You don't carry me, my mummy carries me." "My mummy has always warm hands, never cold hands."
	Folds wet knickers: "You must not look at them." Cross, tears apron, puts on siren suit to hide torn apron.	"Madge is not coming back, her leg is not better." "My Madge is not coming soon." "My Madge can sweep, I will show her everything."	"Did my Mary cry for me when I was in hospital?"	Father and uncle visit, report that she asked for own nurse while at home. Mother visits, →	Misses her mother. Hears how mother had fainted on kitchen floor. "I know why my mummy died." "I am not going to cry when bus leaves." delighted with mother.
Madge back from Hospital.					
"Do I look funny without any hair?—Yes, I look lovely."	"When I am good you must tell me a longer story."	See each other for the first time: Looks to the side: "What colour has this blanket?" "but you should not hit me." "If she cries, I must cry too." Looks after Madge on walks, at mealtimes.	←"I love you Mary." ←Hits Mary, Asks for Mary's birthmark.		"Is mummy coming back soon?" "Why is soon always so long?" Dictates letter to mother.
Takes shoes off when furious. Complains that other children hurt her, admits that she is cross with Madge.	"Tomorrow I will be a good girl"; keeps promise.	Worried about Madge's health. Madge "should stay in hospital, why did she come back?" Reports that Madge was very good. Bites Madge. Throws stones at Madge.	Quarrel Snatches food from Mary's plate; kick, pinch, hurt each other. Scratches Mary, fight.	Mother visits. Parents visit, tell about bomb near own home, →	"It's my mummy, not yours" when cross with Madge, perfectly happy. → listens fascinated, asks many questions.
Temper tantrum, take shoes off, throw them at adults. Temper tantrum, undresses herself. Often cries, says later on: "I wasn't crying."	Volunteers to be bathed first: "I asked to be bathed first, now do you like me?" Hides face when seen masturbating.	Jealous of Madge, wants everything Madge has got. "I must have a turn after you because I am your sister." Complains that Madge wears her blazer, but when given Madge's blazer, "she made it dirty."	Protects Mary, although afraid of dog herself. Picks up chair for Mary. Carries Mary's coat. Allows Mary to eat her pudding; watches her, smiles.		Ask often for parents. "I don't mind the bombs, I want my mummy."

JUNE TO NOVEMBER 1944
MADGE AND MARY
5 YEARS 2 MONTHS—5 YEARS 7 MONTHS

Key

Blue = Madge
Red = Mary
Black = Both Children
→ follow arrows for
← combination

Madge and Mary

1944	Sleep	Eating	Intelligence	Speech	Sex	Aggression	Fantasy	Illness	Relation to Adults	Relation to Children
June 5/2		Very messy at meals.	"Will to-day be yesterday to-morrow?"		Urinates into a hole in the ground.	Throw bricks stones at nurses. "Can I pull your head off, will your tummy come off then?"	"Once there were hundreds of worms on my pillow . . ." "When the wall (war) is over . . . I climb to the sky." Speak about God and birth.		Often ask about well-known visitor who is ill. Asks about own nurse's father. To own nurse: "I often help you, don't I?" Does not allow own nurse to bathe her.	Distributes strawberries to other children. Disturbs all games.
July 5/3					Masturbates violently often for about an hour until completely exhausted. Grunts while masturbating.	Frequent temper-tantrums. Throws stones at passers-by on way to school. Throws bricks, shoes at adults.			Cross with own nurse when returning from school. On good terms with own nurse on Saturdays and Sundays. "My darling" to own nurse. Clings to own nurse when uncle visits.	
August September 5/4 5/5	Sleep in each other's bed.		"I am going to London when the war is over."		Masturbates hand in knickers.				Quiet talks with own nurse. To own nurse: "Your father must never smack you." Very attached to own nurse. "You must not touch me," when own nurse wants to bathe them after their visit to caravan. After the evacuation of the London Nursery to the Country house to one of the London nurses who had reprimanded them: "We don't like you." "You have nothing to say here, you, Netherhall." Calls nurse "this lady" when cross with her.	"Everybody be naughty" to other children. "I will take care of D . . ." (younger boy.)
October November 5/6 5/7			Repeats story after two months.	Listens to birds' song: "Do you hear that sweet noise?"	Masturbates in front of others. "I want to be a woman." Plays at being a boy. Sees a baby: "Is he a girl?" To Madge: "You be the boy and lie on top of me."		Talks about God. Would eat worms with sugar.		Concerned about well-known visitor's health. Compares own nurse to mother. Rude when own nurse is away. Wants own nurse's new belt. Especially good before own nurse leaves.	

<i>Reaction to Daily Events</i>	<i>Reaction to Special Events</i>	<i>Fear</i>	<i>Defence Mechanism</i>	<i>Conscience Formation</i>	<i>Mary to Madge</i>	<i>Madge to Mary</i>	<i>Parents to Children</i>	<i>Children to Parents</i>
Enter school. Do not want to go to school. "Teacher caned me." Temper tantrum before going to school. Declares that she won't go to school.		Asks whether own nurse was afraid of specially shaped rock.	Spills cocoa, blames own nurse for having spilled it.	To own nurse: "I often help you, don't I?"	Join each other in crying without knowing why the other one cries: "Why is M . . . crying?"	Have a long quiet conversation about God and birth.	After twins had been at home for ten days mother reports that they had been very good.	At home for ten days. Does not talk much about visit home; talks more about it. "My mummy and daddy don't like children who make a fuss." "We want our mummy."
"We have been caned in school." Terribly aggressive on way to and from school. Have to be pushed in pram to get to school.		Flying bombs, upset by mother's reports, "Daddy must not be killed."		Dictates letter: "Most of the time I am good now."	Stays with crying sister; cries too.	Watches Mary's temper tantrum: "I like her because she cries." "Are you freezing cold my little darling? Take some more blankets." Copies Mary's grunting.	Parents take caravan near Country-house; twins visit them after school, →	"Daddy must not be killed." Upset by mother's reports. want to stay there, unhappy, happy on return from caravan.
It makes me sick to see the school." "Do we go to school?"				Only rare outbreaks of temper tantrum; very charming.	Sleep in each other's bed.		Parents return to own home.	Visit family in caravan every day. Found walking hand in hand on drive some distance from house: "We are going to London."
				Talk about being good. "I love helping everybody." "I like to be naughty but sometimes I am very good." Especially good before own nurse leaves.	Cuts her hair to get it curly like Madge's growing hair. Rude games with sister. To Madge: "You be the boy and lie on top of me."	Wants to be called Mary.		Talk about mother. Fantasies about being at home. Wants to help father. Talks about going home. Prefers brother, sister. Last evening, very excited about going home.



